

Mr. Chairman, distinguished Senators,

I want to thank you for the invitation to testify today on the threat our country faces from growing political violence. My name is Kyle Shideler, and I am the director and senior analyst for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism at the Center for Security Policy, where my research emphasizes ideologically motivated threats to our nation and Constitution.

In that capacity I am most proud of our program to provide educational briefings to law enforcement officers at the federal, state, and local levels. For the five years of this program's operation, the number one requested briefing topic has been Antifa and related left-wing extremist groups.

The reason it's been the most requested topic, is not because, contrary to media reports, Antifa doesn't exist. America's law enforcement knows it exists because they see the effects every day.

But until recently the federal government has failed to define the extensive nature of the threat and demonstrated a history of dismissing or reducing charges for left-wing extremists.¹

Despite this failing, we have seen convictions for acts of political violence by Antifa members, identified as such.

In 2021, officers and citizens were injured in a violent, pre-planned riot, organized by Antifa. The San Diego District Attorney successfully secured convictions against 11 Antifa members, including on charges of conspiracy to riot.²

In 2023, the state of Florida successfully sued Antifa members under the FACE Act, securing civil fines and felony pleas for their attacks on pregnancy crisis centers.³ This is one case, but in just five months after the *Dobbs* decision leaked, more than 100 churches, pregnancy resource centers, and pro-life organizations across the country were attacked.⁴

In January 2025, the federal government secured a guilty plea against Brian Dipippa, the creator of It's Going Down, an Antifa website which has for years published both ideological manifestos and tactical instructions for aspiring Antifa members, including a

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² Riggins, A. (2025, October 11). Amid 'domestic terrorist' designation, San Diego antifa case has new significance. The San Diego Union-Tribune. <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/2025/10/11/amid-domestic-terrorist-designation-san-diego-antifa-case-has-new-significance/>

³ Blankley, B. (2024, July 25). Florida AG defeats Antifa, Jane's Revenge activists in court. The Center Square. https://www.thecentersquare.com/florida/article_3727f232-4aaa-11ef-9b06-2be6252a22eb

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2007 Forming an Antifa Group manual, which I first brought to this committee's attention when I testified before it in August of 2020.⁵

But what is Antifa? As a recent Department of Justice Indictment accurately describes,

“Antifa is a militant enterprise made up of networks of individuals and small groups primarily ascribing to revolutionary anarchist or autonomous Marxist ideology, which explicitly calls for the overthrow of the United States Government, law enforcement authorities, and system of law. Antifa adherents have espoused insurrection and advocated violence to affect the policy and conduct of the U.S. government by intimidation and coercion.”⁶

That is a good working definition which would bring U.S. law enforcement in line with definitions utilized by other western governments which also have an Antifa threat, including Germany,⁷ and Sweden.⁸

These networks of smaller direct-action groups are connected through ideologically aligned organizations, online platforms and support networks which provide significant amounts of material support. But this material support is primarily in the form of services, rather than financial transactions.

One example, the website Abolition Media, posts communiques from the PFLP, the ELN, The PKK, NPA – all designated communist terrorist groups. That alone is arguably actionable material support for terrorism. But it has also posted claims of responsibility for anarchist arson attacks, and propaganda on behalf Antifa members currently in prison for violent attacks in the United States, Germany, Chile, Greece, and Hungary.

The site distributes calls for actions and organizing efforts for Antifa groups across international borders and even posted an anarchist manual discussing the value of “Complex Coordinated Terrorist Attacks.”⁹

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⁶ United States v. Arnold, No. 4:25-cr-00259-P (N.D. Tex. Oct. 15, 2025). <https://static.foxnews.com/foxnews.com/content/uploads/2025/10/prairieland-texas-ice-attack-antifa-material-support-terrorism-indictment.pdf>

⁷ Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution. (2021, June). Brief summary 2020: Report on the protection of the constitution [Report]. German Ministry of the Interior. https://www.verfassungsschutz.de/SharedDocs/publikationen/EN/reports-on-the-protection-of-the-constitution/2021-06-brief-summary-2020-report-on-the-protection-of-the-constitution.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2

⁸ Center för Våldsbejakande Extremism. (n.d.). Den autonoma miljön (The autonomist milieu) [Report]. Nationellt centrum för terrorhottsbedömning. https://cve.se/download/18.843740f184cc4e52fa1187/1669904407524/CVE_Autonomia.pdf

⁹ Anonymous. (2024, August 2). From a matter of principle, to a matter of tactics. Abolition Media. <https://abolitionmedia.noblogs.org/10097/>

If this site was promoting and advocating violence by Al Qaeda, there would be absolutely no question in the minds of U.S. authorities that this site serves as a media arm for a terrorist organization.¹⁰

According to a recent article by journalist Hudson Crozier, Abolition Media is just one of hundreds of such websites hosted on Noblogs, a blogging suite provided by the Italy-based Autistici/Inventati (A/I) Collective, which provides websites, emails, digital encryption tools to Antifa and related left wing extremist groups while hiding personal data from law enforcement.¹¹

Similarly, the International Antifa Defense Fund has distributed over a quarter of a million dollars to more than 800 antifa members across 26 countries, and is supported by the U.S - based Torch Antifa Network, U.K Anti-Fascist Network, and the Swedish Prisoner Group Association.

While the vast majority of these funds have been spent on legal support –and certainly everyone is entitled to a legal defense–upwards of 20% has gone for other forms of support including “security improvements” or “emergency relocation costs” for Antifa members.¹² A reasonable avenue of investigation would be to determine if funds have gone to help fugitive Antifa members avoid arrest. Terrorism investigators of course would not be shocked to learn that organizations with supposedly charitable purposes may divert a percentage of funds to an illicit purpose. And there is ample reason to be suspicious of Antifa-related legal support and bail fund organizations, given that bail funds have been used to support and reimburse anarchist rioters, including allegedly for items including ammunition.¹³

I look forward to working with the committee on ways U.S. policy and legislation might address the threat posed by Antifa and related left wing extremist groups.

¹⁰ U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2016, April 13). Foreign Terrorist Organizations’ official media arms and violent extremist web forums [Intelligence assessment]. https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/15-271-1A%20-%20Media%20Arms%20-%20Maniglia_update_v11_accessible.pdf

¹¹ Crozier, H. (2025, October 16). Shadowy foreign tech group keeps police off Antifa’s trail. Daily Caller News Foundation. <https://dailycaller.com/2025/10/16/foreign-tech-group-police-antifa/>

¹² International Antifa Defense Fund. (2025, June 2). The International Anti-Fascist Defence Fund: 2024–2025 annual report [Annual report]. <https://intlantifadefence.wordpress.com/2025/06/02/the-international-anti-fascist-defence-fund-2024-2025-annual-report/>

¹³ State of Georgia v. Beamon et al (Fulton County Super. Ct. Aug. 29, 2023). <https://www.fultonclerk.org/DocumentCenter/View/2156/CRIMINAL-INDICTMENT>

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