

The Shortest Path to Zionism: A Network Analysis of the US Nonprofit Industrial Complex

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ABSTRACT

Activists have shown how the nonprofit industrial complex (NPIC) co-opts grassroots social movements, and how the dependence on donors limits what nonprofits can say or do—especially concerning Palestine. Yet the NPIC is rarely analyzed as a whole system. Using tools from network analysis, this article computationally analyzes the massive funding network of the NPIC, reconstructed from tax forms, and highlights Zionism's place within it. It shows how the NPIC's funding web binds many organizations to Zionist nonprofits that directly fuel settler-colonialism in Palestine. The links between these organizations are facilitated by donor-advised funds, which form the 'hubs' in the interconnected funding network. The article explains the political implications of this finding using two 'activist' nonprofits: the Black Lives Matter Global Foundation (BLMGN) and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP). It argues that being a major player in the NPIC not only limits what an organization can do but also normalizes the broader funding networks driving colonial projects.

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Imperialism and empire may be the order of the day, but they are soulless institutions that induce moral sickness and thrive on paradigms that rationalize greed and murder. They also create political cultures that exist with these acts silently at their moral center.

—Steven Salaita, *The Holy Land in Transit*

In the early 1900s, American 'robber barons' such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie began using charitable organizations to protect their wealth from taxation while putting it to work to advance their own interests (Smith 2017). Charities and other nonprofits have since proliferated, and today the nonprofit sector is one of the fastest growing sectors in the US economy (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2024b). This sector—which includes private foundations, universities, hospitals, lobbying groups, and other entities falling under the 501(c)3 or 501(c)4 sections of the Internal Revenue Service tax code—wields great power and wealth. In 2022,

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nonprofits employed about 12.8 million people and reported over \$3 trillion in revenue (Internal Revenue Service 2025; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2024a).

By analogy to the military-industrial complex, activists have called this set of institutions the ‘nonprofit industrial complex’ (NPIC) and documented its flaws. The NPIC provides ways for the very rich to shelter their wealth, advance political agendas, and launder reputations. It also co-opts grassroots social movements, misdirecting them away from radical initiatives and into electoralism. Moreover, the dependence on donors and grants limits the political directions of nonprofits, favoring fundraising over commitment to real struggles. All these problems and more are discussed in the seminal anthology *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (first published in 2007 and republished in 2017) by the INCITE! activist collective.

Palestine has been at the heart of these critical examinations of the NPIC. The book *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded* was itself sparked by backlash over Palestine. In 2004, the Ford Foundation canceled a grant to INCITE! because the group had expressed solidarity with Palestinians living under Israeli occupation; INCITE! thus ‘learned from firsthand experience the deleterious effects foundations can have on radical social justice movements’, motivating it to work on the book (INCITE! 2017, 1).¹ Various groups have since lost foundation grants for showing solidarity with Palestine. In 2024, the Schusterman Foundation cut ties with an abortion fund it had sponsored because the group issued a statement, after October 7, 2023, arguing that ‘reproductive justice includes Palestinian liberation’ (Alden 2024; ARC Southeast 2023). But beyond such punishment of solidarity, the NPIC also deserves scrutiny because Zionist nonprofits directly sponsor groups that dispossess Palestinians of their land (Barrows-Friedman 2023; Campaign to Defund Racism 2023; Howe 2024; Massad 2023; The Mapping Project 2022a; Unmasking Fidelity Coalition 2022).

While there have been many insightful critical studies of nonprofits (Alden 2024; Al-Thawabet 2022; GRAIN 2014; INCITE! 2017; Jisr Collective 2022a; Kelsall et al. 2023; O’Rourke and Kilani 2026; Rivera, Springer, and Caines 2024; Spade 2015, 97–116; The Mapping Project 2022a), the NPIC is rarely analyzed as a whole network in which organizations distribute money to advance certain agendas. This article reconstructs the NPIC’s massive funding network from Internal Revenue Service (IRS) tax forms and highlights Zionism’s central place within it. Using these data, I show how the NPIC’s funding web binds many nonprofit organizations to Zionist nonprofits that directly fuel settler-colonialism in Palestine. The links between these organizations are usually facilitated by donor-advised funds, the nonprofits that serve as ‘hubs’ in the interconnected funding network. The resulting proximity to Zionism also applies to groups with an unrelated or even ostensibly opposing agenda, as I show using two examples of ‘activist’ nonprofits: the Black Lives Matter Global Foundation (BLMGN) and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP). Participation in the NPIC therefore not only limits what nonprofits claiming to support liberation movements can do but also normalizes the funding network backing the colonial projects that these movements are fighting against.

¹For an informative critical reflection on INCITE!’s book, see (Farnia 2008).

The quantitative analysis presented here applies elementary tools from graph theory and computer science that fall under the umbrella of ‘network analysis’. Network analysis uses graphs to represent nodes (drawn as dots) and the relationships between them (drawn as lines), and tries to computationally answer questions such as: What is the general structure of the network? How are nodes typically connected to one another? And which nodes are central in any given network? I apply the tools of network analysis to ask similar questions about nonprofits, though with caution and some ambivalence. While graph theory arguably goes back to eighteenth-century mathematics (Kruja et al. 2001; Zaytsev 2008), contemporary network analysis formed mostly in the 1990s and 2000s and has been mainly applied for surveillance and counterinsurgency, profit-making, or studies in narrow scientific domains (Alon 2006, chaps. 4–5; Barabási and Pósfai 2016; Cheney-Lippold 2018, 43–44). A highly influential textbook in this field, *Network Science*, begins with a chapter titled ‘From Saddam Hussein to Network Theory’, which describes how network analysis helped conceptualize the operation of toppling Hussein’s government—by identifying the key people in his ‘network’—during the 2003 US invasion of Iraq.² Corporations routinely use the tools of network analysis to sell things and spread propaganda on social media, while police forces and their corporate partners use them for speculative criminalization and border policing (Jefferson 2020, 127; Stop LAPD Spying Coalition 2018; US Dept of Homeland Security 2012).

This article can therefore be viewed as an experiment in whether these ‘master’s tools’ (Lorde 1984) could be used subversively—not for advancing the agendas of empire and capital, but for enriching our understanding of the NPIC and supporting activist efforts to resist it.³

The NPIC as a Highly Connected Funding Network

To understand the structure of the US-based NPIC, I turned to tax filings. Tax filings have been previously used by activists and journalists to scrutinize nonprofits, and to track donations made by major Zionist nonprofits in the US and Canada to groups that dispossess Palestinians of land (Howe 2024; Howe and Sylvestre 2025a, 2025b; Just Peace Advocates 2025; The Mapping Project 2022a; Unmasking Fidelity Coalition 2022).⁴ In the US, every nonprofit (with some exceptions) must file a tax form, called Form 990, that gives basic information about the organization, such as

²Since *Network Analysis* is framed from a US imperialist perspective (where toppling another country’s government and destroying it in the process is legitimate), the ‘network’ of Saddam Hussein shown in the book omits players such as the US and European governments who have historically supported and armed Hussein and his party, as part of a larger anti-communist agenda. This example comes from a 2012 draft of the book that is widely read and available freely on the web; the 2016 published version devotes much less space to the Hussein example, but still mentions it favorably, adding that ‘Given the numerous potential military applications, it is perhaps not surprising that one of the first academic programs in network science was started at West Point, the US Army Military Academy. Furthermore, starting in 2009 the Army Research Lab devoted over \$300 million to support network science centers across the US’ (Barabási and Pósfai 2016, 13).

³My approach draws inspiration from the work of Richard Levins, a communist ecologist and activist who used graphs in a manner that we might today call ‘network analysis’ to analyze complex social and biological systems, emphasizing the contradictory forces within them (Katz 2026, chap. 4; Levins 2014).

⁴Howe and Sylvestre (2025a, 2025b) used tax filings from the Canadian Revenue Agency to uncover patterns of fraudulent activity by a preselected set of Canadian Zionist nonprofits and identify the nonprofit foundations sponsoring these groups. The Nonprofit Explorer (<https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/>), created by the

its revenue, expenses, and salaries of the highest paid employees. Form 990 also lists grants the nonprofit has given other entities (which may or may not be nonprofits). The IRS has made Form 990 data available in computer-readable format, making it possible to analyze funding patterns as a whole. Using these data, I constructed a graph representing the money flows between all nonprofit organizations (for details, see Data Preparation and Analysis [Appendix](#)).

In this graph, each node represents a nonprofit organization, and every edge (arrow) represents a transfer of money. An arrow from node X to node Y, $X \rightarrow Y$, indicates that X gave money to Y. A node may be connected to another node and/or to itself (self-edges happen when, for example, a national nonprofit gives a grant to one of its own local branches and the two entities are identical for tax purposes). For simplicity, this article analyzes one year's worth of tax returns, filed in 2024 (covering fiscal year 2023). This is a recent and representative year for which all digitized tax filings are available (the general structure of the network has been stable in recent years). The focus of the analysis will be on the significant players in the funding network, thus excluding most registered nonprofits which are small, often inactive, and do not exchange funds or generate significant revenue. Of the 647,111 organizations with filings from 2024, only 260,139 organizations have exchanged money with at least one other nonprofit organization. From this set, I selected the subset of organizations that (1) have given or received at least \$1,000, and (2) have had at least \$1,000,000 in expenses—resulting in 75,866 organizations. This subset represents significant players in the NPIC, which usually have several paid employees (hence the high expenses).

[Figure 1](#) shows the graph for 20,000 organizations randomly sampled from this set of significant nonprofits, so that the funding patterns can be seen without clutter. The graph shows that most organizations are part of networks in which nodes are connected to each other through 'hub' nodes that have many connections ([Figure 1](#), center of graph). Only a minority of organizations are part of 'islands' in which only a handful of organizations are connected ([Figure 1](#), periphery of graph).

In the highly connected regions of the graph, the major 'hub' nodes are often donor-advised funds (DAFs). DAFs are nonprofit organizations that take money or assets such as stocks from donors and funnel them to other nonprofit organizations chosen by the donors. DAFs do this without disclosing the donors' identity; their tax filings only state which organizations they gave money to. DAFs are therefore justifiably viewed as a mechanism for the rich to advance their own interests without fear of public scrutiny while also enjoying the tax benefits and evasion that come from giving to 'charity'. The leading DAFs were created by for-profit financial corporations, such as Fidelity and Schwab, who manage the investments of their own DAFs and thereby profit as well. Indeed, while DAFs have existed since the 1930s, they only became popular in the 1990s once major financial corporations established their own DAFs (Collins, Hoxie, and Flannery 2018; Collins et al. 2025). Today, the DAFs run by corporations such as Fidelity and Schwab bring in billions in revenue. In

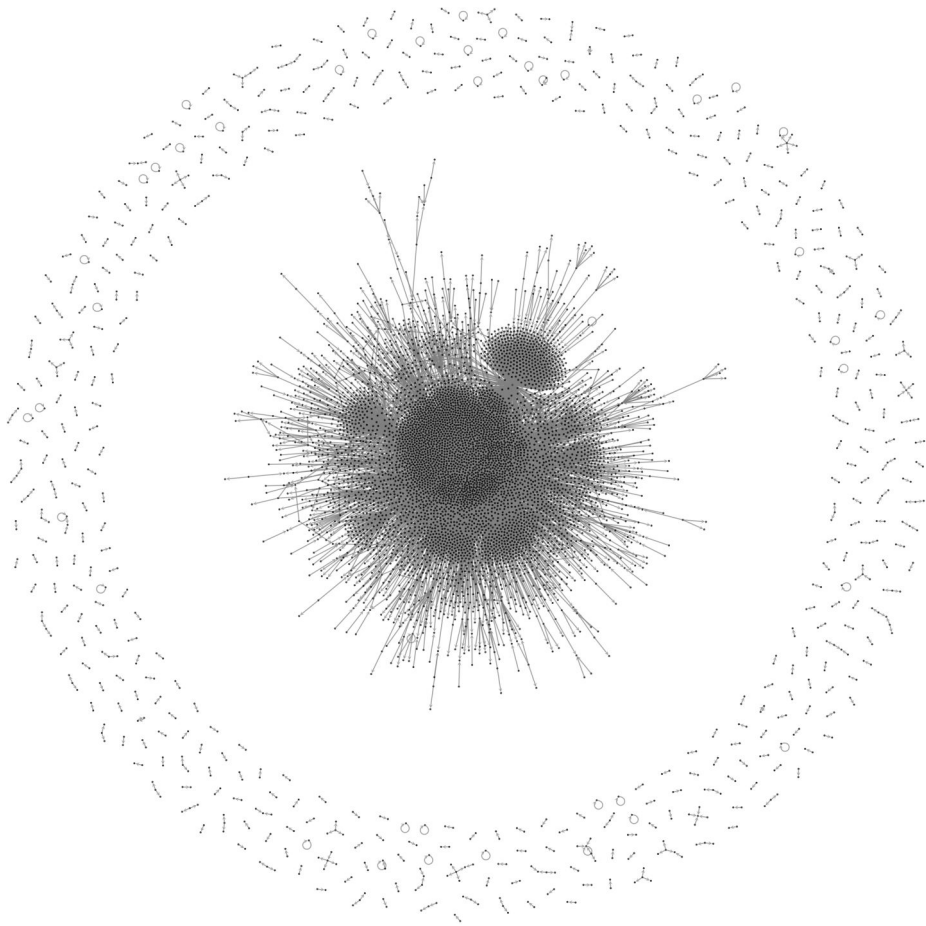


Figure 1. The funding graph of 20,000 randomly sampled nonprofit organizations based on tax forms filed in 2024. Each node (black circle) is an organization, and each edge (directed arrow) indicates a transfer of funds.

recent years, activists and journalists have called attention to how these DAFs sponsor a wide range of reactionary agendas. In 2021, the Unmasking Fidelity Coalition reported that Fidelity Charitable (Fidelity's DAF) sponsors US-based Zionist nonprofits that directly dispossess Palestinians of land, as well as groups that promote anti-Muslim racism and attack LGBTQ rights (Unmasking Fidelity Coalition 2022). In 2022, The Mapping Project, another activist collective, showed that DAFs sponsor many major Zionist organizations as well as US military and police foundations (The Mapping Project 2022a, 2022b). Journalists have also recently exposed that Schwab Charitable (Schwab's DAF) funds hundreds of right-wing think tanks and lobbying groups that push for further privatization of health care and education, restrictions on voting rights, and similar goals (Birnbbaum 2024). All these works demonstrate how DAFs enable wealthy individuals to advance multiple political interests under financially favorable terms.

What do DAFs look like at the network level? Since their role is to distribute money, DAFs will be, on average, far more connected than non-DAFs. For example,

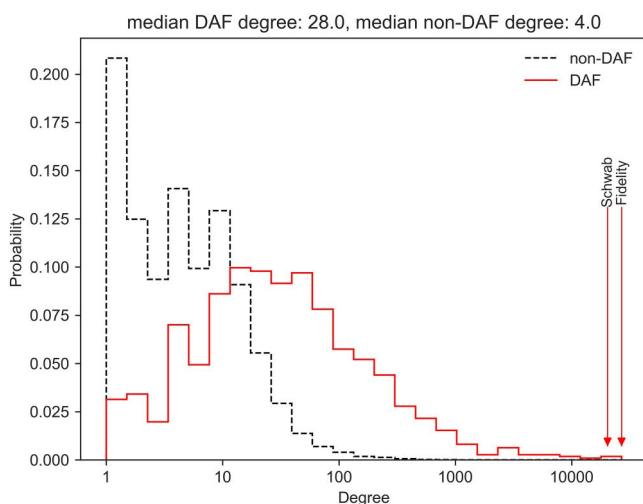


Figure 2. Degree distributions of donor-advised funds (DAFs) compared to non-DAFs. The degree of an organization is defined as the total number of edges (regardless of direction) it has to other nodes. DAFs have systematically higher degrees than non-DAFs, while the major DAFs run by Schwab and Fidelity (marked by red arrows) are on the far end of the distribution, with degrees in the tens of thousands.

according to 2024 tax filings, Fidelity Charitable had \$14.7 billion in revenue and gave money to or received money from 26,825 other nonprofits. Schwab Charitable had \$7.6 billion in revenue and exchanged money with 20,338 nonprofits in the same fiscal year. We can quantify this phenomenon by computing the *degree* of each node—the number of edges connected to it, regardless of direction (Newman 2018, 159)—and comparing the degree distributions of DAF nodes to non-DAF nodes (Figure 2). The shifted degree distribution of DAFs shows that they can serve as ‘hubs’ that connect tens of thousands of organizations. As we will see, the existence of such hubs means that many organizations will be linked to other organizations with different, or even opposing, agendas to their own.

The Shortest Path to Zionism Is Very Short

Using this graph representation of the NPIC, we can ask: How far away, generally, is any given organization from Zionist organizations? At a technical level, this question reduces to a classic problem in graph theory and computer science known as the *shortest path problem*: Given two nodes in a graph, what is the shortest path between them? This problem is easily solved with standard algorithms for graphs of the size used in this article (Cormen et al. 2001, chap. 22).

We next need to decide what constitutes a Zionist organization. Zionism, as understood here, is a settler-colonial project that took off in the nineteenth century (though its roots are several centuries older) with backing from Western empires. Its aim is to dispossess the non-Jewish Palestinian natives of their land and build a settler-colonial society on the ruins—a capitalist society in which Jews of European

ancestry have the most rights, with a government and industries that serve Euro-American imperial interests (Beit-Hallahmi 1987; Brenner 2014; Massad 1996; Salaita 2006, chap. 1; Sharif 1983). Zionism comes in several stripes, from ‘liberal Zionism’ to overtly genocidal and fascist Zionism, but all directly support or normalize Israel’s existence.

Rather than systematically categorize nonprofit organizations by their form of Zionism—a complicated and laborious task—I approached the analysis through one unambiguously Zionist nonprofit: Friends of the Israel Defense Forces (FIDF). FIDF is a US-based nonprofit that raises money for Israeli soldiers and galvanizes support for their army. The organization describes its mission as follows: ‘Our purpose is to *champion* the soldiers of the IDF and care for their needs as they *protect* the State of Israel, democratic values, and Western Civilization [emphasis in original]’ (Friends of the IDF 2026). FIDF is useful for measuring the distance to Zionism since (1) there can be no dispute about its Zionist agenda, and (2) it can provide a *conservative* estimate of the proximity of any given nonprofit to Zionism because, while powerful, FIDF is merely one (unambiguously) Zionist organization.

Founded in 1981, FIDF is well-resourced and influential. It reported \$281 million in revenue in its 2024 tax filing, out of which at least \$45 million came from other nonprofits, including the DAFs of Fidelity (\$2.78 million donation), Schwab (\$1.69 million donation), and Goldman Sachs (\$1.33 million donation). FIDF’s top nonprofit sponsor, however, was the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, an organization jointly run by Israelis and American evangelical Christians, which gave FIDF over \$6.36 million that year. FIDF also gets its money from flashy fundraisers. Several months after Israel’s genocidal assault on Gaza in summer 2014, FIDF held a fundraiser in Los Angeles that brought in over \$33 million, and was attended by celebrities such as Robert De Niro, Barbra Streisand, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Pamela Anderson, along with billionaire donors including Haim Saban (a FIDF board member) and Larry Ellison (co-founder of Oracle). Following the Al-Aqsa Flood Operation of October 7, 2023, FIDF brought in \$280 million in revenue, more than in any previous year (Stub 2025).

Armed with a method for computing shortest paths, we can find the shortest paths between FIDF and every other nonprofit organization. In this context, paths can be interpreted in terms of funding relationships (Figure 3). If organization X is connected to organization Y through a path of length one, it means that they are directly connected: either X gave money to Y ($X \rightarrow Y$) or X received money from Y ($X \leftarrow Y$). If the shortest path between X and Y is of length two, it means that X and Y are not directly connected but have a common sponsor ($X \leftarrow S \rightarrow Y$), a common recipient ($X \rightarrow R \leftarrow Y$), or that money flows between them through an intermediary organization ($X \rightarrow Z \rightarrow Y$ or $X \leftarrow Z \leftarrow Y$)—and similarly for an arbitrary path of length k . The larger k is, the less direct the relationship between X and Y.

Strikingly, over 50% of the organizations that play a significant role in the NPIC are just *one or two edges away* from FIDF (Figure 4). Within three edges, FIDF can reach well over 80% of organizations, and within four edges 99% of organizations are reachable. In other words, FIDF is a highly connected nonprofit. Is FIDF ‘special’ in reaching so many other organizations in such short distances? For comparison,

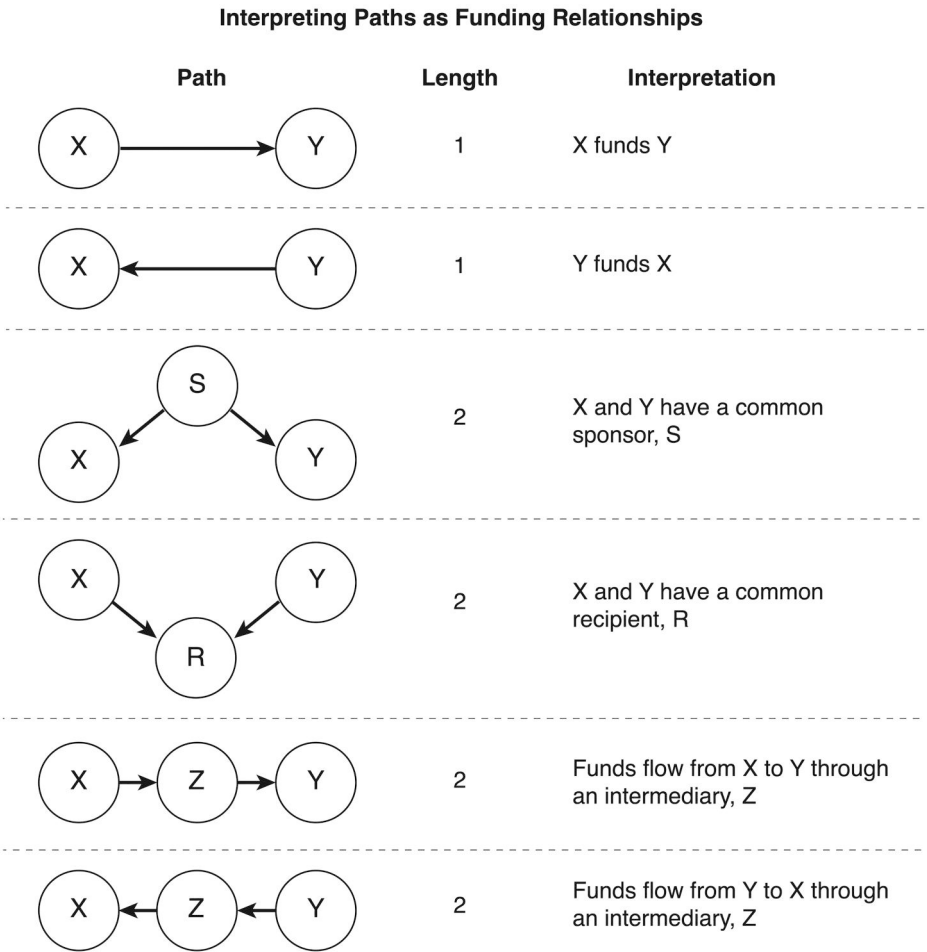


Figure 3. Interpreting paths of up to length two from X to Y in terms of funding relationships. Self-loops (where a node is connected to itself, as happens when a national nonprofit gives money to one of its local branches) were excluded, since in such cases the money remains within the same tax entity.

I computed the shortest paths between every pair of nodes in the graph and plotted the median number of organizations that can be reached within path lengths from 1 to 7 (Figure 4). FIDF differs considerably from this median expectation. About half of the organizations can reach only 7.5% of all other organizations within two edges. Only about 3% of organizations have FIDF’s property of reaching 50% or more of all organizations within two edges. This means that while FIDF isn’t singular, it belongs to a small minority of highly connected nonprofits. This small set of organizations includes other influential Zionist nonprofits, such as the Jewish National Fund (which has been facilitating the theft of land from Palestinians for well over a century (Lehn 1974; Massad 2023)), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), and the Central Fund of Israel.

Yet this property—high reachability in short distances—is not unique to Zionist organizations. It is crucial to dispense with any kind of conspiratorial thinking that

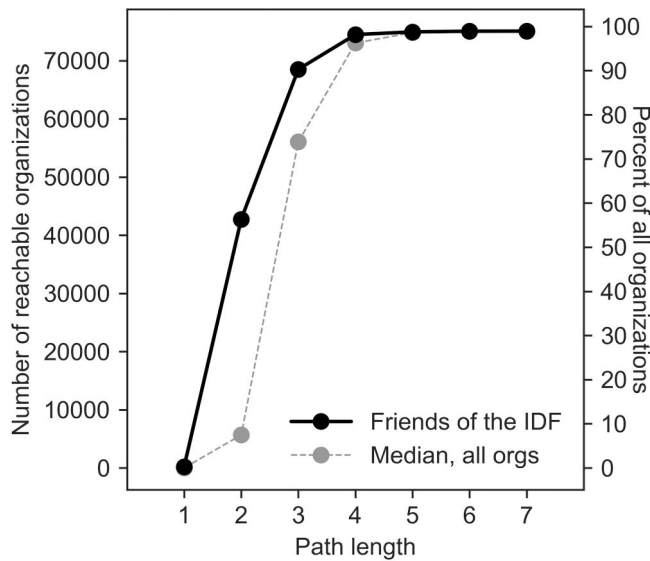


Figure 4. The percentage of organizations that can be reached from Friends of the IDF (black curve) as a function of path length. The gray curve shows the median values from computing shortest paths between all pairs of organizations.

sets Zionism apart from other dominant political agendas in the US (exemplified by recent right-wing talk of ‘Zionist-Occupied Governments’). A more accurate view is that Zionism has been integral to Euro-American imperialism and has served the agenda of the US political establishment (Beit-Hallahmi 1987; Brenner 2014; International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network 2012; Salaita 2006, chaps. 1–3; Sharif 1983). This is reflected in the NPIC, where Zionism plays a central role alongside (and often in partnership with) other dominant interests, such as those of the health care industry, the financial industry, elite private universities, or the Christian evangelical right. All these interests have corresponding nonprofit organizations that are as highly connected as FIDF. Zionism is simply one of the major agendas that many organizations will, merely by participating in the NPIC, be linked to.

The remainder of this article focuses on two examples that illustrate this proximity to Zionism and its political significance. The first example, Black Lives Matter Global Network was chosen because it is a nonprofit organization that, on the face of it, has little to do with Zionism; in fact, the organization expresses support for abolitionist goals that are antithetical to Zionism. The second example, Jewish Voice for Peace, was chosen because it is an organization that explicitly claims to be ‘anti-Zionist’, but, as we will see, turns out to be materially entangled with Zionist organizations while also having its opposition to Zionism constrained by the pressures of the NPIC.

Example 1: Black Lives Matter Global Network (BLMGN)

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement has been an influential force in the US and beyond. The movement drew fire from the US political establishment for its anti-capitalist stand, its abolitionist vision of defunding the police, and its solidarity with

Palestinians. This solidarity, which has a long history (Erakat 2020; Kelley 2019), was reinvigorated by Palestinian and Black activists having to face similar repression. Palestinians in Gaza have advised Black activists in Ferguson, Missouri on how to deal with police tear gas during the summer 2014 uprising, sparked by the murder of Michael Brown (Gazans were facing a genocidal assault by Israel that summer). Activists on Turtle Island have in turn protested the American companies who supply the tear gas to both Israeli and US forces (ArtForum 2019; Miller 2020). They also exposed the ‘riot control’ and ‘counterterrorism’ training that US police departments travel to Israel to receive, paid for by Zionist nonprofits such as the ADL. And in Palestine, Black people murdered by US police have also been honored: George Floyd’s image was painted many times on Israel’s apartheid wall, as Gazan writer Refaat Alareer reminded us shortly before he himself was martyred by Israel (Alareer 2023).

Solidarity with Palestine became integral to BLM. In 2016, the Movement for Black Lives, a coalition of over 60 organizations, published a document stating their political vision where they referred to Israel as an apartheid state and described its actions against Palestinians as genocidal (Erakat 2020; Kelley 2016). The statement also embraced the use of boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) and called for US ‘aid’ to Israel to be cut. In response, the ADL and other major Zionist organizations labeled the document ‘antisemitic’, continuing a long Zionist tradition of smearing (and sometimes even framing) Black liberation organizations as anti-Jewish (Blankfort 2013; Gelman 2019; Khalek 2016). Desperate to repress Black–Palestinian solidarity, the ADL published a piece in early 2015 titled ‘Don’t Compare Ferguson and Palestine’ (Abunimah 2020; Jacobson 2015).

Since BLM was popularizing such threatening ideas, powerful institutions have tried to co-opt the movement. While the movement grew from the grassroots in a decentralized fashion, the US political establishment expected leaders who could officially speak on behalf of BLM and work within existing institutions. A nonprofit organization called Black Lives Matter Global Network (BLMGN), founded in 2013, has largely stepped into that role. The story of BLMGN exemplifies the problems with the NPIC that activists have been documenting for years. As we will see, it is also a good example of how an organization’s espoused politics contradict its material existence within the NPIC.

BLMGN was able to raise a lot of money quickly, especially following high-profile police murders of Black people—from Michael Brown in Ferguson and Tamir Rice in Cleveland (in 2014), to Freddie Gray in Baltimore (in 2015), to George Floyd in Minneapolis and Breonna Taylor in Louisville (in 2020). Donations poured in through BLMGN’s website (blacklivesmatter.com), which presents itself as the movement’s official page. By the end of 2021, BLMGN reported nearly \$80 million in revenue. But BLMGN has been sharply criticized by many activists who have worked with it, especially for its handling of funds. In November 2020, BLM chapters from ten different cities issued a public statement explaining that most chapters affiliated with BLMGN ‘received little to no financial support’ from the nonprofit, despite doing the essential (and generally unpaid) organizing labor that BLMGN feeds on (Ford 2020). The statement also exposed the clashing approaches: the chapters

operated in a decentralized fashion, shaped by the interests of their local communities and organized through voluntary cooperation, while BLMGN's decisions were made by its executives, who received large salaries from the nonprofit. As the chapters put it in a second statement criticizing BLMGN,

nepotism, proximity to power, and access to resources became more important to the Network [BLMGN] than making sure that they had a radical vision, objectives, and strategies created through a transparent, democratic decision making process and a solid foundation of shared governance and political alignment. (BLM10Plus 2021)

The families of those murdered by police have also criticized BLMGN along similar lines. Samaria Rice—mother of Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old boy who was killed by Cleveland police—said families like hers are often suffering marginalization and poverty ‘while Black “leadership” that has not been selected by the masses flourishes through celebrity status’ (Perry 2021). Rice called for the families to be given ‘the resources to sustain themselves, their families, and their work dedicated to building community infrastructure’ and urged for ‘an end to the political-economy’s parasitism on Black death and poverty’.

How does this contradiction—claiming to fight for Black liberation through an organization that in some ways profits from racist violence and sidelines Black grassroots activists—manifest in BLMGN’s funding network? While the broad BLM movement’s goals are as antithetical as can be to those of the Israeli army, BLMGN, as a major nonprofit, participates in the funding networks that boost that very army. It turns out that there are 104 paths of length three or shorter connecting BLMGN and Friends of the IDF (Figure 5). The shortest path between BLMGN and FIDF is through their direct common sponsor: Schwab Charitable, a major DAF. According to its 2024 tax filing, Schwab Charitable gave \$7,491 to BLMGN (along with tens of thousands of dollars to other BLM organizations) and \$1.68 million to FIDF, in addition to sponsoring other Zionist groups such as the New Israel Fund and Jewish Communal Fund (see Table 1).

That same sponsor, Schwab Charitable, also gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to police-associated nonprofits that represent the agenda BLM has been fighting against, including \$284,100 to the Sunshine Division of Portland Police, \$74,600 to the St. Louis Police Foundation, and \$34,250 to the Atlanta Police Foundation (which sponsored and planned the infamous ‘Cop City’ facility in Atlanta), among others (see Table 1). Schwab has also been recently exposed for bankrolling extreme right-wing organizations and think tanks; those same groups actively working against the visions of the BLM movement (Birnbaum 2024).

Could BLMGN dissociate from these nefarious groups? Even if it were to cut ties with Schwab, that would not be enough. Again, we can see how by examining the paths connecting the group to FIDF BLMGN sponsors several organizations, including the Trayvon Martin Foundation, Global Exchange, and Love Not Blood Campaign, that are funded by nonprofits which also fund FIDF. For example, Love Not Blood Campaign received \$30,632 from BLMGN, but also \$21,000 from Silicon Valley Community Foundation, a donor-advised fund that gave FIDF \$53,200 in the same year. That is, both the sponsors of BLMGN and the recipients of its funding are connected to FIDF through multiple paths. This shows that it’s not so simple to avoid

Table 1. Donations given by various donor-advised funds to BLMGN, Trayvon Martin Foundation, Love Not Blood, and the human rights nonprofit Global Exchange, as well as to police-associated nonprofits, Zionist groups, and right-wing think tanks such as the American Enterprise Institute and Heritage Foundation, based on 2024 tax filings.

Funder	Recipient	Amount
Schwab Charitable	BLMGN	\$7,491
Schwab Charitable	Global Exchange	\$21,340
Schwab Charitable	Sunshine Div. Portland Police	\$284,100
Schwab Charitable	St. Louis Police Foundation	\$74,640
Schwab Charitable	Boston Police Athletic League	\$70,600
Schwab Charitable	San Diego Police Foundation	\$55,100
Schwab Charitable	Atlanta Police Foundation	\$34,250
Schwab Charitable	Los Angeles Police Foundation	\$14,000
Schwab Charitable	Friends of the IDF	\$1,681,221
Schwab Charitable	Jewish Communal Fund	\$1,140,948
Schwab Charitable	New Israel Fund	\$650,877
Schwab Charitable	American Enterprise Institute	\$1,132,850
Schwab Charitable	Heritage Foundation	\$988,310
ImpactAssets	BLMGN	\$20,000
ImpactAssets	New Israel Fund	\$333,850
ImpactAssets	Heritage Foundation	\$10,500
Silicon Valley Community Foundation	Love Not Blood	\$21,000
Silicon Valley Community Foundation	Friends of the IDF	\$53,200
Silicon Valley Community Foundation	American Enterprise Institute	\$105,000
PayPal Charitable	Trayvon Martin Foundation	\$7,931
PayPal Charitable	Sunshine Div. Portland Police	\$5,947
PayPal Charitable	Friends of the IDF	\$399,302
PayPal Charitable	Jewish Communal Fund	\$6,837,529
PayPal Charitable	New Israel Fund	\$10,038
BLMGN	Trayvon Martin Foundation	\$50,000
BLMGN	Love Not Blood	\$30,632
BLMGN	Global Exchange	\$15,000

‘complicity’ while being a significant player in the NPIC; the major funding streams are simply too entangled with Zionism.

The same argument holds for other dominant agendas within the NPIC, such as policing, to which BLMGN is also linked through DAFs. But clearly these DAFs funnel more money to Zionist groups, police-associated nonprofits, and right-wing think tanks than to ‘social justice’ nonprofits like BLMGN (see [Table 1](#) and [Figures 4, 5](#)).

Example 2: Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)

The material similarities between nonprofits that espouse different political views can be missed if we focus too much on organizations’ rhetoric. A nonprofit that says it is fighting Zionism, for example, can be entangled with the very Zionist organizations it considers political opponents. An emphasis on rhetoric can also obscure how the NPIC constrains organizations, limiting their actions and political imagination. The case of JVP is a telling example. While JVP has not rejected Zionism for most of its existence, today it presents itself like the official voice of anti-Zionist Jews in the US.⁵

⁵JVP describes itself as ‘the world’s largest Jewish organization supporting Palestine’, and in its messaging routinely uses phrases that suggest it is speaking on behalf of Jews. For example, after October 7, 2023, JVP members wore shirts with the slogan ‘Jews Say Ceasefire Now’ at various protests (Al Jazeera 2023).

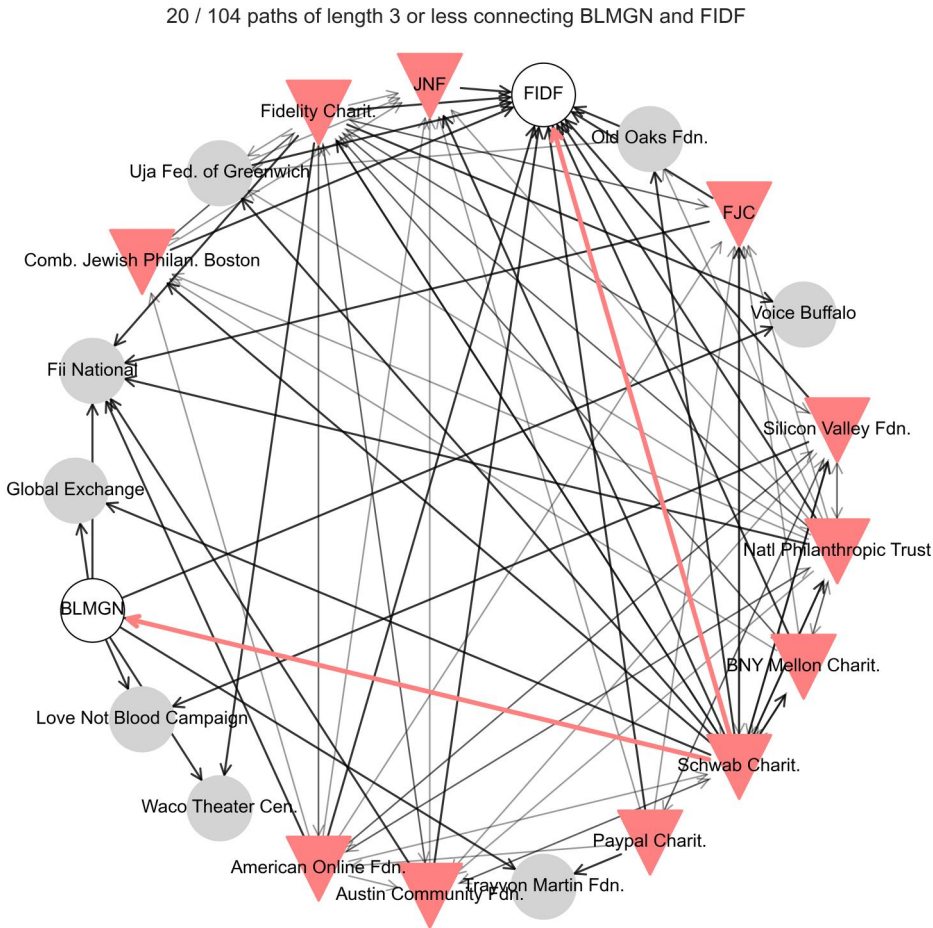


Figure 5. A subset of the shortest paths (under length three) connecting Black Lives Matter Global Network (BLMGN) and Friends of the IDF (FIDF), based on tax filings made in 2024. Edges belonging to one of the shortest paths (of length two) are shown in thick red. Edges that are part of any shortest paths (up to length three) are shown in black, and other edges (not part of shortest paths) are shown in gray. Inverted red triangles indicate DAF organizations.

But as we will see, JVP has much in common—both in political substance and materially—with the Zionist organizations it claims to oppose.

JVP was founded in 1996 by three Jewish students at the University of California, Berkeley. Critical of the Israeli government, the group aimed to create space for American Jews to reconnect with their Jewishness without having to uncritically embrace Israel as part of the package. But JVP explicitly chose not to reject Zionism. ‘One of the major decisions we had to make in JVP was whether we were Zionists or not’, recalls Julia Caplan, one of the cofounders. ‘And in those early days we decided it was more important to follow principles than to have a label, so we didn’t take a stand’ (Drew and Phillips 2024). For over 20 years, JVP avoided taking a stand against Zionism, but in 2019 the group declared itself ‘anti-Zionist’. Rebecca Vilkomerson, JVP’s executive director at the time, explained that the declaration was intended to make it easier for JVP chapters to enter into coalitions with anti-Zionist

groups, but that it ‘doesn’t change anything about our focus or our political analysis’ (Omer-Man 2019).

Indeed, JVP’s political positions have remained liberal Zionist despite the rhetorical shift. This issue is well-known in certain Palestine solidarity spaces, but it has not received the attention it deserves, largely because of JVP’s prominence and ability to co-opt radical discourses (more on this below). In essence, JVP still maintains the false symmetry between Palestinians and Israelis that it had articulated in 2007: ‘we support any solution that is consistent with the national rights of both Palestinians and Israeli Jews, whether one binational state, two states, or some other solution’. The group’s rebranding as ‘anti-Zionist’ hasn’t changed this. JVP New York’s website, for example, says it aims to achieve ‘security and self-determination for Israelis and Palestinians’ (Jewish Voice for Peace NYC 2025). But what could ‘self-determination for Israelis’, who are the colonizers, mean if not legitimization of settler-colonialism? JVP thus upholds a framework in which Israelis and Palestinians will have to negotiate with each other, as equals, with guidance from the responsible adults in the US. This framework avoids the language of decolonization and anti-colonial struggle, since that would entail return of land, redistribution of settler wealth, and a potential future in which Israel doesn’t exist. This is why some activists have called JVP ‘a sinister extension of the Zionist occupation regime’, pointing to how the group violates the ‘constants’ (*Al-Thawabet*, الثوابت) of the Palestinian liberation struggle, which include the right to armed struggle (Al-Thawabet 2022; Jamjoum and al-Hassan 2010; Youssef and Mekleh 2022). JVP’s official position, however, is to never endorse anything but ‘nonviolence’. In this way, JVP fits within a broader effort by nonprofits and academics to develop a brand of ‘anti-Zionism’ that, as Max Ajl characterizes it, ‘ignores, mischaracterizes, or rejects the concrete forces resisting Israel and the US’ (Ajl 2024).

JVP’s position stems in part from being a nonprofit organization, beholden to a board of directors that sets clear political boundaries. For example, in 2020–2021 when online events featuring Palestinian activist and former PFLP militant Leila Khaled were canceled by Zoom, Facebook, and YouTube after pressure from Zionist groups, JVP refused to sign a petition by the events’ organizers calling on these corporations to stop the censorship. JVP’s executive director, Stefanie Fox, explained why at the time: ‘Our board has been very clear with me that we cannot promote anything that has to do with armed resistance, and an event with Leila Khaled would fall under that’ (Najjar 2021). While JVP did publicly condemn the corporate censorship on its own website, distancing from Khaled and armed resistance was deemed essential, as exchanges between Fox and the organizers of the events revealed. As Palestinian writer Rima Najjar asked then, ‘Is JVP National willing to help us liberate Palestine but only if we conduct our liberation struggle peacefully?’ JVP’s commitment to nonviolence means it could never fully support anticolonial struggle; predictably, JVP condemned Hamas following October 7, 2023, charging it with ‘war crimes’ (Jewish Voice for Peace 2023, 2025).⁶

⁶JVP framed its condemnation of Al-Aqsa Flood as merely echoing what ‘leading Palestinian rights groups’ have said, referencing a statement by Adalah, a nonprofit that operates in ‘48 Palestine under extreme pressure (Adalah’s full name in Hebrew does not even mention Palestine or Palestinians; the group calls itself ‘the legal center for the rights of the Arab minority in Israel’). JVP chose to center Adalah over US-based Palestinian groups that expressed solidarity with the resistance following October 7, such as Al-Awda (2023). It is telling that JVP chose to amplify a ‘48 Palestine group focused on the Palestinian citizens of Israel rather than follow the lead of radical Palestinian

We can certainly find exceptions to this official ideological line within JVP's sphere. Some JVP chapters and individual members have publicly supported the Palestinian resistance, while JVP has participated in events with groups that hold an explicitly anti-colonial position. Yet such proximity to radical perspectives, as Dylan Rodríguez argues in another context, is part of how nonprofits co-opt grassroots movements and perform counterinsurgency (Rodríguez 2024). JVP gains from the association with radical positions because it gives the nonprofit a grassroots appeal, drawing activists whose unpaid labor will advance JVP's name. But ultimately, JVP makes decisions based on a liberal framework in which anti-Zionism, as an anti-colonial position, isn't viable—a fact that has led more activists, including anti-Zionist Jews, to break with JVP in recent years (Elia-Shalev 2025; Jews Against White Supremacy 2023).

These limitations of JVP's 'anti-Zionism' cannot be fully understood without analyzing the organization's material existence within the NPIC. The group brings in millions in revenue and pays large salaries. JVP's executive director, Stefanie Fox—who had stated that JVP cannot support anything but 'nonviolence'—received a salary of \$120,077, according to the organization's 2025 tax filing. Maintaining this expensive operation requires a level of institutional 'respectability' that organizations truly committed to Palestinian liberation never attain. Following October 7, 2023, principled groups such as Samidoun and Palestine Action have been criminalized by Western governments as 'terrorist organizations' (Al Jazeera 2026; Bjerkestrand 2024; Cink 2026; Engler 2024) while JVP's revenue has soared.

The tax record shows just how much JVP gained from Israel's genocide in Gaza: its revenue jumped from \$3.3 million in fiscal year 2023 to \$11 million in fiscal year 2024. Just as in the case of BLMGN, we should ask: Did this enormous sum benefit the people that JVP claims to fight for? The tax record reveals that JVP spent less than half (47%) of its \$11 million revenue, leaving over \$5.1 million unspent. Such surplus revenue becomes part of a nonprofit organization's 'assets', which can be invested; JVP made \$34,630 from investments alone that year, ending with a total of \$8.9 million in assets. Thus, while many in Gaza were scrambling to raise money to buy even a bag of flour—made unaffordable by Israel's engineered starvation—JVP made tens of thousands of dollars by investing the millions it hadn't spent. What could JVP's \$11 million dollars in revenue have done for the people of Gaza who are trying to survive and resist a genocide? In the mindset of the NPIC, we are not supposed to ask that question. The supreme goal of most nonprofits, as Ruth Wilson Gilmore argues in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, is to 'guarantee the organization's longevity'—even if that is not what the political moment calls for (Gilmore 2017). The idea of simply distributing JVP's \$11 million revenue (or even a portion of it) to Gaza mutual aid funds, and possibly downsizing or disbanding JVP as a result, is off the table.

groups in the US, which would have been a more natural choice given that JVP is US-based. Yet Palestinian diaspora groups often emphasize return, of both people and land, which clashes with JVP's ideological commitments to Israel.

Instead, JVP's money often went toward maintaining the organization's 'respectability' by centering US electoral politics. This is why many JVP campaigns instruct people to make demands of their congressional representatives. JVP also had an 'electoral wing', a 501(c)4 organization called JVP Action, that directly campaigned for Democratic Party politicians such as Jamaal Bowman, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and Rashida Tlaib. JVP Action raised over \$800,000 in fiscal year 2023, from which \$500,000 was spent on electoral campaigns and lobbying. In February 2026, JVP announced a 'restructuring' in which it redirected all its resources (including funds amassed during the Gaza genocide) to JVP Action, thereby turning its electoral wing into the primary organization. This move confirmed what some activists had been saying for years: that JVP postures as a radical grassroots organization but is in fact subservient to electoralism. Cody O'Rourke and Lara Kilani of the Good Shepherd Collective, an activist group founded in Palestine which has long been critical of JVP, argue that the restructuring is designed to turn 'years of grassroots organizing into support for institutions animating the very genocide JVP purports to oppose' (O'Rourke and Kilani 2026). This restructuring, they add, reflects the thinking of 'a professional class of organizers whose primary operational constraint is not how to develop an anti-colonial praxis, but instead the contours of Democratic Party politics'.

By redirecting resources toward electoral politics, JVP also further marginalizes the less 'respectable' work of direct action, carried out by criminalized groups such as Palestine Action. Huda Ammori, Palestine Action's co-founder, explains that her group's goal 'is not simply to "raise awareness" or put pressure on politicians', but to 'bypass politicians and go straight to the aggressors' by directly disrupting weapons factories supplying Israel. Ammori criticizes what she calls the 'NGO-ised Palestine solidarity movement' for turning people away from such direct action and toward symbolic protests and lobbying of politicians (Ammori 2025).⁷ JVP has participated in this misdirection.

JVP's model of political change, then, is not so different from that of the major Zionist nonprofits—and JVP's funding network also reflects its similarity to those groups. JVP is entangled with many overtly Zionist organizations, including FIDF. There are 644 paths of length three or less connecting JVP and FIDF (Figure 6). One of the shortest paths is through Fidelity Charitable, which funds both JVP and FIDF. Could JVP simply cut ties with organizations that fund groups such as FIDF? As we have seen with BLMGN, this is not easy to do because of the interconnected structure of the funding network. JVP has many sponsors in common with FIDF, and some of these sponsors not only fund FIDF directly but also other organizations that in turn fund FIDF. For example, Schwab Charitable directly funds JVP and FIDF, but also gives to JNF, Silicon Valley Community Foundation, and other nonprofits that directly fund FIDF (Figure 6). Similar patterns are observed with the DAFs run by

⁷ Palestine Action makes an important distinction between 'direct action' and 'civil disobedience': 'Civil disobedience often involves breaking the law in order to force a government or institution to create policy changes. Direct action, which we employ, bypasses our complicit governments and forces the necessary change ourselves—it doesn't involve appealing to those who perpetrate Palestinian oppression' (Palestine Action 2026). While groups such as JVP sometimes engage in 'civil disobedience', they generally avoid direct action.

25 / 644 paths of length 3 or less connecting JVP and FIDF

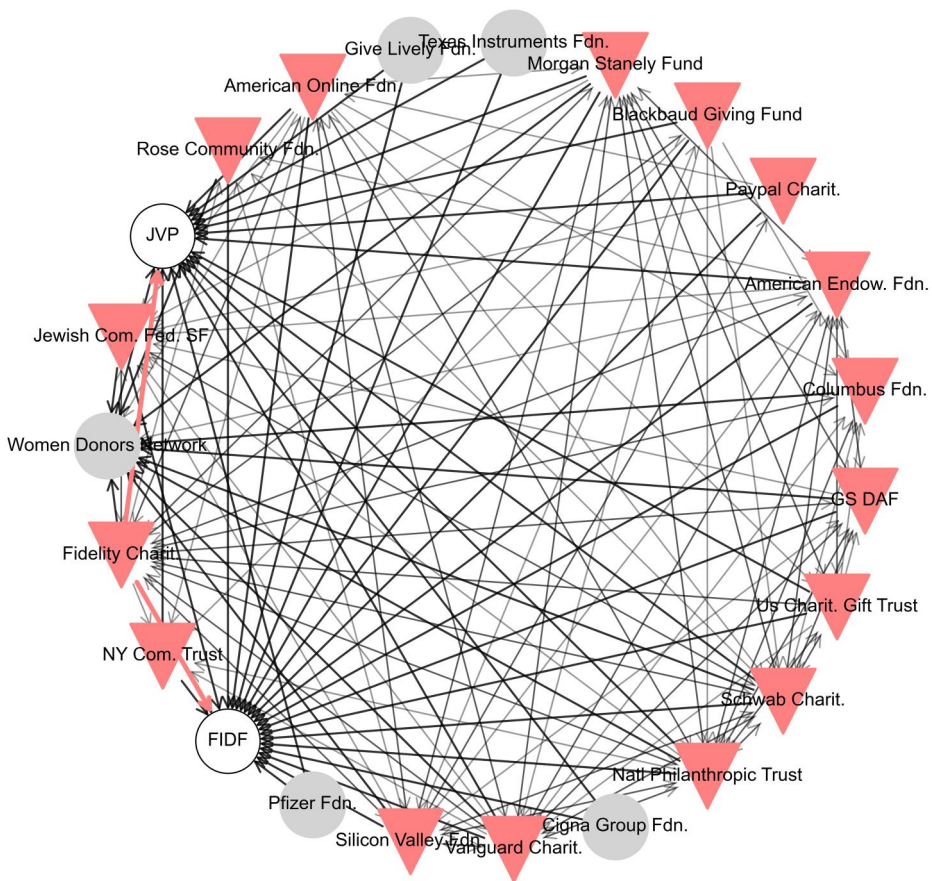


Figure 6. A subset of the shortest paths (under length three) connecting Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) to Friends of the IDF (FIDF), based on tax filings made in 2024. Edges belonging to one of the shortest paths (of length two) are shown in thick red. Edges that are part of any shortest paths (up to length three) are shown in black, and other edges (not part of shortest paths) are shown in gray. Inverted red triangles indicate DAF organizations.

Morgan Stanley, Vanguard, and PayPal, each of which directly funds JVP and FIDF in addition to other nonprofits that also fund FIDF.

JVP's entanglements with overtly Zionist groups are deeper than this analysis suggests, since it was based merely on paths to one organization, FIDF. We can find even more paths connecting JVP to its purported Zionist archnemesis, ADL. The two organizations routinely attack each other, and JVP was one of the groups that signed onto the '#DropTheADL' campaign that called on schools and other organizations to stop working with the ADL because of its racist agenda (Barrows-Friedman 2020; #DropTheADL 2020). And yet there are 843 paths of length three or less connecting JVP and ADL, with the pair having several shared sponsors, including Fidelity Charitable. This strengthens what activists on the margins have been saying. A 2022 pamphlet circulating on social media, titled 'Jewish Voice for Peace—A Sinister Extension of the Zionist Occupation', notes the contradiction that ADL and JVP have

common funders. It argues that JVP's public rivalry with ADL 'earned JVP its fair share of press and spotlight', but that it is imperative to ask: 'why are the ADL and JVP commonly funded by the same entity whereas they both claim to have polar opposite approaches/goals?' (Al-Thawabet 2022).

JVP received this funding despite being well aware of the problems with the common funders such as Fidelity. In 2021, JVP promoted the Unmasking Fidelity campaign which called on Fidelity to stop funneling money through its DAF to Zionist groups such as the Central Fund of Israel which are responsible for 'the displacement and dispossession of Palestinian people' (Unmasking Fidelity Coalition 2022). Yet JVP's survival in the NPIC has depended on DAFs like Fidelity's—27% of JVP's revenue came from DAF donations alone, according to its 2024 tax filing.

Contradictory (But Asymmetric) Funding Flows

The contradictions described above apply to other nonprofits that claim solidarity with Palestine. For example, *Jewish Currents*, a nonprofit magazine politically aligned with JVP, received money from Zionist groups that fight against the Palestine solidarity movement the magazine claims to support. The magazine's overtly Zionist donors include the Jewish Communal Fund (\$75,250 donation), Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle (\$25,000 donation), Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco (\$25,000 donation), New Israel Fund (\$25,000 donation), and Jewish Community Foundation of Los Angeles (\$5,100 donation), based on 2024 tax filings. Together, these sponsors gave *Jewish Currents* a total of \$155,350. Yet in the same year, the Jewish Communal

Table 2. Donations given by Zionist nonprofits to *Jewish Currents* and American Friends of Combatants for Peace, as well as to several more overtly Zionist nonprofits (including Friends of the IDF), according to 2024 tax filings.

Funder	Recipient	Amount
Jewish Communal Fund	Jewish Currents	\$75,250
Jewish Communal Fund	Amer. Friends of Combatants for Peace	\$17,018
Jewish Communal Fund	Friends of the IDF	\$1,389,528
Jewish Communal Fund	Anti-Defamation League	\$1,340,610
Jewish Communal Fund	StandWithUs	\$315,791
Jewish Communal Fund	Central Fund of Israel	\$3,427,370
Jewish Communal Fund	J Street Educational Fund	\$283,496
Jewish Fed. Greater Seattle	Jewish Currents	\$25,000
Jewish Fed. Greater Seattle	Anti-Defamation League	\$10,000
Jewish Fed. Greater Seattle	StandWithUs	\$36,360
Jewish Community Fund SF	Jewish Currents	\$25,000
Jewish Community Fund SF	Amer. Friends of Combatants for Peace	\$6,470
Jewish Community Fund SF	Friends of the IDF	\$88,750
Jewish Community Fund SF	Anti-Defamation League	\$154,268
Jewish Community Fund SF	StandWithUs	\$32,885
Jewish Community Fund SF	J Street Educational Fund	\$235,150
Jewish Community Fed. LA	Jewish Currents	\$5,100
Jewish Community Fed. LA	Anti-Defamation League	\$762,310
Jewish Community Fed. LA	StandWithUs	\$267,590
Jewish Community Fed. LA	J Street Educational Fund	\$67,160
New Israel Fund	Jewish Currents	\$25,000
New Israel Fund	Amer. Friends of Combatants for Peace	\$34,220
New Israel Fund	J Street Educational Fund	\$224,650

Jewish Currents operates as a nonprofit called the Association for the Promotion of Jewish Secularism (EIN: 133100063). StandWithUs operates as a nonprofit called Israel Emergency Alliance (EIN: 010566033).

Fund and Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco alone gave a combined \$1.47 million to Friends of the IDF. These Zionist sponsors also gave millions to *Jewish Currents*' other ostensible enemies, including the ADL and StandWithUs (see Table 2).

Meanwhile, *Jewish Currents* sponsor New Israel Fund (NIF) is known for promoting a 'progressive' image of Israel while smearing the Palestine solidarity movement. In 2010, when JVP's then director Rebecca Vilkomerson explained why her organization supports BDS, NIF's director of communications, Naomi Paiss, wrote a response defending NIF's position: 'We see global BDS as a tactic that embodies the message that Israel cannot and will not change itself, and for that reason, we think it is inflammatory and counter-productive' (Paiss 2010; Vilkomerson 2010). NIF maintains that position today, stating on its website that it 'does not support the global (or general) BDS movement, views the use of these tactics as counterproductive, and is concerned that segments of this movement seek to undermine the existence of the state of Israel as a Jewish homeland' (New Israel Fund 2026). NIF also gave J Street, a liberal Zionist lobbying group that describes itself as 'pro-Israel' and actively opposes BDS (Ben-Ami 2022; J Street 2026; Jisr Collective 2022a), about ten times the amount it gave *Jewish Currents* (see Table 2). So, while *Jewish Currents* publishes pieces supportive of the BDS movement, the magazine's Zionist funder NIF works to suppress it.

It is easy to find more contradictions of this type in the funding networks of nonprofit organizations that claim to challenge Israel. For example, the American Friends of Combatants for Peace, which aims to stop home demolitions in occupied Palestine through 'nonviolent civil disobedience', received \$6,470 from the Jewish Community Fund of San Francisco—a donor that gave \$88,750 that year to FIDE, thereby boosting the very forces responsible for the demolitions (Table 2). But although these funding flows are contradictory, they clearly are not symmetric; the overtly Zionist recipients always receive far more.

These contradictions suggest, as some activists have argued in recent years, that nonprofit organizations critical of Israel function as controlled opposition (Al-Thawabet 2022; Jisr Collective 2022a, 2022b). Their dependence on the nonprofit funding network helps ensure that certain political lines will not be crossed, as we have seen in the case of JVP and armed resistance. Moreover, the capitalist nature of nonprofit funding—where the wealthiest donors exert the most influence—means that these organizations will be systematically underfunded compared to the overtly Zionist ones, ensuring that their already weak challenge to Zionism remains weak. Yet this weak opposition takes up attention and resources, which is already useful for the Zionist project because it overshadows more radical analyses and actions.

'Good Things' and the Cost of Participating in the NPIC

Critical discussions of the nonprofit industrial complex—and even the phrase itself—are often met with a defensive reaction. Aren't nonprofits doing some good things? Aren't they better than, say, for-profit corporations? And is it realistic, or even desirable, to abandon nonprofits? There are several ways to address these objections.

First, it cannot be denied that some nonprofits have done some good things. As Ruth Wilson Gilmore argues in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, many US nonprofits play the role of ‘shadow state’, providing services and goods that the state fails to deliver, especially after decades of neoliberal policies and budget cuts (Gilmore 2017). While the dependence on nonprofits for such things is already a problem, the activities themselves may still be beneficial in the short term (or at least better than nothing). We could similarly find some good things that the activist nonprofits discussed here have done or participated in. To take one example, JVP’s materials have undoubtedly helped radicalize some US activists against Zionism—for instance, through the ‘Deadly Exchange’ campaign that publicized the extensive collaborations between US and Israeli police forces (Gadzo 2020; Researching the American-Israeli Alliance and Jewish Voice for Peace 2018)—even if the political analyses and strategies for action had critical limitations. Yet these good things do not change the fact that the nonprofit structure itself is profoundly flawed, and that the NPIC plays a pivotal role in advancing colonial projects.

Second, the critical perspectives on the NPIC that this article builds on, offered in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, were never meant as a blanket condemnation of everything and everyone within nonprofit organizations. These perspectives came from people who themselves work or have worked at nonprofits but wanted to confront the contradictions of being committed to liberation while inside these institutions. The point of their critiques is to recenter the needs of real communities and struggles over survival within the NPIC, and to encourage people to build alternative structures.⁸

Third, while it cannot be denied that some nonprofits do some good things, the analysis presented here raises another question: At what cost? Do the positive things an organization does outweigh the fact that participating in the NPIC as a significant player means relying on—and thus helping to stabilize—the funding networks behind the most colonial agendas? And should an organization’s participation in the capitalist schemes of the NPIC—where donations become investable assets that generate private wealth—be automatically excused, simply because the organization does some good things? When does participation in this system do more damage than whatever the organization could realistically hope to achieve, given the system’s constraints on political directions and the constant threats of co-optation?⁹ These questions demand further discussion. The answers would have implications for ongoing efforts to disrupt US institutions that enable the ongoing genocide in Palestine.

⁸Some of the critical work on the NPIC in the US points to structures such as membership-based organizations, which can be more accountable than nonprofits to the communities they fight on behalf of (rather than to donors and big foundations), see (Gilmore 2017; Spade 2015, 101–116). Those committed to direct action for Palestine in the imperial core have emphasized the need for entirely different, decentralized, and sometimes clandestine modes of organizing (Ammori 2025; Palestine Action 2023).

⁹Paul Kivel formulated such questions for workers within the NPIC to consider in his contribution to *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*: ‘Are we perpetuating inequality or promoting social justice? Are we raising awareness of the roots of our social, political, and economic problems? With whom? How many are we reaching? Are they more powerful and able to develop more creative strategies as a result? Are we providing information, resources, and skills for people to get together? Are they able to be more politically effective as a result? What impact do we see from the work we are doing? If we keep doing what we are doing what impact will there be in five years? Ten years? Twenty-five years?’ (Kivel 2017).

The network analysis presented in this article also raises the question of what constitutes a Zionist nonprofit. DAFs such as those run by Fidelity and Schwab are obviously not ideologically Zionist in the same way that, say, FIDF or the ADL are. They are capitalist organizations that pursue revenue. But they still operate within the framework of US imperialism where Zionism is part of the package. These DAFs funnel so much money to overtly Zionist groups that they should be considered key for materially sustaining settler-colonialism in Palestine. This suggests that attacking the general capitalist structures that enable these money flows could potentially be more effective at disrupting the colonization of Palestine than attacking narrower initiatives by overtly Zionist groups.

Lastly, the findings here should make us ask again: Who gets listened to in the Palestine solidarity movement? Recall that some of the funding patterns explored systematically and quantitatively here have been exposed before by activists; they were not a secret. Some activists have also emphasized how funding structures are used to co-opt grassroots organizing and limit its possibilities for radical action. Yet there has been little reckoning with these perspectives in the Palestine solidarity movement at large. The nonprofits in question have not had to answer their critics, and they certainly have not been held accountable in any material sense. The fact that well-resourced nonprofits continually drown out critical voices from the grassroots (while painting themselves in a positive light) demands further collective discussion.

Conclusion

The network analysis presented here showed how interconnected the NPIC is, at the level of money flows, and how this interconnectedness means that most of the substantial nonprofits (those with a significant funding stream) are only a few hops away from major genocidal Zionist organizations such as Friends of the IDF. Applying basic ideas from graph theory, this quantitative analysis enriched previous activist analyses of the NPIC, and of Zionist nonprofits in particular, by adding a sense of the scale and magnitude of nonprofits' entanglements with the most reactionary agendas of our times. This analysis also systematically identified material similarities in funding relationships between nonprofits that espouse opposing ideologies: an 'anti-Zionist' JVP versus the staunchly Zionist FIDF and ADL, or the 'abolitionist', anti-carceral BLMGN versus the police foundations. Altogether, this article showed the potential of network analysis, when guided by the insights of radical social movements, to illuminate the material basis of Zionist and other reactionary projects that utilize nonprofits. This article also demonstrated again the value of an old adage: follow the money.

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Appendix: Data Preparation and Analysis

Form 990s for nonprofit organizations were obtained as XML files from the IRS website (www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/form-990-series-downloads). All data analysis was performed using custom-written Python software. XML files corresponding to Form 990 or Form 990EZ (the latter used by organizations with lower revenue) were parsed using the lxml library (version 5.3.0). Each tax form was processed to extract the organization’s tax identifier (EIN), total revenue, and total expenses, along with any grants the organization gave, which are described in Schedule I of the form.

To construct the graph representing money flows between nonprofits, every grant recipient listed in Schedule I had to be identified: Is it a nonprofit and, if so, what is its EIN? In many cases, Schedule I lists the EINs of the recipients alongside their names, in which case the problem is solved. But in some cases, only the name of the recipient is listed, and the naming is inconsistent across filings and sometimes contains misspellings (e.g. ‘JEWISH RELIEF AGENCY’ and ‘JEWISH RELIEF AGENCY INC’, or ‘AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE [sic]’ and ‘AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE’). To handle such cases, fuzzy string matching was used to try to pair each nonprofit’s name from Schedule I with the official name of a nonprofit given in a tax filing from that year, so that the EIN can be retrieved. First, the common prefixes (e.g. ‘The’) and common suffixes (e.g. ‘Inc’, ‘Corp’) of recipient names were removed. Second, since hundreds of thousands of recipient names had to be matched against hundreds of thousands of official nonprofit names, rare token buckets were used to significantly reduce the number of candidates. Finally, fuzzy string matching was done on this smaller set of names with the Python library rapidfuzz (version 3.14.5) using the normalized ‘Indel’ distance metric (equivalent to a Levenshtein distance where substitutions are assigned a weight of 2) with a strict score cutoff of 90.

Shortest path computations were made using the graph_tool library (version 2.77). For these computations, the graphs were treated as having undirected edges. Graph visualizations were made using graph_tool and the Python networkx library (version 3.1). Degrees were calculated using networkx. The data used in this paper can be browsed and searched at <https://nonprofit-industrial-complex.org>.