

## TESTIMONY OF DR. CHARMAINE YOEST, PRESIDENT AND CEO AMERICANS UNITED FOR LIFE BEFORE THE UNITED STATES HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND COMMERCE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH HEARING ON "PROTECTING INFANTS: ENDING TAXPAYER FUNDING FOR ABORTION PROVIDERS WHO VIOLATE THE LAW"

### **SEPTEMBER 17, 2015**

Thank you, Chairman Pitts and members of the Committee, for inviting me to testify on behalf of Americans United for Life (AUL), the legal architects of the pro-life movement and the oldest national pro-life public-interest law and policy nonprofit organization. Our vision at AUL is a nation where everyone is welcomed in life and protected by law. We have been committed to defending human life through vigorous judicial, legislative, and educational efforts since 1971, and we have been involved in every life-related case before the United States Supreme Court including *Roe v. Wade*.<sup>1</sup>

The viral videos released by the Center for Medical Progress, which document senior-level Planned Parenthood staff throughout the nation callously discussing its practice of harvesting the organs of aborted babies in exchange for money, are deeply unsettling. Caught on camera, Planned Parenthood's crass commoditization of the lives of the unborn has awakened the conscience of all across the country.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

Tragic and difficult to watch, the flagrant disregard for both life and law at Planned Parenthood that the videos depict is unfortunately not surprising. Planned Parenthood leads the abortion industry not only in "volume" of abortions but also in opposing any laws that may affect its abortion business and profits.

Of particular concern, Planned Parenthood has a track record of opposing partial-birth abortion bans as well as protections for infants who are born alive after a failed abortion attempt.

States should be permitted to withdraw or deny Medicaid funding to individuals and entities that violate the letter and spirit of these widely supported laws against infanticide. The proposals introduced by Rep. Ellmers and Rep. Blackburn are a critical first step towards a solution to safeguard the integrity of the Medicaid program, the integrity of the medical profession, and the lives of our most vulnerable young Americans. Further, AUL strongly recommends that the federal *Born Alive Infant Protection Act* be strengthened with criminal penalties to ensure meaningful enforcement of the most basic human right to life for these infants who survive attempted abortions. Abortion workers need to know that it is their ethical and legal duty to report violations to law enforcement.

The Center for Medical Progress' videos may be the impetus for the important discussion happening in the Congress today. But my testimony demonstrates that these videos are further evidence of corporate-wide malfeasance at Planned Parenthood Federation of America and its affiliates.

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# I. PLANNED PARENTHOOD HAS A TRACK RECORD OF VIGOROUSLY OPPOSING PROTECTIONS FOR INFANTS BORN ALIVE.

Infants born alive—at any stage of development— after an attempted induced abortion are persons under federal law. **1 U.S.C. §8.** 

In 2002, Congress passed the *Born Alive Infant Protection Act* (1 U.S.C. §8) by a resounding voice vote in the U.S. House of Representatives, and 98-0 in the U.S. Senate. All Senate Democrats were present for that vote, and all of them—including Senators Hillary Clinton, Ted Kennedy, Barbara Boxer, and John Kerry—voted in favor of the bill. On the Senate floor, Sen. Boxer voiced her strong support for the bill, exclaiming, "Who would be more vulnerable than a newborn baby?" She continued, stating "all of our people deserve protection, from the very tiniest infant to the most elderly among us."<sup>2</sup>

Just last week, in a hearing held in the House Committee on the Judiciary, abortion "rights" supporter Rep. Jerry Nadler (D-NY) exclaimed, "anyone who kills a child outside—that has been born outside the womb, anyone who stands idly by and does not help it survive is guilty of murder or manslaughter, period, no questions asked."<sup>3</sup>

Just last week, the House Committee on the Judiciary heard testimony from two women who survived abortions.<sup>4</sup> These remarkable women, Melissa Ohden and Gianna Jessen, are living

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Congressional Record, S7062-S7064, June 28, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Video footage of the hearing is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=4783&v=M\_gAyNhnGz8. Rep. Nadler's quoted remarks begin at 1:19:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The written testimony of Ms. Gianna Jessen is available at http://judiciary.house.gov/\_cache/files/889e0f37-2d07-4ec1-919c-6006b0897cb3/gianna-jessen-testimony.pdf. The written testimony of Ms. Melissa Ohden is available at http://judiciary.house.gov/\_cache/files/38cc6128-84f3-4752-9c57-438096d3e3bd/melissa-ohden-testimony.pdf.

proof that some children survive the abortions that were intended to end their lives. These women are alive and thriving today because they, mercifully, were not abandoned after the failed abortion. Melissa testified that in her work as the Founder of The Abortion Survivor's Network "I have had contact with 203 other abortion survivors."

Yet Planned Parenthood publicly fights against obligations to provide care for the untold numbers of infants like Melissa and Gianna who are born alive after an attempted abortion.

For example, in 2013, a lobbyist for Planned Parenthood affiliates in Florida testified against the state Born Alive Infants Protection Act.<sup>5</sup> When asked by Rep. Jim Boyd "[i]f a baby is born on a table as a result of a botched abortion, what would Planned Parenthood want to have happen to that child that is struggling for life?" Planned Parenthood's lobbyist shockingly replied "[w]ell, we believe that any decision that's made should be left up to the woman, her family, and the physician."

In a follow-up question, Rep. Daniel Davis repeated the concern to Planned Parenthood's lobbyist. "What happens in a situation where a baby is alive, breathing on a table, moving? What do your physicians do at that point?" he asked. The lobbyist, there on behalf of Planned Parenthood to testify against the bill, replied "umm, I do not have that information. I am not a physician, I am not an abortion provider. So I do not have that information."

Another legislator, Rep. Jose Oliva, asked again about the fate of abortion survivors: "You stated that a baby born alive on a table as a result of a botched abortion that that decision should be left

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Video footage of the hearing is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=6&v=qEv1afKaLhA.

to the doctor and the family. Is that what you're saying?" Planned Parenthood's lobbyist again reiterated "[t]hat decision should be between the patient and the health care provider."

Rep. Olivia then remarked "I think that at that point the patient would be the child struggling on the table, wouldn't you agree?" The Planned Parenthood lobbyist replied "[t]hat's a very good question. I really don't know how to answer that."

Planned Parenthood's vocal opposition to a law that would protect these infants it failed to kill during an abortion provides a conspicuous answer to the question. Earlier this year, Planned Parenthood similarly testified <u>against</u> a bill that would have provided protections for infants born alive in Colorado.

The videos released by the Center for Medical Progress provide insight into why Planned Parenthood vehemently opposes laws that require basic, compassionate care—laws that forbid standing idly by while an infant born alive struggles for her life. Comments made by employees of Planned Parenthood and tissue procurement companies raise credible concerns that many infants are born alive after an attempted induced abortion at Planned Parenthood.

Asked "is there still circulation in the heart once you isolate it?" Dr. Ben Van Handel, Executive Director, Novogenix Laboratories LLC replied: "So you know there are times when after the [abortion] procedure is done that the heart actually is still beating."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Dr. Van Handel's comments are featured in the Human Capital documentary web series, Episode 3: Planned Parenthood's Custom Abortions for Superior Product *available* at http://www.centerformedicalprogress.org/human-capital/documentary-web-series/.

Planned Parenthood of the Rocky Mountains, Vice President and Medical Director, Dr. Savita Ginde remarked that women sometimes deliver intact babies before Planned Parenthood is able to dismember them. "**Sometimes, we get- if someone delivers before we get to see them for a procedure, then they are intact**, but that's not what we go for."<sup>7</sup>

That women scheduled for abortions are delivering "intact babies" is confirmed by the experience of Perrin Larton, Procurement Manager for Advanced BioScience Resources (ABR). "I literally have had women come in and go in the OR and they're back out in 3 minutes and I'm going 'what's going on?' '**Oh yeah. The fetus was already in the vaginal canal whenever we put her in the stirrups it just fell out**."<sup>8</sup>

Planned Parenthood of the Gulf Coast, Ambulatory Surgical Center Director, Tram Nguyen explained multiple times that babies are delivered intact at Planned Parenthood<sup>9</sup>:

- "It varies by gestation, sometimes they come out really intact."
- "So it all depends, sometimes like I said, they come out really intact."
- "We can never intend to complete the procedure intact- you can't intend to, but it happens."

Cate Dyer, CEO, StemExpress, LLC, appears to confirm that intact babies are a common experience: "[i]f you had **intact cases, which we've done a lot**, we sometimes ship those back to our lab in its entirety."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Full footage and transcripts for each interview with Planned Parenthood's employees are available at http://www.centerformedicalprogress.org/cmp/investigative-footage/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Perrin Larton's comments are featured in the Human Capital documentary web series, Episode 3: Planned Parenthood's Custom Abortions for Superior Product *available* at http://www.centerformedicalprogress.org/human-capital/documentary-web-series/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Full footage and transcripts for each interview with Planned Parenthood's employees are available at http://www.centerformedicalprogress.org/cmp/investigative-footage/.

The testimony of Holly O'Donnell, a former procurement technician for StemExpress, LLC, confirms the necessity of a full-scale investigation into the failure to provide care for infants born alive. She describes the harrowing experience of procuring a brain from a baby whose heart was beating after an attempted abortion:

This is the most gestated fetus and the closest thing to a baby I've ever seen... and **she taps the heart and it starts beating**... I knew why that was happening, the nodes were still firing and **I don't know if that means it's technically dead or it's alive**. It had a face, it wasn't completely torn up. Its nose was pronounced. It had eyelids. ... Since the fetus was so intact she said 'ok, well, this is a really good fetus and it looks like we can procure a lot from it. We're going to procure brain.<sup>11</sup>

With this kind of whistleblower testimony, Congress must respond. The proposal introduced by Rep. Blackburn represents an important first step. Americans should not be forced to continue to fund individuals and entities that run an inhumane business of infanticide.

Further, steps are necessary to truly ensure the enforcement of the most basic human right to life for these infants who survive attempted abortions. Without criminal penalties or other enforcement mechanisms, unborn children born during abortions face a bleak outlook. The federal *Born Alive Infant Protection Act* needs criminal penalties, and abortion workers need to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Full footage and transcript for the interview with Cate Dyer is available at

http://www.centerformedicalprogress.org/cmp/investigative-footage/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Holly O'Donnell's testimony is featured in the documentary web series, "Human Captial," which is available at: http://www.centerformedicalprogress.org/human-capital/documentary-web-series/.

know that they can report violations to law enforcement—in fact, it is their ethical and legal duty to do so.

II. PLANNED PARENTHOOD IS A KNOWN PROPONENT OF PERFORMING PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTIONS.

Federal law prohibits knowingly performing a partial-birth abortion. 18 U.S.C. § 1531.

The Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003 was enacted with strong bipartisan support in both the House<sup>12</sup> and Senate.<sup>13</sup> In 2007, against the protest of Planned Parenthood, the United States Supreme Court upheld the commonsense, common-ground federal legislation in Gonzales v. Carhart.<sup>14</sup>

The Supreme Court explained that "[t]here can be no doubt the government 'has an interest in protecting the integrity and ethics of the medical profession."<sup>15</sup>

The Court explained that Congress had fairly concluded that "specific regulation" was necessary to ban abortions that involve the partial delivery of a living baby. Partial-birth abortion "implicates additional ethical and moral concerns that justify a special prohibition."<sup>16</sup> Citing to the Congressional Findings, the Court held that Congress was justified in proscribing an abortion procedure with a "disturbing similarity" to infanticide:

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See http://clerk.house.gov/evs/2003/roll530.xml
<sup>13</sup> See http://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll\_call\_lists/roll\_call\_vote\_cfm.cfm?congress=108&session=1&vote=00402

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 550 U.S. 124 (2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> *Id.* at 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> *Id.* at 158.

"Congress determined that the abortion methods it proscribed had a 'disturbing similarity to the killing of a newborn infant,' Congressional Findings  $\P$  (14)(L), and thus it was concerned with 'draw[ing] a bright line that clearly distinguishes abortion and infanticide,'" $\P$  (14)(G).<sup>17</sup>

As with the federal protections for infants born alive, *life*, not "viability," is the relevant marker for protecting a child who is mere inches away from birth from being killed in a partial-birth abortion.

Planned Parenthood's brazen public opposition to the federal and state laws restricting its use of partial-birth abortion predates the now-viral videos released by the Center for Medical Progress.

While the infamous late-term abortionist Leroy Carhart may be memorialized as the named challenger to the law, it bears remembering that Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) along with several of its Planned Parenthood affiliates also challenged this legal restraint to its ability to run its business in a "disturbingly similar" fashion to infanticide.<sup>18</sup>

In that case, *Gonzales v. Planned Parenthood Federation of America*, Americans United for Life represented the American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists (AAPLOG), Senator Tom Coburn, M.D., Representative Michael Burgess, M.D., Representative Phil Gingrey, M.D., Representative Dave Weldon, M.D., C. Everett Koop, M.D., ScD., Edmund D. Pellegrino, M.D. in an *amicus curiae* filed brief before the Supreme Court. Our brief countered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> 550 U.S. 124, 158 (2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Gonzales v. Carhart was decided together with 05-1382, Gonzales, v. Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc., et al., on certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

false claims presented by the abortion industry to preserve its practice of infanticide, detailing how partial-birth abortions are not "the safest medical option" and are never "medically necessary."<sup>19</sup> The gruesome and inhumane partial-birth abortion procedure benefits neither mothers nor babies.

The videos released by the Center for Medical Progress confirm Planned Parenthood's continued opposition to any constraints on its infanticide-like business. Specifically, comments made by Dr. Deborah Nucatola, Senior Medical Director of Planned Parenthood Federation of America, raise credible questions about whether abortionists today, including those at Planned Parenthood, violate the spirit and the letter of the federal Partial Birth Abortion Ban and similar state laws.<sup>20</sup>

In her discussion with undercover actors, Planned Parenthood's Dr. Nucatola defiantly dismisses the federal *Partial Birth Abortion Ban*—intended to uphold the integrity of the medical profession and draw a bright line against infanticide— as "up to interpretation" for abortionists like herself. "[**T]he Federal Abortion Ban is a law, and laws are up to interpretation**. So there are some people who interpret it as intent. So if I say on Day 1 I do not intend to do this,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The AUL brief is available at http://aul.org/files/amicus-briefs/pdf/GonzalesvPP.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Twenty state prohibitions on partial-birth abortion are in effect. Ten states laws apply throughout pregnancy and have either been upheld in court or mirror the federal partial-birth abortion ban: Arizona, Arkansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Utah and Virginia. Seven state laws apply throughout pregnancy and have never been challenged in court: Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Tennessee. Three state laws apply only after viability: Georgia, Montana, and New Mexico Twelve state laws banning partial-birth abortion are enjoined (most were invalidated by the U.S. Supreme Court's 2000 decision in *Stenberg v. Carhart* and have not been re-enacted under the auspices of the Court's subsequent decision in *Gonzales v. Carhart*): Alabama, Alaska, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Nebraska, New Jersey, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. For more information and Americans United for Life's model legislation *Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act see* Defending Life 2015: 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition *available at* http://www.aul.org/defending-life-2015/.

what ultimately happens doesn't matter. Because I didn't intend to do this on Day 1, so I'm complying with the law."<sup>21</sup>

Of particular concern is Dr. Nucatola's description about "steps that can be taken to try to ensure" procurement of brain tissue:

And with the calvarium [head], in general, some people will actually try to change the presentation so that it's not vertex, because when it's vertex presentation, you never have enough dilation at the beginning of the case, unless you have real, huge amount of dilation to deliver an intact calvarium. So if you do it starting from the breech presentation, there's dilation that happens as the case goes on, and often, the last, you can evacuate an intact calvarium at the end.

The abortion process described by Dr. Nucatola—deliberately changing the baby to breech presentation so that the mother is dilated enough by the time the abortionist is ready to deliver the baby's head, or as she says "evacuate an intact calvarium at the end"—has a troubling similarity to the description of an illegal partial-birth abortion.<sup>22</sup>

The disturbing account offered by Dr. Nucatola, in her words, describes what abortionists "in general" actually do to procure a baby's brain tissue. Not mere speculation or theory, Dr. Nucatola boasted to the undercover actors "[a]nd, we've been pretty successful with that, I'd say."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Full footage and transcripts for each interview with Planned Parenthood's employees are available at http://www.centerformedicalprogress.org/cmp/investigative-footage/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Gonzales v. Carhart, 550 U.S. 124, 138 (2007).

Planned Parenthood's Senior Medical Director described how she, in fact, treats abortions differently based on whether or not she intends to harvest a baby's body parts. When asked "how much of a difference can that actually make if you know kind of what's expected or what [body parts] we need?" Dr. Nucatola replied: "It makes a huge difference."

At Planned Parenthood, a procurement company's order-list for baby organs "makes a huge difference" but the federal law's clear prohibition on partial-birth abortions is open to "interpretation."

The proposal to permit states to disassociate taxpayer dollars from an organization that runs a business tantamount to infanticide is a minimum solution. Congress can and should protect the integrity of Medicaid by enacting that proposal.

# III. PLANNED PARENTHOOD'S UNETHICAL AND POTENTIALLY ILLEGAL ACTIVITY HAS CORPORATE SUPPORT.

The facts also raise probable cause that Planned Parenthood Federation of America has created an enterprise engaged in the coordinated violation of these laws. For example, statements made by Planned Parenthood employees illustrate that Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA) coordinates its affiliates' potentially unethical and illegal practice of harvesting baby body parts in concert with others and that these practices are already pervasive in California and expanding throughout the United States.<sup>23</sup>

PPFA's enterprise liability is illustrated by the knowledge and complicity of its control persons, especially when they consciously turn a blind eye regarding the activities of its affiliates. For example, Dr. Deborah Nucatola, Senior Medical Director, stated at several places in the video of CMP's lunch meeting with her that the PPFA legal department was well aware of the harvesting and selling of the body parts of aborted unborn infants by many of its affiliates, but advised against issuing written national guidelines, protocols or standards regarding the practice. Willful blindness by an organization or enterprise like Planned Parenthood Federation of America does not exculpate the organization from criminal liability. *See, e.g.*, <u>United States v. Bank of New England</u>, 821 F. 2d 844, 855 (1<sup>st</sup> Cir. 1987).

Taken together, there is probable cause to investigate whether in their fetal organ harvesting scheme PPFA, its affiliates, and the tissue procurement companies they contract with have violated other federal laws, including conspiracy in violation of 18 U.S.C. § 371, and engaging in racketeering in violation of the "Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act" ("RICO"), 18 U.S.C. § 1961-1968.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Americans United for Life's legal memorandum documenting specific statements made by current and former employees of Planned Parenthood and tissue procurement companies, based on all the full unedited video transcripts released by CMP, which raise probable cause that PPFA violated federal law is available at http://investigatebigabortion.com/legal-response-to-planned-parenthood-profiteering/.

IV. FORMER PLANNED PARENTHOOD EMPLOYEES FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY HAVE TESTIFIED TO PLANNED PARENTHOOD'S OTHER DANGEROUS AND UNETHICAL PRACTICES.

The most troubling practices uncovered by the Center for Medical Progress adds to evidence that there is systemic and organization-wide abuse at Planned Parenthood.

For example, in 2012, two nurses left Planned Parenthood in Delaware, not because of a change of heart regarding abortion, but—as they testified before the Delaware Senate—because of the abortion clinic's deplorable safety conditions including "meat-market-style, assembly-line abortions."<sup>24</sup>

Sue Thayer, a former Planned Parenthood of the Heartland employee, was fired in 2008 after she began to voice safety concerns surrounding Planned Parenthood's "telemedicine" abortion practice.<sup>25</sup> As she recalls, her supervisors rationalized this practice of dispensing abortion drugs to patients after a video-conference with the abortionist (rather than an in-person exam) by pointing to their lower overhead costs. In her "whistleblower" lawsuit, Ms. Thayer alleges that, lacking the ability to care for these women at their own facilities, Planned Parenthood's telemedicine abortion patients who later experienced significant bleeding were told "to go to an emergency room and report that they were experiencing a spontaneous miscarriage."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Full text of Jane Mitchell-Werbrich's testimony before the Delaware Senate on May 29, 2013, *available at* http://aul.org/downloads/jayne\_mitchell-werbrich\_testimony.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> See http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2012/jan/31/planned-parenthoods-big-lie/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Second Amended Complaint at 45, United States and Iowa *ex rel* Thayer v. Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, No. CV00129 (S.D. Iowa July 26, 2012). Ms. Thayer is represented by the Alliance Defending Freedom. This case

Former Planned Parenthood officers and employees from across the nation have previously written to the Energy & Commerce Committee that they are "prepared to testify to incidents [they] have witnessed" in which Planned Parenthood affiliates and employees have, among other things, failed to:

- "Notify parents when a vulnerable girl is seeking an abortion, including instances when the minor girl is the victim of an act of statutory rape under applicable state law;"
- "Detect and act upon instances where a girl or woman was brought to the clinic under some degree of coercion, up to and including where the girl was subjected to human trafficking and was a victim of a crime."

In their letter to the Committee, several former Planned Parenthood officers and employers "personally attest" that Planned Parenthood "has operated as a law unto itself, gladly accepting tens of millions of dollars in taxpayer support while using the rubric of 'reproductive rights' to claim an exemption from the normal standards of accountability that every other recipient of public funds is expected to meet."<sup>27</sup>

has been brought under the federal False Claims Act, 31 U.S.C. §3729 et seq., and the Iowa False Claims Act, Iowa Code Ann. § 685 et seq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> For this and the previous two quotations: Letter from Catherine Adair, et al., Former Employees of Planned Parenthood, to Hon. Fred Upton, Chairman, U.S. House of Representatives Energy and Commerce Comm. & Hon. Henry Waxman, Ranking Member, U.S. House of Representatives Energy and Commerce Comm. (Dec. 7, 2011), *available at* http://aul.org/downloads/12.7.11\_former\_employees\_of\_planned\_parenthood\_letter\_to\_congress\_0.pdf

In our ongoing effort to document the truth about Planned Parenthood, AUL has detailed these and other cases of Planned Parenthood abuses in the following publications:

- The Case for Investigating Planned Parenthood,
- The Planned Parenthood Exhibits,
- Abortion Inc.—Cecile Richards' Planned Parenthood, and
- The New Leviathan: How Planned Parenthood Has Become Abortion, Inc.

The AUL reports are available at http://www.aul.org/new-leviathan/ and are included as appendices to this testimony.

#### CONCLUSION

Testifying before the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight in 2011, Office of Inspector General Chief Counsel Lewis Morris addressed efforts to combat health care fraud, calling exclusion from participating in Federal health care programs "one of the most powerful tools in our arsenal." He explained that "Program exclusions bolster our fraud-fighting efforts by removing from the Federal health care programs those who pose the greatest risk to programs and beneficiaries."<sup>28</sup>

However, Morris also described part of the problem in health care funding abuse to be that some providers believe they are "too big to fire' and thus the Office of the Inspector General would never exclude them and thereby risk compromising the welfare of our beneficiaries."<sup>29</sup> Morris testified that his office is "concerned that providers that engage in health care fraud may consider civil penalties and criminal fines a cost of doing business. As long as the profit from fraud outweighs those costs, abusive corporate behavior is likely to continue."<sup>30</sup>

The sentiment that it is "too big to fire" is the heart of Planned Parenthood's messaging that attempts to hold the American public hostage to its business of infanticide. However, a review of Planned Parenthood Federation of America's annual reports shows that over the last decade the organization has had a dramatically shrinking influence in nearly every sphere except

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Hearing on efforts to combat health care fraud, Before the Subcomm. on Oversight of the H. Comm. on Ways and Means, 112<sup>th</sup> Cong. 5 (2011) (statement of Lewis Morris, Chief Counsel to the Inspector Gen., U.S. Dep't of Health & Human Servs.), available at http://oig.hhs.gov/testimony/docs/2011/morris\_testimony\_03022011.pdf (last visited Mar. 21, 2011).
<sup>29</sup> Id. at 6.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  *Id*.

abortion and STI testing. As Americans United for Life has documented, non-controversial services at Planned Parenthood, such as cancer screenings and prenatal services, have sharply declined.<sup>31</sup>

Planned Parenthood cannot be permitted to operate with violations of the laws against serious human rights violations, such as killing infants born alive and partial-birth abortions, as an insubstantial cost of doing business. Having shown that it cannot resist the financial incentives for delivering intact babies, targeting their organs for harvesting, Planned Parenthood cannot be allowed to continue this inhumane business unchecked.

Additionally, Americans should not be forced to fund such unethical and abhorrent practices. Instead they should, through their elected state representatives, be able to reject subsidizing with their tax dollars an organization that has been revealed to be violating commonly held standards of decency and whose actions give probable cause for investigation into multiple felonies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See e.g., Abortion Inc., Cecile Richards' Planned Parenthood, Americans United for Life, available at http://www.aul.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Abortion-Inc.pdf.