

116TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. R. 784

To amend title 18, United States Code, to protect pain-capable unborn children, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 24, 2019

Mr. Smith of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. Lipinski, Mr. Harris, Mrs. HARTZLER, Mr. LAMBORN, Mr. LATTA, Mr. LUETKEMEYER, Mr. MARCH-ANT, Mr. MASSIE, Mr. McKinley, Mr. Meadows, Mr. Olson, Mr. Posey, Mr. Scalise, Mr. Smith of Missouri, Mr. Stewart, Mrs. Wag-NER, Mr. WALBERG, Mr. WENSTRUP, Mr. WITTMAN, Mr. ZELDIN, Mr. HUNTER, Mr. PALAZZO, Mr. ROUZER, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. MOONEY of West Virginia, Mrs. Miller, Mr. Huizenga, Mr. Graves of Missouri, Mr. GRIFFITH, Mr. PERRY, Mr. AUSTIN SCOTT of Georgia, Ms. HERRERA Beutler, Mr. Thompson of Pennsylvania, Mr. Cole, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Jones, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Smith of Nebraska, Mr. SMUCKER, Mrs. Walorski, Mr. Westerman, Mr. Arrington, Mr. Bacon, Mr. Banks, Mr. Brady, Mr. Cloud, Mr. Collins of Georgia, Mr. Rodney Davis of Illinois, Mr. Duffy, Mr. Estes, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Fortenberry, Mr. Gaetz, Mr. Gianforte, Mr. Grothman, Mr. HILL of Arkansas, Mr. Holding, Mr. Kelly of Pennsylvania, Mr. LAHOOD, Mrs. Lesko, Mrs. Rodgers of Washington, Mr. Ruther-FORD, Mr. WALKER, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. Yoho, Mr. Biggs, Mr. Babin, Mr. Barr, Mr. Bilirakis, Mr. Buck, Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. FLORES, Ms. FOXX of North Carolina, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Amash, Mr. Abraham, Mr. Bergman, Mr. BISHOP of Utah, Mr. BUDD, Ms. CHENEY, Mr. EMMER, Mr. HICE of Georgia, Mr. Higgins of Louisiana, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Kustoff of Tennessee, Mr. Lamalfa, Mr. Loudermilk, Mr. Marshall, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. NORMAN, Mr. PALMER, Mr. RATCLIFFE, Mr. DAVID P. Roe of Tennessee, Mr. Rooney of Florida, Mr. Carter of Georgia, Mr. SHIMKUS, Mr. MEUSER, Mr. ROY, Mr. RESCHENTHALER, Mr. WATKINS, Mr. STIVERS, and Mr. CONAWAY) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To amend title 18, United States Code, to protect paincapable unborn children, and for other purposes.

1	Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
2	tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
3	SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
4	This Act may be cited as the "Pain-Capable Unborn
5	Child Protection Act".
6	SEC. 2. LEGISLATIVE FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF
7	CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY FOR ENACT-
8	MENT.
9	Congress finds and declares the following:
10	(1) Pain receptors (nociceptors) are present
11	throughout the unborn child's entire body and
12	nerves link these receptors to the brain's thalamus
13	and subcortical plate by no later than 20 weeks after
14	fertilization.
15	(2) By 8 weeks after fertilization, the unborn
16	child reacts to touch. After 20 weeks, the unborn
17	child reacts to stimuli that would be recognized as
18	painful if applied to an adult human, for example,
19	by recoiling.
20	(3) In the unborn child, application of such
21	painful stimuli is associated with significant in-

- 1 creases in stress hormones known as the stress re-2 sponse.
 - (4) Subjection to such painful stimuli is associated with long-term harmful neurodevelopmental effects, such as altered pain sensitivity and, possibly, emotional, behavioral, and learning disabilities later in life.
 - (5) For the purposes of surgery on unborn children, fetal anesthesia is routinely administered and is associated with a decrease in stress hormones compared to their level when painful stimuli are applied without such anesthesia. In the United States, surgery of this type is being performed by 20 weeks after fertilization and earlier in specialized units affiliated with children's hospitals.
 - (6) The position, asserted by some physicians, that the unborn child is incapable of experiencing pain until a point later in pregnancy than 20 weeks after fertilization predominately rests on the assumption that the ability to experience pain depends on the cerebral cortex and requires nerve connections between the thalamus and the cortex. However, recent medical research and analysis, especially since 2007, provides strong evidence for the conclusion

- that a functioning cortex is not necessary to experience pain.
 - (7) Substantial evidence indicates that children born missing the bulk of the cerebral cortex, those with hydranencephaly, nevertheless experience pain.
 - (8) In adult humans and in animals, stimulation or ablation of the cerebral cortex does not alter pain perception, while stimulation or ablation of the thalamus does.
 - (9) Substantial evidence indicates that structures used for pain processing in early development differ from those of adults, using different neural elements available at specific times during development, such as the subcortical plate, to fulfill the role of pain processing.
 - (10) The position, asserted by some commentators, that the unborn child remains in a coma-like sleep state that precludes the unborn child experiencing pain is inconsistent with the documented reaction of unborn children to painful stimuli and with the experience of fetal surgeons who have found it necessary to sedate the unborn child with anesthesia to prevent the unborn child from engaging in vigorous movement in reaction to invasive surgery.

- (11) Consequently, there is substantial medical evidence that an unborn child is capable of experiencing pain at least by 20 weeks after fertilization, if not earlier.
 - (12) It is the purpose of the Congress to assert a compelling governmental interest in protecting the lives of unborn children from the stage at which substantial medical evidence indicates that they are capable of feeling pain.
 - (13) The compelling governmental interest in protecting the lives of unborn children from the stage at which substantial medical evidence indicates that they are capable of feeling pain is intended to be separate from and independent of the compelling governmental interest in protecting the lives of unborn children from the stage of viability, and neither governmental interest is intended to replace the other.
 - (14) Congress has authority to extend protection to pain-capable unborn children under the Supreme Court's Commerce Clause precedents and under the Constitution's grants of powers to Congress under the Equal Protection, Due Process, and Enforcement Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.

1 SEC. 3. PAIN-CAPABLE UNBORN CHILD PROTECTION.

- 2 (a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 74 of title 18, United
- 3 States Code, is amended by inserting after section 1531
- 4 the following:

5 "SEC. 1532. PAIN-CAPABLE UNBORN CHILD PROTECTION.

- 6 "(a) Unlawful Conduct.—Notwithstanding any
- 7 other provision of law, it shall be unlawful for any person
- 8 to perform an abortion or attempt to do so, unless in con-
- 9 formity with the requirements set forth in subsection (b).
- 10 "(b) Requirements for Abortions.—
- 11 "(1) Assessment of the age of the un-
- BORN CHILD.—The physician performing or at-
- tempting the abortion shall first make a determina-
- tion of the probable post-fertilization age of the un-
- born child or reasonably rely upon such a determina-
- tion made by another physician. In making such a
- determination, the physician shall make such inquir-
- ies of the pregnant woman and perform or cause to
- be performed such medical examinations and tests
- as a reasonably prudent physician, knowledgeable
- about the case and the medical conditions involved,
- would consider necessary to make an accurate deter-
- 23 mination of post-fertilization age.
- 24 "(2) Prohibition on Performance of Cer-
- 25 TAIN ABORTIONS.—

1	"(A) Generally for unborn children
2	20 WEEKS OR OLDER.—Except as provided in
3	subparagraph (B), the abortion shall not be
4	performed or attempted, if the probable post-
5	fertilization age, as determined under para-
6	graph (1), of the unborn child is 20 weeks or
7	greater.
8	"(B) Exceptions.—Subparagraph (A)
9	does not apply if—
10	"(i) in reasonable medical judgment,
11	the abortion is necessary to save the life of
12	a pregnant woman whose life is endan-
13	gered by a physical disorder, physical ill-
14	ness, or physical injury, including a life-en-
15	dangering physical condition caused by or
16	arising from the pregnancy itself, but not
17	including psychological or emotional condi-
18	tions;
19	"(ii) the pregnancy is the result of
20	rape against an adult woman, and at least
21	48 hours prior to the abortion—
22	"(I) she has obtained counseling
23	for the rape or

1	"(II) she has obtained medical
2	treatment for the rape or an injury
3	related to the rape; or
4	"(iii) the pregnancy is a result of rape
5	against a minor or incest against a minor,
6	and the rape or incest has been reported at
7	any time prior to the abortion to either—
8	"(I) a government agency legally
9	authorized to act on reports of child
10	abuse; or
11	"(II) a law enforcement agency.
12	"(C) REQUIREMENT AS TO MANNER OF
13	PROCEDURE PERFORMED.—Notwithstanding
14	the definitions of 'abortion' and 'attempt an
15	abortion' in this section, a physician termi-
16	nating or attempting to terminate a pregnancy
17	under an exception provided by subparagraph
18	(B) may do so only in the manner which, in
19	reasonable medical judgment, provides the best
20	opportunity for the unborn child to survive.
21	"(D) REQUIREMENT THAT A PHYSICIAN
22	TRAINED IN NEONATAL RESUSCITATION BE
23	PRESENT.—If, in reasonable medical judgment,
24	the pain-capable unborn child has the potential
25	to survive outside the womb, the physician who

performs or attempts an abortion under an exception provided by subparagraph (B) shall ensure a second physician trained in neonatal resuscitation is present and prepared to provide care to the child consistent with the requirements of subparagraph (E).

- "(E) CHILDREN BORN ALIVE AFTER ATTEMPTED ABORTIONS.—When a physician performs or attempts an abortion in accordance with this section, and the child is born alive, as defined in section 8 of title 1 (commonly known as the Born-Alive Infants Protection Act of 2002), the following shall apply:
 - "(i) Degree of care required.—
 Any health care practitioner present at the time shall humanely exercise the same degree of professional skill, care, and diligence to preserve the life and health of the child as a reasonably diligent and conscientious health care practitioner would render to a child born alive at the same gestational age in the course of a natural birth.
 - "(ii) IMMEDIATE ADMISSION TO A HOSPITAL.—Following the care required to be rendered under clause (i), the child born

alive shall be immediately transported and admitted to a hospital.

"(iii) Mandatory reporting of Violations.—A health care practitioner or any employee of a hospital, a physician's office, or an abortion clinic who has knowledge of a failure to comply with the requirements of this subparagraph must immediately report the failure to an appropriate State or Federal law enforcement agency or both.

"(F) Documentation requirements.—

"(i) Documentation pertaining to adults.—A physician who performs or attempts to perform an abortion under an exception provided by subparagraph (B)(ii) shall, prior to the abortion, place in the patient medical file documentation from a hospital licensed by the State or operated under authority of a Federal agency, a medical clinic licensed by the State or operated under authority of a Federal agency, from a personal physician licensed by the State, a counselor licensed by the State, or a victim's rights advocate pro-

2

3

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

vided by a law enforcement agency that the adult woman seeking the abortion obtained medical treatment or counseling for the rape or an injury related to the rape.

DOCUMENTATION PERTAINING TO MINORS.—A physician who performs or attempts to perform an abortion under an exception provided by subparagraph (B)(iii) shall, prior to the abortion, place in the patient medical file documentation from a government agency legally authorized to act on reports of child abuse that the rape or incest was reported prior to the abortion; or, as an alternative, documentation from a law enforcement agency that the rape or incest was reported prior to the abortion.

"(G) Informed Consent.—

"(i) Consent form required.—The physician who intends to perform or attempt to perform an abortion under the provisions of subparagraph (B) may not perform any part of the abortion procedure without first obtaining a signed Informed

1	Consent Authorization form in accordance
2	with this subparagraph.
3	"(ii) Content of Consent form.—
4	The Informed Consent Authorization form
5	shall be presented in person by the physi-
6	cian and shall consist of—
7	"(I) a statement by the physician
8	indicating the probable post-fertiliza-
9	tion age of the pain-capable unborn
10	child;
11	"(II) a statement that Federal
12	law allows abortion after 20 weeks
13	fetal age only if the mother's life is
14	endangered by a physical disorder,
15	physical illness, or physical injury,
16	when the pregnancy was the result of
17	rape, or an act of incest against a
18	minor;
19	"(III) a statement that the abor-
20	tion must be performed by the method
21	most likely to allow the child to be
22	born alive unless this would cause sig-
23	nificant risk to the mother;
24	"(IV) a statement that in any
25	case in which an abortion procedure

1	results in a child born alive, Federal
2	law requires that child to be given
3	every form of medical assistance that
4	is provided to children spontaneously
5	born prematurely, including transpor-
6	tation and admittance to a hospital;
7	"(V) a statement that these re-
8	quirements are binding upon the phy-
9	sician and all other medical personnel
10	who are subject to criminal and civil
11	penalties and that a woman on whom
12	an abortion has been performed may
13	take civil action if these requirements
14	are not followed; and
15	"(VI) affirmation that each sign-
16	er has filled out the informed consent
17	form to the best of their knowledge
18	and understands the information con-
19	tained in the form.
20	"(iii) Signatories required.—The
21	Informed Consent Authorization form shall
22	be signed in person by the woman seeking
23	the abortion, the physician performing or
24	attempting to perform the abortion, and a
25	witness.

1	"(iv) Retention of Consent
2	FORM.—The physician performing or at-
3	tempting to perform an abortion must re-
4	tain the signed informed consent form in
5	the patient's medical file.
6	"(H) REQUIREMENT FOR DATA RETEN-
7	TION.—Paragraph (j)(2) of section 164.530 of
8	title 45, Code of Federal Regulations, shall
9	apply to documentation required to be placed in
10	a patient's medical file pursuant to subpara-
11	graph (F) of subsection (b)(2) and a consent
12	form required to be retained in a patient's med-
13	ical file pursuant to subparagraph (G) of such
14	subsection in the same manner and to the same
15	extent as such paragraph applies to documenta-
16	tion required by paragraph $(j)(1)$ of such sec-
17	tion.
18	"(I) Additional exceptions and re-
19	QUIREMENTS.—
20	"(i) In cases of risk of death or
21	MAJOR INJURY TO THE MOTHER.—Sub-
22	paragraphs (C), (D), and (G) shall not
23	apply if, in reasonable medical judgment,
24	compliance with such paragraphs would
25	pose a greater risk of—

1	"(I) the death of the pregnant
2	woman; or
3	"(II) the substantial and irre-
4	versible physical impairment of a
5	major bodily function, not including
6	psychological or emotional conditions,
7	of the pregnant woman.
8	"(ii) Exclusion of certain facili-
9	TIES.—Notwithstanding the definitions of
10	the terms 'medical treatment' and 'coun-
11	seling' in subsection (g), the counseling or
12	medical treatment described in subpara-
13	graph (B)(ii) may not be provided by a fa-
14	cility that performs abortions (unless that
15	facility is a hospital).
16	"(iii) Rule of construction in
17	CASES OF REPORTS TO LAW ENFORCE-
18	MENT.—The requirements of subparagraph
19	(B)(ii) do not apply if the rape has been
20	reported at any time prior to the abortion
21	to a law enforcement agency or Depart-
22	ment of Defense victim assistance per-
23	sonnel.
24	"(iv) Compliance with certain
25	STATE LAWS —

1 "(I) STATE LAWS REGARDING 2 REPORTING OF RAPE AND INCEST.— 3 The physician who performs or attempts to perform an abortion under 4 5 an exception provided by subpara-6 graph (B) shall comply with such applicable State laws that are in effect 7 8 as the State's Attorney General may 9 designate, regarding reporting re-10 quirements in cases of rape or incest. 11 "(II) STATE LAWS REGARDING 12 PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT.—The phy-13 sician who intends to perform an 14 abortion on a minor under an excep-15 tion provided by subparagraph (B) 16 shall comply with any applicable State 17 laws requiring parental involvement in 18 a minor's decision to have an abor-19 tion. 20 "(c) Criminal Penalty.—Whoever violates sub-21 section (a) shall be fined under this title or imprisoned 22 for not more than 5 years, or both. "(d) BAR TO PROSECUTION.—A woman upon whom 23 an abortion in violation of subsection (a) is performed or attempted may not be prosecuted under, or for a con-

1	spiracy to violate, subsection (a), or for an offense under
2	section 2, 3, or 4 of this title based on such a violation
3	"(e) Civil Remedies.—
4	"(1) CIVIL ACTION BY A WOMAN ON WHOM AN
5	ABORTION IS PERFORMED.—A woman upon whom
6	an abortion has been performed or attempted in vio-
7	lation of any provision of this section may, in a civil
8	action against any person who committed the viola-
9	tion, obtain appropriate relief.
10	"(2) CIVIL ACTION BY A PARENT OF A MINOR
11	ON WHOM AN ABORTION IS PERFORMED.—A parent
12	of a minor upon whom an abortion has been per-
13	formed or attempted under an exception provided for
14	in subsection (b)(2)(B), and that was performed in
15	violation of any provision of this section may, in a
16	civil action against any person who committed the
17	violation obtain appropriate relief, unless the preg-
18	nancy resulted from the plaintiff's criminal conduct.
19	"(3) Appropriate relief.—Appropriate relief
20	in a civil action under this subsection includes—
21	"(A) objectively verifiable money damages
22	for all injuries, psychological and physical, occa-
23	sioned by the violation;
24	"(B) statutory damages equal to three
25	times the cost of the abortion; and

1 "(C) punitive damages.

- "(4) Attorneys fees for plaintiff.—The court shall award a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs to a prevailing plaintiff in a civil action under this subsection.
 - "(5) ATTORNEYS FEES FOR DEFENDANT.—If a defendant in a civil action under this subsection prevails and the court finds that the plaintiff's suit was frivolous, the court shall award a reasonable attorney's fee in favor of the defendant against the plaintiff.
 - "(6) AWARDS AGAINST WOMAN.—Except under paragraph (5), in a civil action under this subsection, no damages, attorney's fee or other monetary relief may be assessed against the woman upon whom the abortion was performed or attempted.

"(f) Data Collection.—

"(1) Data submissions.—Any physician who performs or attempts an abortion described in subsection (b)(2)(B) shall annually submit a summary of all such abortions to the National Center for Health Statistics (hereinafter referred to as the 'Center') not later than 60 days after the end of the calendar year in which the abortion was performed or attempted.

1	"(2) Contents of Summary.—The summary
2	shall include the number of abortions performed or
3	attempted on an unborn child who had a post-fer-
4	tilization age of 20 weeks or more and specify the
5	following for each abortion under subsection
6	(b)(2)(B)—
7	"(A) the probable post-fertilization age of
8	the unborn child;
9	"(B) the method used to carry out the
10	abortion;
11	"(C) the location where the abortion was
12	conducted;
13	"(D) the exception under subsection
14	(b)(2)(B) under which the abortion was con-
15	ducted; and
16	"(E) any incident of live birth resulting
17	from the abortion.
18	"(3) Exclusions from data submissions.—
19	A summary required under this subsection shall not
20	contain any information identifying the woman
21	whose pregnancy was terminated and shall be sub-
22	mitted consistent with the Health Insurance Port-
23	ability and Accountability Act of 1996 (42 U.S.C.
24	1320d-2 note).

1	"(4) Public Report.—The Center shall annu-
2	ally issue a public report providing statistics by
3	State for the previous year compiled from all of the
4	summaries made to the Center under this sub-
5	section. The Center shall take care to ensure that
6	none of the information included in the public re-
7	ports could reasonably lead to the identification of
8	any pregnant woman upon whom an abortion was
9	performed or attempted. The annual report shall be
10	issued by July 1 of the calendar year following the
11	year in which the abortions were performed or at-
12	tempted.
13	"(g) Definitions.—In this section the following
14	definitions apply:
15	"(1) Abortion.—The term 'abortion' means
16	the use or prescription of any instrument, medicine,
17	drug, or any other substance or device—
18	"(A) to intentionally kill the unborn child
19	of a woman known to be pregnant; or
20	"(B) to intentionally terminate the preg-
21	nancy of a woman known to be pregnant, with
22	an intention other than—
23	"(i) after viability to produce a live
24	birth and preserve the life and health of
25	the child born alive; or

- 1 "(ii) to remove a dead unborn child.
 2 "(2) ATTEMPT.—The term 'attempt', with re-
- spect to an abortion, means conduct that, under the circumstances as the actor believes them to be, constitutes a substantial step in a course of conduct planned to culminate in performing an abortion.
 - "(3) Counseling.—The term 'counseling' means counseling provided by a counselor licensed by the State, or a victims rights advocate provided by a law enforcement agency.
 - "(4) FACILITY.—The term 'facility' means any medical or counseling group, center or clinic and includes the entire legal entity, including any entity that controls, is controlled by, or is under common control with such facility.
 - "(5) FERTILIZATION.—The term 'fertilization' means the fusion of human spermatozoon with a human oyum.
 - "(6) Medical treatment.—The term 'medical treatment' means treatment provided at a hospital licensed by the State or operated under authority of a Federal agency, at a medical clinic licensed by the State or operated under authority of a Federal agency, or from a personal physician licensed by the State.

- 1 "(7) MINOR.—The term 'minor' means an indi-2 vidual who has not attained the age of 18 years.
- "(8) PERFORM.—The term 'perform', with respect to an abortion, includes inducing an abortion through a medical or chemical intervention including writing a prescription for a drug or device intended to result in an abortion.
 - "(9) Physician.—The term 'physician' means a person licensed to practice medicine and surgery or osteopathic medicine and surgery, or otherwise legally authorized to perform an abortion.
 - "(10) Post-fertilization age' means the age of the unborn child as calculated from the fusion of a human spermatozoon with a human ovum.
 - "(11) PROBABLE POST-FERTILIZATION AGE OF THE UNBORN CHILD.—The term 'probable post-fertilization age of the unborn child' means what, in reasonable medical judgment, will with reasonable probability be the post-fertilization age of the unborn child at the time the abortion is planned to be performed or induced.
 - "(12) REASONABLE MEDICAL JUDGMENT.—The term 'reasonable medical judgment' means a medical judgment that would be made by a reasonably pru-

- dent physician, knowledgeable about the case and the treatment possibilities with respect to the medical conditions involved.
- "(13) UNBORN CHILD.—The term 'unborn child' means an individual organism of the species homo sapiens, beginning at fertilization, until the point of being born alive as defined in section 8(b) of title 1.
- 9 "(14) WOMAN.—The term 'woman' means a fe-10 male human being whether or not she has reached 11 the age of majority.".
- 12 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections
 13 at the beginning of chapter 74 of title 18, United States
 14 Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new
 15 item:

"1532. Pain-capable unborn child protection.".

16 (c) Chapter Heading Amendments.—

- 17 (1) CHAPTER HEADING IN CHAPTER.—The
 18 chapter heading for chapter 74 of title 18, United
 19 States Code, is amended by striking "Partial20 Birth Abortions" and inserting "Abortions".
- 21 (2) TABLE OF CHAPTERS FOR PART I.—The 22 item relating to chapter 74 in the table of chapters 23 at the beginning of part I of title 18, United States

- 1 Code, is amended by striking "Partial-Birth Abor-
- 2 tions" and inserting "Abortions".

 \bigcirc