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## United States Senate

COMMITTEES  
ARMED SERVICES  
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION  
AND FORESTRY  
SMALL BUSINESS  
AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP  
CHAIRMAN  
HOMELAND SECURITY AND  
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

April 27, 2026

The Honorable Todd Blanche  
U.S. Department of Justice  
950 Pennsylvania Ave, NW  
Washington, DC 20530

**RE: Referral for potential Federal Records Act violation by concealment and/or attempted concealment of federal Small Business Administration (SBA) records regarding Planned Parenthood SBA loans and loan-forgiveness communications.**

Dear Acting Attorney General Blanche:

What does Benghazi have to do with the abortion provider Planned Parenthood?

I write to ask the Department of Justice (DOJ) to open an investigation into the possible unlawful concealment and attempted concealment of federal records by President Biden's Small Business Administration officials, and potentially their White House colleagues, in their official emails regarding Planned Parenthood, the nation's largest abortion provider.

**SBA GENERAL COUNSEL ATTEMPTS TO CONCEAL HER PLANNED PARENTHOOD-RELATED RECORDS BY TITLING THEM "BENGHAZI"**

In 2021, Peggy Hamilton, the then-SBA General Counsel, deliberately crafted the subject line in her official, government email correspondence to conceal, and/or attempt to conceal, her email records from Congressional and public federal record inquiries.

**Referring to Planned Parenthood loans, the SBA General Counsel made her email subject line, "Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions".**

-----Original Appointment-----

**From:** Hamilton, Peggy Delinois <Peggy.Hamilton@sba.gov>

**Sent:** Friday, April 30, 2021 12:53 PM

**To:** Hamilton, Peggy Delinois; Griffin, Antwaun D.; Kelley, Patrick; Krupnick, Daniel E. (Temp); Corley, Kendall L.; Wheeler, Kevin J.

**Subject:** Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions

**When:** Monday, May 3, 2021 4:00 PM-5:00 PM (UTC-05:00) Eastern Time (US & Canada).

**Where:**

This time works for most. Decisions to be made (as I see them). Feel free to add to decision tree.

1. Complete loan review
2. Investigate (prior decisions)
3. Provide applicant documents
4. Release Hold Codes
5. Respond to Applicants
6. Respond to Hill
7. Engage WH

DES MOINES OFFICE  
733 FEDERAL BUILDING  
210 WALNUT STREET  
DES MOINES, IA 50309  
PHONE: 515-284-4574  
FAX: 515-284-4937

CEDAR RAPIDS OFFICE  
111 SEVENTH AVENUE SE  
SUITE 480  
CEDAR RAPIDS, IA 52401  
PHONE: 319-365-4504  
FAX: 319-365-4683

DAVENPORT OFFICE  
201 WEST SECOND STREET  
SUITE 806  
DAVENPORT, IA 52801  
PHONE: 563-322-0677  
FAX: 563-322-0854

SIOUX CITY OFFICE  
194 FEDERAL BUILDING  
320 SIXTH STREET  
SIOUX CITY, IA 51101  
PHONE: 712-252-1550  
FAX: 712-252-1638

COUNCIL BLUFFS OFFICE  
2146 27TH AVENUE  
SUITE 500  
COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA 51501  
PHONE: 712-352-1167  
FAX: 712-352-0087

Under 18 U.S.C. §2071, an individual who “willfully and unlawfully conceals, removes, mutilates, obliterates, or destroys, or attempts to,” conceal any federal record can be fined and imprisoned for up to three years.<sup>1</sup>

DOJ should investigate SBA officials’ record concealments related to a series of meetings and emails, including an April 30, 2021, email from Peggy Hamilton, the SBA General Counsel, with “Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions” in the subject line. This email appears to be the originating email for what became a months-long thread about Planned Parenthood’s SBA loans and the entity’s loan forgiveness requests.

The context of Hamilton’s email, as subsequent SBA emails elucidate, is whether or not the Biden administration would require the repayment of COVID-era Paycheck Protection Program<sup>2</sup> (PPP) loans made to potentially ineligible Planned Parenthood affiliates and how the SBA would respond to Congressional inquiries over its decisions.

### **THE TIMING OF CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT REVEALS SBA OFFICIALS’ INTENT TO CONCEAL**

Pro-life Members of Congress, rightly, were outraged to learn that SBA had provided over \$80 million in COVID small business loans to the nation’s largest abortion provider and 38 of its affiliates, who applied for loans through local financial institutions while self-certifying as to their eligibility.<sup>3</sup>

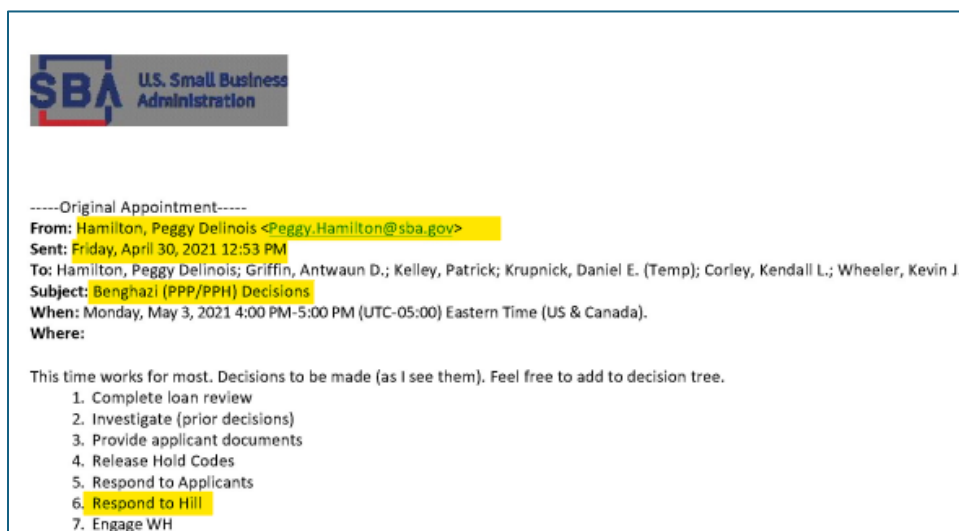
On **April 30, 2020**, over 90 Members of Congress, from both the House and the Senate, sent a letter to SBA Administrator Jovita Carranza, noting that under the rules of the CARES Act a nonprofit that exceeds 500 employees, as Planned Parenthood did, was not a small business and should be deemed “disqualified from PPP loans.” The members asked the SBA to issue a determination as to whether Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA), and all of its affiliates, are officially “affiliated” under SBA regulations, and whether, therefore, Planned Parenthood was ineligible for Paycheck Protection Program loans.<sup>4</sup>

On **May 19, 2020**, SBA sent letters to numerous Planned Parenthood affiliates informing them they were ineligible for SBA loans, loans meant for employers with under 500 employees, with SBA requesting additional paperwork and potential repayment of improperly awarded SBA loans due to SBA affiliation rules.<sup>5</sup>

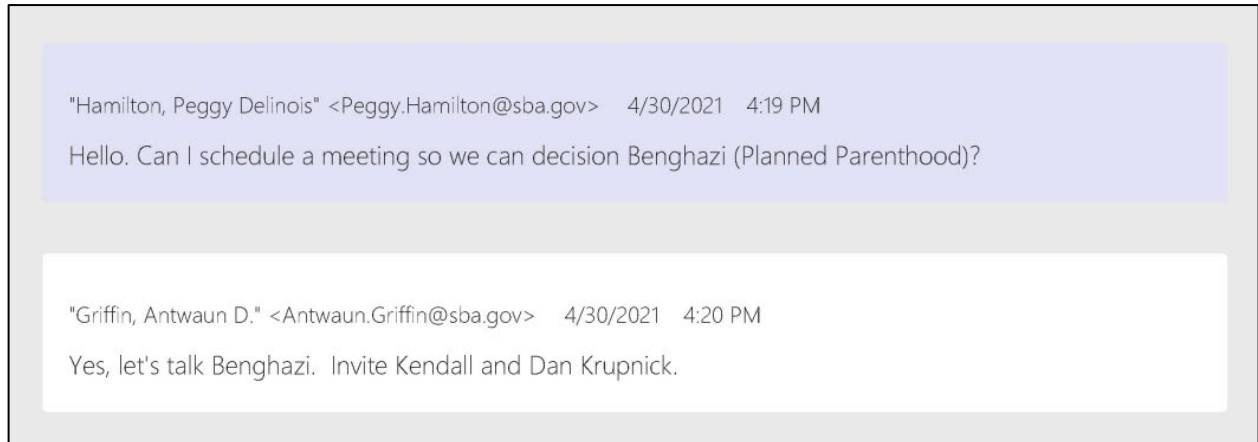
On **May 22, 2020**, a little less than a year before Hamilton began concealing discussions as “Benghazi,” 127 pro-life Members of Congress, including 33 Senators, sent a letter to SBA Administrator Jovita Carranza and the U.S. Attorney General, requesting a full investigation into how Planned Parenthood affiliates applied for and received Paycheck Protection Program loans, including whether they misrepresented their eligibility.<sup>6</sup> The same day, 41 abortion-supporting Senators sent a letter accusing the SBA of politically motivated actions and defending the eligibility of Planned Parenthood affiliates to get PPP loans.<sup>7</sup> To say the issue of SBA loans to Planned Parenthood was politically hot is an understatement.

It is important that any investigation into potential Federal Records Act violations take into consideration the multiple interactions between Congress and the SBA in the months leading up to and following Hamilton’s 2021 “Benghazi” email:

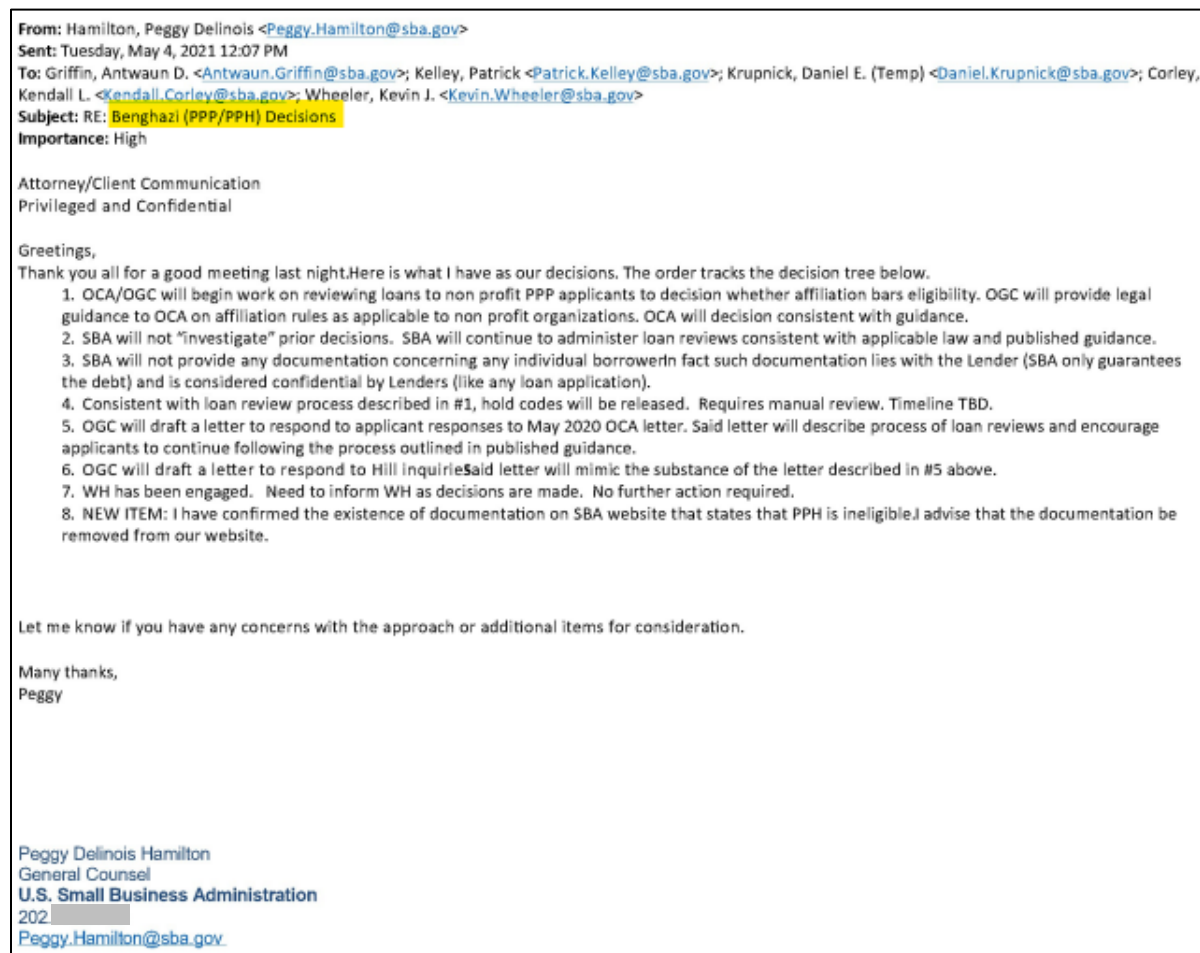
- On **February 3, 2021**, then-SBA Administrator nominee Isabella Guzman testified before the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship for her confirmation hearing, where I described how Planned Parenthood affiliates were illegally obtaining loans from the PPP loan program and asked for her commitment to follow the law.<sup>8</sup>
- On **February 12, 2021**, a group of 48 House Republicans sent a letter to then-SBA Acting Administrator Tami Perriello, noting Planned Parenthood and its affiliates had received \$80 million in funding meant for small and struggling businesses, though Planned Parenthood and its affiliates were “not eligible” based on SBA’s rules on affiliations and size. SBA was asked, “what the SBA will do to get PPP funds back from PPFA and other abortion providers and what measures the SBA is taking to deny PPP funding to these ineligible businesses.”<sup>9</sup>
- On **March 24, 2021**, during a Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship hearing, Senators questioned then-SBA Associate Administrator Patrick Kelley about new information indicating Planned Parenthood affiliates had received a second round of PPP loans, despite SBA’s prior 2020 determination finding the abortion providers were ineligible.<sup>10</sup>
- On **March 25, 2021**, 25 Republican Senators sent a letter to then-SBA Administrator Isabel Guzman demanding an investigation into how Planned Parenthood affiliates obtained PPP loans in violation of SBA affiliation rules.<sup>11</sup>
- On **April 15, 2021**, 10 Senators sent a letter to SBA Administrator Guzman about what we called the “unlawful participation of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA)” in the COVID-era PPP program.<sup>12</sup>
- On **April 16, 2021**, House Republicans sent a letter to SBA Administrator Guzman and Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen questioning the approval and potential forgiveness of PPP loans to Planned Parenthood and its affiliates and calling for an investigation. Their letter specifically asked for the steps the agency took once Planned Parenthood affiliates were deemed ineligible for SBA loans.<sup>13</sup>
- ❖ On **April 30, 2021, at 12:51 pm**, with millions of tax dollars in dispute, SBA’s top lawyer, Peggy Hamilton, starts her email chain about Planned Parenthood and inexplicitly titles her email record “Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions”. She also notes one of the “Decisions to be made” was “Respond to Hill,” referring to Capitol Hill.



- ❖ On **April 30, 2021**, less than four hours after her “Benghazi” email, at **4:19 pm**, SBA’s General Counsel Peggy Hamilton, sends a direct message to the SBA Chief of Staff Antwaun Griffin exposing what she meant by writing “Benghazi” earlier in the day via email. Hamilton writes, “Can I schedule a meeting so we can decision Benghazi (Planned Parenthood)?” Griffin goes along with the coded language in his reply sent one minute later, “Yes, let’s talk Benghazi.”



- ❖ On **May 4, 2021**, SBA’s Peggy Hamilton, still using her Benghazi subject line, lays out an eight-point plan in an email she marked with “High” importance, including that the “OCA/OGC will begin work on reviewing loans to non-profit PPP applicants to decision whether affiliation bars eligibility.”<sup>14</sup> Again, prior SBA decisions were that Planned Parenthood itself and many of its affiliates applying for small business loans, were too large for the program due to their corporate relationship structure and affiliation.



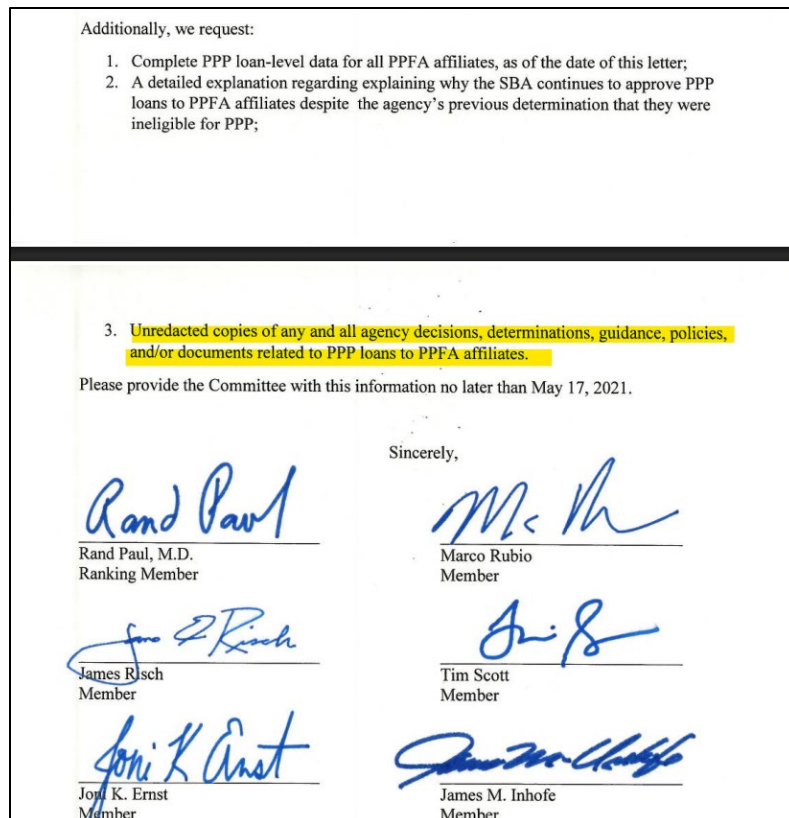
It strains credulity to think SBA's General Counsel Peggy Hamilton was doing anything other than hiding her Planned Parenthood records from Congressional and public scrutiny and oversight. That's not something she is allowed to do under federal law, and, as a lawyer for almost three decades, she knew that.

■ On **May 10, 2021**, 10 Republican Senators sent another letter to SBA Administrator Guzman pressing for details, decisions, *and documents* related to PPP loans for Planned Parenthood affiliates by May 17<sup>th</sup>.<sup>15</sup>

❖ On Sunday, **May 16, 2021**, SBA Chief of Staff Antwaun Griffin emailed five of his colleagues with the subject line "Re: Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions" saying he was "Circling back on letters. Want to make sure we get them out this week." On Monday, **May 17, 2021**, at 8:41 am, Peggy Hamilton, SBA's General Counsel, continues the email records chain and the "Benghazi" subject line writing simply, "Good morning, Understood. Peggy."<sup>16</sup>

❖ On **May 19, 2021**, 10 Republican Senators on the Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee sent a letter to SBA Administrator Guzman asking her to prepare to discuss, at our upcoming hearing, details regarding PPFA affiliate PPP loans and the forgiveness of such loans, actions taken by SBA to recover unlawfully provided PPP loans from PPFA affiliates, and "The agency's overall responsiveness to requests from members of this Committee." The letter included an appendix of 23 "Outstanding Committee Information Requests" from March 9, 2021, through May 19, 2021.<sup>17</sup>

❖ On **May 19, 2021**, at 8:40 pm, SBA General Counsel Peggy Hamilton, sends out the "initial draft response to the Hill" and at 7:38 am on **May 20, 2021**, she resends the "SBA draft response with GOP inquiry" and attaches the May 10, 2021, and April 15, 2021, Senate Planned Parenthood letters to the email. Hamilton keeps the subject line of both email records as "Re: Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions". She asks her colleagues to send her any comments they may have.



**From:** Hamilton, Peggy Delinois[Peggy.Hamilton@sba.gov]  
**Sent:** Thur 5/20/2021 7:38:46 AM Eastern Daylight Time  
**To:** Griffin, Antwaun D.[Antwaun.Griffin@sba.gov]; Kelley, Patrick[Patrick.Kelley@sba.gov]; Krupnick, Daniel E. (Temp)[Daniel.Krupnick@sba.gov]; Corley, Kendall L. [Kendall.Corley@sba.gov]; Wheeler, Kevin J.[Kevin.Wheeler@sba.gov]  
**Cc:** Plews, Arthur G.[Arthur.Plews@sba.gov]  
**Subject:** RE: **Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions**  
**Attachment:** Affiliation rules overview (for public) v2-508.pdf  
**Attachment:** PPH draft response.docx  
**Attachment:** 5.10.21 **SBC Member Follow Up Letter to the Administrator.pdf**

Good morning,  
Resending **SBA draft response with GOP inquiry** for ease of reference.  
Please send your feedback by COB today.  
Many thanks,  
Peggy

- ❖ On **May 21, 2021**, Arthur Plews, the SBA’s then-Deputy Chief of Staff, who months later would become the SBA’s Chief of Staff, emails Peggy Hamilton directly, with the subject line of his record reading, “Re: Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions”, in which Plews indicates he is attaching his comments. Hamilton replies 14 minutes later, asking Plews if he has “Any concerns with tone or approach?” and he replies, “No, I think it meets the need.”<sup>18</sup>

**The context of these emails — official federal records sent by staff at the highest echelons of SBA — leaves no doubt that the draft, the discussion, the “Benghazi” decisions were about Planned Parenthood and their SBA loans, and how SBA was responding to congressional inquiries about their multi-million-dollar decisions.**

- On **May 26, 2021**, during a Senate Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee hearing, Sen. Rand Paul questioned SBA Administrator Guzman about at least six additional PPP loans totaling \$17.6 million approved for Planned Parenthood affiliates, in what he noted was a contravention of prior SBA policy.<sup>19</sup> He also asked Guzman about SBA records, saying, “You believe you are above the law... **It looks like you are specifically hiding this information from us.**”<sup>20</sup> It appears Senator Paul was right.
- ❖ On **May 28, 2021, at 9:34 am**, two days after his superior is accused of “hiding” information in a Congressional hearing, John A. Miller, a longtime SBA employee and then-Deputy Associate Administrator for the Office of Capital Access, continued Hamilton’s original email thread using the “Benghazi” subject line, informing the recipients in his email record that he wanted “to set up a meeting to discuss forgiveness.”<sup>21</sup>

**From:** Miller, John A.[John.Miller@sba.gov]  
**Sent:** Fri 5/28/2021 9:34:03 AM Eastern Daylight Time  
**To:** Kelley, Patrick[Patrick.Kelley@sba.gov]; Hamilton, Peggy Delinois[Peggy.Hamilton@sba.gov]; Kucharski, Stephen W.[Stephen.Kucharski@sba.gov]; Piccioni, Vanessa K. [ ]@sba.gov; Kim, Jihoon[ ]@sba.gov; Andrews, Martin F.[ ]@sba.gov; Seaborn, Dianna L.[ ]@sba.gov  
**Cc:** Montagna, Nicola S.[Nicola.Montagna@sba.gov]; Griffin, Antwaun D.[Antwaun.Griffin@sba.gov]; Jackson-DeYoung, Helen R. (Contractor)[Helen.Jackson-DeYoung@sba.gov]  
**Subject:** RE: **Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisionsji**

Good Morning – Patrick and I just spoke and we would like to set up a meeting **to discuss forgiveness.** Since some are out of the office today, is next Tuesday good for everyone? I am copying Helen (Becky) to assist with scheduling.

- ❖ On **May 28, 2021, at 9:52 am**, 18 minutes later, Miller sent an email scheduling a meeting using the subject line “Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions”.<sup>22</sup> With his chosen event title and subject line, if someone tried to search for government records related to Planned Parenthood’s loans and loan forgiveness — to fulfill the Congressional records requests — this meeting would not have appeared, as again it was concealed as “Benghazi.”

-----Original Appointment-----

**From:** Miller, John A. <John.Miller@sba.gov>

**Sent:** Friday, May 28, 2021 9:52 AM

**To:** Miller, John A.; Hamilton, Peggy Delinois; Kucharski, Stephen W.; Piccioni, Vanessa K.; Kim, Jihoon; Andrews, Martin F.; Seaborn, Dianna L.; Kelley, Patrick; Benderson, Eric S.

**Cc:** Montagna, Nicola S.; Griffin, Antwaun D.

**Subject:** Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions

**When:** Tuesday, June 1, 2021 11:30 AM-12:00 PM (UTC-05:00) Eastern Time (US & Canada).

**Where:** Microsoft Teams Meeting

28 May Becky 202-

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## Microsoft Teams meeting

Join on your computer or mobile app

[Click here to join the meeting](#)

Or call in (audio only)

+1 202-765-1264, 126074818# United States, Washington DC

Phone Conference ID: 126 074 818#

### SBA’S TOP OFFICIAL JOINS THE BENGHAZI/PLANNED PARENTHOOD CONCEALMENT EFFORT

- ❖ From her official email account, **the head of the SBA, Administrator Isabella Guzman organizes a Microsoft Teams meeting called “Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions” for June 29, 2021**. With this email, Administrator Guzman, the head of the Small Business Administration, also becomes involved in the concealment of federal records relating to decisions around Planned Parenthood’s federal SBA loans.

**From:** Guzman, Isabella C. [Isabella.Guzman@sba.gov]

**Organizer:** Guzman, Isabella C. [Isabella.Guzman@sba.gov]

**Attendees:** Hamilton, Peggy Delinois; Griffin, Antwaun D.; Kelley, Patrick; Krupnick, Daniel E. (Temp); Corley, Kendall L.; Wheeler, Kevin J.

**Location:** Microsoft Teams Meeting

**Subject:** Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions

**Importance:** Normal

**Start Time:** Tue 6/29/2021 5:30:00 PM Eastern Daylight Time

**End Time:** Tue 6/29/2021 6:00:00 PM Eastern Daylight Time

**Required Attendees:** Hamilton, Peggy Delinois; Griffin, Antwaun D.; Kelley, Patrick; Krupnick, Daniel E. (Temp); Corley, Kendall L.; Wheeler, Kevin J.

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## Microsoft Teams meeting

Join on your computer or mobile app

[Click here to join the meeting](#)

Or call in (audio only)

+1 202-765-1264, 841642457# United States, Washington DC

Phone Conference ID: 841 642 457#

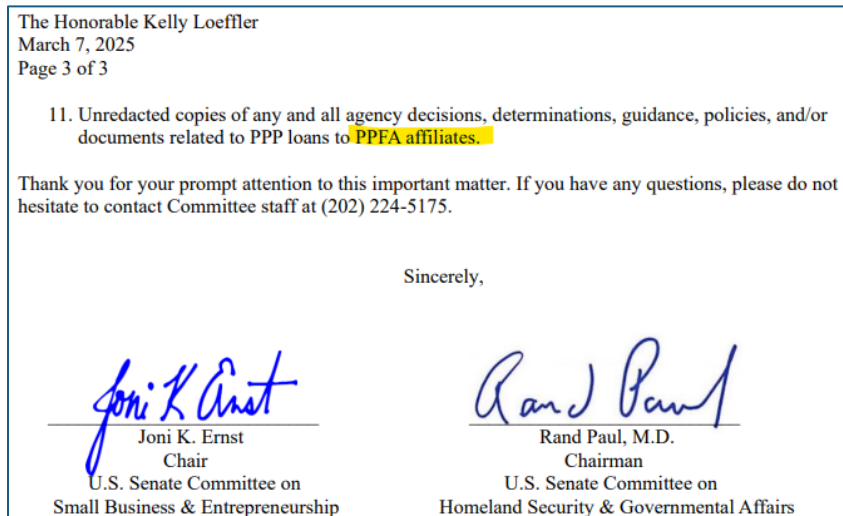
This is not the first time Biden administration officials have been caught using misleading information in emails to avoid records searches.<sup>23</sup>

As Congress continued diligently to make inquiries to the Biden Administration seeking records on the Planned Parenthood loans and loan forgiveness status, due to the officials concealing these records, standard executive branch record searches likely would be incomplete.

### **WHAT DID THEY KNOW AND WHEN?**

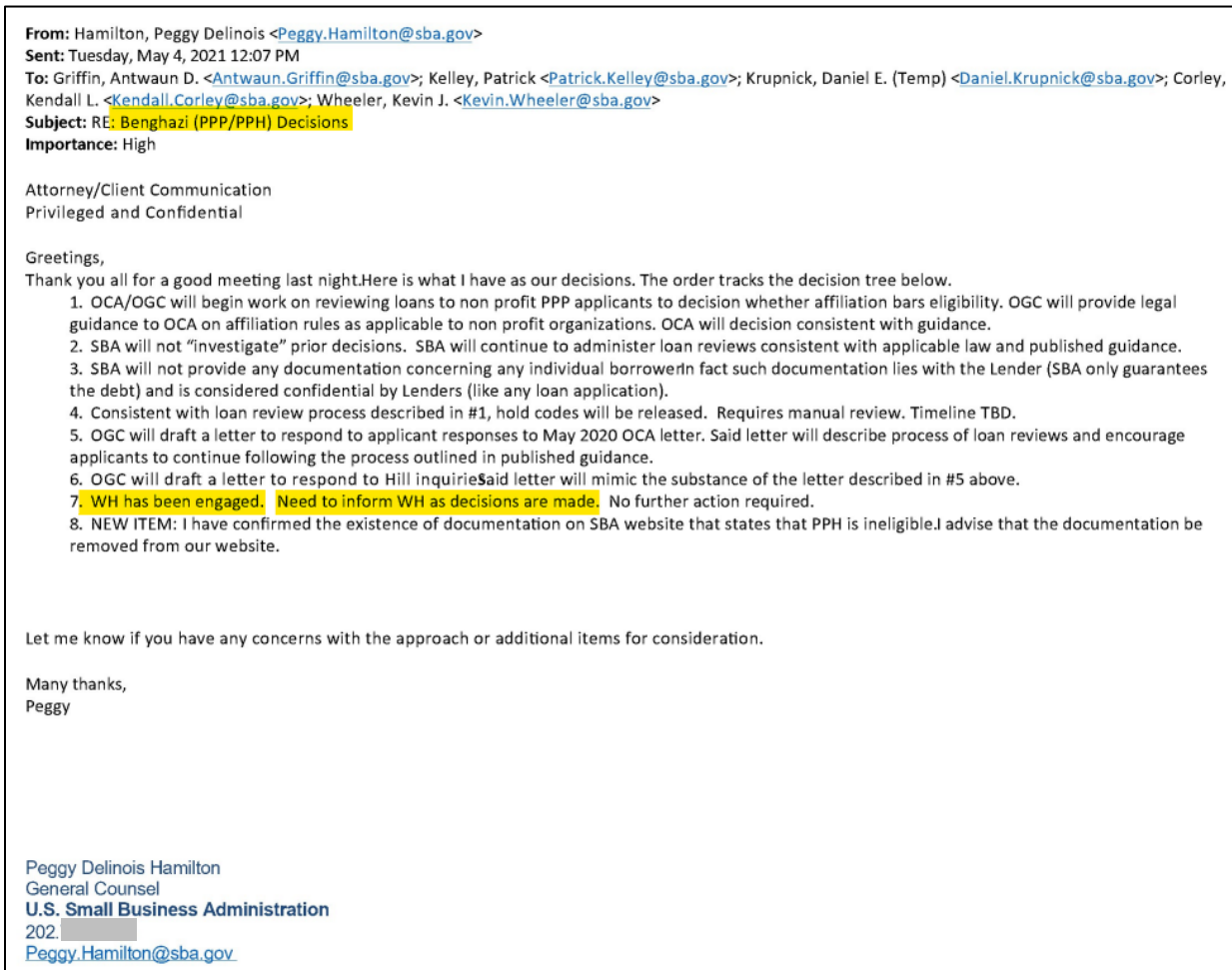
Recipients and respondents in the SBA email chains knew Planned Parenthood was not in or even remotely related to Benghazi, yet by continuing the email chain and scheduling meetings, it appears several Biden political appointees, and some SBA employees, were knowingly concealing or attempting to conceal their records relating to Planned Parenthood. If other SBA Biden officials are complicit in conspiring with SBA's General Counsel Peggy Hamilton and Administrator Guzman to conceal or attempt to conceal federal records and evade public records retention laws, that is in clear violation of 18 U.S.C. §2071 and deserves investigation for potential Federal Records Act violations.

While "PPP" in Hamilton's email records is likely a reference to the SBA loan program, "PPH" is a citation without any traceable origin. In fact, no one calls Planned Parenthood "PPH" except Peggy Hamilton and her colleagues. As letters from U.S. Senators requesting SBA documents demonstrate, the abortion providers are often referred to as PPFA, for the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, or PP, but not PPH.<sup>24</sup> By adding an H to PP, there may be an additional attempt by Hamilton to intentionally conceal federal records from searches by avoiding Planned Parenthood's common abbreviation.



## WERE WHITE HOUSE STAFF INVOLVED IN RECORDS CONCEALMENT EFFORTS?

In SBA General Counsel Hamilton's May 4<sup>th</sup> email, item number 7 reads "WH has been engaged. Need to inform WH as decisions are made. No further action required." WH is usually shorthand for the White House and that would fit the context of her email. If the Biden White House was informed through emails that also referred to Planned Parenthood's SBA loan decisions as "Benghazi," White House officials may also have helped conceal official federal records.



Any DOJ inquiry into potential Federal Records Act violations should also investigate whether other Biden officials, including those outside the SBA, were looped into email chains, records which we do not have—possibly because they too were concealed under the "Benghazi" title.

## A \$120+ MILLION DECISION MADE THE STAKES HIGH

Adding to the seriousness of the potential concealment of federal records is the high financial stakes, especially for a political ally of the Biden administration.

According to SBA 2021 figures, Planned Parenthood and Planned Parenthood affiliates received over \$81.1 million in the first round of PPP loans.<sup>25</sup> The Biden Administration provided another

\$9.1 million in funding to them in 2021, bringing the total to over \$90 million to 46 entities.<sup>26</sup> If Planned Parenthood and its affiliates were required to pay the taxpayers back for their PPP loans, that would have cost them over \$90 million. After Biden officials allowed various Planned Parenthoods to draw down a second round of PPP small business loans, applications were reportedly more than \$120 million.<sup>27</sup>

We now know that after the SBA Biden officials met, planned, and strategized (over “Benghazi”), keeping the White House involved, approximately \$90 million in Planned Parenthood SBA PPP loans and interest on the loans were forgiven by the Biden administration.<sup>28</sup>

American taxpayers ultimately covered more than \$90 million in COVID-era salaries for abortion providers and staff who remained home during the pandemic response. For many Americans who value the protection of life, one small consolation during an extraordinarily difficult time may be the possibility of lives preserved, and families spared profound loss while clinics closed and workers stayed home in an effort to slow the spread of COVID-19. Even so, hard-earned tax dollars from everyday Americans should not have been directed toward large abortion-providing businesses, especially when many view such funding as benefiting organizations closely aligned with the Biden administration’s political priorities.

Forgiving over \$90 million of federal SBA loans to Planned Parenthood had nothing to do with Benghazi. So, again, why were Biden officials hiding their email records under the title “Benghazi”?

**THE REFERRAL**

The emails and electronic meeting records referenced in this letter provide strong evidence that SBA officials may have violated federal law by concealing or attempting to conceal federal records and by seeking to evade Congressional and public record inquiries. It is imperative that DOJ investigate the actions of the then-SBA General Counsel, the SBA Administrator, and their colleagues and, if proven, ensure that they are held accountable to the fullest extent of the law.

With the records detailed here, and many more I’ve obtained, perhaps now we know why the Biden administration did not want to share its Planned Parenthood records with Congress.

Thank you for your attention to this important matter, please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Joni K. Ernst  
United States Senator

**Federally guaranteed loans received.** Our analysis of SBA loan data found that as of May 1, 2023, 1,150 of the 1,521 Health Centers and 38 of the 55 Planned Parenthood affiliates in our review received an estimated \$2.6 billion in SBA-guaranteed loans through the Paycheck Protection Program, which are fully forgivable if certain conditions are met. This estimated amount represents approximately 0.32 percent of the total amount lent through the program.<sup>27</sup> Of the total amount lent to the organizations, \$2.5 billion of the value of the loans plus incurred interest had been approved for forgiveness. (See table 7 and enclosures II and III for more information on these federally guaranteed loans.)

**Table 7: Estimated Paycheck Protection Program Loan Amounts Received by and Forgiven for Health Centers and Planned Parenthood Federation of America Affiliates, as of May 1, 2023**

Dollars in millions

Organization	Loan amounts received	Loan amounts forgiven*
Health Centers <sup>b</sup>	2,473.64	2,449.25
Planned Parenthood affiliates	89.30	90.41
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,562.94</b>	<b>2,539.66</b>

Source: GAO analysis of Small Business Administration data. | GAO-24-106215

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<sup>1</sup> 18 U.S. Code § 2071 – “**Concealment**, removal, or mutilation generally (a) Whoever **willfully and unlawfully conceals**, removes, mutilates, obliterates, or destroys, **or attempts to do so**, [...], or other thing, filed or deposited with any clerk or officer of any court of the United States, or in any public office, or with any judicial or public officer of the United States, **shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both**. “(b) Whoever, having the custody of any such record, proceeding, map, book, document, paper, or other thing, **willfully and unlawfully conceals**, removes, mutilates, obliterates, falsifies, or destroys the same, **shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both**; and shall forfeit his office and be disqualified from holding any office under the United States” (emphasis added).

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.sba.gov/funding-programs/loans/covid-19-relief-options/paycheck-protection-program>.

<sup>3</sup> May 19, 2020, letters from SBA Associate Administrator William Manger to Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington, Inc., which “applied for a \$1,328,800 Paycheck Protection Program loan” and to Planned Parenthood of Delaware, Inc. which “applied for a \$496,225 Paycheck Protection Program loan”

<https://embed.documentcloud.org/documents/6922122-SBA-Letter-Planned-Parenthood-DC/>,

<https://embed.documentcloud.org/documents/6922194-Delaware-Letter-PP-SBA/>.

<sup>4</sup> Letter from over 90 Members of the House and Senate to SBA Administrator Jovita Carranza, April 30, 2020, “the CARES Act requires the Small Business Administration (SBA) to apply its affiliation rules for small businesses in determining whether a nonprofit exceeds the PPP’s 500 employee limit. Under these rules, PPFA, and each of its affiliates, should be deemed “affiliated” due to their common management, and thereby disqualified from PPP loans based on their aggregated size of around 16,000 employees nationwide. ... PPFA’s common management over its affiliates fits squarely within the criteria that SBA currently uses to make a determination of affiliation for small businesses. Again, we ask you issue a determination as to whether PPFA, and all of its affiliates, are “affiliated” under SBA regulations, and hence whether Planned Parenthood is eligible for Paycheck Protection Program loans.”

[https://grothman.house.gov/uploadedfiles/4.30.20\\_daines-rubio-arrington-johnson\\_letter\\_to\\_sba\\_administrator\\_re\\_planned\\_parenthood.pdf](https://grothman.house.gov/uploadedfiles/4.30.20_daines-rubio-arrington-johnson_letter_to_sba_administrator_re_planned_parenthood.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> May 19, 2020, letters from SBA Associate Administrator William Manger to Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington, Inc., which “applied for a \$1,328,800 Paycheck Protection Program loan” and to Planned Parenthood of Delaware, Inc. which “applied for a \$496,225 Paycheck Protection Program loan”

<https://embed.documentcloud.org/documents/6922122-SBA-Letter-Planned-Parenthood-DC/>;

<https://embed.documentcloud.org/documents/6922194-Delaware-Letter-PP-SBA/>.

embedded in news article “Trump Administration to Planned Parenthood: Return Coronavirus Relief Funds,” *NPR*, May 21, 2020, Sarah McCammon, <https://www.npr.org/2020/05/21/860410536/trump-administration-to-planned-parenthood-return-coronavirus-relief-funds>.

<sup>6</sup> May 22, 2020, letter from 127 pro-life Members of Congress, including 33 Senators, to SBA Administrator Jovita Carranza, cc’d to the U.S. Attorney General,

<https://mikejohnson.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=750>;

<https://mikejohnson.house.gov/sites/mikejohnson.house.gov/files/20.05.22%20letter%20to%20administrator%20carranza%20re%20planned%20parenthood%20investigation.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> May 22, 2020 letter sent by 41 pro-abortion Senators to SBA and the Department of the Treasury about Planned Parenthood affiliates getting PPP loans, <https://www.democrats.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Letter%20to%20SBA-Treasury%20on%20PPP%20Eligibility%20for%20Nonprofits%2005.22.20%20FINAL.pdf>.

<sup>8</sup> Senator Ernst, at mark 49:30 states that, “Planned Parenthood affiliates illegally applied for and received those PPP loans,” Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship confirmation hearing for Isabel Guzman, SBA Administrator, February 3, 2021. The nominee committed to being “a good steward” of the program and speaking further with the Senate on affiliation, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/watch-live-isabel-guzman-nominee-for-small-business-administrator-testifies-during-senate-confirmation-hearing>.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from 48 House Republicans to SBA Acting Administrator Tami Perriello, February 12, 2021,

[https://web.archive.org/web/20210908162334/https://luetkemeyer.house.gov/uploadedfiles/02.12.21\\_sba\\_ppp\\_letter.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20210908162334/https://luetkemeyer.house.gov/uploadedfiles/02.12.21_sba_ppp_letter.pdf).

<sup>10</sup> Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship hearing, March 24, 2021, “Oversight of SBA’s COVID-19 Relief Programs,” <https://www.sbc.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2021/3/oversight-of-sba-s-covid-19-relief-programs>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4fvvAVYMqCU>.

<sup>11</sup> Letter from 25 Senators to Isabel Guzman, SBA Administrator, March 25, 2021, <https://www.cassidy.senate.gov/wp->

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[content/uploads/media/doc/032521%20SBA%20Planned%20Parenthood%20Letter.pdf](https://www.cassidy.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/cassidy-republican-senators-demand-investigation-into-ppp-loans-to-planned-parenthood/);  
<https://www.cassidy.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/cassidy-republican-senators-demand-investigation-into-ppp-loans-to-planned-parenthood/>; “Senators demand investigation into Planned Parenthood getting PPP loans; A letter signed by 25 Republican senators is demanding an investigation into Planned Parenthood affiliates illegally accessing emergency small business loans,” *EWTN News*, March 26, 2021,  
<https://www.ewtnnews.com/world/us/senators-demand-investigation-into-planned-parenthood-getting-ppp-loans?redirectedfrom=cna>.

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Senator Rand Paul, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, to Isabel Guzman, SBA Administrator, April 15, 2021, <https://www.paul.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/SBC-Member-Follow-Up-Letter-to-the-Administrator.pdf>; <https://www.paul.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/SBC-Member-Follow-Up-Letter-to-the-Administrator.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Rep. Blaine Luetkemeyer, then-ranking member on Committee on Small Business, and Rep. Byron Donalds to SBA Administrator Guzman and Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen, April 16, 2021, “Please detail the steps the SBA and the Department of the Treasury took once it was known that an ineligible Planned Parenthood affiliate received a PPP loan.” Steps such as meetings and communications labelled “Benghazi” would have been obscured. [https://smallbusiness.house.gov/uploadedfiles/4.16.2021\\_luetkemeyer.donalds\\_letter\\_to\\_yellen.guzman\\_on\\_planned\\_parenthood\\_ppp\\_loans.pdf](https://smallbusiness.house.gov/uploadedfiles/4.16.2021_luetkemeyer.donalds_letter_to_yellen.guzman_on_planned_parenthood_ppp_loans.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> May 4, 2021, email from Peggy Delinois Hamilton, SBA General Counsel, to five SBA officials, importance marked “High.” OCA/OGC is likely the Office of Congressional Affairs and the Office of General Counsel. On file with the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

<sup>15</sup> Letter from 10 Senators to Isabel Guzman, SBA Administrator, May 10, 2021, [https://www.kennedy.senate.gov/public/\\_cache/files/a/d/adfb8b6f-e22d-4b96-b388-acd3cbc0465b/9C2004BAA31DB57C97A353C0CA480D45.5.10.21-sbc-member-follow-up-letter-to-the-administrator.pdf](https://www.kennedy.senate.gov/public/_cache/files/a/d/adfb8b6f-e22d-4b96-b388-acd3cbc0465b/9C2004BAA31DB57C97A353C0CA480D45.5.10.21-sbc-member-follow-up-letter-to-the-administrator.pdf), emphasis added.

<sup>16</sup> E-mail on file with the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

<sup>17</sup> May 19, 2021, letter from 10 Republicans on the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, to SBA Administrator Guzman. On file with the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

<sup>18</sup> E-mails on file with the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

<sup>19</sup> “The Pandemic Response and the Small Business Economy: An Update from the U.S. Small Business Administration,” May 26, 2021, statement of Sen. Paul, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, <https://www.sbc.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2021/5/the-pandemic-response-and-the-small-business-economy-an-update-from-the-u-s-small-business-administration>.

<sup>20</sup> “The Pandemic Response and the Small Business Economy: An Update from the U.S. Small Business Administration,” Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship hearing, May 26, 2021, <https://www.sbc.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2021/5/the-pandemic-response-and-the-small-business-economy-an-update-from-the-u-s-small-business-administration>, minute 47 of 1:31:10.

<sup>21</sup> E-mail from John A. Miller to: Kelley, Patrick, Hamilton, Peggy Delinois, Kucharski, Stephen W., Piccioni, Vanessa K., Kim, Jihoon, Andrews, Martin F., Seaborn, Dianna L., cc’d to: Montagna, Nicola S., Griffin, Antwaun D. [SBA Chief of Staff], Jackson-DeYoung, Helen R, Subject: Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions [sic], Date: Fri, 28 May 2021, 9:34 am. On file with the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

<sup>22</sup> E-mail from John A. Miller to: Hamilton, Peggy Delinois, Kucharski, Stephen W., Piccioni, Vanessa K., Kim, Jihoon, Andrews, Martin F., Seaborn, Dianna L., cc’d to: Montagna, Nicola S., Griffin, Antwaun D. [SBA Chief of Staff], Subject: Benghazi (PPP/PPH) Decisions Date: Fri, 28 May 2021, 9:52 am. On file with the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

<sup>23</sup> On June 7, 2021, an NIH official, Greg Folkers, used a dollar sign in place of an “e” typing a scientist’s name using the email subject line “anders\$,” a reference to virologist Dr. Kristian Andersen, effectively obscuring his email from keyword searches for responsive documents. The House Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Pandemic asserted this was done intentionally so the name would not match standard keyword searches (e.g., “Andersen” or “Anderson”) during reviews of NIH email servers. Folkers also wrote “Ec~Health” instead of EcoHealth, in reference to EcoHealth Alliance, in a June 4, 2021, email, May 28, 2024 oversight letter: <https://oversight.house.gov/release/wenstrup-investigates-nih-conspiracy-to-evade-foia-avoid-public-transparency/>; [https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/2024.05.28-BRW-Letter-to-NIH-Re.-FOIA\\_Redacted.pdf](https://oversight.house.gov/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/2024.05.28-BRW-Letter-to-NIH-Re.-FOIA_Redacted.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> May 19, 2020, letters from SBA Associate Administrator William Manger to Planned Parenthood of Metropolitan Washington, Inc., which “applied for a \$1,328,800 Paycheck Protection Program loan” and to Planned Parenthood of Delaware, Inc. which “applied for a \$496,225 Paycheck Protection Program loan”

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<https://embed.documentcloud.org/documents/6922122-SBA-Letter-Planned-Parenthood-DC/>,  
<https://embed.documentcloud.org/documents/6922194-Delaware-Letter-PP-SBA/>  
embedded in news article “Trump Administration to Planned Parenthood: Return Coronavirus Relief Funds,” *NPR*,  
May 21, 2020, Sarah McCammon, <https://www.npr.org/2020/05/21/860410536/trump-administration-to-planned-parenthood-return-coronavirus-relief-funds>, March 7, 2025,

[https://www.ernst.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/chair\\_ernst\\_hsgac\\_chair\\_paul\\_letter\\_to\\_sba\\_ppp\\_ppfa.pdf](https://www.ernst.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/chair_ernst_hsgac_chair_paul_letter_to_sba_ppp_ppfa.pdf).

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Senator Rand Paul, Ranking Member, Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship, to Isabel Guzman, SBA Administrator, April 15, 2021, <https://www.paul.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/SBC-Member-Follow-Up-Letter-to-the-Administrator.pdf>; E-mail from Peggy Hamilton, General Counsel, SBA, to Dan Krupnick, Associate Administrator, SBA (Nov. 15, 2021, 21:14 EST). On file with the Senate Committee on Small Business and Entrepreneurship.

<sup>26</sup> *Politico*, Nov. 24, 2021, “The Small Business Administration says a Trump-era decision to deny Covid loans to Planned Parenthood was an ‘extraordinary’ departure from policy,” <https://www.politico.com/minutes/congress/11-24-2021/some-pre-thanksgiving-news/>. Senator Ernst said at an August 2, 2022, Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee hearing, “the SBA has unlawfully approved nearly \$100 million in forgivable PPP loans to Planned Parenthood affiliates. To make matters worse, the SBA forgave 34 of these loans, despite it being a clear violation of the affiliation rule. Yet to date the SBA has not launched an investigation into this issue or made any effort to recoup the ineligible funds,” <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-117shrg50573/html/CHRG-117shrg50573.htm>.

<sup>27</sup> “Dr. Paul, Sen. Ernst Demand Answers on Planned Parenthood Receiving \$120 Million in PPP Funding” March 7, 2025, Press Release, <https://www.paul.senate.gov/dr-paul-sen-ernst-demand-answers-on-planned-parenthood-receiving-120-million-in-ppp-funding/>; <https://www.paul.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/HSGAC-SBC-Paul-Ernst-Letter-PP.pdf>.

<sup>28</sup> “Health Care Funding: Federal Funding for Certain Organizations Providing Health-Related Services, 2019 through 2022 (GAO-24-106215),” GAO Report, “Planned Parenthood affiliates also received 44 Paycheck Protection Program loans totaling approximately \$89 million — the entire amount, including accrued interest, was forgiven,” <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-24-106215>; “SBA Opens Review of Over \$88 Million in Planned Parenthood Paycheck Protection Program Loans; Agency issues nearly 40 letters demanding Affiliates prove their eligibility or send back the funds,” January 22, 2026, “Today, the U.S. Small Business Administration (SBA) issued letters to 38 affiliates of Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc. (PPFA), the largest provider of abortions in the United States, requiring them to produce documentation proving they were eligible to receive more than \$88 million in COVID-era relief through the SBA Paycheck Protection Program (PPP) while the program was operational. The letters, part of a new review by the agency, aim to uncover whether PPFA affiliates misrepresented the size of their respective organizations or the nature of their affiliation with PPFA to fraudulently qualify for the loans,” <https://www.sba.gov/article/2026/01/22/sba-opens-review-over-88-million-planned-parenthood-paycheck-protection-program-loans>; <https://www.dailysignal.com/2026/01/22/exclusive-trump-confronts-88-million-in-covid-funding-for-planned-parenthood/>.