



MEMORANDUM

FROM: Kurtis Anderson
RE: Evidence From the 2018 GAO Report on Federal Funding For Select Organizations & Health Care Funding Supports Defunding Planned Parenthood
DATE: March 26, 2018

Introduction

The U.S. government just released its own accounting of, among other things, the \$1.3 billion federal taxpayer dollars allocated to Planned Parenthood from 2013–2015.¹ This report confirms Planned Parenthood received enough federal funds to effectively pay for every abortion they performed from 2013–2015, and that millions in federal funds were directly available for abortions abroad. Additionally, federal funds may have aided in the illegal sale of fetal tissue in California.

It is time to hold Planned Parenthood and its allies accountable and end their federal funding. Providing for women’s healthcare is vitally important, but Planned Parenthood is not the only option; there are better alternatives that will use these dollars for actual women’s healthcare rather than abortions. The evidence is all right there in black and white.

In 2016, 120 House and Senate Members sent a letter to the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO).² This letter requested an updated accounting of all federal taxpayer dollars allocated to and spent by Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA), the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), and Marie Stopes International (MSI) from 2013–2015. The letter also requested statistics on Federally Qualified Health Centers (FQHC).

In response, the GAO performed an in-depth accounting of federal obligations and expenditures granted to these organizations. The facts are contained in this latest report.³ The report breaks down which organizations received obligated federal funds, which federal programs those funds were associated with, how much each organization spent in federal funds, and on which services and programs each organization used those funds. The report also

¹ U.S. Government Accountability Office, *GAO-18-204R Federal Funds for Selected Organizations* (March 6, 2018), <https://www.gao.gov/assets/700/690490.pdf>.

² See the letter here: <https://black.house.gov/sites/black.house.gov/files/03-04-2015%20Letter%20to%20Dodaro%20re%20federal%20funds%20for%20PP%26affiliates%20for%20FY%202010-2012.pdf>.

³ See *GAO-18-204R*, 4–7.

specifies which Planned Parenthood affiliates received federal funds and how much each unit received.⁴

Critical Insights from the GAO Report

This GAO report also provides new troubling insights into the relationship between abortion providers and federal funding. The report, combined with other analytics, supports three key conclusions: First, funding PPFA with federal taxpayer dollars has empowered tragic and potentially illegal abortion practices. Second, millions in U.S. federal taxpayer dollars have directly funded abortions abroad through funds allocated to IPPF and MSI. Third, there is no reason to provide federal taxpayer funding to Planned Parenthood; FQHCs provide ten times more comprehensive health services in the U.S. than PPFA without performing a single abortion.

I. Planned Parenthood’s Abortion Business, Including its Potentially Illicit Activities, is Empowered and Enabled by Hundreds of Millions of Federal Taxpayer Dollars.

In 2015, PPFA performed 328,384 abortions in the United States.⁵ During the reporting period, from 2013–2015, PPFA performed nearly 1 million abortions.⁶

During that same period, from 2013-2015, according to the GAO report, PPFA received almost \$1.3 billion in federal tax dollars.⁷ The vast majority of these funds came from federal reimbursements. During the reporting period, PPFA received over \$1.2 billion from Medicaid reimbursement payments,⁸ \$2.4 million from Medicare reimbursement payments,⁹ and \$390,000 from Children’s Health Insurance Program (CHIP) reimbursements.¹⁰ Most of the remaining funds received by PPFA during the reporting period came from Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) grants, totaling nearly \$90 million.¹¹

While none of that federal money is legally allowed to fund abortions, all money is fungible if not simply transferable. Every dime given to PPFA for its shrinking women’s health

⁴ *Id.* at 44–52; 56–59.

⁵ Planned Parenthood (PPFA), *2015–2016 Annual Report*, https://www.plannedparenthood.org/uploads/filer_public/18/40/1840b04b-55d3-4c00-959d-11817023ffc8/20170526_annualreport_p02_singles.pdf.

⁶ In 2015, PPFA performed 328,384 abortions. *See supra* *2015–2016 Annual Report*, 25. In 2014, PPFA performed 323,999 abortions. *See* Planned Parenthood (PPFA), *2014–2015 Annual Report*, https://www.plannedparenthood.org/files/2114/5089/0863/2014-2015_PPFA_Annual_Report_.pdf, 30. In 2013, PPFA performed 327,653 abortions. *See* Planned Parenthood (PPFA), *2013–2014 Annual Report*, https://www.plannedparenthood.org/files/6714/1996/2641/2013-2014_Annual_Report_FINAL_WEB_VERSION.pdf, 18. Thus, in total, from 2013–2015, PPFA performed 980,036 abortions.

⁷ *GAO-18-204R*, 5, 7.

⁸ *Id.* at 57–58.

⁹ *Id.* at 59–59.

¹⁰ *Id.* at 56.

¹¹ *Id.* at 45–25.

program¹² is another that it can spend on abortions and abortion related services. Moreover, PPFA uses deceptive reporting¹³ to hide from scrutiny how these federal dollars directly support their abortion practice. Every abortion requires testing, screenings, and consultations.¹⁴ Yet, PPFA lists each of these services separately and reports them in other categories like “Other Women’s Health Services,”¹⁵ even if the ultimate result of that pregnancy test was to terminate it.

According to the GAO report, the \$1.3 billion in federal taxpayer dollars PPFA received from 2013–2015 represents nearly half the income for PPFA affiliates in the U.S. for that period.¹⁶ In fact, the GAO report even details exactly how much each PPFA affiliate received in federal funds,¹⁷ and the top five recipients of these federal taxpayer dollars were all located in California.¹⁸ Combined, these five PPFA affiliates received approximately \$662 million from 2013–2015.¹⁹ That is more than half of all federal funds allocated to PPFA over those three years.

In 2016, four of these five PPFA affiliates, which had received \$544 million, were referred to the Department of Justice (DOJ) for possible criminal misconduct for the illegal sale of fetal tissue.²⁰ In December 2017, the DOJ confirmed it was launching a federal investigation into allegations of this dehumanizing criminal act.²¹

¹² For example, in 2016, PPFA performed over 100,000 fewer contraceptive services, over 5,000 fewer HPV treatments and vaccinations, 21% fewer prenatal services, and 57% fewer miscarriage care services than they did in 2015. Compare PPFA’s 2015–2016 *Annual Report* and their 2014–2015 *Annual Report*. See *supra* fn. 5 and 6. The same trend can be seen when comparing PPFA’s 2014 and 2015 reporting. See *supra* fn. 6. See also ACLJ, “Taxpayer Funding, and Profits Soar; Prenatal Series and Cancer Screenings Plummet,” *ACLJ.org*, July 2016, <https://aclj.org/pro-life/shocking-planned-parenthood-annual-report-shows-abortions-taxpayer-funding-and-profits-soar-prenatal-services-and-cancer-screenings-plummet>; ACLJ, “A Balance Sheet of Death: Planned Parenthood’s Abortion Business Profits Continue to Soar as Prenatal and Miscarriage ‘Services’ Precipitously Dwindle,” *ACLJ.org*, Jan. 2018, <https://aclj.org/pro-life/a-balance-sheet-of-death-planned-parenthoods-abortion-business-profits-continue-to-soar-as-prenatal-and-miscarriage-services-precipitously-dwindle>.

¹³ See ACLJ, “Taxpayer Funding and Profits Soar;” ACLJ, “A Balance Sheet of Death.” See also ACLJ, “332,278 Lives Taken in 2009 at U.S. Government Expenses,” *ACLJ.org*, 2016, <https://aclj.org/planned-parenthood/332278-lives-taken-2009-us-government-expense>.

¹⁴ See e.g. “What Happens During An In-Clinic Abortion?,” *PlannedParenthood.org*, Accessed March 20, 2018, <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/learn/abortion/in-clinic-abortion-procedures/what-happens-during-an-in-clinic-abortion>.

¹⁵ See e.g. PPFA, 2014–2015 *Annual Report*, 30.

¹⁶ *GAO-18-204R*, 17.

¹⁷ *Id.* at 44–52, 56–59.

¹⁸ *Id.* The five PPFA affiliates that received the most federal funds were Planned Parenthood Mar Monte (\$229 million), Planned Parenthood of Orange & San Bernardino Counties, Inc. (\$118 million), Planned Parenthood Los Angeles (\$106 million), Planned Parenthood Pacific Southwest, Inc. (\$105 million), and Planned Parenthood Northern California (\$104 million).

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ The four affiliates referred to the DOJ were Planned Parenthood Mare Monte, Planned Parenthood Shasta Pacific (Northern California), Planned Parenthood Los Angeles, and Planned Parenthood Pacific Southwest. See the letter here: [https://archives-energycommerce.house.gov/sites/republicans.energycommerce.house.gov/files/documents/114/letters/2016-DOJ%20\(PP%20and%20Novo\)%20\(REDACTED\).pdf](https://archives-energycommerce.house.gov/sites/republicans.energycommerce.house.gov/files/documents/114/letters/2016-DOJ%20(PP%20and%20Novo)%20(REDACTED).pdf)

²¹ Brooke Singman & Jake Gibson, “Planned Parenthood Under Investigation by Justice Department Over Sale of Fetal Tissue,” *Fox News*, Dec. 7, 2017, www.foxnews.com/politics/2017/12/07/planned-parenthood-under-investigation-by-justice-department-over-sale-fetal-tissue.html.

In short, these findings confirm two tragic realities:

- 1) Over half a billion in federal taxpayer dollars, totaling over 40% of all federal dollars received by PPFA from 2013–2015 went to those four PPFA affiliates that are now the target of a federal investigation for illegally selling fetal body tissue.
- 2) Given the \$1.3 billion in fungible federal funds received by PPFA from 2013–2015 and the 980,036 abortions performed by PPFA in that same period, based on the PPFA’s own assessment of abortion costs,²² the American taxpayers provided enough funding to effectively cover every single abortion provided by PPFA from 2013–2015.

II. Millions in U.S. Federal Taxpayer Dollars Have Been Used by Planned Parenthood and Marie Stopes to Perform Abortions and Abortion-Related Services Internationally.

From 2013–2015, IPPF provided more than 11 million abortion-related services worldwide, including performing at least 2.8 million abortions.²³ IPPF, unlike PPFA, does not attempt to hide their abortion business; they lay it out clearly in charts and graphics in every annual report.²⁴ They even set a five-year goal to provide 20.4 million abortions and abortion related services from 2010–2015.²⁵ They trumpet their 2015 numbers as a 140% increase from 2010 and call it “year-on-year progress.”²⁶

From 2013–2015, MSI provided more than 9 million abortions and post-abortion services worldwide.²⁷ They provided 3.46 million abortions in 2015 alone.²⁸ They proudly boast of their “success” noting that they provide “around 19%” of all abortion and post abortion services in countries where they operate.²⁹

²² According to PPFA, an abortion can cost as much as \$950. See “How Much Does An Abortion Cost?,” *Planned Parenthood.org*, Dec. 30, 2014, Accessed March 20, 2018, <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/learn/teens/ask-experts/how-much-does-an-abortion-cost>.

²³ In 2013, IPPF provided 2,956,777 abortions and abortion-related services, including 874,868 abortions. See IPPF, *Annual Performance Report 2013–2014*, https://www.ippf.org/sites/default/files/ole_apr2013-14_0.pdf. In 2014, IPPF provided 3,779,883 abortions and abortion-related services, including 977,189 abortions. See IPPF, *Annual Performance Report 2014–2015*, https://www.ippf.org/sites/default/files/ippf_apr2014_15_web_6.pdf. In 2015, IPPF provided 4,263,898 abortion and abortion-related services, including 964,325 abortions. See IPPF, *Annual Performance Report 2015–2016*, https://www.ippf.org/sites/default/files/2016-10/annualperformancereport2015_web.pdf.

²⁴ See *Annual Performance Report 2013–2014*, 18; *Annual Performance Report 2014–2015*, 17; *Annual Performance Report 2015–2016*, 14.

²⁵ *Annual Performance Report 2015-2016*, 12.

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ MSI provided over 3 million abortion and post-abortion care services every year from 2013–2015, increasing their services every year. Marie Stopes International (MSI), *Financial Statements and Annual Report 2016*, https://mariestopes.org/media/3014/17_pd9781_ms_ar_revised_spread_lr.pdf, 20.

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ *Id.*

Thus, in total, from 2013–2015, IPPF and MSI provided 20 million abortion-related services. Worse still, millions of U.S. federal taxpayer dollars more than likely helped to pay for this tragic loss of life and violation of the basic right of human dignity.

According to the GAO report, from 2013–2015, IPPF and MSI were allocated over \$81 million in U.S. federal taxpayer dollars.³⁰ In that time, the total expenditure of U.S. federal taxpayer dollars by IPPF and MSI totaled over \$121 million.³¹ These funds came from HHS and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).³²

Although \$121 million in expended federal funds may pale in comparison to the nearly \$1.3 billion in federal funding received by PPFA during the reporting period, and while much of that money was earmarked for different expenses, these federal funds, unlike those spent domestically by PPFA, may have directly funded any one of the millions of abortions performed by IPPF and MSI from 2013–2015. To be clear, tens of millions in federal taxpayer dollars could have directly funded any number of the millions of abortions provided by IPPF and MSI during the reporting period.

Thankfully, the Administration’s Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance policy (PLGHA) ends this tragic use of federal foreign assistance funds.³³

In January 2017, the Trump Administration, like every Republican administration since Ronald Reagan began the policy in 1984, reinstated the Mexico City Policy.³⁴ This policy prohibits foreign non-governmental organizations from receiving federal funds if they perform or promote abortion.³⁵ This policy covered approximately \$575 million a year.³⁶ PGLHA extended this ban on federal funding for overseas abortions to cover \$8.8 billion in federal foreign aid.³⁷

In short, from 2013–2015, the U.S. government gave tens of millions in federal taxpayer dollars to IPPF and MSI. By law, these federal funds could have been directly used to fund or promote abortions. During that same period, IPPF and MSI provided over 20 million abortion-related services. Any number of these could have been paid for with American taxpayer dollars. No more. PLGHA now ensures the U.S. Government and U.S. taxpayers will no longer be involved in funding abortions abroad.

³⁰ *GAO-18-204R*, 5. IPPF was allocated \$2.21 million from HHS and \$11.59 million from USAID. MSI was allocated \$63.93 million from USAID. Both IPPF and MSI combined were allocated an additional \$3 million from USAID for “contraceptive commodities.” *See Id.* 5 fn. 13.

³¹ *Id.* IPPF expended \$13.97 million and MSI expended \$107.41 million.

³² *See supra* fn. 30 and fn. 31.

³³ Office of the Spokesperson, “Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance,” *U.S. Department of State*, May 15, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2017/05/270866.htm>.

³⁴ Jay Sekulow, “Pro-Life Victory: White House Launches ‘Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance,’” *ACLJ.org*, Jan. 2017, <https://aclj.org/pro-life-victory-white-house-launches-protecting-life-in-global-health-assistance>.

³⁵ *Id.* For more details on the Mexico City policy *see Against the Will of the People, at Home and Abroad: President Obama Expected to Repeal Mexico City Policy* (Jan. 22, 2009), http://media.aclj.org/pdf/aclj_obamaexpectedtorepealmexicocitypolicy.pdf.

³⁶ Sekulow, “Pro-Life Victory.”

³⁷ *Id.* For more details on the extent of the PLGHA policy *see* Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance, “Protecting Life in Global Health Assistance Six-Month Review,” *U.S. Department of State*, Feb. 6, 2018, <https://www.state.gov/f/releases/other/278012.htm>.

III. There is No Reason for the Federal Government to Continue to Fund Planned Parenthood or its Affiliates and Allies; There are Better Alternatives: FQHCs.

There are thousands of alternative community healthcare providers which combine to perform more than ten times the number of comprehensive healthcare services to at-risk and minority communities as PPFA without providing a single abortion. Women's healthcare matters, but PPFA is not the only one who can provide it.

The GAO report details the federal funding provided to, and the healthcare services provided by, Federally Qualified Health Centers (FQHC).³⁸ FQHCs are a network of over 1,400 community-based healthcare providers with over 9,800 service delivery sites in the U.S., covering all 50 States.³⁹ FQHCs provide comprehensive primary healthcare services to anyone, regardless of their ability to pay. Their services include diagnostic testing, disease treatment, and preventative care, including family planning, prenatal, postpartum, and other women's healthcare services.⁴⁰

The GAO report describes FQHCs as “part of the nation's safety net.”⁴¹ Armed with \$18.6 billion in federal funds, in 2015 alone,⁴² FQHCs provided nearly 100 million clinical visits, providing dental, medical, mental health, vision, and substance abuse services to over 25 million individuals, including 14.5 million women, most of whom self-identified as racial or ethnic minorities.⁴³

In 2015 alone, FQHCs provided more than ten times the healthcare services to more than ten times the number of individuals and more than five times more women than PPFA did in that same year.⁴⁴ They even provided more women's health services than PPFA.⁴⁵ For example, FQHCs provided more than 45% more mammograms⁴⁶ and seven times more pap tests.⁴⁷ FQHCs also provided more than 5 million medical services to infants and children.⁴⁸

In short, FQHCs provided more healthcare services to more individuals, including women, than PPFA, and did so without providing a single abortion. FQHCs are a better and more comprehensive healthcare safety net than Planned Parenthood. This is where federal

³⁸ *GAO-18-204R*, 15, 18, 24.

³⁹ *Id.* at 4.

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ *Id.* at 15.

⁴² *Id.* at 24, 56. In 2015, FQHCs were allocated \$7.5 billion from HHS. In that same year, FQHCs received \$9.6 billion in Medicaid reimbursements and 1.4 billion in Medicare reimbursements.

⁴³ *Id.* at 18–19.

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 20. In 2015, PPFA provided 9.5 million health services to 2.4 million individuals, who were likely all women.

⁴⁵ *Id.* at 19–20.

⁴⁶ *Id.* In 2015, PPFA provided 321,700 “breast exams.” In contrast, FQHCs provided approximately 590,000 “mammograms.”

⁴⁷ *Id.* In 2015, PPFA provided 293,799 “pap tests.” In contrast, FQHCs provided approximately 2.06 million “pap tests.”

⁴⁸ *Id.*

taxpayer dollars should be going to help women and minorities in vulnerable populations. The GAO report only makes the necessity of defunding Planned Parenthood all the more clear.

Conclusion

To conclude, it is clear that this GAO report has confirmed, with government numbers, much of what we at the ACLJ have known and regularly reported on for years.⁴⁹ Planned Parenthood is in the business of providing abortions, and federal funding has only empowered and enabled this industry⁵⁰ to profit at the expense of human lives.

The GAO report also allowed for new tragic revelations: hundreds of millions of our federal taxpayer dollars were being sent to Planned Parenthood affiliates that are now under investigation for the sale of fetal body tissue, and tens of millions of dollars in federal foreign aid were available to directly support and provide abortions abroad.

Thankfully, the GAO report provides clarity on a welcome alternative to this tragic misuse of federal funds in the name of women's healthcare: FQHCs. Rather than spend another dime on Planned Parenthood, there are hundreds of local community healthcare providers equipped to provide care to men, women, and families in need in every state in the U.S. While women's healthcare remains vital, Planned Parenthood is not.

At the ACLJ, we have defended Crisis Pregnancy Centers as a pro-life alternative to Planned Parenthood that actually cares about women's health.⁵¹ We have fought for decades to expose⁵² and defund⁵³ Planned Parenthood. This latest GAO report vindicates our reporting and our position: it is time to fund a better healthcare safety net for our country and our families.

⁴⁹ ACLJ, "Five Things You Need to Know about Defunding Planned Parenthood," *ACLJ.org*, Feb. 2017, <https://aclj.org/pro-life/five-things-you-need-to-know-about-defunding-planned-parenthood>.

⁵⁰ "ACLJ, "A Balance Sheet of Death."

⁵¹ Michelle Terry, "Stop Forcing Pro-Life Pregnancy Centers to Promote Abortion," *ACLJ.org*, June 2017, <https://aclj.org/pro-life/stop-forcing-pro-life-pregnancy-centers-to-promote-abortion>.

⁵² Edward White, "Supreme Court Orders Response in Big Abortion Case," *ACLJ.org*, Dec. 2017, <https://aclj.org/pro-life/supreme-court-orders-response-in-big-abortion-case>.

⁵³ See ACLJ, "A Balance Sheet of Death;" ACLJ, "Taxpayer Funding, and Profits Soar."