110TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. R. 3442

To ensure that women seeking an abortion are fully informed regarding the pain experienced by their unborn child.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

August 3, 2007

Mr. Smith of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. Aderholt, Mr. Akin, Mr. Alex-ANDER, Mrs. Bachmann, Mr. Bachus, Mr. Baker, Mr. Barrett of South Carolina, Mr. Bartlett of Maryland, Mr. Bilbray, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. BOEHNER, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. BOUSTANY, Mr. Brown of South Carolina, Mr. Burgess, Mr. Burton of Indiana, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Cantor, Mr. Carter, Mr. Chabot, Mr. Costello, Mrs. Cubin, Mr. Davis of Kentucky, Mr. Lincoln Davis of Tennessee, Mrs. Jo Ann Davis of Virginia, Mr. Lincoln Diaz-Balart of Florida, Mr. Mario Diaz-Balart of Florida, Mr. Doolittle, Mrs. Drake, Mr. EHLERS, Mrs. EMERSON, Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Ms. FALLIN, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Fortenberry, Mr. Fortuño, Ms. FOXX, Mr. Franks of Arizona, Mr. Garrett of New Jersey, Mr. GINGREY, Mr. GOODE, Mr. HALL of Texas, Mr. HERGER, Mr. HOEK-STRA, Mr. HULSHOF, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. Jones of North Carolina, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. KLINE of Minnesota, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. Latham, Mr. Linder, Mr. Manzullo, Mr. Marchant, Mr. McCaul of Texas, Mr. McCotter, Mr. McHenry, Mr. McIntyre, Mrs. McMorris Rodgers, Mr. Gary G. Miller of California, Mr. Miller of Florida, Mr. Mollohan, Mrs. Musgrave, Mrs. Myrick, Mr. NEUGEBAUER, Mr. PEARCE, Mr. PENCE, Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota, Mr. Peterson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Pickering, Mr. Pitts, Mr. PLATTS, Mr. PUTNAM, Mr. RADANOVICH, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. RENZI, Mr. Rogers of Alabama, Mr. Rogers of Kentucky, Ms. Ros-Lehtinen, Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin, Mr. Sali, Mrs. Schmidt, Mr. Sensenbrenner, Mr. Shadegg, Mr. Shuster, Mr. Smith of Texas, Mr. Souder, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. TERRY, Mr. TIAHRT, Mr. WAMP, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. WICKER, and Mr. Wilson of South Carolina) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Energy and Commerce

A BILL

To ensure that women seeking an abortion are fully informed regarding the pain experienced by their unborn child.

1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE. 4 This Act may be cited as the "Unborn Child Pain Awareness Act of 2007". SEC. 2. FINDINGS. 6 7 Congress makes the following findings: 8 (1) At least by 20 weeks after fertilization, an 9 unborn child has the physical structures necessary to 10 experience pain. 11 (2) There is substantial evidence that by 20 12 weeks after fertilization, unborn children draw away 13 from certain stimuli in a manner which in an infant 14 or an adult would be interpreted as a response to 15 pain. 16 (3) Anesthesia is routinely administered to un-17 born children who have developed 20 weeks or more 18 after fertilization who undergo prenatal surgery. 19 (4) There is substantial evidence that the abor-20 tion methods most commonly used 20 weeks or more 21 after fertilization cause substantial pain to an un-

born child, whether by dismemberment, poisoning,

1 penetrating or crushing the skull, or other methods.

2 Examples of abortion methods used 20 weeks or

more after fertilization include, but are not limited

4 to the following:

- (A) The dilation and evacuation (D and E) method of abortion is commonly performed in the second trimester of pregnancy. In a dilation and evacuation abortion, the unborn child's body parts are grasped with a long-toothed clamp. The fetal body parts are then torn from the body and pulled out of the vaginal canal. The remaining body parts are grasped and pulled out until only the head remains. The head is then grasped and crushed in order to remove it from the vaginal canal.
- (B) Partial-birth abortion is an abortion in which the abortion practitioner delivers an unborn child's body until only the head remains inside the womb, punctures the back of the child's skull with a sharp instrument, and sucks the child's brains out before completing the delivery of the dead infant, and as further defined in section 1531 of title 18, United States Code.
- (5) Expert testimony confirms that by 20 weeks after fertilization an unborn child may experience

- substantial pain even if the woman herself has received local analgesic or general anesthesia.
 - (6) Medical science is capable of reducing such pain through the administration of anesthesia or other pain-reducing drugs directly to the unborn child.
 - (7) There is a valid Federal Government interest in preventing or reducing the infliction of pain on sentient creatures. Examples of this are laws governing the use of laboratory animals and requiring pain-free methods of slaughtering livestock, which include, but are not limited to the following:
 - (A) Section 2 of the Act commonly known as the Humane Slaughter Act of 1958 (Public Law 85–765; 7 U.S.C. 1902) states, "No method of slaughter or handling in connection with slaughtering shall be deemed to comply with the public policy of the United States unless it is humane. Either of the following two methods of slaughtering and handling are hereby found to be humane—
 - "(i) in the case of cattle, calves, horses, mules, sheep, swine, and other livestock, all animals are rendered insensible to pain by a single blow or gunshot or an

1	electrical, chemical or other means that is
2	rapid and effective, before being shackled,
3	hoisted, thrown, cast, or cut; or
4	"(ii) by slaughtering in accordance
5	with the ritual requirements of the Jewish
6	faith or any other religious faith that pre-
7	scribes a method of slaughter whereby the
8	animal suffers loss of consciousness by
9	anemia of the brain caused by the simulta-
10	neous and instantaneous severance of the
11	carotid arteries with a sharp instrument
12	and handling in connection with such
13	slaughtering.".
14	(B) Section 13(a)(3) of the Animal Wel-
15	fare Act (7 U.S.C. 2143(a)(3)) sets the stand-
16	ards and certification process for the humane
17	handling, care, treatment, and transportation of
18	animals. This includes having standards with
19	respect to animals in research facilities that in-
20	clude requirements—
21	(i) for animal care, treatment, and
22	practices in experimental procedures to en-
23	sure that animal pain and distress are
24	minimized, including adequate veterinary
25	care with the appropriate use of anesthetic,

1	analgesic, tranquilizing drugs, or eutha-
2	nasia;
3	(ii) that the principal investigator con-
4	siders alternatives to any procedure likely
5	to produce pain to or distress in an experi-
6	mental animal; and
7	(iii) in any practice which could cause
8	pain to animals—
9	(I) that a doctor of veterinary
10	medicine is consulted in the planning
11	of such procedures;
12	(II) for the use of tranquilizers,
13	analgesics, and anesthetics;
14	(III) for pre-surgical and post-
15	surgical care by laboratory workers, in
16	accordance with established veterinary
17	medical and nursing procedures;
18	(IV) against the use of paralytics
19	without anesthesia; and
20	(V) that the withholding of tran-
21	quilizers, anesthesia, analgesia, or eu-
22	thanasia when scientifically necessary
23	shall continue for only the necessary
24	period of time.

1 (C) Section 495 of the Public Health Serv-2 ice Act (42 U.S.C. 289d) directs the Secretary 3 of Health and Human Services, acting through 4 Director of the National Institutes of Health, to establish guidelines for research fa-6 cilities as to the proper care and treatment of 7 animals, including the appropriate use of tran-8 quilizers, analgesics, and other drugs, except 9 that such guidelines may not prescribe methods of research. Entities that conduct biomedical 10 11 and behavioral research with National Insti-12 tutes of Health funds must establish animal 13 care committees which must conduct reviews at 14 least semiannually and report to the Director of 15 such Institutes at least annually. If the Director 16 determines that an entity has not been fol-17 lowing the guidelines, the Director must give 18 the entity an opportunity to take corrective ac-19 tion, and, if the entity does not, the Director 20 must suspend or revoke the grant or contract 21 involved.

(8) There is a valid Federal Government interest in preventing harm to developing human life at all stages. Examples of this include regulations protecting fetal human subjects from risks of "harm or

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1	discomfort" in federally funded biomedical research,
2	45 C.F.R. 102(i) and 45 C.F.R. 46.201 et seq.
3	SEC. 3. AMENDMENT TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
4	ACT.
5	The Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 201 et
6	seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:
7	"TITLE XXX—UNBORN CHILD
8	PAIN AWARENESS
9	"SEC. 3001. DEFINITIONS.
10	"In this title:
11	"(1) Abortion.—The term 'abortion' means
12	the intentional use or prescription of any instru-
13	ment, medicine, drug, or any other substance or de-
14	vice or method to terminate the life of an unborn
15	child, or to terminate the pregnancy of a woman
16	known to be pregnant with an intention other
17	than—
18	"(A) to produce a live birth and preserve
19	the life and health of the child after live birth;
20	or
21	"(B) to remove an ectopic pregnancy, or to
22	remove a dead unborn child who died as the re-
23	sult of a spontaneous abortion, accidental trau-
24	ma or a criminal assault on the pregnant fe-
25	male or her unborn child.

1 "(2) ABORTION PROVIDER.—The term 'abortion 2 provider' means any person legally qualified to per-3 form an abortion under applicable Federal and State 4 laws.

"(3) Pain-capable unborn child.—

- "(A) IN GENERAL.—The term 'pain-capable unborn child' means an unborn child who has reached a probable stage of development of 20 weeks or more after fertilization.
- "(B) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in subparagraph (A) shall be construed as a determination or finding by Congress that pain may not in fact be experienced by an unborn child at stages of development prior to 20 weeks or more after fertilization.
- "(4) Probable age of development' means the duration of development after fertilization of the unborn child at the time an abortion is performed, as determined in the good faith judgment of the abortion provider using generally accepted medical criteria and information obtained by interviewing the pregnant woman.

- 1 "(5) UNBORN CHILD.—The term 'unborn child' 2 means a member of the species homo sapiens, at any 3 stage of development.
- 4 "(6) Woman.—The term 'woman' means a fe-5 male human being whether or not she has reached 6 the age of majority.
- 7 "(7) UNEMANCIPATED MINOR.—The term 8 "unemancipated minor' means an individual who is 9 not older than 18 years and who is not emancipated 10 under State law.

11 "SEC. 3002. REQUIREMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT.

- "(a) REQUIREMENT OF COMPLIANCE BY PRO-13 VIDERS.—Any abortion provider in or affecting interstate 14 or foreign commerce, who knowingly performs any abor-15 tion of a pain-capable unborn child, shall comply with the 16 requirements of this title.
- 17 "(b) Provision of Consent.—
- 18 "(1) IN GENERAL.—Before any part of an abor-19 tion involving a pain-capable unborn child begins, 20 the abortion provider or his or her agent shall pro-21 vide the pregnant woman involved, by telephone or 22 in person, with the information described in para-23 graph (2). It may not be provided by a tape record-24 ing, but must be provided in a fashion that permits 25 the woman to ask questions of and receive answers

from the abortion provider or his agent. (In the case of the Unborn Child Pain Awareness Brochure, it may be provided pursuant to subsection (c)(2) or (c)(3)).

"(2) REQUIRED INFORMATION.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—An abortion provider or the provider's agent to whom paragraph (1) applies shall provide the following information to the pregnant woman (or in the case of a deaf or non-English speaking woman, provide the statement in a manner that she can easily understand):

"(i) AGE OF UNBORN BABY.—The probable age of development of the unborn baby based on the number of weeks since fertilization.

"(ii) Unborn child pain awareNESS BROCHURE.—An abortion provider to
whom paragraph (1) applies must provide
the pregnant woman with the Unborn
Child Pain Awareness Brochure (referred
to in this section as the 'Brochure') to be
developed by the Department of Health
and Human Services under subsection (c)
or with the information described in sub-

1	section (c)(2) relating to accessing such
2	Brochure.
3	"(iii) Use of pain-preventing
4	DRUGS.—Drugs administered to the moth-
5	er may not prevent the unborn child from
6	feeling pain, but in some cases, anesthesia
7	or other pain-reducing drug or drugs can
8	be administered directly to the unborn
9	child.
10	"(iv) Description of Risks.—After
11	providing the information required under
12	clauses (i), (ii), and (iii) the abortion pro-
13	vider shall provide the woman involved
14	with his or her best medical judgment on
15	the risks, if any, of administering such an-
16	esthesia or analgesic, and the costs associ-
17	ated therewith.
18	"(v) Administration of anes-
19	THESIA.—If the abortion provider is not
20	qualified or willing to administer the anes-
21	thesia or other pain-reducing drug to an
22	unborn child in response to a request from
23	a pregnant women, the provider shall—

1	"(I) arrange for a qualified spe-
2	cialist to administer such anesthesia
3	or drug; or
4	"(II) advise the pregnant
5	woman—
6	"(aa) where she may obtain
7	such anesthesia or other pain re-
8	ducing drugs for the unborn child
9	in the course of an abortion; or
10	"(bb) that the abortion pro-
11	vider is unable to perform the
12	abortion if the woman requires
13	that she receive anesthesia or
14	other pain-reducing drug for her
15	unborn child.
16	"(vi) Unborn Child Pain Aware-
17	NESS DECISION FORM.—An abortion pro-
18	vider to which paragraph (1) applies shall
19	provide the pregnant woman with the Un-
20	born Child Pain Awareness Decision Form
21	(provided for under subsection (d)) and ob-
22	tain the appropriate signature of the
23	woman on such form.
24	"(vii) Rule of construction.—
25	Nothing in this section may be construed

to impede an abortion provider or the abortion provider's agent from offering their own evaluation on the capacity of the unborn child to experience pain, the advisability of administering pain-reducing drugs to the unborn child, or any other matter, as long as such provider or agent provides the required information, obtains the woman's signature on the decision form, and otherwise complies with the affirmative requirements of the law.

"(B) Unborn Child Pain Awareness
Brochure.—An abortion provider to whom
paragraph (1) applies shall provide the pregnant woman with the Unborn Child Pain
Awareness Brochure (referred to in this section
as the 'Brochure') to be developed by the Department of Health and Human Services under
subsection (c) or with the information described
in subsection (c)(2) relating to accessing such
Brochure.

"(C) Unborn Child Pain Awareness
Decision form.—An abortion provider to
which paragraph (1) applies shall provide the
pregnant woman with the Unborn Child Pain

Awareness Decision Form (provided for under subsection (d)) and obtain the appropriate signature of the woman on such form.

4 "(c) Unborn Child Pain Awareness Bro-5 Chure.—

"(1) DEVELOPMENT.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this title, the Secretary shall develop an Unborn Child Pain Awareness Brochure. Such Brochure shall—

"(A) be written in English and Spanish;

"(B) Contain the following text: 'Your doctor has determined that, in his or her best medial judgment, your unborn child is at least 20 weeks old. There is a significant body of evidence that unborn children at 20 weeks after fertilization have the physical structures necessary to experience pain. There is substantial evidence that at least by this point, unborn children draw away from surgical instruments in a manner which in an infant or an adult would be interpreted as a response to pain. There is substantial evidence that the process of being killed in an abortion will cause the unborn child pain, even though you receive a pain-reducing drug or drugs. Under the Federal Unborn Child Pain

Awareness Act of 2007, you have a right to know that there is evidence that the process of being killed in an abortion will cause your unborn child pain. You may request that anesthesia or other pain-reducing drug or drugs are administered directly to the pain-capable unborn child if you so desire. The purpose of administering such drug or drugs would be to reduce or eliminate the capacity of the unborn child to experience pain during the abortion procedure. In some cases, there may be some additional risk to you associated with administering such a drug.';

- "(C) contain greater detail on her option of having a pain-reducing drug or drugs administered to the unborn child to reduce the experience of pain by the unborn child during the abortion;
- "(D) be written in an objective and nonjudgmental manner and be printed in a typeface large enough to be clearly legible; and
- "(E) be made available by the Secretary at no cost to any abortion provider.
- "(2) Internet information.—The Brochure under this section shall be available on the Internet

- website of the Department of Health and Human Services at a minimum resolution of 70 DPI (dots per inch). All pictures appearing on the website shall be a minimum of 200x300 pixels. All letters on the website shall be a minimum of 12 point font. All such information and pictures shall be accessible with an industry standard browser, requiring no additional plug-ins.
 - "(3) Presentation of Brochure.—An abortion provider or his or her agent must provide a pregnant woman with the Brochure, developed under paragraph (1), before any part of an abortion of a pain-capable child begins. The brochure may be provided—
 - "(A) through an in-person visit by the pregnant woman;
 - "(B) through an e-mail attachment, from the abortion provider or his or her agent; or
 - "(C) by certified mail, mailed to the woman at least 72 hours before any part of the abortion begins.
 - "(4) Waiver.—After the abortion provider or his or her agent offers to provide a pregnant woman the brochure, a pregnant woman may waive receipt of the brochure under this subsection by signing the

1	waiver form contained in the Unborn Child Pain
2	Awareness Decision Form.
3	"(d) Unborn Child Pain Awareness Decision
4	FORM.—Not later than 30 days after the date of enact-
5	ment of this title, the Secretary shall develop an Unborn
6	Child Pain Awareness Decision Form. To be valid, such
7	form shall—
8	"(1) with respect to the pregnant woman—
9	"(A) contain a statement that affirms that
10	the woman has received or been offered all of
11	the information required in subsection (b);
12	"(B) affirm that the woman has read the
13	following statement: 'You are considering hav-
14	ing an abortion of an unborn child who will
15	have developed, at the time of the abortion, ap-
16	proximately weeks after fertilization.
17	There is a significant body of evidence that un-
18	born children at 20 weeks after fertilization
19	have the physical structures necessary to expe-
20	rience pain. There is substantial evidence that
21	at least by this point, unborn children draw
22	away from surgical instruments in a manner
23	which in an infant or an adult would be inter-
24	preted as a response to pain. There is substan-
25	tial evidence that the process of being killed in

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an abortion will cause the unborn child pain, even though you receive a pain-reducing drug or drugs. Under the Federal Unborn Child Pain Awareness Act of 2007, you have a right to know that there is evidence that the process of being killed in an abortion will cause your unborn child pain. You may request that anesthesia or other pain-reducing drug or drugs are administered directly to the pain-capable unborn child if you so desire. The purpose of administering such drug or drugs would be to reduce or eliminate the capacity of the unborn child to experience pain during the abortion procedure. In some cases, there may be some additional risk to you associated with administering such a drug.'; "(C) require the woman to explicitly either

- "(C) require the woman to explicitly either request or refuse the administration of pain-reducing drugs to the unborn child; and
- "(D) be signed by a pregnant woman prior to the performance of an abortion involving a pain-capable unborn child; and
- 23 "(2) with respect to the abortion provider—

1	"(A) contain a statement that the provider
2	has provided the woman with all of the informa-
3	tion required under subsection (b);
4	"(B) if applicable, contain a certification
5	by the provider that an exception described in
6	section 3003 applies and the detailed reasons
7	for such certification; and
8	"(C) be signed by the provider prior to the
9	performance of the abortion procedure.
10	"(e) Maintenance of Records.—The Secretary
11	shall promulgate regulations relating to the period of time
12	during which copies of forms under subsection (d) shall
13	be maintained by abortion providers.
13 14	be maintained by abortion providers. "SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTH-
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14	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTH-
14 15	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTHER.
14 15 16 17	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTH- ER. "The provisions of section 3002 shall not apply to
14 15 16 17	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTH- ER. "The provisions of section 3002 shall not apply to an abortion provider in the case that the abortion is nec-
14 15 16 17	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTHER. "The provisions of section 3002 shall not apply to an abortion provider in the case that the abortion is necessary to save the life of a mother whose life is endangered
114 115 116 117 118	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTHER. "The provisions of section 3002 shall not apply to an abortion provider in the case that the abortion is necessary to save the life of a mother whose life is endangered by a physical disorder, physical illness, or physical injury,
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTHER. "The provisions of section 3002 shall not apply to an abortion provider in the case that the abortion is necessary to save the life of a mother whose life is endangered by a physical disorder, physical illness, or physical injury, including a life-endangering physical condition caused by
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	"SEC. 3003. EXCEPTION TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THE MOTHER. "The provisions of section 3002 shall not apply to an abortion provider in the case that the abortion is necessary to save the life of a mother whose life is endangered by a physical disorder, physical illness, or physical injury, including a life-endangering physical condition caused by or arising from the pregnancy itself.

- 1 be subject to civil penalties in accordance with this section
- 2 in an appropriate Federal court.
- 3 "(b) Commencement of Action.—The Attorney
- 4 General of the United States may commence a civil action
- 5 under this section.
- 6 "(c) First Offense.—Upon a finding by a court
- 7 that a respondent in an action commenced under this sec-
- 8 tion has knowingly violated a provision of this title, the
- 9 court shall notify the appropriate State medical licensing
- 10 authority and shall assess a civil penalty against the re-
- 11 spondent in an amount not to exceed \$100,000.
- 12 "(d) Second and Subsequent Offenses.—Upon
- 13 a finding by a court that the respondent in an action com-
- 14 menced under this section has knowingly violated a provi-
- 15 sion of this title and the respondent has been found to
- 16 have knowingly violated a provision of this title on a prior
- 17 occasion, the court shall notify the appropriate State med-
- 18 ical licensing authority and shall assess a civil penalty
- 19 against the respondent in an amount not to exceed
- 20 \$250,000.
- 21 "(e) Private Right of Action.—A pregnant
- 22 woman upon whom an abortion has been performed in vio-
- 23 lation of this title, or the parent or legal guardian of such
- 24 a woman if she is an unemancipated minor, may com-
- 25 mence a civil action against the abortion provider for any

- 1 knowing or reckless violation of this title for actual and
- 2 punitive damages.".

3 SEC. 4. PREEMPTION.

- 4 Nothing in this Act or the amendments made by this
- 5 Act shall be construed to preempt any provision of State
- 6 law to the extent that such State law establishes, imple-
- 7 ments, or continues in effect greater protections for un-
- 8 born children from pain than the protections provided
- 9 under this Act and the amendments made by this Act.

10 SEC. 5. SEVERABILITY.

- The provisions of this Act shall be severable. If any
- 12 provision of this Act, or any application thereof, is found
- 13 unconstitutional, that finding shall not affect any provi-
- 14 sion or application of the Act not so adjudicated.

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