## Congress of the United States Washington, DC 20515

July 1, 2021

The Honorable Xavier Becerra
Secretary
U.S. Department of Health & Human Services
Hubert H. Humphrey Building
200 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

## Secretary Becerra:

As Members of Congress, we have an obligation to ensure all executive branch officials work to uphold and defend the Constitution and our nation's fundamental rights and freedoms. This duty includes ensuring that existing legal protections for unborn children and conscience rights are properly enforced. We write to express our concern that, although you have repeatedly committed to follow the law, you denied the existence of the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003 (18 U.S. Code §1531) and then deflected questions about whether you would enforce it. We ask you to restate in writing your commitment to impartially enforcing the law and to clarify that you recognize the existence of the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act and will uphold it.

The Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003 is included in federal law under Chapter 1531 of Title 18 of the U.S. Code where it is entitled "Partial-birth abortions prohibited." The law makes it illegal to "[perform] a partial-birth abortion," which it defines as "deliberately and intentionally vaginally delivers a living fetus until, in the case of a head-first presentation, the entire fetal head is outside the body of the mother, or, in the case of breech presentation, any part of the fetal trunk past the navel is outside the body of the mother, for the purpose of performing an overt act that the person knows will kill the partially delivered living fetus."

We are grateful that this gruesome procedure was made illegal when the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act passed Congress and was signed into law on November 5, 2003. <sup>1</sup> It was upheld by the Supreme Court in *Gonzales v. Carhart* and remains settled law. As you know, the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act passed with bipartisan support. It passed the House of Representatives twice in 2003 with the support of over 60 Democrats. <sup>2</sup> When it passed the Senate with the support of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Actions Overview S.3 – 108<sup>th</sup> Congress (2003-2004)." Congress.gov. <a href="https://www.congress.gov/bill/108th-congress/senate-bill/3/actions">https://www.congress.gov/bill/108th-congress/senate-bill/3/actions</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <a href="https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2003242">https://clerk.house.gov/Votes/2003530</a>

17 Democrats, President Joe Biden was one of its supporters.<sup>3</sup> However, we know that you disagreed with that legislation during your tenure as a House member representing California. You voted in opposition to the bill twice in 2003 before it was signed into law.

When you were asked during your confirmation hearings and during your tenure as Secretary about your stance on pro-life legislation, you have given a consistent reply: "I will follow the law." For example, on February 24, 2021, during a confirmation hearing held by the Senate Finance Committee, Senator Steve Daines (R-MT) asked you if there are any restrictions on abortion you would support. When you declined to specify, he suggested preventing babies from being aborted solely based on their sex. You replied "...my job will be to make sure I am following the law." Your answer to other similar questions by both Senator Daines and other Senators was consistent: you assured them that you were committed to follow the law on issues related to abortion.

Therefore, we were disheartened and disturbed by your responses when you were asked about the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act during a virtual hearing before members of the Subcommittee on Health of the House Energy and Commerce Committee on May 12, 2021.

When Rep. Gus Bilirakis (R-FL) asked you to affirm that your stated commitment to uphold the law included the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, you responded that "...there is no law that deals specifically with the term partial-birth abortion." Given your legal background and your own personal experience voting on this legislation, this denial was surprising and deeply concerning.

Rep. John Joyce (R-PA) followed up by citing that specific law. "It didn't seem clear that you understood what my colleague Mr. Bilirakis meant by the term 'Partial-Birth abortion.' ...Section 1531 of Title 18 USC is literally titled, "Partial-Birth Abortions prohibited."" When Rep. Joyce asked you to clarify whether you recognized that partial-birth abortions were prohibited under the law, you did not provide a clear answer. Follow-up from Rep. Dan Crenshaw (R-TX) also failed to receive a precise response.<sup>7</sup>

Your refusal to, at first, acknowledge the existence of the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act, followed by your failure to commit to enforce it have cast doubt on your claims that you will follow the law. It is clear from your voting record and your personal statements that you do not personally support the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act. However, your disagreement with that law does not negate the *existence* of the law. Your responses have raised concern that, if you personally disagree with a law, you may choose to deny its existence. We seek clarification and assurance that you will not acknowledge and enforce only the laws you like.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Vote Summary, S. 3 (Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;a href="https://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll\_call\_lists/roll\_call\_vote\_cfm.cfm?congress=108&session=1&vote=00402">https://www.senate.gov/legislative/LIS/roll\_call\_lists/roll\_call\_vote\_cfm.cfm?congress=108&session=1&vote=00402</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Health & Human Services Secretary Confirmation Hearing. CSPAN. February 24, 2021. < https://www.c-span.org/video/?509117-1/health-human-services-secretary-confirmation-hearing>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> H. Comm. On Energy and Commerce hearing, "The Fiscal Year 2022 HHS Budget" (May 21, 2021), available at https://republicans-energycommerce.house.gov/hearings/the-fiscal-year-2022-hhs-budget/.

<sup>6</sup> *Id*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> *Id*.

In light of these concerns, please provide clear, explicit and full responses to the following questions:

- 1. Do you concede that partial-birth abortion, as defined in 18 U.S. Code § 1531, is illegal and punishable by fine, imprisonment or both?
- 2. Do you agree that partial-birth abortions are a particularly grotesque method of late-term abortions?
- 3. Will you commit, as Secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS), to ensure that the Department acts in accordance with the Supreme Court decision to uphold the ban on partial-birth abortions in Gonzales v. Carhart?
- 4. Will you commit, as Secretary of Health and Human Services, to full oversight of HHS grant programs to ensure no grantees who violate, or have violated, 18 U.S. Code § 1531 continue to receive funding from HHS?
- 5. Will you commit, as Secretary of Health and Human Services, to fully uphold and enforce 18 U.S. Code § 1531, including but not limited to, by immediately referring violations to the Department of Justice for criminal prosecution?

Given the importance of understanding if you, as a senior official of the Biden administration, will comply with federal law we kindly request a response by July 9, 2021.

Sincerely,

Cathy McMorris Rodgers Member of Congress

Dan Bishop

Member of Congress

Dan Crenshaw Member of Congress

Gus Bilirakis Member of Congress

Member of Congress

John Joyce

Jason Smith

Trent Kelly Member of Congress

Don Bacon

Member of Congress

Lauren Boebert Member of Congress

Glenn Grothman Member of Congress

Burgess Owens Member of Congress

Brett Guthrie Member of Congress

Daniel Webster
Member of Congress

Kevin Brady Member of Congress ashley Hinson

Ashley Hinson Member of Congress

John R. Curtis Member of Congress

Kelly Armstrong Member of Congress

Diana Harshbarger Member of Congress

Byron Donalds Member of Congress

Barry Moore Member of Congress

John H. Rutherford Member of Congress

Ken Calvert Member of Congress



Vicky Hartzler Member of Congress

Robert Latta
Member of Congress

Larry Bucshon, M.D. Member of Congress

Tim Walberg
Member of Congress

Greg Pence
Member of Congress

Darrell Issa Member of Congress

David Kustoff
Member of Congress

David Kusto

Rick Crawford Member of Congress David Schweikert Member of Congress

Rick W. Allen Member of Congress

LEE W Allan

Steve Womack Member of Congress

Brian Mast Member of Congress

Lance Gooden
Member of Congress

Bruce Westerman Member of Congress

Robert Aderholt Member of Congress

Ronny Jackson Member of Congress Billy Long
Member of Congress

Mike Kelly Member of Congress

Glenn Thompson Member of Congress

Matthew Rosendale Member of Congress

Richard Hudson Member of Congress

Debbie Lesko Member of Congress

Guy Reschenthaler Member of Congress

Brad Wenstrup
Member of Congress

Bill Huizenga Member of Congress

Steve Chabot Member of Congress

Ralph Norman Member of Congress

H. Morgan Griffith Member of Congress

Gary Palmer
Member of Congress

Chris Jacobs

Member of Congress

Tracey Mann

Member of Congress

Mary Miller
Member of Congress



Michael Guest

Michael Guest Member of Congress

Markwayne Mullin Member of Congress

Tarksome Milia

David Valadao Member of Congress

Andy Biggs Member of Congress

Tom Emmer Member of Congress

Mike Bost Member of Congress

Vern Buchanan Member of Congress Fred leller

Fred Keller Member of Congress

Chip Roy

Member of Congress

Garret Graves
Member of Congress

Meal Dunn

Member of Congress

Jeff Duncan

Member of Congress

Steven Palazzo

Member of Congress

Tim Burchett

Member of Congress

Mariannette Miller-Meeks

Russ Fulcher

Member of Congress

Warren Davidson Member of Congress

Member of Congress

Troy Balderson Member of Congress

Ben Cline Member of Congress

W. Steube Member of Congress

Mike Johnson Member of Congress

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Member of Congress

C Moclain Member of Congress

Steve Scalise Member of Congress

Member of Congress

Andrew S. Clyde Member of Congress

John Ow Rose

Bill Johnson Member of Congress

Bill Johnson

Christopher H. Smith Member of Congress

Robert Wittman Member of Congress 1/1/1/5-

Michael Waltz Member of Congress

Jody Hice

Member of Congress

Ann Wagner
Member of Congress

Chuck Fleischmann Member of Congress

Doug Lamborn
Member of Congress

Roger Williams
Member of Congress

Koget Heiner S

Jake LaTurner
Member of Congress

Earl L. "Buddy" Carter Member of Congress Tool Bull

Ted Budd Member of Congress

Blake Moore

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Dan Meuser Member of Congress

Alex X. Mooney Member of Congress

Jim Banks Member of Congress

Brian Babin
Member of Congress

David B. McKinley, P.E. Member of Congress

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Mark B.MIC

Andrew Garbarino Member of Congress Doug LaMalfa

Member of Congress

Bill Posey

Member of Congress

Stephanie I. Bice

Stephanie Bice Member of Congress

Julia Letlow Member of Congress

Scott Perry Member of Congress

Marjorie Taylor Greene

Member of Congress

Member of Congress

**Bob Good** Member of Congress Jodey C. Arrington Member of Congress

Darin LaHood Member of Congress

Michael C. Burgess, M.D

Member of Congress

Scott Franklin Member of Congress

Beth Van Duyne Member of Congress

Adrian Smith

Member of Congress

Adam Kinzinger Member of Congress

Jeff Van Drew Member of Congress

Fred Upton Member of Congress

Member of Congress

Andy Harris, M.D. Member of Congress

Michael Cloud Member of Congress

Kevin McCarthy Member of Congress

Kein M. Gurt

Chris Stewart Member of Congress

Kat Cammack Member of Congress

Dusty Johnson Member of Congress Louie Gohmert

Member of Congress

Member of Congress

Jackie Walorski Member of Congress

Randy Feenstra Member of Congress

modison Cauthon

Madison Cawthorn Member of Congress

Momes P Tom Tiffany

Member of Congress

Lloyd Smucker Member of Congress

**Bob Gibbs** 



Pete Sessions Member of Congress

Austin Scott
Austin Scott
Member of Congress

William Timmons Member of Congress

Mike Garcia Member of Congress

August Pfluger Member of Congress

Jaime Herrera Beutler

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Member of Congress

Carol W. Willer

Carol Miller

Member of Congress

Scott Fitzgerald
Member of Congress

Peter Meijer
Member of Congress

Blaine Luetkemeyer Member of Congress

Kevin Hern Member of Congress

Jim Hagedorn Member of Congress

Sam Graves Member of Congress

Mark Green
Member of Congress

Mario Diaz-Balart Member of Congress

Mo Brooks Member of Congress Flin M. Swant

Elise Stefanik Member of Congress

James R. Baird

Member of Congress

Jeff Fortenberry

Member of Congress

Strench Hin

French Hill Member of Congress

Young Kim