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12	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	
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18	DEFORE.	
19	BEFORE:	
20	Honorable Daniel Clark, Majority Chairperson	
21	Honorable Joseph A. Petrarca	
22		
23	IN ATTENDANCE:	
24	Honorable Thomas Caltagirone	
25		
	KEY REPORTERS	

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X

ALSO PRESENT: Brian Preski, Esquire Majority Chief Counsel David L. Krantz Minority Executive Director David Bloomer Majority Research Analyst 

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CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Good morning. I'd like to welcome everybody to today's hearing.

I'm Representative Dan Clark. I am the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Courts; and I'll be conducting today's hearing on House Bill 1671, which is the False Claims Bill.

That bill was introduced by George Kenney, a Representative in the Philadelphia area. And George unexpectedly couldn't be with us this morning, so we're going to put his statement in the record.

And also the City of Philadelphia's solicitor was not able to be with us, but she has submitted testimony for the record and we'll also add those comments and concerns to the proceedings.

With that, I believe what we'll do is get right to our -- well, I'd like to have Representative Caltagirone introduce himself.

REPRESENTATIVE CALTAGIRONE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Representative Tom Caltagirone, the City of Reading, Berks County, Democratic Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And with that, I think we will call upon our first panel of

individuals to present testimony on House Bill

1671, which is commonly known as the False Claims

Act.

And we'd like to introduce the Honorable
Lynne Abraham. She is the District Attorney of
Philadelphia; Lenny Deutchman, who is the
Assistant District Attorney of Philadelphia,
District Attorney's office; and Sue
McDonald -- Kathy McDonald, also with the
District Attorney's office in Philadelphia. You
may proceed.

MS. ABRAHAM: Thank you, Representative. Good morning, Representative Clark, Members of the Committee, and other interested parties. I am Lynne Abraham, the District Attorney of Philadelphia.

I'm here in a dual capacity as the District Attorney of Philadelphia and as the Legislative Chair of the Pennsylvania District Attorney's Association.

I want to thank the Members of the Committee for inviting us here today to speak on behalf of this bill, Pennsylvania's, we hope to be, the False Claim Act.

I'm also thankful to Marc Raspanti who

has ceded his first-up turn to me. And I appreciate Mr. Raspanti's courtesy to me, and I hope I won't abuse the privilege. You'll cut me off if I'm going on too long.

While I had abbreviated remarks I wanted to make, I thought in reviewing my testimony in full that it would be appropriate that I cover all the points today. And, of course,

Ms. McDonald, Mr. Deutchman are here to help the Committee answer any questions it might have on this Act.

It's my firm belief that if this
legislation is enacted it will be one of the best
tools and weapons that we have for combating what
is unfortunately a problem that has become of
grave importance to Pennsylvania; and that is,
fraud against our government.

Combating fraud will save state and local governments millions or more each year.

And by encouraging private citizens to bring antifraud suits on behalf of the government, it will save state and local governments millions more in the cost of fighting fraud.

A similar law has proven to be a huge success for the Federal Government, and the

number of states adopting false claims bills is growing. I believe that Pennsylvania should be in the front of this trend, and I strongly urge this Committee and the Legislature to pass this legislation.

The problem that the bill addresses is severalfold; but generally speaking, the bill attacks vendors who defraud the government and the government workers who help them.

Fraud against the government is an age-old problem, one probably as old as the government itself. People defraud the government because, as Ben Franklin said, "There is no kind of dishonesty into which otherwise good people more easily and frequently fall than that of defrauding the government."

In short, government is an easy target. People perpetrate frauds against the government out of greed; and the greed is manifested because the government has not heretofore in general paid close attention to it. Therefore, the government does become an easy target.

It's frequently rationalized as a victimless crime. And the victim, the government, which as we all know is really we the people of

Pennsylvania, has so much money the theory goes, that just a little bit of it being gone won't be missed.

But the real victim is every taxpayer whose taxes are higher to make up for the fraud; every child whose classes are large or whose books are out of date; every street missing a police officer on patrol; every senior citizen waiting hours for the paratransit; and a whole host of other victims whose victimology is brought about by budget cuts in part because of some of the taxpayer money raised has been lost to fraud.

Since the Federal Government has had a False Claims Act, it has generated statistics which I believe show the problem and how the False Claims Act can help to solve.

Our United States Department of Justice has estimated that as much as 10 percent of the Federal budget is lost to fraud. It is an astounding figure. Tens of bills of tax dollars each year.

If we by extrapolation take 10 percent of Pennsylvania's budget for fiscal year 1999, that would amount to \$3.5 billion lost to fraud.

And 10 percent of Philadelphia's budget would for the same period of time be \$260 million: Money that could be used for schools, for crime fighting duties, for police equipment and manpower, for services, for infrastructure.

We are now paying that much more than we had to to obtain the level of services we now enjoy. If we would cut the fraud -- and I believe that this bill will go a long way to doing that -- we perhaps would have some of that money to return to the taxpayers, increase services without increasing taxes, or sometimes a combination of both.

Fraud against the government is more than a raid on the public treasury. Vendors who defraud the government harm the citizens of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania by delivering services poorly or not at all.

The road contractor who defrauds the government will leave the state with an unsafe road. The health care professional who defrauds Medicare hurts elderly and other patients by not providing the care needed while representing that care has been provided.

This piece of legislation briefly

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described will I think work to change the way government and vendors do business. I'm sure that all of you have received detailed analyses of the Act's provision, but I want to talk about the most important or salient features of this bill.

The bill's key feature is that it will encourage enforcement of its provisions by giving financial incentive to "whistle-blowers" to come forward with proof or fraud against the government.

The government, the state, the local, or both entities may bring civil suits against the vendors committing the fraud. Or the whistle-blowers themself, known as qui tam plaintiffs may, in fact, sue on behalf of themselves as well as the government.

This plaintiff in turn stand to gain a benefit, a financial benefit, of anywhere between 20 to 33 percent of the monies recovered. When you recall that the False Claims Act will allow recovery of treble damages plus an additional punitive damage of 5,000 to \$10,000 per false bill, you can see that it gives great incentives for whistle-blowers to come forward and a strong

incentive for vendors to deal honestly with the Commonwealth and its subdivisions.

By making use of whistle-blowers, by allowing them to sue on behalf of the government as well as themselves, and through the relief which the Act afforded, the Act can restore stolen money to the government as well as pay for its own enforcement.

Given the amount of fraud in which our state and local governments suffer now, to combat it by hiring more lawyers and investigators to bring all of the suits would be too expensive and I'm not sure would work as well as this Act would.

By encouraging whistle-blowers themselves to bring suit, we save the taxpayer the cost of prosecution while at the same time recovering the taxpayer money. Furthermore, the relief which the Act creates provides for restitution to the victim and cost of the investigation for the Commonwealth.

The treble damages provision ensures that the defrauded governmental agency gets its money back and the civil penalty provisions will underwrite the efforts of state and local

prosecutors to combat fraud. In short, the Act encourages whistle-blowers to come forward, guarantees restitution, and pays for itself.

This works in a variety of ways; but let me speak to specifically not of theory, but how it has worked in the real world. The Federal Government has such an act in various forms and in various incarnations since the Civil War.

The Federal Government's experience with its acts tells us two things: First, that it does work; and second, that the linchpin of the Act is allowing recovery by qui tam plaintiffs, the whistle-blowers.

Congress passed the first Federal
Claims Act in 1800 and 63 at the height of the
Civil War and at the prompting of President
Lincoln who saw the Union's effort being
undermined by war profiteers who sold the Army
crates of saw dust instead of muskets.

It provided for double damages, and it also allowed the qui tam plaintiff to sue and awarded that plaintiff a 50 percent share of all the penalties. However, in 1943 during interestingly enough the Second World War, Congress severely restricted the False Claims

Act.

It eliminated the 50 percent share and gave the court the discretion to allow the qui tam plaintiffs only as much as 25 percent or perhaps even nothing.

It also restricted the qui tam

plaintiffs from bringing suit if the government

possessed the same knowledge which the

whistle-blower had even if the government wasn't

acting on it.

The result of these restrictions and other was that False Claims Act suits during and after the Second World War and subsequent thereto virtually stopped.

The government did not have the resources or often the evidence from the inside, from the whistle-blower's knowledge to bring the suits on its own and the restrictions removed any incentive for whistle-blowers or others to come forward to write suits themselves.

In 1985, the year before the qui tam provisions were restored by Congress, nine out of ten top defense contractors were under investigation for defrauding the Federal Government; yet not one of them faced the

potential of a False Claims Act suit.

In nineteen hundred and eighty-six, however, Congress restored the whistle-blower provisions of the False Claims Act; and false claims suits arose immediately. Congress was responding to the cries against the \$600 wrenches, a \$400 ashtray, and a variety of other raids on the Treasury which we have seen.

And, of course, this is particularly but not exclusively limited to the Defense industry and has, of course, more recently been revealed in the health care industry.

Recognizing that it simply could not afford to hire thousands of more assistant United States attorneys and even more investigators and that whistle-blowers needed a financial incentive to come forward, Congress restored a guaranteed share of 15 to 30 percent to the qui tam plaintiff as well as expenses and attorneys fees.

It also prohibited retaliation against whistle-blowers. With these changes, the False Claims Act was restored. While in nineteen hundred and eighty-seven only 33 false claims suits were filed, by mid-nineteen hundred and ninety-six, 360 such suits had been filed in that

year alone.

And from 1986 when the False Claims Act qui tam provisions were restored to nineteen hundred and ninety-six, the United States recovered approximately \$1.13 billion through qui tam actions.

As much as the revision of the False
Claims Act has recovered monies fraudulently
obtained, it has restored or prevented
countless billions of being stolen in the first
place because it has deterred vendors from
seeking to perpetuate fraud in the first place.

The Taxpayers Against Fraud study in nineteen hundred and ninety-six estimated that from between '86 and '96 the Federal False Claims Act saved taxpayers over a hundred and forty-seven billion dollars up to maybe even 259 billion and that from 1996 through 2006, it estimates that taxpayers will save an additional 240 to \$280 billion.

This study conservatively estimates the qui tam provisions alone saved taxpayers between 35 and \$71 billion from 1986 to 1996 and projects that in the years 1996 to 2000 will save an additional 105 to 210 billion. You know, a

billion here, a billion there, pretty soon it adds up.

The great success that the Federal False Claims Act has been since the qui tam provision shows how effective it is. And if you needed proof -- and I want to digress from my prepared notes -- just this morning a little teeny article in the <u>Daily News</u> indicates by a headline title, Contractors Whine about the Fraud Law.

Contractors are complaining that the False Claims Act has led to overly-aggressive lawsuits against such contractors as AT&T, Boeing, General Dynamics, ITT, Litton, North Gruman, United Technology, and another host of other defense contractors. So you know it must be effective if the major defense contractors are complaining.

Interestingly enough -- and I know this little article doesn't cover it all -- the health care industry which has suffered billions of dollars in fraud through Columbia Health Care's ripping off of billions of dollars from Medicare and Medicaid and other health providers and, of course, locally the SmithKline Beecham case that was settled with Mr. Raspanti's help for \$344

million, including \$9 million in interest.

So the health care industry is noticeably absent from the complaint. Also the University of Pennsylvania's settlement for additional overbilling was \$109 million. There are many, many others; and I don't mean to single out those few. Just as a representative sample.

A small percent of that money recovered by the SmithKline Beecham settlement went to 43 percent -- 43 states. Pennsylvania got a small amount; but because we didn't have a False Claims Act, our recovery was in the thousands rather than in the millions of dollars.

The simple truth is that when a Federal false claims suit involves both Federal and state money, the state share is larger when the state has a false claims act which provides for multiple damages. As you can see, this case shows -- the SmithKline Beecham case -- that the time to enact such legislation has come.

In other states, whereas in nineteen hundred and ninety-eight, there are four states now with a false claims act, in nineteen hundred and ninety-six, only four states had them.

Now, I don't mean to say that four

states to eight states out of 50 is a quantum leap; but it shows the popularity and the wisdom that states have that embarked upon enacting this legislation. And that's why I encourage Pennsylvania to be the next state to do so.

These states are California, Florida,
Illinois, Michigan, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, and
the District of Columbia.

In Pennsylvania, the need for false claims legislation has always been great. Each year the Commonwealth loses millions in restitution and penalties it could have recovered from fraudulent vendors.

As important as it has always been to have a State False Claims Act, the need for this legislation has never been greater as it is right now.

Every day, for better or for worse -- mostly for worse -- government at all levels and especially local and state government is becoming increasingly involved in providing more and more services to our citizens and especially our most impoverished citizens.

To provide these services, the Commonwealth has more and more turned to private

vendors: Health care, day care, elder care, care for neglected and abused children and so forth.

But government cannot support these services if it is paying for services never rendered or paying for the same services twice or three times; in other words, if its vendors submit fraudulent bills for payment.

Instead, to pay for these claims, government has had to restrict the services of the vendor to those most in need of them. The proposed false claims legislation will help police this process and keep down the cost to the government of this substantial police effort.

I don't know anyone who will come forward specifically with objection to the proposed legislation, but I'll address a few which I anticipate may be made.

Perhaps the biggest objection which has traditionally been made to the false claims legislation is allowing the whistle-blower to recover. Critics have said that it encourages greedy tattletales to betray their employers and acts as a lottery ticket for plaintiffs.

I think recent cases indicate that but for whistle-blowers a lot of corporate America

would not have mended its ways. And indeed with respect to these qui tam plaintiffs, lots of things in government would never have changed but would have gone unchecked.

Criticism of whistle-blowers or so-called whistle-blowers is not only overblown, but it's unwarranted. To answer that, you must remember the basic truth which the history of the Federal legislation reveals with the whistle-blower provisions in the false claims legislation is effective and devastatingly so in attacking fraud.

Without it, the fraud goes more or less unchecked. The so-called greed which the whistle-blowers provisions provide and the False Claims Act in general indicates that it attacks the greed of the vendors, the so-called greed -- and I use that in quotes of the qui tam plaintiff -- is at worst minor compared to the greed which it combats.

And indeed in the SmithKline case, there was no greed at all. It was an honest -- I believe it was a billing clerk as my memory serves. And I know Mr. Raspanti will speak of this.

But as I recall, it was a billing clerk who brought these overbillings to his or her supervisor and the supervisor in effect said, you know, Mind your own business. Just go back and do what you're supposed to do and don't put your nose in other peoples' business.

This person was not involved in any fraud at all. This person wanted to bring to the attention of his or her employers or supervisors that something was amiss. So I think it's really wrong to say that all whistle-blowers are greedy or out for themselves.

Many good citizens over the course of history have seen their employers do wrong and say, This is wrong. It's not that they have participated in it.

They're innocent people who are caught in the web of perpetuating the fraud by not paying attention to the detail that the so-called whistle-blower did in the SmithKline Beecham and other cases.

I mean, this is really a bad thing to call an honest citizen greedy just because they get a reward for the vilification, the ostracism, and the firing that they get as being a

whistle-blower.

And we don't have to go any further than just our local example to show how good, small people within the corporate structure can be the linchpin of turning a monumental fraud into a great benefit for all citizens and rate payers and other folks who are affected by these activities.

These conditions are typical for the whistle-blower: The ostracism, the firing, the snickers behind their backs, and general destruction of their life.

And it is also not uncommon, parenthetically, for whistle-blowers to lose their families and their children over the aggravation suffered by bringing bad things to light that others might want to keep hidden.

In any event, I don't believe that the price that the whistle-blower has to pay is equally covered by any recovery that might obtain. There is a strong incentive for people to come forward: The honest people as well as some who might not be so honest with blowing the whistle.

Any other objection may be that the

proposed legislation allows the prosecuting authority to recover a percentage of civil penalties. This objection too ignores reality.

The prosecuting authority, whether it's a local prosecutor's office or the State Attorney General's office, must be allowed to recoup a percentage of the civil penalties in order to finance the investigation and prosecution of these cases.

In an era of downsized government, it's just this kind of self-financing which the government should encourage. And it's also important to note that wherever there is objection of -- for example, our local city solicitor. City solicitors are uniquely unqualified, especially in smaller counties, to bring these kinds of suit and the prosecutor along with the State Attorney General's office is.

In conclusion, I wish to stress that the Philadelphia District Attorney's office and the Pennsylvania District Attorney's Association, both of whom I represent here today, strongly support this proposed legislation.

And we also want to know that -- want

the Committee to know that law enforcement is becoming more creative in trying to eradicate crime.

One of the lessons we have learned over the past few decades is the best way to stop people who are committing economic degradations is to take away their money.

That will punish them more than the distant threat -- and it is a distant threat for economic crimes almost anywhere in this country -- of the possibility of imprisonment.

The proposed legislation uses civil procedures and penalties to do just that: To rob defrauders of their rewards and make them pay severely and dearly for their efforts.

This also will have the additional incidental benefit of discouraging the potential cheat. And it's far better to discourage the person that's cheating than to try to catch the cheater after the fraud had been completed.

I believe that the False Claims Act is innovative, it's tested, it's proven, and it's a great way to combat this age-old problem. It is a solution or at least part of a solution that is long overdue, and I urge this Committee and the

entire House and Senate to pass this bill.

I'll be happy to answer any questions if the Committee has any. Mr. Deutchman is the assigned assistant to the False Claims Act as he is the head of our Economics Fraud Unit. And, of course, Kathy McDonald and I will be happy to supplement.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: We thank you very much for your testimony this morning. We've had a new member of the Judiciary Subcommittee join us -- the Subcommittee on Courts, Representative Petrarca. I'd like you to introduce yourself. Do you have any questions?

REPRESENTATIVE PETRARCA: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. No questions at this time. I appreciate the testimony though.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Our Chief Counsel, Brian Preski, has some questions for you.

MR. PRESKI: I guess this is more directed toward Mr. Deutchman. One of the concerns that we've heard or one of the objections that you didn't talk to, Ms. Abraham, was that existing statutes already covered this theft by deception, for example.

In your experience, have you been able

to use that Statute to prosecute these types of crimes? And what's the benefit from this new Statute that's not already covered by that? I understand the qui tam part of, but what about as far as the criminal action goes?

MR. DEUTCHMAN: Well, a few things:

First, not to jump over the qui tam aspect of it,

one of the benefits here of this Statute is that

it should simply ferret out more of the fraud to

begin with because it gives incentive for those

who know about it -- financial incentive for

those who know about it to come forward.

In a typical criminal action, the investigation is initiated by law enforcement. And unless there is someone who is a whistle-blower or already who wants to draw attention to law enforcement of a problem, it generally begins with law enforcement more or less like a -- even though this wouldn't be a street crime -- analogous to somebody on patrol looking for a crime and coming across it and just like somebody on a patrol that if somebody's going down the street and there's a whole bunch of houses, there could be crimes going on in the houses, and unless they spill

out onto the street you're simply not going to see them.

So similarly -- and these are crimes that are committed in secret. And the incentives in the qui tam plaintiff to come forward is going to lead to simply a increased volume of crimes that we're going to be able to uncover or fraud that we're going to be able to uncover.

But in addition to that, the criminal statutes have the problems inherent in criminal statutes: They provide for criminal penalties; on the other hand, they also come with them, as they must, the protections for the criminal.

Since this is a fraud -- a civil fraud statute, the Fifth Amendment protection that exists for the criminal does not exist. We found, practically speaking, that it's very -- that the benefit of the criminal statute, which is to say the risk that the person once convicted goes to prison, has been to a large degree mooted out by experience; that with the number of people in prison now, the high number of people in both county prison and in state prison, that judges are very loath to put anybody in prison.

At best at the end of a long criminal

investigation and trial, which you end up coming up with at best usually is probation and an order for restitution and a fine and so forth.

What this Statute allows is for the government to arrive at essentially the same place at a far less cost both in terms of manpower and time. And it should allow us to do so easier in addition because of the civil investigative demand and the other discovery tools which the Statute allows.

And as you I'm sure understand, these are discovery tools which are allowed because this is a civil situation and not a criminal situation. You can't put interrogatories on a criminal defendant and expect them to answer questions.

You can't expect a criminal defendant to hand over documents. You have to have search warrants and so forth. Under this Statute, you simply don't have to have that. You simply have to have an action initiated or at least an investigation initiated in order to do that.

And as well, the treble damages and the 5 to \$10,000 penalties are far higher than anything that we have on the books now with

regard to the penalties for criminal violations.

So they would bring in a tremendous amount of money to the public funds. Just to give an example, in the SmithKline case or the University of Pennsylvania case, in both of those cases, each time a bill is submitted, each bill is a false claim.

If somebody sends in 20 false bills, each of those 20 false bills may be false in a hundred dollars' worth of actual damages. That would mean \$300 in treble damages for a hundred bills. And 300 times a hundred is \$30,000, I think. And that would be -- I'm getting a nod from somebody there; so I guess I must be right.

And that's a fair, nice chunk of change. However, each one of those hundred bills would get a minimum of \$5,000 for false claim. And I think that's \$5 million.

MR. PRESKI: Okay. Let me ask you this question then: How recoverable is all of the money that you just talked about? Or the question is, in other words, Who's the defendant in the University of Pennsylvania False Claims case that you talked about, in the SmithKline case, who was the defendant on the civil

side -- was it the corporation themselves and the officers or was it the individual who said just keep overbilling?

MR. DEUTCHMAN: It was the corporation itself.

MR. PRESKI: So it's far easier to recover then from the corporation than from the individual?

MR. DEUTCHMAN: Right. Right. And that also leads to another point that I should make with regard to those two cases. I think those two cases really do illustrate another problem with the criminal law that makes this, the False Claims Act, something that we need.

And that is, is that the law of prosecutions of corporations for criminal activities is still not a particularly clear area. To prosecute a corporation for a criminal violation is not particularly easy.

Sometimes when it's a corporation where you have one individual and that individual is clearly involved in a criminal activity, you can prosecute the individual and the corporation, the individuals using the corporation. And that kind of prosecution is relatively easy.

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But in the University of Pennsylvania case, it was relatively difficult to find one, two, three or "x" number of people that you would identify as traditional criminal defendants. And the criminal prosecution in that case would not have yielded particularly good results.

However, the fraud prosecution under the False Claims Act was exactly -- that case was exactly what the False Claims Act was for: A situation where false claims were being presented, but they were not being presented necessarily with what you might think of as criminal intent.

And, therefore, the Act remedied the problem at hand without having to prove something that you would have to prove in the criminal context and something which probably didn't exist in that case, which was criminal intent.

MS. ABRAHAM: If I could add one other thing to what Mr. Deutchman said, to go back to your first question about theft by deception, usually those cases come in at all only in small numbers and they come after the fact and there's no incentive for anybody to tell us anything.

We have had numbers of cases where

defendants are not frightened of courts any longer, so there's no incentive for them to come forward. after all, in the case of most economic crimes, there is not jail but probation with restitution. There's very little incentive to cooperate.

Second of all, the ongoing nature of the offense. When a whistle-blower finds something, for example, from within and allows the Attorney General to know about that by filing, let's say, a qui tam suit, the Attorney General and/or the local prosecutor can together ferret out the offenses while it is going on without being burdened by the extraordinarily high burden of proof.

And, as Mr. Deutchman indicated, we have other tools available to us which we would not have through the traditional means of law enforcement. So I think all in all we have a great tool to combat this very real threat to the well-being of the Commonwealth and its treasury.

MR. PRESKI: And I guess one last question: From an experience or from a practitioner's point, which action would you want to proceed first -- the civil qui tam or

whistle-blower action or the criminal action?

MR. DEUTCHMAN: The civil action from a practitioner's point because it would again allow us discovery and it would allow us to determine whether there was some particular criminal action involved.

Lots of times there's a loss and the loss is fraudulent from the point of view of civil fraud, not necessarily criminal fraud. And it's not always good to involve people in criminal investigations just to find out at the end of a long criminal investigation that they're not guilty of any crime.

The very investigation itself can have a deleterious effect on the individuals. This will allow us to pursue a civil investigation without all of the bad publicity or the bad ramifications that go along, the bad implications that come along with a criminal investigation and see if the civil wrong is the only wrong involved.

It would give us -- as I said before, the discovery tools would give us the opportunity to see exactly what was going on. If there was something criminal, if it developed into something criminal, then we would pursue

something in a criminal light.

But we would assume in these situations that it wasn't, that it was civil, and we would act accordingly.

MR. PRESKI: The reason I ask that question is because there's no provision now that requires -- that doesn't allow for the civil action not to be stated.

One of the strategy points of an office like the District Attorney's office is that when there's an ongoing criminal prosecution and you get sued for the underlying civil claims, you would often run into Federal court and ask that case be stayed pending the outcome of the criminal action.

Do you think that needs to be addressed by the legislation?

MR. DEUTCHMAN: I think, yes, we definitely should take a look at that. There are a few things I want to relate looking through the bill we probably should look at, and that would certainly be one of them. Yes, I think it's something that should be put in here so that if it turns out that the -- I mean, this can be used in both ways.

It's a civil -- the civil discovery procedures which we would like to be able to use might be turned around against law enforcement. And defendants might then say I want to depose the investigators during the course of the civil investigation.

So we certainly would want to have discovery provisions that would allow that at least the discovery provisions be stayed pending a criminal investigation.

I should also add just since I brought that up that there were other issues that were discussed. And this might be in terms of things that were left out of the Act.

And one of the things that we might think about too -- and, again, this might be something the Attorney General might want to address and other counties might want to address -- and that is the issue of whether -- the way that the referrals go here, the Attorney General gets first bite at the apple, so to speak.

And if the Attorney General looks and sees that there are no Commonwealth funds, only municipality or local funds involved, then they

turn things over to the local prosecutor who might want to include a provision which would allow the local prosecutor to hand it back to the Attorney General along the lines of what exists now criminally in the Commonwealth's Attorneys Act to allow those situations in a smaller municipality, Philadelphia not being one, but in lots of other municipalities where the prosecutor simply is not going to be able to conduct this kind of investigation and the Attorney General will be in a better position.

I don't know what the Attorney General's feeling is about that and what the municipalities' are, but I'm sure you'll find out soon enough.

MR. PRESKI: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Seeing no additional questions, I would like to thank you for coming this morning and presenting us with your testimony and your insight and answering our questions.

We're going to have Pennsylvania's

Attorney General, the Honorable Michael Fisher,

testify next; and you're certainly welcome to

stay and --

1	MS. ABRAHAM: Thank you very much,
2	Representative Clark.
3	MR. DEUTCHMAN: Thank you very much.
4	CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Good morning,
5	General. How are you today?
6	ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: Mr. Chairman,
7	good morning, Members of Committee.
8	CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And I understand
9	that Kirk Wiedemer is with you today?
10	ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: Kirk is a
11	Senior Deputy Attorney General who's in charge of
12	our Insurance Fraud Section in our Criminal Law
13	Division. And Mr. Wiedemer, is here and also will
14	be available to answer any questions that the
15	Committee may have.
16	CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Would you like
17	Mr. Wiedemer to spell his name?
18	THE COURT REPORTER: (No audible
19	response.)
20	MR. WIEDEMER: K-I-R-K, W-I-E-D-E-M-E-R,
21	Wiedemer.
22	CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Those formalities
23	taken care of, why, we're ready for your
24	testimony.
25	ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: Thank you,

ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: Thank you,

Mr. Chairman, and thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today on House Bill 1671, which is the proposed Pennsylvania False Claims Act.

At the outset, I'd like to congratulate and commend Representative Kenney for introducing this very important piece of legislation which, if enacted into law, will enable my office and district attorneys across Pennsylvania to recover thousands and, in some cases, millions of dollars from individuals or businesses who have submitted fraudulent claims to Pennsylvania and its local governments.

We've had the opportunity to meet with Representative Kenney in the past prior to the time he introduced this legislation and had given some of our input into the bill before because this was an issue that I was personally interested in as was Mr. Wiedemer and other members of my staff for the reasons which we'll talk about here in a few moments.

The authority granted under a false claims act will be an important addition to my office's financial enforcement, contract review, Medicaid fraud, and public protection programs.

These programs all have the goal of recovering monies due the Commonwealth and they ensure the agencies of the Commonwealth are doing business with reputable, law-abiding vendors and businesses.

I strongly believe that a State False
Claims Act is an important fraud fighting tool
which will lead to substantial recoveries of
taxpayers' dollars. Unfortunately, state and
local governments are easy targets for those who
want to to make an easy buck off the taxpayers.

In an article entitled, <u>Fighting Fraud</u>
with a State False Claims Act, special counsel to
the Florida Attorney General's office, Mark
Schlein, notes that there are at least three good
reasons why government is such an easy target:

First, most governments have a lot of money and eventually money that could be stolen; second, governments are not good generally at catching people who steal from them; and third, in an unlikely event that you do get caught, as long as you use an invoice instead of a gun, the odds are good that you'll never see the inside of a prison cell.

This observation is particularly

pertinent when we consider that more and more government programs and services are being offered at the state level as opposed to the Federal.

The General Accounting Office estimates that at least 10 percent of the Federal budget is lost as a result of overbilling and fraud. Now, if this statistic is accurate and if it held true -- and this is just an example that we're just using the 10 percent as an example -- that we could potentially recover \$1.8 billion of our 1998-99 General Fund Budget, which as you know is approximately \$18 billion.

So I believe it's important that we take proactive steps to detect and prevent this pervasive fraud, waste, and abuse. That's why I believe we should enact statute in Pennsylvania modeled after the successful Federal False Claims Act.

I want to also note as District Attorney Abraham did, a growing number of states including California, Florida, Illinois, Tennessee, Texas and Utah have enacted similar measures to protect against fraud.

These hard-hitting statutes not only

recover millions of dollars of lost revenue but also create a significant deterrent against future fraudulent conduct.

In fact, it is estimated that the enforcement of the Federal Statute has resulted in a dramatic decrease in fraudulent claims resulting in a net savings estimated at somewhere between a hundred and fifty billion to 300 billion between '86 and '96.

It's also estimated that during the next ten years the savings could be as high as \$480 billion. Before I discuss the highlights of the legislation being considered, I want to provide you with a brief history behind the highly successful Federal False Claims Act.

I don't know if you've heard this
history before this morning or not, but -- we had
we yes. Perhaps we'll skip some of the Lincoln
Law specifics. But they're there, and there was
a Civil War precedent, suffice it to say, for the
initial enactment.

But as you know, in 1986 at the height of an exploding Federal deficit, skyrocketing health care costs, and \$7,000 coffee makers at the Pentagon, Congress amended the False Claims

Statute to again provide whistle-blowers with easier access to the courts and for the first time it allowed private attorneys to participate directly in the process.

As a result, the Federal Government has made tremendous strides in combating fraud through the use of the Act. The Statute now provides for the recovery of tree times the of amount of damages sustained by the Federal Government plus a civil penalty ranging from 5 to \$10,000 for each false claim submitted.

Since 1986 -- and I think these statistics are very important -- the United States has obtained over \$3 billion in false claim recoveries, about one-third of this amount as a result of whistle-blower litigation.

The success of the Federal model is evident when one compares this \$3 billion figure to an estimated 25 to 27 million recovered annually by the Federal Government prior to the 1986 amendments.

That tells me that something significant changed. And the one thing that I think we can point to is the Federal False Claims Act. I firmly believe that if Pennsylvania had its own

false claims law we could expect to recover a significant amount of money lost to fraudulent claims.

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Although there's a natural delay from the time the Statute's enacted of any significant return, California, which was the first state to enact the False Claim Act in '87, has realized an estimated \$20 million recovery since 1991.

California will acknowledge that without appropriations they had a relatively slow start-up, but their act has become much more successful for them since the early '90's.

The proposed legislation has a broad reach to recover any request or demand for money, property, or services made to an employee, officer, or agent of the Commonwealth or any of its political subdivisions.

For example, the Act would cover a construction agreement with PennDOT as well as demands for payment by a sanitation company collecting trash pursuant to a contract with a municipality.

Firms doing environmental clean-up work with state funds would also be covered.

Hospitals and universities receiving state

research grants, physicians, home health care agencies, and testing laboratories submitting claims to Medicaid and vendors to the state and municipal governments likewise would be subject to the Act.

Currently, we do not have in my opinion sufficient remedies to combat fraud occurring in many of these areas. But let me address some of the key provisions.

House Bill 1671, as we've said, provides for treble damages. The individual business caught filing a false claim could be liable for up to three times the amount of the actual damages; individuals or businesses would be liable for a substantial penalty -- 5 to 10,000 for each false claim; the legislation would enable a measure of clemency for those who voluntarily disclose a false claim.

The Bill did not require government to prove that the individual business has specific intent to defraud; in other words, a person cannot hide behind a claim of ignorance or recklessly disregard the business practices which result in overbilling;

A substantial portion of the funds

recovered under the proposed Statute would be returned to the General Fund of the state or to local government;.

At the heart of the proposed legislation is the qui tam, or the whistle-blower provisions. An examination of its tremendous success on the Federal level exemplifies why this is a necessary part of the law.

The Bill would allow any individual who has an independent knowledge of fraud against the government to bring a lawsuit on behalf of government.

The suit itself is filed ex parte, under seal, to protect the identity of the whistle-blower as well as to avoid alerting the accused, who might try to destroy any evidence.

Once the suit is filed, the Attorney

General or the District Attorney would have 90

days to review the claim and determine whether to
intervene and prosecute the case.

If the prosecuting attorney's successful in bringing the action, the whistle-blower would be entitled to collect anywhere from 20 to 33 percent of the proceeds.

In addition, the Attorney General or

District Attorney would be entitled to retain a third of the recovered monies to support future investigation and prosecution of these kinds of complaints.

The Pennsylvania False Claims Act would greatly enhance the ability of the Commonwealth and its political subdivisions to combat fraud and to significantly expand their resources.

Once implemented, the Commonwealth and its political subdivisions will have a proven, comprehensive program to recover money wrongfully paid out due to any false claim, regardless of its nature.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, both Mr. Wiedemer and I will be glad to answer any questions that the Committee may have.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: We thank you very much for your testimony. And do we have any questions of the Attorney General's office?

(No audible response.)

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Our Chief Counsel, Brian Preski, has a question.

MR. PRESKI: General, at this time, let me direct this to Mr. Wiedemer. You sat here

during Mr. Deutchman's comments about some of the proposed changes that he had thought of, basically an ability of the DAs to hand this back to the AG if you kick it to down to them.

Do you have any comments about that?

MR. WIEDEMER: I think it's an
interesting proposal. I think that if we had the
personnel to handle those cases that we would
welcome that.

I know Attorney General Fisher has been working with a lot of the DAs from the smaller counties and taking cases that either they don't have the resources or where there's a conflict. So I think that it would be consistent with the policy and practice that's already in place.

Mr. Preski, it would be consistent -- although it probably would need to be covered specifically, it would be consistent with the Commonwealth with the Attorney's Act and the current process, as was said by the previous witnesses, particularly in the small counties because of the lack of resources or when there's a conflict of interest, the cases are referred to us for criminal prosecution.

Likewise, in counties, you know, that

don't have the resources that Philadelphia or

Allegheny or some of the larger counties have,

they may feel that a case like this could be

5 better handled by our office. Certainly we would

6 do that.

We would -- you know, there is a process however in the Act as I currently read it that really allows the DA to participate in name, with us perhaps taking the lead. So that the DA may want to stay involved.

If our office was similarly involved,

I'm sure that we do the lion's share of the work.

And that way the DAs in even the smaller counties if the case involved a local municipality could stay participants and would be able to perhaps give some resources eventually that would help them staff some small units.

MR. PRESKI: I guess the next questions, General, then is -- a question I had asked before you arrived of the DAs was which action if you were going to bring it to, the civil action under the whistle-blower and then the subsequent maybe a Theft by Deception Action, which one would you want to go first?

Their response was that they wanted the civil action to go first because of the ability to have greater discovery. My question is -- and I wish I had asked it of them -- Do you think there's any constitutional problems or any other types of problems by doing that?

If I'm a defense attorney, my argument is going to be, sure, they want to go along with the civil action first because then they'll be able to get all the jewels from me.

When it's time for the criminal action to come around, there's no need for me to plead the Fifth Amendment because they already know everything that I was going to say. Do you have any comment on that or just any kind of response to that?

ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: I think once, you know, once you -- if the remedies available to prosecutors are expanded and you'd be creating a civil remedy, it would be a tougher call. But I think each case would have to be determined on a case-by-case basis.

If there was a clear violation of the criminal statutes, I think as a prosecutor we would have a responsibility to bring that charge,

not to sit back and wait to utilize for the discovery.

But in some cases, it may not be that clear. In some cases, you may not have the evidence available to you. But throughout the course of a civil case, if additional information was determined, you can make a new determination; but you'd have to be awfully careful as to how you utilized it.

You couldn't utilize a criminal prosecution. You're not allowed to under the law, you're not allowed to under the Code of Professional Responsibility to get a larger civil settlement, for instance.

MR. PRESKI: And my last question is this: As I heard your testimony, I thought immediately of your other proposals concerning the change from nonprofit organizations to profit organizations.

Could you comment briefly on -- well, what I see is I see there's some kind of similarity here where if there's greater ability for your office to look at when a nonprofit switches to a profit, you'll certainly be able to under the passage of this Statute for them to

go in when you do find something wrong and actually work upon it. Any comment on that, General?

ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: Well, that's a good assessment, Mr. Preski. You know, currently our role in dealing with the supervision of nonprofits comes from parens patriae power which the Attorney General has and which the Attorney General exercises.

Generally, that's exercised in the Orphan's Court, the division, and it takes place when there's a fundamental change in the structure, where there's a sale -- where there's a sale of a significant asset.

This remedy would allow the Office of Attorney General, would allow district attorneys access to the civil courts. And, you know, that wouldn't make a significant difference. It could be used.

That's not to say that, you know, this Statute is only -- it would be needed to supervise nonprofits. But it certainly is an additional remedy. It's particularly needed in the health care area.

I've spoken to a lot of people who have

said to me, you know, this is a tool that would be very important in trying to ferret out fraud in the health care area. And I think that's probably one of the major areas that it could be helpful to Pennsylvania. I guess my concern is more MR. PRESKI: is one could be the vehicle for the other. ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: conceivable, that's right. MR. PRESKI: Thank you. 

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Any additional questions of the Attorney General?

(No audible response.)

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: We want to certainly thank you this morning for coming down and providing us with your testimony and answering our questions.

ATTORNEY GENERAL FISHER: Thank you.

And I commend the Committee for taking interest in this legislation. I would hope that you would be able to move it forward sometime before the end of this session. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Thank you. The next individual to provide testimony to the Committee is Marc S. Raspanti, Esquire, from

Miller, Alfano & Raspanti. And along with him is Andrew Stone, Esquire. So also if you'd like to provide your testimony, why, we'd certainly appreciate that.

MR. RASPANTI: Good morning, Members of Committee. Thank you for allowing me to speak today. I would like to introduce my colleague. To my left, Tammy Traynor, Esquire, who works with me and has worked with me on these cases.

My name is Marc Raspanti, and I'm a partner in a law firm here in Philadelphia, Miller, Alfano & Raspanti. I'm honored to provide you with my thoughts and insight into proposed House Bill 1671, which was introduced by Representative Kenney and, as I understand it, 33 other legislators.

I'm going to refer to the bill as the Pennsylvania False Claims Act. And before getting into specifics, I was asked to produce you with some brief background on myself.

I began my career in public service as an assistant District Attorney here in Philadelphia serving under then District Attorney and now Mayor Edward Rendell. After leaving the District Attorney's office, I spent a number of

years in two large Philadelphia firms and ten years ago formed my own law firm with two other partners.

Most of the principals of our law firm are state and Federal prosecutors, and that is the background to which we have brought to this practice.

I've had extensive experience over the last, actually, 12 years with the Federal False Claims Act; and I'm now starting to have some experience with State False Claim Act cases throughout the United States.

We've represented qui tam plaintiffs, or whistle-blowers, who have come forward sometimes at tremendous personal and familial expense and sacrifice to uncover fraud, waste, and abuse within the Federal system.

I was honored to have represented the lead whistle-blower, Robert J. Merena, in a whistle-blower suit filed here in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania in November, 1993, against SmithKline Beecham Clinical Laboratories.

That case led the Federal Government to the largest qui tam health care recovery in the history of the United States. That was \$344

million. There was only one other larger case that preceded that, but it was not brought under the qui tam statute.

I was honored to have been asked by
Representative George Kenney, the Pennsylvania
Attorney General's office, and the Philadelphia
District Attorney's office to consult and assist
in their drafting of the proposed Pennsylvania
False Claims Act.

The Committee has before it a statute that there is no question will significantly enhance and expand the fraud fighting capabilities of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The issue to me in my mind is not should Pennsylvania pass this Statute; it's a matter of when it will pass the Statute. Will we be on the forefront of this legislation or will we trail behind all the other states as they're beginning to pass their statutes?

It would place Pennsylvania in an ever-growing number of states passing their own false claim statutes and enlist the considerable resources, insight, and knowledge of private citizens who I predict with the appropriate protections and inducements will come forward as

they have under the Federal Statute and uncover fraud, waste, and abuse for the citizens of the Commonwealth.

The proposed Statute, as you've heard from the previous speakers, will also serve as a significant deterrent against those who might consider defrauding the Commonwealth and its political subdivisions in ways that the current criminal statutes have never acted as a deterrent for the reasons that the speakers before me have given.

It's very difficult to not only detect and prosecute a white-collar individual, particularly in some of these complex crimes, but to send one of those individuals to jail.

I'll skip some of the history of the Statute. And we've touched upon the history of the Statute going back to the Civil War. Not to duplicate that, there's actually some interesting history that precedes the Civil War by about a hundred years.

The qui tam provisions of the False

Claims Statute actually go back to English Common

Law. And when this country was being formed,

there were 24 separate laws, many of them passed

here in Philadelphia, that had qui tam provisions in them borrowing from the English Common Law.

The reasons for that was there was no law enforcement in the 1700s, none to speak of. So they borrowed from their English cousins and brothers and had qui tam provisions there.

As law enforcement started to develop in the United States, those provisions were thought not to be needed until President Lincoln a hundred years later saw that there was nothing that was working; that the Civil war, like in World War II and World War I, provided millions of dollars that were placed into buying armaments.

And as District Attorney Lynne Abraham and Attorney General Fisher have indicated, obviously, with that kind of money there was always the ability to have fraud and abuse.

During the twelve years that the Federal Statute has been passed, the Federal recoveries of the Act have skyrocketed from millions per year to over \$600 million per year.

The most current statistics right up to date that I've been able to obtain from the Justice Department, from 1986 to the current

time, there's been in excess of \$2.3 billion that have been recovered directly to the United States

Treasury as a result of the 1986 amendments to the False Claims Statute.

California, Michigan, Utah, Florida,
Illinois, Louisiana, Tennessee, and the District
of Columbia have introduced and have been
instrumental in passing this legislation.

A number of other states as we speak are considering this Statute, including New York, Massachusettes, Washington, New Jersey, Delaware and, of course, Pennsylvania.

And I was struck with an interesting scenario that may happen if Pennsylvania lags behind. And District Attorney Abraham mentioned the mechanics of what happens when there's a Federal case.

When a Federal case moves forward and state money's involved, those states who don't have their own false claims statutes because they don't have the ability, a statutory framework to argue, generally get 20 cents, 30 cents on the dollar.

We could end up with a scenario where Delaware and New Jersey pass their own statutes and Pennsylvania, which is much larger, if it lags behind will actually get less in recoveries although more money is actually going to the bulk of the Pennsylvania budget.

My firm prediction that there's no question that within the next few years many if not most of 50 states will pass their own versions of the False Claim Statutes and that state prosecutors in those states will set up a permanent civil litigation units which will place individuals who are devoted to working on these complex types of cases.

And these are fraud cases. Although we're talking about a civil statute, they are investigated by fraud cases and they are fraud cases.

Just a brief overview of some of the other states: California was the first to pass the statutes one year after the Federal model.

And there was some mention of the lag time.

There is a lag time because these cases are filed and remain under seal for some time to allow the appropriate prosecuting authorities to determine whether or not it is a valid case or not. And the benefit for the matter remaining

under seal is twofold:

One is, The prosecuting authorities get the benefit of not having the target know that they're being investigated. If the matter does not turn out to be meritorious, the case may be dismissed before it ever surfaces.

And that's beneficial to the potential defendant or target because if it isn't a meritorious case, there's no reason for the defendant or the target to be besmirched by an investigation. It's kind of the way a grand jury investigation is supposed to work, putting aside current matters.

The California Statute's now up and running. I've had extensive discussions with some of the law enforcement people there. They are now starting to reap the rewards of the Statute.

And, quite frankly, all of the concerns that the California statutes had in their early times have been addressed by the current Statute before you.

For example, some of the sharing -- and I'm allowed to because I'm not a member of government -- or perhaps turf battles that

develop when you don't have clearly-defined goals for various prosecuting authorities, we've resolved that in this Statute.

That delayed a lot of the activity going forward in California because they were constantly having infighting until people knew how to go forward.

Clear levels of demarcation, extended periods of time for investigation, all of these things have been addressed because we've had the benefit of watching some of the other state models and the Federal Statute in the current proposal.

1992, Illinois passed the Illinois
Whistle-blower Award and Protection Act; Florida
passed the False Claims Act in 1994; District of
Columbia in 1997; Tennessee passed the first
statute which was directed solely to Medicaid
claims.

And as you know, 50 percent of every dollar across the board into the Medicaid Program is coming from the State and from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

In 1997, Louisiana passed the Medical Assistance Program Integrity Law to combat and

prevent fraud and abuse committed by health care providers.

And there were some questions that were asked by Mr. Preski that I want to address because Louisiana has a quirk in their statute that appears nowhere else, and maybe it demonstrates what District Attorney Abraham was mentioning.

Louisiana allows for a fraudulent doctor who has defrauded the state on a criminal statute to actually be shackled and chained as part of the imprisonment.

But there have only been three or four criminal prosecutions under that Statute. You would think that that would be a great deterrent. They needed to pass a civil statute because the shackle and chains provision that only appears in Louisiana hasn't done what it needed to do in combating fraud. They decided it was better to go after their pocketbook than to put a ball and chain around their feet.

Texas has passed legislation, very strong legislation, which both takes care of Medicaid programs and other state-funded programs.

Each year, the taxpayers of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania fund billions of dollars in programs which involve contracts of all types from the state contribution to the Medicaid Program, which I mentioned earlier, to state funded construction projects, primary and secondary schools, institutions of higher learning, road building, local and regional development authorities, block grants, local health clinics, research grants, agricultural subsidies, state hospitals, environmental and natural resource management, wildlife preservation, and a complex framework of procurement which leads to the purchases every day of billions of dollars of goods and services anywhere from a typewriter to a school bus every day.

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Every day those provisions are hitting your desks. But you have to ask yourselves, What can I do to know whether or not the taxpayers of this state really are getting the benefit of what it is that we're giving them?

All of these contracts rely implicitly on the good faith and integrity of the entities and individuals doing business with the

Commonwealth and its many political subdivisions.

Unfortunately when that trust is misplaced, there is little that can be done to effectively punish those wrongdoers where it really counts; in their pocketbooks.

Under existing Pennsylvania law, while there has been significant strengthening of some statutes such as the Insurance Fraud Statutes, over the last few years, no other statute currently on the books provides the law enforcement community with the significant fine and penalty provisions of the proposed legislation and, more importantly, the ability to enlist private citizens to help the Commonwealth ferret out fraud.

And I make those comments as a former prosecutor. When we would sit there and look at a case and try and figure out, What statute do we have, we would often fall short because we never had the firepower to really address the harm that was before us.

The newspapers every day are filled with large recoveries. In fact, on a daily basis now the feds are logging recoveries. That's why I had to struggle to get you the most up-to-date

statistic because it changes every day.

The problem is -- or the opportunity for the Legislature is most of the money is not flowing into the Federal Government but it is flowing into the 50 states.

They just are hidden to some degree in smaller programs that are not as easily recognizable and, quite frankly, are not as easy to detect fraud in such as the Medicare, Medicaid, and other large Federal systems.

The Federal False Claims Statute simply has no jurisdiction over the great majority of the money that's flowing into the states, including the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The Commonwealth and its subdivisions disperse billions of dollars out every day.

Taxpayers asked to fund these programs. But in reality, they have very little meaningful protection against unsavory contractors who defraud the Commonwealth.

House Bill 1671 strikes the appropriate balance of providing prosecutorial authorities with significantly enhanced ability to uncover, investigate, and prosecute those individuals or entities who have defrauded the Commonwealth.

It not only allows prosecutors to recoup monies fraudulently obtained but to exact fines and penalties against the very perpetrators of the fraud.

It also provides, in my opinion, a well-thought-out structure of sharing responsibility which is tailored to the uniqueness of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

There are a few other provisions that have not been touched upon. And if I can share some of the insight from the other states, which are very, very important:

It's one thing to commence an investigation of someone defrauding the Commonwealth, it's one thing to have the ability to have whistle-blowers assisting you; but if you determine that an ongoing entity is defrauding the Commonwealth on a daily basis, the Statute provides prosecuting authorities with strong mechanisms to stop through injunction abilities, which we've never had in this Commonwealth, with the ability to pull licenses and registrations from those abilities so you can not only go after that entity and prosecute it, but you can stop that entity in an injunction hearing before you

have to wait a year or two for the case to be solved.

In Florida, the Florida model is tremendous health care fraud with a lot of fly-by-night organizations. They can never hope that that organization will be there at the end of the prosecution.

They are now moving under their statute to try and stop through injunction powers the fraud at the beginning as opposed to allowing it to continue for years to the end.

Today's fraud schemes are as complicated and complex as the individuals and entities who commit these serious offenses. Computer is the Internet and a new generation of more sophisticated criminals make fraud detection and prosecution increasingly difficult.

We don't have the paper we used to have to build the cases. For example, in the SmithKline case, my client examined national billings. He was an analyst. He was a low-level analyst for the company, but it never appeared on paper.

There would be glitches on a computer screen. They would mean nothing to any of us

other than to him. He was able working with law enforcement authorities to take those codes and turn them into a prosecutable case as a result of the Federal Statute that brought him to the Federal Government.

Insiders have the ability to provide the Commonwealth with a road map to uncovering the fraud and prosecuting the responsible individuals.

It's one thing to say I think something bad is happening there. It's another thing armed with the whistle-blower inside information to say, This guy's involved in the fraud. The documents are on the third drawer on the second right. And by the way, they just destroyed a whole bunch of them on Saturday. You can find out what the computer backup is.

That's what insiders bring to the table. The Statute provides the Commonwealth with a generous statute of limitations similar to the Federal Statute; broad remedies under section 705 which will allow prosecutorial authorities to take meaningful and immediate steps to stop false claims from being filed against the Commonwealth, including the injunction provisions that I

mentioned; and will allow prosecutors to divest ill-gotten gains from cheats by tracing some of those monies as a result of the civil and investigative demand aspects and other aspects of the Statute.

The last aspect of the Statute which is directly taken from the Federal model is the civil investigative demand. And that would work to many degrees like a subpoena allowing prosecutors under a lower burden of proof to be able to request documents and testimony from potential cheats without having to wait for the normal types of procedures to do that.

Now, some discussions were raised about, well, would a Federal -- would a state case go -- would a criminal case go first? Would a civil case go first?

I direct the Members of the Committee to some protections that are already built-in, and let me maybe use the Federal model as an example. When a whistle-blower case comes into a U.S. Attorney's office anywhere in the United States -- and there's 94 of them now -- they triage with a criminal assistant and a civil assistant every case that comes in.

They make a determination whether this case should move on a criminal track or on a civil track. And they go from there. Because obviously the burdens of proofs were different. The preponderance under this proposed Statute is beyond a reasonable doubt.

A potential target, to address a question you raised, Mr. Preski, still has all constitutional protections intact. If a potential target decides that he does not want to participate in the civil investigative demand, he is not stripped of his Fifth Amendment rights. But he will suffer the consequences; i.e., a civil default perhaps against the corporation with the Commonwealth being the benefit of that default because they would be able to move in and then take some of those ill-gotten gains.

Lastly, I believe that the Statute is well thought-out; it breaks down all of the problems -- or any of the problems that have occurred in the past, it provides the proper incentives and protection for both the whistle-blower and for law enforcement communities, and will provide the taxpayers of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania with not only an

ability to recoup some of the losses of their tax dollars but a strong deterrent against those type of health care fraud and other types of cheats committing their crimes to begin with.

Thank you very much for allowing me to appear before you. If you have any questions, I'd be happy to answer them.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: No, we thank you very much for your insightful testimony. Are there any questions?

(No audible response.)

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Mr. Stone, do you have testimony for the Committee?

MR. STONE: Members of the Committee, my name is Andrew Stone. I'm a partner in the law firm of Stone and Stone and I have -- from Pittsburgh. And for the last several years, I've been involved in litigation in this area representing qui tam plaintiffs.

The prior testimony has been articulate and extensive, and I don't think there is much that I would like to add at this point. I'm happy to be here today, and I'm honored to be invited to participate. And, obviously, I support this legislation. I think it's well thought-out

and I think it's needed. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I thank you.

Ouestions?

REPRESENTATIVE PETRARCA: Yeah.

Mr. Raspanti, you certainly have a knowledge of the other laws around the country. I know from your testimony that you were asked to assist in the drafting or at least review of the legislation that we have before us.

Is there anything that's not in here that you would have liked to have seen in here, maybe something else that's going on in any of the other states aside from the shackle?

MR. RASPANTI: Actually, it's the converse. We have things in our law that other states wish they had in their laws. In fact, in talking with -- and I know that the Attorney General's office has had discussions and the District Attorney's office.

And what we tried to do was to eliminate the problems that the other states were having and also to tailor this particular law to the uniqueness of the Commonwealth.

So personally, I don't see anything -- I mean, the Statute will have a start-up period.

And I think that not to increase expectations, but if you file a case today, it takes some time before it's investigated and moves forward.

But, no, I don't think so. I think really the implementation of the Statute is where law enforcement authorities now have the benefit of twelve years under the Federal guidelines and as far as ten years under the state guidelines to know where some of the other states went wrong.

And I was talking to some of the attorney generals, both who were looking at statutes and who had passed statutes. And as they were telling me, gee, I wish we had this; well, it's in there. I wish we had this. Well, it's in there. Well, it sounds like a great statute. I hope you can convince the Legislature to pass it.

The only other thing that I think does need to be addressed at some point in time -- and I don't think it needs to be addressed in a massive way because to some degree the Statute takes care of it.

And I'm sure if this is more of an implementation or a legislative function -- when a statute is passed, you do need to have some

resources that are either devoted or if I can use the word "diverted" within the respective prosecutorial offices to allow the Statute to grow and nurture within those offices.

We need to develop, as the Federal model has, prosecutors who want to make these type of cases, who want to be involved in what in many respects is affirmative civil litigation. We're not reacting as a normal criminal prosecutor does. We are trying to stop systemic fraud both in a particular industry or a particular wrongdoer.

So I think that the implementation often is where the statute has gone wrong or has taken some delays. I know that Florida had some problems in the beginning because, again, they were fighting with the Federal Government over some of the same -- this particular Statute, we even take care of that to the extent there was a Federal money and Commonwealth monies, it can be filed in a Federal court.

But as I mentioned, as the Statute is utilized -- and when I looked at it a couple days ago. I just took the Pennsylvania budget and I tried to go down every line item that you

know better than I do.

And I was amazed at how many programs

I'd never even heard of, quite frankly, that are
being funded to the tune of millions of dollars
that no one has ever brought a case -- I know
from the work I do every day that there's all
kinds of abuse going on; but there's never been
any incentive for someone to come forward.

The second last vignette if you would permit me is in looking at cases. And I look at cases now nationwide I have received many, many calls over the last five years of whistle-blowers bringing only state claims; but I don't have a statute to bring those.

And I say, Look -- I direct them to the Attorney General's office. I direct them to the District Attorney's office. But there is no statute to address what are only state claims.

And they get frustrated because they read the papers. They said, Well, the feds are doing it. You send them over to the Federal Government and they say this is a state matter. There's no Medicaid money; there's no commingled funds; we can't touch it; we're sorry.

I know the fraud is out there. It's a

1 matter of having a statute to redress what that fraud is. 3 REPRESENTATIVE PETRARCA: Thank you. 4 MR. RASPANTI: Thank you. 5 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Okay. We're going 6 to take a ten-minute break, and we'll be back at 7 ten minutes of 12 and hear from two more 8 witnesses and we'll wrap this hearing up. 9 you. 10 (At which time, a brief break was taken.) 11 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: All right. I want 12 to bring this Committee hearing back to order. 13 And the next individual scheduled to testify 14 before the Committee is Larry Frankel. He is the 15 Executive Director of the American Civil 16 Liberties Union. Mr. Frankel, it's always a 17 pleasure to see you. 18 MR. FRANKEL: Always a pleasure to see 19 you, Representative Clark, particularly in 20 Philadelphia. 21 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I've been to 22 Philadelphia more times this summer than anyplace 23 else. 24 MR. FRANKEL: So it must be the best

summer of your life. In any event, I did not

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prepare written testimony today. I hope you will indulge me.

First of all, I just want to make it clear that, if there's any doubt, we do not support the filing of false claims or fraudulent acts.

And both before I got here today and based on what I heard here today, certainly think it is worth the Commonwealth having some kind of false claims act of the ability to pursue some of this fraud in the manners that are described.

But prior to today, my organization did have a particular concern about the bill, or a set of concerns -- some of which have been reenforced today -- which I think requires some consideration, hopefully, by the Committee before this bill is enacted.

And that concern really relates to more to what the bill empowers prosecutors, local district attorneys, to do what they cannot do now as far as I understand; and that is to bring a civil action for damages.

That is something to my knowledge that we have not permitted prosecutors to do. They can bring criminal actions. They may be involved in some kind of civil lawsuits where maybe

their office is sued or involve prison conditions; but I am unaware of extending that kind of authority to the local district attorneys in this state.

And we raise that as a concern not necessarily as an objection to the bill, but something that the Committee I think should properly consider whether they want to go into this area.

To the extent this is modeled after the Federal Act, well, U.S. Attorneys have both criminal and civil divisions. They've had them for a while. And it may be it's easier to understand how they might deal with these kinds of matters because of their years of experience.

The State Attorneys General's office, most of the attorneys involved in that office are civil attorneys; they're not criminal attorneys. And they may be more particularly equipped to deal with cases and they may not want to handle the smaller cases or cases that only involve low political subdivision funds.

But this is not so far from some of their traditional activities and powers and authority. And I also recall because I received a

few press calls that just this week the

Pennsylvania version of the Prison Litigation and

Reform Act went into effect, which means that

there presumably will be fewer lawsuits brought

by prisoners; therefore, I think the Attorney

General's office has some lawyers who probably

are looking for some more work to do since they

don't have to answer prisoner lawsuits any

longer.

And, you know, this may not require that they need to hire new attorneys to handle new powers under the Act. Well, I do believe that local prosecutors may have to or may use this as justification to request an increase in their staff herein creating other larger bureaucracies.

Again, this isn't to object to the bill, but to raise a concern that I have seen over the last few years that the General Assembly has passed a number of laws that have increased the authority and power of the district attorneys.

And in reality, you have less oversight over them than you have over the attorneys in the Attorney General's office. And I respectfully believe that is a consideration that you should keep in mind.

And this was a concern before we talked here today. And some of the interchange over the use of the civil side versus the criminal side in the investigations and the answers were given I think provide more reason for pause.

It's not clear to me or at least if one of these civil demands was served on my client and I knew that there might be a criminal investigation, well, if you decide not to cooperate, then there's going to be a default judgment, that sounds a little coercive and it's not really sorting out, making sure you're not using the civil powers for something on the criminal side.

I don't have enough experience in the area. I don't know any attorneys who really do because we don't allow our local prosecutors to do this.

Again, there is some caution; but it sounded as someone sitting listening to some of these answers that we want these additional powers because it will allow us to not only engage in more effective prosecution but possibly really squeeze people a little harder possibly potentially in violation of their constitutional

rights.

I'm not absolutely saying this. I'm not being declarative of this. But I heard some answers that would give me pause to say, What restrictions are there going to be on this use of civil powers to make sure you're not obtaining civilly what you could not obtain in a criminal proceeding? So I raise that as an issue, an issue of considerable concern for us.

I also would like to make sure that it doesn't go unnoticed. I read the testimony submitted by the City Solicitor of Philadelphia. And on the last page, she does state that she has some concerns about some of the bill's provisions that are currently being pursued in discussion with the Philadelphia District Attorney's office.

We're not privy to what those concerns may be, and I don't know whether they will be brought to your attention or not. But certainly that stuck in my mind when I heard the District Attorney Abraham say, well, the solicitors can't handle these cases.

I don't know what that was supposed to mean. I don't know what tensions there may be between the solicitors who generally handle the

civil work, particularly in a city like

Philadelphia with a very large office and large

staff, what those tensions mean and where that's

going; but it does reenforce the concerns I

previously expressed about expanding the District

Attorney's office into a -- giving it some civil

powers that it doesn't already have. And there

may be some tension there that needs to be looked

at more closely.

I also was a little surprised to hear what sounded to me like a gratuitous attack on solicitors, you know, when indeed for some of us in Philadelphia at least we do not believe that the District Attorney's office has been very effective at rooting out fraudulent activity on the part of local police officers among other individuals.

And nobody's got the greatest record in terms of some of that in the City of Philadelphia. And I don't know what's going on between the Solicitor and the District Attorney; but I would caution you that maybe some more, you know, questions about that investigation may reveal some aspects of this legislation that maybe should concern you as well.

I will say, however, that -- with no objection that I think it was with the Attorney General, the District Attorney that if they recover some of the proceeds it is used to fund a unit to pursue these activities is certainly better than having the insurance industry funding units with the prosecutor's office.

But still, What is the accountability? I don't see anything in the bill that requires some kind of reporting to the Legislature about how much was recovered, how it's being used within the budgetary process.

I think that if I had one specific recommendation to make to improve the bill so that the General Assembly can maintain oversight over this Act once it passes is having both the Attorney Generals and the district attorneys required to provide some kind of report about how many cases were brought; how much was recovered; in general, how much was retained by the district attorneys, how much by the prosecutors, how much went to the qui tam plaintiffs, how much was returned to the General Fund, and what it meant for their budgets and their staffing level so you can make sure that this isn't merely a device to

expand the staffing of offices but is really being used to pursue fraud in the most efficient manner for the Commonwealth.

And then there are times when I think, well, I know I'm paid to be paranoid. I think that's our organizational rule. And I'm really speaking about fears that have no grounding in reality.

And then whenever I think I've gone off into the deep end in fantasy world, I get jerked back into reality I think. And it was recently reported in the local newspaper and I actually obtained a copy of the audit -- and I'm not meaning to bash the Philadelphia District Attorney's office.

It just happens to be I'm in

Philadelphia and that's the one I read more

about. But there were concerns raised in that

audit about the purchase of a computer that was

not done under the normal procurement procedures,

was done with money obtained from the forfeiture

proceedings.

And I'm not prepared to evaluate the claim that the District Attorney's office made that they did this for confidentiality reasons

and they didn't want, you know, anybody to know certain computer secrets that they thought would happen if they went through the normal procurement process.

It does appear they didn't even get an approval to say we think we need to do this for confidentiality reasons. Once I read that, that again raises my concern.

Are we setting up another branch of government that really feels it's got some independence from the oversight of the other branches? And, again, I don't think that's a reason to stop this bill.

Certainly would like to see fraud rooted out, but I also believe that as the policymakers of the Commonwealth, the Members of the General Assembly do have a responsibility to look at the creation of a new set of powers, entirely new set of powers in this bill that I don't believe exists already and make sure that those powers are not misused.

Thank you for providing me this opportunity to testify. If you have any questions, I will attempt to answer them.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: We thank you,

Mr. Frankel; and we certainly appreciate your comments on the efficient marshall (phonetic) and the resources of the Attorney General's office that you alluded to at the beginning of your testimony.

Two things struck me: No. (1), if these cases are filed under seal, then the Attorney General or the District Attorney has a certain amount of time to look at those to decide whether to pursue them or not.

When you talk about the Solicitor's offices, you would replace the Solicitor's office with the Attorney General's or the District Attorney's as far as the people who would be contacted to come in and expend the time necessary to look at those complaints under seal? Is that what you were saying?

MR. FRANKEL: I don't think that's what I was saying. I was raising the issue that at least the Philadelphia City Solicitor has some concerns here.

Solicitors generally handle the civil business for the city, the township, or whatever. This is taking a piece of the civil work, putting it in the District Attorney's office. And there

may be very valid and good reasons for that, but it is a different kind of animal than I think we've seen in Pennsylvania.

And I note that at least one solicitor has some concerns, the particulars of which I'm not privy to and I don't know if anybody in the room is privy to. And I would hope that the Committee will try and find out what those concerns are before passing the bill.

With regard to it being under seal, that could be under seal with the Solicitor if that's the way the legislation was passed. I don't think -- the Attorney General and District Attorney are capable of maintaining confidentiality.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I was saying that the city solicitor -- you know, the school board has a solicitor, the township has a solicitor, the city has a solicitor. And your question is why aren't they more involved in this process as opposed to the District Attorney's office or the Attorney General's office?

MR. FRANKEL: That's correct.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: You feel they would be as capable as the District Attorney's office

to be called in to look at this complaint under seal?

MR. FRANKEL: They may be. We're not hearing -- I'm not hearing enough today to know. I did hear enough today to reenforce my concern about having somebody -- an office that traditionally and solely prosecutorially taking on some of these functions, however.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And another item
that you alluded to is that let's say the
District Attorney's office or the criminal
section of the Attorney General's office proceeds
with a discovery against a proposed defendant.

When that defendant receives those discovery papers, do they immediately indicate that they're not going to answer those because of there's a possibility that this would be switched over to the criminal section within the District Attorney's office or the Attorney General's office and they're going to have to waive some kind of right to have those civil discoveries used against them to be developed in a criminal action down the road? Would you like to comment on that concern?

MR. FRANKEL: Well, I can see a

situation -- and, again, I don't have particular experience here. But I can see a situation where the matter's first pursued civilly and somebody gets a stack of interrogatories with a Request for Production of countless numbers of documents, knows that there's some incriminating information in there and does not want to disclose it.

Without some kind of immunity agreement or some order from a court, a failure to provide that discovery could lead to a default judgment when there may very well be a good defense to what is going on.

I don't -- maybe the experience from other states and the Federal Government demonstrates that this doesn't occur; but I don't see the protections in the Statute as proposed that a potential defendant in a civil action, slash, target of a criminal investigation would have to be able to go to court and say, you know, I don't want to answer this discovery because there may be criminal consequences if I do so.

And maybe some kind of clear language in the Act would address that particular problem.

But as a potential attorney for the defendant, slash, target, I think that the answer would be

we're going to have to get some immunity before you can provide any information.

And if there is a hardball approach from the other side with regard to immunity, then we possibly have trampled on some constitutional rights.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Now, Attorney Raspanti, you're still with us today.

MR. RASPANTI: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Could you comment for us on that prospect? I get these discovery documents or interrogatories from a district attorney or an Attorney General's office wanting to know about billings, et cetera; I answer those; they later use those against me in a criminal prosecution.

Does the Federal Government run into that? Do they make the decision up front that this is going to be civil or that's going to be criminal or offer immunity or do you have any experience --

MR. RASPANTI: I think I've had experience from all sides of it. Let's deal with the Federal Government first. Here are the advantages of the Federal False Claims Statute as

the feds have implemented it:

With strong qui tam provisions, the feds are able to determine much quicker whether they're going to elect to move -- proceed civilly or criminally. That's not to say that they don't often go both ways, because they have the right to as does any prosecutor to proceed.

The qui tam aspects of the Statute in some respects eliminates the need for the Grand Jury. Because if you have an insider, for example, providing the Federal Government with information, you don't need a Grand Jury investigation and everything that goes with a Grand Jury investigation.

It also allows for a lot more flexibility because most of the cases do go civilly, quite frankly, and not criminally because the Federal Government has found that the real hammer is on the civil side.

Now, the reason why the example is a little bit skewed is that the Federal Government has very strong criminal statutes that are counterparts to the civil.

For example, there is a Criminal False Claims Act under the Federal model, which we

don't have in the Commonwealth and which many states don't have.

In the Commonwealth model, it would be more likely to elect and to elect to proceed civilly because there's no strong countermeasure to go with. There's no, for example, mail fraud statute that I'm aware of under the Federal or Health Care Fraud Statute that would move forward.

To get to Mr. Frankel's paranoia, and to some degrees it is and to some degrees it isn't, if a person under the Commonwealth-proposed bill believes that he or she has criminal liability and is served criminal documents, put it aside because there's not the same privilege for documents -- I think you're more concerned about testimonial privilege which would invoke the Fifth Amendment -- well, maybe that person should explore with the appropriate prosecutorial authority because only that person knows whether he or she has a criminal exposure whether immunity can be granted.

And that's part of the process, quite frankly, sir, because by cutting that type of deal or a concern, quite frankly, that the target may

have about exposure -- that's how these cases work -- they then go to the prosecutor and say, well, look, I would like to help you in your investigation of this or that corporation.

So in many respects that becomes part of the entire cycle with regard to moving the cases forward. If a person has a privilege and believes he or she has committed a crime, that privilege exists anywhere in any litigation.

If I sued you for an auto accident and I asked you questions about fraudulently submitting a claim to your insurance company, the same thing would happen. You may choose not to answer that because you know that you committed a crime.

So I don't know if that's answered your question, but that problem or possibility would exist in any civil context if a person has potential for criminal liability, whether it be with the District Attorney, the Attorney General, or a private litigant suing that individual if that person has committed a crime.

I think to put -- if I'm listening to Mr. Frankel correctly, to stick something in the bill that says you can proceed even with criminal exposure -- and I'm not sure if that's

what you mean -- and continue to provide fraudulent documents to the government and to hide documents and to take testimony under oath and we can't use it against you would be ridiculous, quite frankly.

And I don't think any state in the Union has worked that way, could work that way. The Federal Government doesn't work that way. I mean, they look at these cases as a parallel prosecution in that they're deciding which way to move toward; they make an election and they move forward.

If it were the other way around, the inverse, and there was a criminal prosecution of a defendant under some existing Pennsylvania law -- and there really is no law that's exactly like this one -- and a civil suit were filed, well, obviously, that conviction would be used in a civil suit as collateral estoppel res judicata.

And that would be the end of the civil suit, and feds do that too. But I don't know how -- I mean, there are concerns to the extent that someone who is a target or subject of an investigation may have criminal exposure; but that person always has the ability to decide

whether he wants to either get immunity from the appropriate prosecuting authority, maybe cut a deal with regard to somebody who is worse off -- I mean, that's how prosecutors work -- or decide not to participate in the process.

But I don't know what the middle ground is. I don't know how you participate in the process. And if you've done something wrong, protect yourself without exposing yourself to other criminal problems. I don't know how you would do that.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Mr. Frankel.

MR. FRANKEL: If I may, I think when I was commenting I was reacting somewhat to something Mr. Raspanti said in response to an earlier question which was about default judgments.

That's I think with individuals or corporations where some of the concern comes in.

And I will again be frank; I don't know having no practical experience in this area.

But I thought I heard that the person could, you know, also take the risk of not answering and letting the interrogatories or the discovery and letting a default judgment be

entered.

And I don't know that that's a realistic alternative for some people as opposed to, you know, taking the Fifth Amendment.

MR. RASPANTI: Well, there is a middle ground which I think, quite frankly, is weaker but might address -- in a context of a Federal litigation, if a witness were to decide not to testify and the jury would be told that there would be an adverse inference that would attach to that failure to testify -- now it wouldn't be a default, the Commonwealth would get the benefit of the adverse inference -- I think it weakens the Statute.

But perhaps as opposed to -- and there's nothing in the Statute that says the default. I was kind of connecting the dots. Where are we going if you decide not to participate in a lawsuit and you file pleadings and nobody answers under the Rules of Civil Procedure? In this state and every other one that would lead to some sort of a default, right? I think we're all in agreement with that.

Perhaps if you don't want that reaction, although I think it is appropriate, you could

simply say, If you fail to participate, to the extent there is any other subsequent proceeding, that failure to participate would be an adverse inference against that individual. If that makes sense. I don't know if it does.

MR. FRANKEL: The reason I don't think it makes necessary sense, what if you file the answer to the Complaint but then you get what you might consider intrusive discovery or abusive --

MR. RASPANTI: Did you commit this fraud -- you either say you did or you didn't. If you decided you don't want to answer it --

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: And I think in the back of our mind is, you know, we have people who are being prosecuted for one thing; but then when they're actually charged, you know, they aren't going to charge for something that was never the focus of the investigation to begin with.

MR. RASPANTI: I've heard that happen, yeah.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: You've heard that happening? And I'm assuming that they picked that up along the way. And I figure so, you know, you answer this discovery innocently, you know, trying to clear yourself from this thing and they

come back in and say, oh, well, you misreported a payroll -- we were looking at the chapter of your payroll and you misreported something so obscure, now we're going to charge you for this. That's what I was --

MR. RASPANTI: It is an interesting dynamic. But let's assume that it were Medicaid funds, all right, someone is accused of stealing Medicaid funds.

If you were to I think improperly weaken the Statute to address, quite frankly, a concern that I'm not sure is a legitimate concern and you had a situation where the Statute were filed involving Federal money and state money, the feds could do exactly what Mr. Frankel is saying can't be done; but the state prosecutors couldn't.

So the person would come in, Look, I don't want to answer that discovery. Don't answer it.

Don't worry about it. It's intrusive. I don't want to talk to you about it. Don't worry about it.

The feds could then say, Are you going to answer this or not? And if not, we're going take a default against you. And to the extent that there are going to be cases that straddle

Federal and state money, I think that's an interesting dimension that you should consider if you were to choose to have a safety valve, quite frankly, built into it.

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But I do understand your point. You're saying if somebody comes in, lies, doesn't get prosecuted for fraud but then gets prosecuted for perjury, which I think is open on every possible case -- I mean, that's always a concern one has to have when they are giving testimony under oath.

Now, the benefit of the Civil Statute as it appears before you which, quite frankly, gives the potential witness target subject more protections than, say, a Grand Jury proceeding if it were -- if this were the criminal flip side of it, is that under the Statute before you the target subject or defendant gets to have his lawyer there next to him, the lawyer gets to be involved in the process, the lawyer gets to communicate and deal with the prosecuting authority, which was built in, quite frankly, as a measure of protection for that individual which that individual wouldn't have if it were a Grand Jury investigation. That person would be called

1 in and wouldn't have all of the same kinds of protections. So (pause) --3 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I thank you. 4 MR. FRANKEL: If I can, one more --5 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: One more. In 6 Harrisburg, Larry always gets the last word. 7 MR. RASPANTI: We're in Philadelphia 8 though. 9 CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Oh, he does in 10 Philadelphia too. 11 I would agree that there MR. FRANKEL: 12 is more protection for this individual with his 13 attorney there in any civil proceeding as opposed 14 to being before the Grand Jury, but I don't want 15 this all to get lost on just this concern about 16 the individuals who might be involved in 17 fraudulent activity. 18 I'd like to get back to the other 19 concern I raised which is probably where more of 20 my paranoia is; that although this is supposed to 21 be a self-funding program, some funds are going 22 to have to be expended straight out. 23 But I can see that we'll probably have

prosecutors go to their county authorities and

say, Now I've got this new authority to pursue

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fraud crimes. You better give me more attorneys.

I need a bigger office. I need more this. I

need more that.

And that's a concern that we have that, is this used as a justification for, again, increasing the powers of prosecuting attorneys which is, you know, the concern that I raised about having them start going into civil work for damages where they haven't done it previously.

It's a policy question for you, and I think it gets a little lost in some of the discussion about the amounts of money that might be recovered.

And hope that -- you may say, We heard you fine. Good-bye. Go get out of here. But at least I've raised the concern. And I'm not sure exactly how you build in some protection to make sure this doesn't become a basis for just a continuing growth of what is in many instances a rather independent branch of government.

MR. RASPANTI: Could I just address that issue as to how other states have done it?

Because there are two points that I think that are important.

You talk about implementation. Let's

assume you pass the Statute this fall. In my experience, it would probably take 18 months, maybe more, maybe less, before you really had recoveries that were significant enough to fund it.

What other states have done is to initially fund or to divert funds to get a, let's call it a union, up and running. And as recoveries start to come in, they supplant treasury money.

So as opposed to taxpayers pays money into the treasury, treasury goes out to the DA's office, now to the extent you have a \$10,000 recovery, that's \$10,000 less I have to ask from the treasury to fund that.

And I think would -- because I don't think there's any objection from Mr. Frankel with regard to the self-funding. It's the aggrandizement, if you will -- if I can use that term, because I'm not in the government -- that he's concerned about.

And that's how other people have done it. As long as everybody realizes you don't turn the statute in and money flows in. It just doesn't.

And lastly, just as one last example -- and it has nothing to do with Mr. Frankel. But to give you one example of a strong statute that was passed but to the extent it never had the appropriate implementation and it didn't have the benefit of the whistle-blower, take a look at the Rico Statute (phonetic). Can you count on your finger how many Rico prosecutions we've had in Pennsylvania who

Can you count on your finger how many
Rico prosecutions we've had in Pennsylvania who
aren't recovered in money? It has all of the
same powers; and, in fact, it has provisions that
are in this bill.

But because no one could ever figure out how to use it and we never had the benefit of inside information, there's been very little in the way of any Rico prosecutions even though we have a tremendous, strong statute on the book and we've had it for a number of years. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Thank you. Any additional questions of these gentlemen?

(No audible response.)

MR. FRANKEL: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Thank you very much.

And the last individual to provide testimony

before the Committee today will be Alan

Shusterman. He's with the Taxpayers Against Fraud from the False Claims Act Legal Center. Mr. Shusterman, how are you?

MR. SHUSTERMAN: I'm fine. I enjoyed the exchange here. Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I thank you for inviting me here today.

My name is Alan Shusterman, and I am the Associate Director of Taxpayers Against Fraud, the False Claims Act Legal Center, a nonprofit, public interest organization based in Washington, D.C., where as you might imagine, the False Claims Act is not a major topic of discussion this week.

Being the last person then to testify before you today, I will be echoing some of what you heard District Attorney Abraham and Attorney General Fisher and Mr. Raspanti say; but that said, I promise you that I will keep my remarks to under 10 minutes.

As District Attorney Abraham stated earlier, none other than Benjamin Franklin is quoted as saying, "There is no kind of dishonesty into which otherwise good people more easily and frequently fall than that act of defrauding the

government."

It is a response to this unfortunate reality that Taxpayers Against Fraud exists.

That is, our organization is dedicated to combating fraud committed against the Federal Government through the promotion and use of quitam or whistle-blower provision of the Federal False Claims Act.

As you've already heard, in 1986, prompted by reports of widespread and undetected and unremedied fraud being perpetrated against government, the U.S. Congress substantially strengthened the False Claims Act, which was originally passed during the Civil War at the urging of President Lincoln.

House Bill 1671, the proposed

Pennsylvania False Claims Act, has been modeled largely after the Federal False Claims Act.

Among other things, Taxpayers Against Fraud serves as a False Claims Act information clearinghouse. In that role, we are in a position to report on how well the amended Act has been working. That is why I was asked to testify here today.

In short, the amended False Claims Act

has proven to be an undeniable success. Marking the 10th anniversary of the 1966 False Claims Act Amendments, Senator Charles Grassley, Republican from Iowa, and Congressman Howard Berman, Democrat from California, the original sponsors of the 1986 Amendments, reflected upon their success.

Senator Grassley stated, "No one can question the effectiveness of Howard Berman's work and how we worked together. We are equally proud parents of this legislation. And for me, its passage is the single greatest accomplishment that I want to refer to in my years in the Senate."

The Senator explained, "My philosophy regarding qui tam is simple. It works because it's a true partnership. It's a partnership between private citizens and the Government. It joins private resources with government resources. It's a successful formula that we honor Lincoln for."

In his wisdom, President Lincoln knew that you could create a team of public servants and private citizens and that they would work together for a common good serving the American

taxpayer.

Likewise, Congressman Berman stated, "I take great pride in being involved with this legislation and what, most importantly, people have done with the law since we passed it.

"Nothing can more quickly undermine peoples' faith in government than the notion that inefficiencies, waste, fraud and cheating goes on and takes the taxpayers' money. So in my sight for me, the False Claims Act Amendments affirm my belief in what an honest government and a vigilant government dealing with the people it does business with can do on behalf of the public's relationship to that government."

Also marking the 10th anniversary, former U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese lauded the success of the Amended Act which was signed into law by President Reagan.

"It was my privilege to have been
Attorney General of the United States at that
time, and I've continued to appreciate the
significance of this important legislation."

According to Mr. Meese, the law has been "an excellent example of privatization in the public interest." Likewise, Vice President Al

Gore in trumpeting the success of the Amended Act and, in particular, the qui tam provision stated, "Certainly this represents the kind of public-spirited participation in government that needs to be encouraged and applauded."

A year earlier upon total qui tam recoveries under the Amended Act passing the \$1 billion mark, Assistant Attorney General Frank W. Hunger summed up the Justice Department's views:

"This is a remarkable achievement for the taxpayers of this country. Senator Grassley and Representative Berman must be commended for their leadership and vision in sponsoring the legislation that has been used so effectively in the nine years since its enactment.

"The public/private partnership encouraged by the Statute works and is an effective tool in our continuing fight against the fraudulent use of public funds."

In April of this year, the U.S. House Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims held a hearing on health care initiatives pursued under the False Claims Act.

At that hearing, Donald K. Stern, the U.S. Attorney for the district of Massachusetts

and the Chair of the Attorney General's Advisory Committee spoke about the critical importance of the False Claims Act.

Mr. Stern stated that "The Act has become the Justice Department's primary civil enforcement tool to combat fraud, and is "a critical tool in fighting and deterring fraud and other false billing in the health care industry."

Likewise, Lewis Morris, the U.S. Health and Human Services Assistant Inspector General for Legal Affairs, called the False Claims Act "invaluable" and "the most important tool we have in stemming the tide of health care fraud."

So what I'm here to talk to you about today is a law that has withstood the test of time, a law that the United States Congress can actually take pride in having passed. It is a law that has become a critical tool for the Federal law enforcement community. It is a law that works.

Let me share with you some statistics indicative of the success. In fiscal year 1985, a year before passage of the '86 Amendments, the Government civil fraud recoveries totaled

approximately \$27 million.

In fiscal year 1997, as a result of qui tam cases alone, over \$600 million was returned to the U.S. Treasury with hundred of millions more recovered through government-initiated actions.

The upward trend in qui tam recoveries is striking. Qui tam recoveries from 1989 to 1991 totalled about a hundred and thirty million dollars. For the next three years, they totalled about \$690 million. And from 1995 through 1997, they totalled almost \$1 billion.

Total qui tam recovery since 1986 recently passed the \$2 billion mark. Total civil fraud recoveries since 1986, including qui tam, are well over \$4 billion.

Moreover, as District Attorney Abraham mentioned earlier, a 1996 economic study by former U.S. Senate Budget Committee Chief Economist William L. Stringer projects that total fraud recoveries through the year 2006 can be expected to exceed \$21 billion.

According to the Stringer Study, which was commissioned by Taxpayers Against Fraud, total qui tam recoveries from 1996 to 2006 are

expected to equal between 6.9 and \$9.3 billion.

As Congress anticipated, the Amended Act has been applied to remedy a wide variety of fraud schemes that have ripped off a wide variety of Federal programs. That said, the first big wave of post-1986 cases primarily involved defense contract fraud. In recent years, health care fraud has become the FCA's No. 1 target.

Let me try to give a sense of the types of successful cases that have been brought under the Act. From 1995 through 1997, the top Government recoveries through qui tam cases included, among many other:

\$88 million in a case alleging false testing of military components and the provision of defective parts; \$5.9 million in a case alleging overcharging for materials used to maintain and repair railroad crossing; \$182 million in a case alleging false claims submitted to Medicare, Medicaid, and CHAMPUS for medically unnecessary laboratory tests; \$4 million in a case alleging the falsification of documents concerning the medical condition of Medicare beneficiaries; \$7.2 million in a case alleging the manufacturing of faulty transmission parts

for Army helicopters and resulting flight
failures; \$15.5 million in a case alleging the
submission of false information in connection
with a federally-sponsored research grants and
contract; and, as you've already heard, in a case
of special local interest, \$334 million in a case
filed in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania
involving false billing of Medicare and Medicare,
CHAMPUS, and the Federal Employees Health Benefit
Program for laboratory tests.

Over the past year or so, the False
Claim Act cases that have been brought have
included, among others: Allegations of inflated
home health care management costs charged to
Medicare; the billing Medicaid and CHAMPUS for
unnecessary or unperformed mental health
services; overbilling on FDIC and RTC contracts;
the provision of defective aircraft carrier parts
to the Navy; Student Financial Aid fraud;
Medicare, Medicaid hospice fraud; kickbacks
involving HUD-insured properties; the
underpayment of oil royalties under Federal
mineral contracts; false prescription drug
claims; and billing for services by physicians
actual on leave.

Beyond remedying wrongdoing and
replenishing the U.S. Treasury, the Amended Act
has had an even more important impact; that is,
it has introduced a powerful deterrent to those
contemplating fraud against the Federal

Government.

Before 1986, those who were tempted to defraud the Government faced relatively little chance of getting caught and a relatively small price to pay if caught. The 1986 Amendments changed that.

The existence of strong qui tam provisions greatly increases the likelihood of wrongdoers being exposed, and the Amended FCA hits bad actors with significant financial consequences.

While admittedly difficult to quantify, the 1996 Stringer Economic Study estimates a deterrence of fraud due to the 1986 Amendments for their first ten years of existence totaled between 148 and \$296 billion.

And their second ten years of existence will total 240 and \$480 billion, even assuming a conservative estimate of deterrent effect first.

In conclusion, a strong False Claims Act

and qui tam are the American Taxpayers' best hope for ensuring that all funds fraudulently diverted from Federal programs will ultimately be recovered and, more importantly, that fraud against the Federal Government will be diminished in the future. I respectfully suggest that the taxpayers of Pennsylvania deserve the same.

Before I answer questions, let me just quickly point out what I've included in the appendix to my written testimony. In the appendix, you will find a summary of the most recent qui tam statistics released by the Justice Department, although the -- may have even more recent statistics.

I have charts describing the cases that led to the top qui tam recoveries in 1995, 1996, and 1997; descriptions of about fifty False Claims Acts cases that have been brought or resolved in the first half of this year; excerpts from the 1986 False Claims Act Amendments Tenth Anniversary Report, including a brief history of the Act; and the Executive Summary and Table of Contents from the 1996 Stringer Economic Study.

Complete copies of the Stringer Study and the Tenth Anniversary Report can be obtained

free-of-charge by calling our office at 202-296-4826. And if anyone has any questions that I don't end up answering here today, please feel free to call me any time at that number. Thank you very much. CHAIRPERSON CLARK: Okay. We thank you. And are there any questions? (No audible response.) CHAIRPERSON CLARK: I want to thank you very much for your testimony and your information today, and that'll conclude today's hearing on House Bill 1671. Thank you again very much. (At or about 12:40 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.) 

## CERTIFICATE

I, Deirdre J. Meyer, Reporter, Notary

Public, duly commissioned and qualified in and

for the County of Lancaster, Commonwealth of

Pennsylvania, hereby certify that the foregoing

is a true and accurate transcript of my stenotype

notes taken by me and subsequently reduced to

computer printout under my supervision, and that

this copy is a correct record of the same.

This certification does not apply to any reproduction of the same by any means unless under my direct control and/or supervision.

Deirdre J. Meyer Reporter, Notary Public. My commission expires August 10, 1998.