

is the current reality for millions, creating a patchwork of abortion access across the United States. Protecting the right to determine whether to continue or end a pregnancy, and the right of health care providers to provide abortion care, is necessary and essential to achieving this human right, and ultimately reproductive justice.

(4) On June 24, 2022, in its decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, the Supreme Court overruled *Roe v. Wade*, reversing decades of precedent recognizing a constitutional right to terminate a pregnancy before fetal viability.

(5) The effects of the *Dobbs* decision were immediate and disastrous. In the aftermath of the *Dobbs* decision, many States imposed near-total bans on abortion. As of March 2023, abortion is unavailable in 14 States, leaving 17.8 million women of reproductive age (15-49) and transgender and gender non-conforming individuals with the capacity to become pregnant without abortion access in their home State. Within 100 days of the ruling, 66 clinics across 15 States were forced to stop offering abortions.

(6) Travel time to an abortion clinic, already a burden for abortion seekers under *Roe*, has more than tripled since *Dobbs*. As distance to an abortion facility increases, so do the accompanying (and potentially prohibitive) burdens of time off work or school, lost wages, transportation costs, lodging, child care costs, and other ancillary costs.

(7) Even before the *Dobbs* decision, access to abortion services had long been obstructed across the United States in various ways, including: prohibitions of, and restrictions on, insurance coverage; mandatory parental involvement laws; restrictions that shame and stigmatize people seeking abortion services; and medically unnecessary regulations that fail to further the safety of abortion services, but instead cause harm people by delaying, complicating access to, and reducing the availability of, abortion services.

(8) Being denied an abortion can have serious consequences for people's physical, mental, and economic health and well-being, and that of their families. According to the Turnaway Study, a longitudinal study published by *Advancing New Standards in Reproductive Health (ANSRH)* in 2019, individuals who are denied a wanted abortion are more likely to experience economic insecurity than individuals who receive a wanted abortion. After following participants for five years, the study found that people who were denied abortion care were more likely to live in poverty, experience debt, and have lower credit scores for several years after the denial. These findings demonstrate that when people have control over when to have children and how many children to have, their children benefit through increased economic security and better maternal bonding.

(9) Abortion bans and restrictions have repercussions for a broad range of health care beyond pregnancy termination, including exacerbating the existing maternal health crisis facing the United States. The United States has the highest maternal mortality rate of any industrialized nations, and Black women and birthing people face three times the risk of dying from pregnancy related causes as their white counterparts. Even prior to *Dobbs*, research found that States that enacted abortion restrictions based on gestation increased their maternal mortality rate by 38 percent. Research has found that a nationwide ban would increase the United States maternal mortality rate by an additional 24 percent. Furthermore, States that have banned, are planning to ban, or have severely restricted abortion care have fewer maternal health providers, more maternity care deserts, higher rates of both maternal

and infant mortality, and greater racial inequity in health care.

(10) Abortion bans and restrictions additionally harm people's health by reducing access to other essential health care services offered by many of the providers targeted by the restrictions, including—

(A) screenings and preventive services, including contraceptive services;

(B) testing and treatment for sexually transmitted infections;

(C) LGBTQ health services; and

(D) referrals for primary care, intimate partner violence prevention, prenatal care, and adoption services.

(11) This ripple effect has only worsened since the *Dobbs* decision. Clinicians and pharmacists have denied access to essential medication for conditions including gastric ulcers and autoimmune diseases because those drugs are also used for medication abortion care. Patients are reporting being denied or delayed in their receipt of necessary and potentially lifesaving treatment for ectopic pregnancies and miscarriage management because of the newfound legal risks facing providers.

(12) Reproductive justice seeks to address restrictions on reproductive health, including abortion, that perpetuate systems of oppression, lack of bodily autonomy, white supremacy, and anti-Black racism. This violent legacy has manifested in policies including enslavement, rape, and experimentation on Black women; forced sterilizations, medical experimentation on low-income women's reproductive systems; and the forcible removal of Indigenous children. Access to equitable reproductive health care, including abortion services, has always been deficient in the United States for Black, Indigenous, Latina/x, Asian American and Pacific Islander, and People of Color (BIPOC) and their families.

(13) The legacy of restrictions on reproductive health, rights, and justice is not a dated vestige of a dark history. Data show the harms of abortion-specific restrictions fall especially heavily on people with low incomes, people of color, immigrants, young people, people with disabilities, and those living in rural and other medically underserved areas. Abortion bans and restrictions are compounded further by the ongoing criminalization of people who are pregnant, including those who are incarcerated, living with HIV, or with substance-use disorders. These populations already experience health disparities due to social, political, and environmental inequities, and restrictions on abortion services exacerbate these harms. Removing bans and restrictions on abortion services would constitute one important step on the path toward realizing reproductive justice by ensuring that the full range of reproductive health care is accessible to all who need it.

(14) Abortion bans and restrictions are tools of gender oppression, as they target health care services that are used primarily by women. These paternalistic bans and restrictions rely on and reinforce harmful stereotypes about gender roles and women's decisionmaking, undermining their ability to control their own lives and well-being. These restrictions harm the basic autonomy, dignity, and equality of women.

(15) The terms "woman" and "women" are used in this bill to reflect the identity of the majority of people targeted and most directly affected by bans and restrictions on abortion services, which are rooted in misogyny. However, access to abortion services is critical to the health of every person capable of becoming pregnant. This Act is intended to protect all people with the capacity for pregnancy—cisgender women, transgender men, nonbinary individuals, those who iden-

tify with a different gender, and others—who are unjustly harmed by restrictions on abortion services.

(16) Pregnant individuals will continue to experience a range of pregnancy outcomes, including abortion, miscarriage, stillbirths, and infant losses regardless of how the State attempts to exert power over their reproductive decisionmaking, and will continue to need support for their health and well-being through their reproductive lifespans.

(17) Evidence from the United States and around the globe bears out that criminalizing abortion invariably leads to arrests, investigations, and imprisonment of people who end their pregnancies or experience pregnancy loss, leading to violations of fundamental rights to liberty, dignity, bodily autonomy, equality, due process, privacy, health, and freedom from cruel and inhumane treatment.

(18) All major experts in public health and medicine such as the American Medical Association, American Public Health Association, American Academy of Pediatrics, American Society of Addiction Medicine, and the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, oppose the criminalization of pregnancy outcomes because the threat of being subject to investigation or punishment through the criminal legal system when seeking health care threatens pregnant people's lives and undermines public health by deterring people from seeking care for obstetrical emergencies.

(19) Antiabortion stigma that is compounded by abortion bans and restrictions also contributes to violence and harassment that put both people seeking and people providing abortion care at risk. From 1977 to 2021, there were 11 murders, 42 bombings, 196 acts of arson, 491 assaults, and thousands of other incidents of criminal activity directed at abortion seekers, providers, volunteers, and clinic staff. This violence existed under *Roe* and has been steadily escalating for years. The presence of dangerous protestors and organized extremists acts as yet another barrier to abortion care, and this threat has become even more urgent as abortion bans proliferate and stigma around abortion care increases.

For full text of the bill, please see text of H.R. 12 in the 118th Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 2(b) of rule XIX, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Ms. CHU. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question are postponed.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Proceedings will resume on questions previously postponed. Votes will be taken in the following order:

The motion to suspend the rules and pass H.R. 375;

Passage of H.R. 471;

The motion to recommit on H.R. 21; and

Passage of H.R. 21, if ordered.

The first electronic vote will be conducted as a 15-minute vote. Pursuant to clause 9 of rule XX, remaining electronic votes will be conducted as 5-minute votes.

CONTINUED RAPID OHIA DEATH RESPONSE ACT OF 2025

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 375) to require the Secretary of the Interior to partner and collaborate with the Secretary of Agriculture and the State of Hawaii to address Rapid Ohia Death, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill. The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. WESTERMAN) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 359, nays 62, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 24]
YEAS—359

Adams	Cohen	Frost
Aderholt	Cole	Garbarino
Aguilar	Comer	Garcia (CA)
Alford	Conaway	Garcia (IL)
Allen	Connolly	Garcia (TX)
Amo	Costa	Gillen
Amodoi (NV)	Courtney	Gimenez
Ansari	Craig	Golden (ME)
Auchincloss	Crawford	Goldman (NY)
Babin	Crenshaw	Gomez
Bacon	Crockett	Gonzales, Tony
Baird	Crow	Gonzalez, V.
Balderson	Cuellar	Gooden
Balint	Dauids (KS)	Goodlander
Barr	Davis (IL)	Gottheimer
Barragan	Davis (NC)	Graves
Barrett	De La Cruz	Gray
Baumgartner	Dean (PA)	Green, Al (TX)
Beatty	DeGette	Griffith
Begich	DeLauro	Guest
Bell	DelBene	Guthrie
Bentz	Deluzio	Hamadeh (AZ)
Bera	DeSaulnier	Harder (CA)
Bergman	DesJarlais	Haridopolos
Beyer	Dexter	Hayes
Bice	Diaz-Balart	Hill (AR)
Bilirakis	Dingell	Himes
Bishop	Doggett	Hinson
Bonamici	Dunn (FL)	Horsford
Bost	Edwards	Houchin
Boyle (PA)	Elfreth	Houlahan
Bresnahan	Ellzey	Hoyer
Brown	Emmer	Hoyle (OR)
Brownley	Escobar	Hudson
Buchanan	Espallat	Huffman
Budzinski	Estes	Huizenga
Bynum	Evans (CO)	Hurd (CO)
Calvert	Evans (PA)	Issa
Carbajal	Ezell	Ivey
Carey	Fallon	Jackson (IL)
Carson	Fedorchak	Jacobs
Carter (GA)	Feenstra	James
Carter (LA)	Fields	Jeffries
Carter (TX)	Figures	Johnson (GA)
Casar	Finstad	Johnson (SD)
Case	Fischbach	Johnson (TX)
Casten	Fitzgerald	Joyce (OH)
Castor (FL)	Fitzpatrick	Joyce (PA)
Castro (TX)	Fleischmann	Kamlager-Dove
Cherfilus-	Fletcher	Kaptur
McCormick	Flood	Kean
Chu	Fong	Keating
Ciscomani	Foster	Kelly (IL)
Cisneros	Foushee	Kelly (MS)
Clark (MA)	Fox	Kelly (PA)
Clarke (NY)	Frankel, Lois	Kennedy (NY)
Cleaver	Franklin, Scott	Khanna
Clyburn	Friedman	Kiggans (VA)

Kiley (CA)	Morelle
Kim	Morrison
Krishnamoorthi	Moskowitz
Kustoff	Moulton
LaHood	Mullin
LaLota	Murphy
LaMalfa	Nadler
Landsman	Neal
Langworthy	Neguse
Larsen (WA)	Newhouse
Larson (CT)	Norcross
Latimer	Nunn (IA)
Latta	Obernolte
Lawler	Ocasio-Cortez
Lee (FL)	Olshewski
Lee (NV)	Omar
Lee (PA)	Owens
Leger Fernandez	Pallone
Letlow	Palmer
Levin	Panetta
Liccardo	Pappas
Lieu	Perez
Lofgren	Peters
Loudermilk	Pfleger
Lucas	Pingree
Luna	Pocan
Luttrell	Pou
Lynch	Pressley
Mace	Quigley
Mackenzie	Ramirez
Magaziner	Randall
Malliotakis	Raskin
Maloy	Reschenthaler
Mann	Rivas
Mannon	Rogers (AL)
Matsui	Rogers (KY)
McBath	Rose
McBride	Ross
McCaul	Rouzer
McClain	Ruiz
McClain Delaney	Rulli
McClellan	Rutherford
McClintock	Ryan
McCollum	Salazar
McDonald Rivet	Salinas
McGarvey	Sanchez
McGovern	Scanlon
McIver	Schakowsky
Meeks	Schneider
Menendez	Scholten
Meng	Schrier
Messmer	Scott (VA)
Meuser	Scott, Austin
Mfume	Scott, David
Miller (OH)	Sessions
Miller-Meeks	Sewell
Min	Sherman
Moolenaar	Sherrill
Moore (NC)	Shreve
Moore (UT)	Simon
Moore (WI)	Simpson
Moore (WV)	Smith (MO)
Moran	Smith (NE)

NAYS—62

Arrington	Goldman (TX)
Bean (FL)	Gosar
Biggs (AZ)	Green (TN)
Biggs (SC)	Greene (GA)
Boebert	Grothman
Brecheen	Hageman
Burchett	Harrigan
Burlison	Harris (MD)
Cammack	Harris (NC)
Cline	Harshbarger
Cloud	Hern (OK)
Clyde	Higgins (LA)
Collins	Hunt
Crane	Jack
Crank	Jackson (TX)
Davidson	Jordan
Donalds	Kennedy (UT)
Downing	Knott
Fry	Massie
Fulcher	Mast
Gill (TX)	McCormick

NOT VOTING—11

Correa	Mrvan
Garamendi	Pelosi
Grijalva	Petersen
Jayapal	Riley (NY)

□ 1535

Messrs. KNOTT and HARRIGAN, Ms. BOEBERT, Mrs. MILLER of West Virginia, Ms. HAGEMAN, Messrs. COLLINS, FRY, HERN of Oklahoma,

Smith (NJ)	Smith (WA)
Smucker	Sorensen
Soto	Spartz
Stansbury	Stanton
Stauber	Stefanik
Steil	Stevens
Strickland	Strong
Subramanyam	Suozzi
Swalwell	Sykes
Takano	Taylor
Tenney	Thanedar
Thompson (CA)	Thompson (MS)
Thompson (PA)	Titus
Tlaib	Tokuda
Tonko	Torres (CA)
Torres (NY)	Trahan
Tran	Turner (OH)
Turner (TX)	Underwood
Valadao	Van Drew
Van Orden	Vargas
Vasquez	Veasey
Velazquez	Vindman
Wagner	Walberg
Wasserman	Wasserman
Schultz	Waters
Watson Coleman	Weber (TX)
Webster (FL)	Westerman
Wied	Williams (GA)
Wilson (FL)	Wilson (SC)
Wittman	Womack
Yakym	Zinke

STUTZMAN, Ms. VAN DUYNE, Messrs. TIMMONS, DOWNING, SCHMIDT, Mrs. BIGGS of South Carolina, Messrs. SCHWEIKERT, MAST, MCCORMICK, McDOWELL, and ROY changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

Mr. MCGARVEY changed his vote from “nay” to “yea.”

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

FIX OUR FORESTS ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. STEUBE). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the unfinished business is the vote on passage of the bill (H.R. 471) to expedite under the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and improve forest management activities on National Forest System lands, on public lands under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Land Management, and on Tribal lands to return resilience to overgrown, fire-prone forested lands, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill. The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

This will be a 5-minute vote. The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 279, nays 141, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 25]
YEAS—279

Aderholt	Cohen	Gomez
Aguilar	Cole	Gonzales, Tony
Alford	Collins	Gonzalez, V.
Allen	Comer	Gooden
Amodoi (NV)	Costa	Goodlander
Arrington	Craig	Gosar
Auchincloss	Crane	Graves
Babin	Crank	Gray
Bacon	Crawford	Green (TN)
Baird	Crenshaw	Greene (GA)
Balderson	Cuellar	Griffith
Barr	Dauids (KS)	Grothman
Barrett	Davidson	Guest
Baumgartner	Davis (NC)	Guthrie
Bean (FL)	De La Cruz	Hageman
Beatty	DesJarlais	Hamadeh (AZ)
Begich	Diaz-Balart	Harder (CA)
Bentz	Donalds	Haridopolos
Bera	Downing	Harrigan
Bergman	Dunn (FL)	Harris (MD)
Bice	Edwards	Harris (NC)
Biggs (AZ)	Ellzey	Harshbarger
Biggs (SC)	Emmer	Hern (OK)
Bilirakis	Estes	Higgins (LA)
Bishop	Evans (CO)	Hill (AR)
Boebert	Ezell	Himes
Bost	Fallon	Hinson
Brecheen	Fedorchak	Horsford
Bresnahan	Feenstra	Houchin
Buchanan	Finstad	Houlahan
Budzinski	Fischbach	Hoyer
Burchett	Fitzgerald	Hoyle (OR)
Burlison	Fitzpatrick	Hudson
Bynum	Fleischmann	Huizenga
Calvert	Flood	Hunt
Cammack	Fong	Hurd (CO)
Carbajal	Fox	Issa
Carey	Franklin, Scott	Jack
Carter (GA)	Friedman	Jackson (TX)
Carter (TX)	Fry	James
Chu	Fulcher	Johnson (LA)
Ciscomani	Garbarino	Johnson (SD)
Cline	Gill (TX)	Jordan
Cloud	Gillen	Joyce (OH)
Clyburn	Golden (ME)	Joyce (PA)
Clyde	Goldman (TX)	Kaptur