November 18, 2024

The Honorable Mike Johnson Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives H-232, The Capitol Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Hakeem Jeffries Democratic Leader, U.S. House of Representatives H-204, The Capitol Washington, DC 20515

Dear Speaker Johnson and Leader Jeffries:

We write to express our deep concerns with H.R. 9495, the Stop Terror-Financing and Tax Penalties on American Hostages Act. Specifically, this bill includes the text of H.R. 6408, legislation we strongly oppose as it raises significant constitutional concerns. Because H.R. 6408 vests vast unilateral discretion in the Secretary of Treasury, it creates a high risk of politicized and discriminatory enforcement. The executive branch already has extensive authority to prohibit transactions with individuals and entities it deems connected to terrorism and nonprofit organizations are already prohibited from providing material support to terrorist organizations. In fact, it would be a federal crime for them to do so.¹

Moreover, we do not oppose the provisions in H.R. 9495 that relate to preventing the IRS from imposing fines and penalties on hostages while they are held abroad. Indeed, these provisions have already passed the Senate on their own, and if the House of Representatives were to pass a version of this bill that did not include the text of H.R. 6408, it could be sent immediately to the President for his signature.

Without any evidence as to the need for this legislation², H.R. 6408 authorizes broad and easily abused new powers for the executive branch. It grants the Secretary of the Treasury virtually unfettered discretion to designate a U.S. nonprofit as a "terrorist supporting organization" and to strip it of its tax-exempt status if the Secretary finds that the nonprofit has provided material support to a terrorist group, even if the "support" is not intentional or connected to actual violence.

^{1 18} U.S.C. § 2339A, https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/18/2339A

² Several members of Congress have repeatedly, without evidence, conflated students involved in the protests regarding the conflict in Gaza with Hamas and other foreign terrorist organizations. The Supreme Court made clear in *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project* that the federal statute prohibiting material support to terrorist groups does not criminalize independent advocacy unless it is performed in coordination with or at the direction of a foreign terrorist organization. We are aware of no such evidence having been provided within the House record regarding this legislation.

While the sponsors of this legislation have stated that it is needed to avoid what they refer to as "time-consuming bureaucratic process" under current law, what the bill sponsors are actually seeking to avoid is fundamental due process. If this bill were to become law, the Secretary of Treasury could strip a US nonprofit of its tax-exempt status without providing the nonprofit a meaningful opportunity to defend itself before a neutral decisionmaker.⁴ The legislation further does not require disclosure of all the reasons for such a decision or the evidence relied upon to support it.⁵ Nor would the government be required to provide any evidence in its possession that might undermine its decision, leaving an accused nonprofit entirely in the dark about what conduct the government believes qualifies as material support.

The potential for abuse under H.R. 6408 is immense as the executive branch would be handed a tool it could use to curb free speech, censor nonprofit media outlets, target political opponents, and punish disfavored groups across the political spectrum. Moreover, the addition of this authority to the tax code would allow the IRS to explicitly target and harass domestic nonprofits using its investigative authority. It is also not hard to imagine a future administration using this power in far broader circumstances that have nothing to do with the hostilities in Gaza.⁶ And as more recent congressional oversight efforts make clear, these efforts are part of concerted attack on civil society that is targeted at more than just groups involved in the campus protests regarding Gaza.⁷

The executive branch could use this authority to target its political opponents and use the fear of crippling legal fees, the stigma of the designation, and donors fleeing controversy to stifle dissent and chill speech and advocacy. And while the broadest applications of this authority may not ultimately hold up in court, the potential reputational and financial cost of fending off an investigation and litigating a wrongful designation could functionally mean the end of a targeted nonprofit before it ever has its day in court.

The lack of guardrails creates the potential for future administrations to weaponize these powers against groups on both ends of the ideological spectrum. Even if they may never be designated as "terrorist-supporting," let alone charged with a crime, nonprofits will curtail their activities as a precaution in order to avoid stigmatizing and financially devastating punishments. That is why we strongly urge you to oppose the inclusion of H.R. 6408 in H.R. 9495.

³ Ron Kampeas, *Is a bill targeting support for terrorism a necessary tool after Oct. 7, or authoritarian overreach?*, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, (May 23, 2024), https://www.jta.org/2024/05/23/politics/is-a-bill-targeting-support-for-terrorism-a-necessary-tool-after-oct-7-or-authoritarian-overreach.

⁴ The bill's creation of an after-the-fact administrative or judicial appeals process not only comes too late, but it is also unlikely to remedy these fundamental deficiencies. Instead, it functionally shifts the burden of proof about whether a nonprofit provides material support from the government to the nonprofit.

⁵ The legislation explicitly allows the Secretary to limit notice of the reasons and evidence by requiring such notice only "to the extent consistent with national security and law enforcement interests."

⁶ Kate Arnoff, *This Bipartisan Bill Could Give Trump Huge Power Against His Enemies*, The New Republic, (April 30, 2024), https://newrepublic.com/article/181087/treasury-pipelines-gaza-non-profit-terrorism

⁷ See, Congressman Brian Mast letter to Secretary of State Anthony Blinken, May 22, 2024, https://freebeacon.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/May22GroupMeetingletter.pdf, and Chairman James Comer and Chairwoman Virginia Foxx letter to Secretary of Treasury Janet Yellen, May 14, 2024 https://freebeacon.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/Letter-to-Yellen-051424.pdf.

Sincerely,

#WelcomeWithDignity

18 Million Rising

350.org

AAPI Equity Alliance

AAPI New Jersey

AAPI Youth Rising

Access Now

Accountability Counsel

Adhikaar

Advocacy for Principled Action in Government

Advocates for Youth

Afghans For A Better Tomorrow

AFL-CIO

Alamosa Riverkeeper

Alliance for Peacebuilding

ALSA (Asian & Latino Solidarity Alliance)

Amazon Watch

American Atheists

American Civil Liberties Union

American Federation of Teachers

American Friends Service Committee

American Humanist Association

American Library Association

American Oversight

American Public Health Association

Americans United for Separation of Church and State

Amnesty International USA

Anethum Global

Ann Arbor Indivisible for Democracy

APIA Vote-Michigan

Arab American Association of New York

Arab American Institute (AAI)

Asian American Federation

Asian American Institute for Research and Engagement

Asian American LEAD

Asian American Organizing Project

Asian American Voices for Education

Asian Americans Advancing Justice | AAJC

Asian Americans for Community Involvement (AACI)

Asian Community Development Corporation

Asian Counseling and Referral Service

Asian Law Caucus

Asian Student Alliance

Asian Women's Alliance for Kinship & Equality

Asian Women's Alliance for Kinship & Equality - AWAKE

Association of Fundraising Professionals

Aunties Coalition

Ayuda

Baptist Joint Committee for Religious Liberty

Bayou City Waterkeeper

Beloved Community Incubator

Bend the Arc: Jewish Action

Better Ballot Arizona

Bhutanese Community Association of Pittsburgh (BCAP)

Black Alliance for Just Immigration

Black Warrior Riverkeeper

Borderlands Resource Initiative

Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law

Bridges Faith Initiative

Buffalo String Works

Caribbean Equality Project

Center for American Progress

Center for Biological Diversity

Center for Civilians in Conflict (CIVIC)

Center for Common Ground

Center for Constitutional Rights

Center for Democracy & Technology

Center for International Policy

Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP)

Center for Media and Democracy

Center for Popular Democracy

Center for Victims of Torture

Charity and Security Network

Chesapeake Climate Action Network Action Fund.

Chhaya Community Development Corporation

Chinese for Affirmative Action

Choctawhatchee Riverkeeper

Citizens for Global Solutions

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW)

Civil Liberties Defense Center

Clean Water Action

Climate Action Campaign

Coalition for Civil Freedoms

Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA)

Coalition for Peace Action

COLAGE

Color of Change

Colorado Asian Pacific United

Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition

Community Change Action

Community Inclusion & Development Alliance

Comunidades Sin Fronteras CSF-CT

Corporate Accountability

Council for Global Equality

Council of Peoples Organization

Council on American-Islamic Relations

Damayan Migrant Workers Association

DAWN

DC Volunteer Lawyers Project

Deaf New Americans Advocacy Inc

Dear Asian Youth

Defending Rights & Dissent

Del Camino Jesuit Border Ministries

Demand Progress

Democratic Messaging Project

Digital Rights Foundation USA

Dorothy Day Catholic Worker, Washington DC

Earthjustice Action

EarthRights International

Earthworks

EcoEquity

El Pueblo Unido of Atlantic City

Emgage Action

Empowering Pacific Islander Communities

Endangered Species Coalition

Ensaaf

Equality California

Equality Federation

Evangelical Lutheran Church in America

Faith in Action

Faiths for Safe Water

First Friends of New Jersey & New York

Florida Immigrant Coalition

Food & Water Watch

Food Justice DMV

Food Shift

FOSNA-MI

Free Press Action

Freedom Now

Freedom of the Press Foundation

Friends Committee on National Legislation

Friends of Casco Bay

Friends of Human Rights

Friends of Sabeel North America (FOSNA)

Friends of the Earth

Fund the People

GLMA: Health Professionals Advancing LGBTQ+ Equality

Grand Street Settlement

Great Lakes Business Network

Green America

GreenLatinos

Greenpeace USA

HEART

Hindus for Human Rights

Homecrest Community Services

Human Rights First

Human Rights Watch

ICNA Council for Social Justice

ICNA Dallas

Immigrants Act Now

Immigration Equality Action Fund

Immigration Hub

Indivisible

Innocence Project

Innovation Law Lab

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility

Interfaith Power & Light

International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN)

International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network

International Refugee Assistance Project (IRAP)

Islamic Association of The Colony

Islamic Center of Quad Cities

JACL-AZ

Jahajee: Gender Justice for Indo-Caribbeans

Japanese American Citizens League

Japanese American Social Services, Inc.

Just Foreign Policy

KACE

Karen Society of Buffalo

Kinding Sindaw

Kings & Priests Court Int'l Ministries- City of Light

Korea Art Forum

Korean Community Services of Metropolitan New York

Laal

Labor Council for Latin American Advancement

Lake Guardian

Last Mile4D

Latino Action Network Foundation

Lawyers for Good Government

League of Conservation Voters

Leviathan Lab

Local Majority

Los Padres ForestWatch

MAFRAC

Main Line Chinese Culture Center, Inc.

Make the Road CT

Make the Road Nevada

Make the Road NJ

Make the Road PA

Make the Road States

Mauritanian Network for Human Rights

McKinney Islamic Association

Medical Center Islamic Society

Mekong NYC

Metropolitan Asian Deaf Association

Michigan Coalition for Human Rights

Michigan League for Public Policy

Michigan League of Conservation Voters

Mid Atlantic Food Resilience & Access Coalition (MAFRAC)

Middle East Democracy Center (MEDC)

Milwaukee Riverkeeper

MINISTER AT UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST CONGREGATION AT MONTCLAIR

Mission to End Modern Slavery (MEMS)

Missouri Asian American Youth Foundation

MLFA

MoveOn

MPower Change Action Fund

Multicultural Center

Muslim Advocates

Muslim Community Network

Muslim Counterpublics Lab

Muslim Justice League

Muslims for Just Futures

NAACP

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

National Asian American Pacific Islander Mental Health Association (NAAPIMHA)

National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum

National Black Justice Collective

National Council of Asian Pacific Americans

National Disabled Legal Professionals Association

National Education Association

National Federation of Filipino American Associations - NY (NaFFAA NY)

National Immigration Law Center

National Iranian American Council Action

National Lawyers Guild-Mesoamérica subcommittee

National LGBTQ Task Force Action Fund

National Network of Abortion Funds

National Tongan American Society

National Women's Law Center

Natural Resources Defense Council

NCAAT in Action

NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice

New Georgia Project Action Fund

New Israel Fund

New Jersey Alliance for Immigrant Justice

New Jersey Policy Perspective

New Mexico Asian Family Center

Nonviolent Peaceforce

North American Indian Muslim Association

North Carolina Asian Americans Together (NCAAT)

NTIC

OCA - Asian Pacific American Advocates Westchester chapter

OCA-Greater Houston

Oceana

Oil Change International

Old Town North Community Partnership

OPAWL - Building AAPI Feminist Leadership

Organization for Identity & Cultural Development (OICD.net)

Othman Bin Affan Mosque

Oxfam America

Pacific Asian Counseling Services

PAI

Pakistani Americans of Town of Huntington

Palestine Legal

Palestinian American Community Center

PASNY

Peace Action

Peace Appeal Foundation

Peace Catalyst International

Peace Direct

People for the American Way

People's Action

Physicians for Reproductive Health

Physicians for Social Responsibility

Planned Parenthood Federation of America

Plus

Positive Women's Network-USA

Predistribution Initiative

Presbyterian Church (USA), Office of Public Witness

Progressive Change Campaign Committee

Project On Government Oversight

Project South

Protect Democracy

Public Citizen

Rainforest Action Network

RaisingHealth Partners

Refreshed Refined Reformed R3 Inc

Refugees International

Remake

Reproductive Freedom for All (former NARAL Pro-Choice America)

Restore the Fourth

RESULTS Educational Fund

Riverkeeper

Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights

Rochester's LACE, Inc.

S.P.E.A.K., a Supportive Place for Empowering Asian Americans and Kin

San Francisco Bay Physicians for Social Responsibility

September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows

Shoulder to Shoulder Campaign

Sierra Club

Silvix Resources

Sisters of Mercy of the Americas Institute Justice Team

So What Else

Social Workers for Immigration Justice

Solidarity Center

South Asian Public Health Association

South Queens Women's March

Southeast Asian Coalition

Southern Poverty Law Center

SPAN Parent Advocacy Network

Spokane Riverkeeper

Stop AAPI Hate

Stupski Foundation

Take Back Christianity

Texas Civil Rights Project

The Advocates for Human Rights

The African American Development Officers Network

The Center for Economic and Policy Research

The CLEO Institute

The Conservation Angler

The Earth Bill Network

The Interfaith Center of New York

The Korean American Family Service Center

The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights

The Seed Program by Kai, Inc.

The Sidewalk School

The Sikh Coalition

The Unitarian Society

The United Methodist Church - General Board of Church and Society

The Workers Circle

The X-Lab

Three Rivers Waterkeeper

Tides Center

Tides Foundation

Transparentem

Twin Harbors Waterkeeper

Unitarian Universalist Church at Washington Crossing

Unitarian Universalist FaithAction New Jersey

Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (UUSC)

Unitarian Universalists for Social Justice

Unite for Reproductive & Gender Equity

United Auto Workers

United Church of Christ

United Church of Christ of Seneca Valley

United Women in Faith

University Settlement

Upaya Zen Center

US Campaign for Palestinian Rights Action (USCPR Action)

VAYLA New Orleans

Waterkeeper Alliance

WE ACT for Environmental Justice

We Are All America (WAAA)

Western Watersheds Project

Win Without War

Wind of the Spirit Immigrant Resource Center

Wing Luke Museum

Witness at the Border

Womankind

Women for Weapons Trade Transparency

Women's March

Women's Refugee Commission

Young Center for Immigrant Children's Rights

YWCA of Queens

Zevin Asset Management