

**Testimony by Amy Hagstrom Miller**  
**Founder and CEO, Whole Woman's Health**

*Hearing on the Nomination of the Honorable Neil M. Gorsuch to be an Associate Justice  
of the Supreme Court of the United States*

Senate Judiciary Committee  
March 23, 2017

- Chairman Grassley, Senator Feinstein, and Members of the Committee, I am honored to speak with you today.
- My name is Amy Hagstrom Miller. I am the Founder and CEO of Whole Woman's Health, a group of women's health clinics that provide comprehensive reproductive services, including abortion care.
- I am here today on behalf of abortion providers, women's health advocates, and the people we serve all across the country who deserve access to quality healthcare, delivered with dignity and respect.
- We are gravely concerned about the nomination of Judge Gorsuch to the U.S. Supreme Court.
- In fact, Whole Woman's Health joined 54 other reproductive health, rights and justice organizations in a letter to the Senate opposing Judge Gorsuch's nomination.
- In our clinics we offer holistic care for women that includes caring for their heart, mind and body. We envision a world where every woman who has decided to end a pregnancy will be respected and where she will have the information she needs and the quality care she deserves.
- We were the lead plaintiff in last year's landmark Supreme Court case *Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt* and witnessed how decisions made at the high court directly impact the lives of women. I know what happens when politicians find devious ways to deny women's constitutional rights, and why it is so important to have independent jurists who respect precedent and the rule of law.

- *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that guaranteed the right to abortion and the right to privacy, has been settled law for more than four decades and has been reaffirmed repeatedly by the Supreme Court.
- Nevertheless, that hasn't stopped legislators across the country from putting roadblocks in front of women seeking abortion care—more than 330 have been passed since 2010.
- Nowhere was the impact of these laws more evident than in the state of Texas, where anti-abortion legislators passed a law in 2013 that forced over half the state's clinics to shut down.
- The law forced women to drive hundreds of miles, even across state lines, to access their right to safe and legal abortion. In some cases, the hurdles were so high women simply took matters into their own hands.
- I will never forget the woman who called from South Texas right after the law went into effect. We told her our clinic was shuttered and she now had to drive 250 miles each way to San Antonio. She told us there was no way she could take two days off work, find childcare and the money to drive that far. She said "I will tell you what is in my medicine cabinet, and can you please tell me what to use to do my own abortion?"
- In our country, where abortion has been legal for more than 40 years, no woman should be forced to take matters into her own hands. Nor should she fear criminalization or jail time if she does.
- Would a Justice Gorsuch support unnecessary obstacles to our constitutional rights? We need to know.
- I also remember the woman who called from West Texas - where every single clinic had been shut down. She was a single, working mother with 3 children. We helped her find a clinic, raise money for her abortion, childcare, transportation and lost wages. By the time she made it to a Dallas clinic eight weeks later, it was too late to have an abortion in the state of Texas.

- Would a Justice Gorsuch support laws that limit our constitutional rights to our zip codes? We need to know.
- Last year we took Texas to the Supreme Court and, in its ruling, the court called out these and other clinic shutdown laws for what they are—sham laws that create obstacles to care with no medical basis behind them.
- Women need to know that if their rights are once again on trial, they will be decided by justices who are independent, and not beholden to an ideological agenda.
- Judge Gorsuch has refused to answer basic questions about his stance on *Roe*, *Whole Woman's Health*, or the right to privacy.
- Yet we know in the Utah Planned Parenthood case he sided with politicians using misinformation and false claims to defund women's health services.
- And in the *Hobby Lobby* contraception case, he supported the notion that corporations are people.
- Judge Gorsuch's positions raise concerns about his ability to be open-minded, fair and guided by the Constitution, not his own ideology and personal beliefs.
- Your decision on this nomination will have a profound impact on all of your constituents.
- Everyone loves someone who has had an abortion -- and we all want the people we love to be safe and treated with respect, compassion and dignity.
- I urge you to keep this in mind as you consider the awesome responsibility of entrusting a lifetime appointment to the United States Supreme Court.
- Thank you very much.