

Alliance of Baptists July 12, 2017

American Baptist Churches USA

Baptist General Association of Virginia

Baptist General Convention of Missouri (Churchnet)

Baptist General Convention of Texas

Converge

Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of North Carolina

National Baptist Convention of America

National Baptist Convention USA Inc.

National Missionary Baptist Convention

North American Baptists Inc.

Progressive National Baptist Convention Inc.

Religious Liberty Council

Seventh Day Baptist General Conference The Honorable Rodney Frelinghuysen

Chairman House Appropriations Committee Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Nita Lowey Ranking Member House Appropriations Committee Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Frelinghuysen and Ranking Member Lowey:

On behalf of the Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty (BJC),ⁱ an 81-year-old agency serving 15 Baptist bodies on legal and policy matters relating to religious liberty and the separation of church and state, I write to express strong opposition to Section 116 of the 2018 Financial Services and General Government Appropriations bill. This provision seriously undermines I.R.S. investigation and enforcement of the ban on 501(c)(3) organizations engaging in partisan campaign activity but only as applicable to churches, their integrated auxiliaries, and conventions or associations of churches. This attempt to prohibit IRS enforcement of the law as it relates to certain religious organizations threatens the integrity of houses of worship and is constitutionally problematic following the Supreme Court's application of the Establishment Clause in *Texas Monthly v. Bullock*.ⁱⁱ

We are committed to ensuring that the free speech rights for houses of worship and members of the clergy are respected. We do not share the view that current law prohibiting 501(c)(3) organizations from participating and intervening in partisan candidate campaigns infringes on those free speech rights. We joined with 98 other religious and denominational organizations in a letter to Congress sent in April, saying we "strongly oppose any effort to weaken or eliminate protections in the law that prohibit 501(c)(3) organizations, including houses of worship, from endorsing or opposing political candidates." The full letter is attached to my testimony.

For more than 60 years, all 501(c)(3) organizations have been required to refrain from partisan campaign involvement in exchange for receiving that most-favored tax status. The prohibition has allowed charitable organizations to concentrate on their exempt purposes and not be distracted or co-opted by partisan campaigns.

Current law strikes the right balance in protecting the integrity and independence of our religious sector. The tax law prohibition is not a divorcement of politics from houses of

worship. Many churches feel that they are called to be "political" and to "speak truth to power" on a variety of social issues. Nothing in the tax law prevents pastors from speaking out from the pulpit on issues, no matter how controversial.

Houses of worship can encourage voting, engage in voter registration drives, host candidate forums, distribute nonpartisan education materials, and invite all candidates for an office to speak during a worship service.

Pastors and other leaders can endorse and oppose candidates in their personal capacities and without using the resources of the church. Whether and how openly they want to do this is a personal decision. Pastors know that their reputations will rise and fall with individuals that they endorse and therefore may be reluctant to publicly endorse and oppose candidates. They also will consider the impact that their endorsements will have in their communities, particularly with those who support another candidate.

But what is not permitted – and what most clergy and churchgoers don't want in any event – is for the tax-exempt 501(c)(3) entity to endorse or oppose candidates. Polling consistently shows that large majorities – 70 or 80 percent depending on the survey – oppose candidate endorsements in church.ⁱⁱⁱ And when just clergy are asked, the numbers are more like 90 percent, including among evangelical pastors.^{iv}

These numbers are not surprising given the negative effects endorsements would have on houses of worship. Pastors and churchgoers I talk with think this would be a terrible idea for their congregations, dividing what are otherwise rather politically diverse communities and distracting them from their religious mission. Congregants also choose to worship in faith communities for reasons other than hearing a political ad. There are plenty of places in our culture today to engage in partisan electoral campaigns. Most people I know don't want church to be one of those places.

We also recognize the powerful prophetic voice with which the church speaks to power. That voice is threatened whenever the church associates itself too closely with the government or its officials.

Essentially blocking IRS enforcement of this provision with regard to houses of worship would expose churches to political pressure to endorse candidates. The campaign intervention prohibition applies not only to presidential and congressional elections, but to every state and local race, too. Many candidates and donors supporting candidates would have a strong incentive to put pressure on churches to become involved in their campaigns, particularly given the highly-valued tax status churches enjoy. Donors to churches, like all other 501(c)(3) organizations, receive a tax deduction for their contributions. Churches also receive automatic 501(c)(3) tax status and are not required to file the Form 990 information return. These permissible accommodations for churches combined with the selective non-enforcement of the law Section 116 envisions would make houses of worship particularly vulnerable targets for partisan campaign activity, compared to the broader 501(c)(3) community.

Jesus taught us to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's.^v Curtailing the enforcement of the law could put pressure on churches to render to Caesar in God's house. This approach does not bode well for religion or religious liberty.

Respectfully,

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Amanda Tyler Executive Director Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty

cc: Members of the House Appropriations Committee

ⁱ Our mission is to defend and extend God-given religious liberty for all, bringing a uniquely Baptist witness to the principle that religion must be freely exercised, and it must not be advanced or inhibited by the government. The BJC has a consistent record of supporting both of the First Amendment's religion clauses—No Establishment and Free Exercise. Our commitment stems from the historical experiences of early Baptists, who suffered the pain of persecution from religious fervor coupled with the coercive power of the state.

ⁱⁱ 489 U.S. 1 (1989).

^{III} *E.g.*, Bob Smietana, *Skip the Endorsements in Church, Say Most Americans*, LIFEWAY RESEARCH (Sept. 8, 2016), <u>http://lifewayresearch.com/2016/09/08/skip-the-endorsements-in-church-say-most-americans/</u> (finding 79% of Americans believe it is inappropriate for a pastor to publicly endorse political candidates during a church service and 75% agreeing that churches should steer clear of endorsements); Daniel Cox, Ph.D. and Robert P. Jones, Ph.D. *Majority of Americans Oppose Transgender Bathroom Restrictions*, Public Religion Research Institute (March 10, 2017),

<u>http://www.prri.org/research/lgbt-transgender-bathroom-discrimination-religious-liberty/</u> (finding 71% of Americans and all major religious groups in the country oppose allowing churches to endorse political candidates while retaining their tax-exempt status).

^{iv} *E.g.*, National Association of Evangelicals, *Pastors Shouldn't Endorse Politicians*, Evangelical Leaders Survey (February 2017), <u>https://www.nae.net/pastors-shouldnt-endorse-politicians/</u> (finding 89% of evangelical leaders oppose pastors endorsing candidates from the pulpit).

^v Matthew 22:21.

April 4, 2017

The Honorable Paul Ryan Speaker H-232 The Capitol Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi House Democratic Leader H-204 The Capitol Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Kevin Brady Chairman House Ways and Means Committee 1102 Longworth House Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Richard Neal Ranking Member House Ways and Means Committee 1139E Longworth House Office Building Washington, D.C. 20515 The Honorable Mitch McConnell Senate Majority Leader S-230 The Capitol Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Chuck Schumer Senate Democratic Leader S-221 The Capitol Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Orrin Hatch Chairman Senate Committee on Finance 219 Dirksen Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Ron Wyden Ranking Member Senate Committee on Finance 219 Dirksen Senate Office Building Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Speaker Ryan, Majority Leader McConnell, Leader Pelosi, Leader Schumer, Chairman Brady, Chairman Hatch, Ranking Member Neal, and Ranking Member Wyden:

We, the 99 undersigned religious and denominational organizations strongly oppose any effort to weaken or eliminate protections that prohibit 501(c)(3) organizations, including houses of worship, from endorsing or opposing political candidates. Current law serves as a valuable safeguard for the integrity of our charitable sector¹ and campaign finance system.

Religious leaders often use their pulpits to address the moral and political issues of the day. They also can, in their personal capacities and without the resources of their houses of worship, endorse and oppose political candidates. Houses of worship can engage in public debate on any issue, host candidate forums, engage in voter registration drives, encourage people to vote, help transport people to the polls and even, with a few boundaries, lobby on specific legislation and invite candidates to speak. Tax-exempt houses of worship may not, however, endorse or oppose candidates or use their tax-exempt donations to contribute to candidates' campaigns. <u>Current law simply limits groups from being *both* a tax-exempt ministry and a partisan political entity.</u>

¹ Some have suggested a desire to remove this safeguard only as it applies to houses of worship and to keep all other 501(c)(3) organizations at the status quo. This path, however, is constitutionally problematic under *Texas Monthly v. Bullock*, 489 U.S. 1 (1989).

As religious organizations, we oppose any attempt to weaken the current protections offered by the 501(c)(3) campaign intervention prohibition because:

People of faith do not want partisan political fights infiltrating their houses of worship.

Houses of worship are spaces for members of religious communities to come together, not be divided along political lines; faith ought to be a source of connection and community, not division and discord. Indeed, the vast majority of Americans do not want houses of worship to issue political endorsements.² Particularly in today's political climate, such endorsements would be highly divisive and would have a detrimental impact on civil discourse.

<u>Current law protects the integrity of houses of worship.</u> If houses of worship endorse candidates, their prophetic voice, their ability to speak truth to power as political outsiders, is threatened. The credibility and integrity of congregations would suffer with bad decisions of candidates they endorsed. Tying America's houses of worship to partian activity demeans the institutions from which so many believers expect unimpeachable decency.

<u>Current law protects the independence of houses of worship.</u> Houses of worship often speak out on issues of justice and morality and do good works within the community but may also labor to adequately fund their ministries. Permitting electioneering in churches would give partisan groups incentive to use congregations as a conduit for political activity and expenditures. Changing the law would also make them vulnerable to individuals and corporations who could offer large donations or a politician promising social service contracts in exchange for taking a position on a candidate. Even proposals that would permit an "insubstantial" standard or allow limited electioneering only if it is in furtherance of an organization's mission would actually invite increased government intrusion, scrutiny, and oversight.

The charitable sector, particularly houses of worship, should not become another cog in a political machine or another loophole in campaign finance laws. We strongly urge you to oppose any efforts to repeal or weaken protections in the law for 501(c)(3) organizations, including houses of worship.

Sincerely,

African American Ministers in Action

² E.g., National Association of Evangelicals, *Pastors Shouldn't Endorse Politicians*, Evangelical Leaders Survey (February 2017), <u>https://www.nae.net/pastors-shouldnt-endorse-politicians/</u> (finding 89% of evangelical leaders oppose pastors endorsing candidates from the pulpit); Bob Smietana, *Skip the Endorsements in Church, Say Most Americans*, LIFEWAY RESEARCH (Sept. 8, 2016), <u>http://lifewayresearch.com/2016/09/08/skip-the-endorsements-in-church-say-most-americans/</u> (finding 79% of Americans believe it is inappropriate for a pastor to publicly endorse political candidates during a church service and 75% agreeing that churches should steer clear of endorsements); Daniel Cox, Ph.D. and Robert P. Jones, Ph.D. *Majority of Americans Oppose Transgender Bathroom Restrictions*, Public Religion Research Institute (March 10, 2017), <u>http://www.prri.org/research/lgbt-transgender-bathroom-discrimination-religious-liberty/</u> (finding 71% of Americans and all major religious groups in the country oppose allowing churches to endorse political candidates while retaining their tax-exempt status).

Alabama Cooperative Baptist Fellowship Alliance of Baptists American Baptist Churches USA American Baptist Home Mission Societies American Friends Service Committee American Jewish Committee (AJC) Anti-Defamation League Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists B'nai B'rith International **Baptist Fellowship Northeast** Baptist General Association of Virginia Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America ~ Bautistas por la Paz Baptist Women in Ministry Bend the Arc: A Jewish Partnership for Justice California Council of Churches IMPACT Catholics in Alliance for the Common Good Central Conference of American Rabbis Christian Life Commission Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church Churchnet, a ministry of the Baptist General Convention of Missouri Colorado Council of Churches **Cooperative Baptist Fellowship Cooperative Baptist Fellowship Heartland** Cooperative Baptist Fellowship Kentucky Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of Arkansas Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of Florida Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of Georgia Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of Mississippi Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of North Carolina Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of Oklahoma Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of Texas Cooperative Baptist Fellowship of Virginia **Disciples Center for Public Witness** Ecumenical Catholic Communion Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon The Episcopal Church Equal Partners in Faith Evangelical Lutheran Church in America Evergreen Association of American Baptist Churches Faith Action Network- Washington State Faith in Public Life Faith Voices Arkansas

Faithful America Florida Council of Churches Franciscan Action Network Friends Committee on National Legislation Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc. Hindu American Foundation Hispanic Baptist Convention of Texas Interfaith Alliance International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) Islamic Networks Group Islamic Society of North America Jewish Community Relations Council, Greater Boston Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Washington Jewish Council for Public Affairs The Jewish Federations of North America Jewish Women International Kentucky Council of Churches Mid-Atlantic Cooperative Baptist Fellowship National Advocacy Center of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd National Baptist Convention of America National Council of Churches National Council of Jewish Women National Sikh Campaign NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice New Baptist Covenant North Carolina Council of Churches **Oklahoma Conference of Churches** Pastors for Oklahoma Kids Pastors for Texas Children Pax Christi, Montgomery County, MD chapters Pennsylvania Council of Churches Presbyterian Church (USA), Washington Office of Public Witness Progressive National Baptist Convention Reconstructionist Rabbinical Assembly **Religions for Peace USA Religious Institute** Rhode Island State Council of Churches Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America South Carolina Christian Action Council South Dakota Faith in Public Life T'ruah: The Rabbinic Call for Human Rights Tennessee Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Texas Baptists Committed Texas Faith Network Texas Impact Union for Reform Judaism Unitarian Universalist Association Unitarian Universalist Service Committee Unitarian Universalists for Social Justice United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness Ministries The United Methodist Church, General Board of Church and Society Virginia Council of Churches Women of Reform Judaism Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual (WATER)

Cc: All Members of Congress