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- 4 MARKUP OF H.R. 3541, THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AND FREDERICK
- 5 DOUGLASS PRENATAL NONDISCRIMINATION ACT OF 2011
- 6 Thursday, February 16, 2012
- 7 House of Representatives
- 8 Committee on the Judiciary
- 9 Washington, D.C.

- The committee met, pursuant to call, at 1:02 p.m., in
- 11 Room 2141, Rayburn Office Building, Hon. Lamar Smith
- 12 [chairman of the committee] presiding.
- 13 Present: Representatives Smith, Sensenbrenner, Coble,
- 14 Gallegly, Goodlatte, Chabot, Issa, Forbes, King, Franks,
- 15 Gohmert, Jordan, Poe, Chaffetz, Griffin, Marino, Gowdy,
- 16 Ross, Adams, Quayle, Amodei, Conyers, Berman, Nadler, Scott,

17 Watt, Lofgren, Jackson Lee, Waters, Johnson, Pierluisi,

- 18 Quigley, Chu, Deutch, Sanchez, and Polis.
- 19 Staff present: Sean McLaughlin, Chief of Staff; Travis
- 20 Norton, Parliamentarian, Sarah Kish, Clerk; Perry Apelbaum,
- 21 Minority Staff Director; and David Lachmann, Minority
- 22 Counsel.

23

24 Chairman Smith. The Judiciary Committee will come to

- 25 order.
- 26 Without objection, the chair is authorized to declare
- 27 recesses of the committee at any time.
- 28 And the clerk will call the roll to establish a quorum.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith?
- 30 Chairman Smith. Present.
- 31 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- 32 Mr. Coble?
- 33 Mr. Coble. Present.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly?
- 35 Mr. Goodlatte?
- 36 Mr. Lungren?
- 37 Mr. Chabot?
- 38 Mr. Chabot. Present.
- 39 Ms. Kish. Mr. Issa?
- 40 Mr. Pence?
- 41 Mr. Forbes?
- 42 Mr. King?
- 43 Mr. Franks?
- 44 Mr. Franks. Here.

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46 Mr. Jordan?
47 Mr. Poe?
48 Mr. Chaffetz?
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Ms. Kish. Mr. Gohmert?

49 Mr. Griffin?

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- 50 Mr. Marino?
- Mr. Gowdy?
- 52 Mr. Ross?
- Mrs. Adams?
- Mr. Quayle?
- Mr. Amodei?
- Mr. Conyers?
- 57 Mr. Berman?
- Mr. Nadler?
- 59 Mr. Scott?
- 60 Mr. Watt?
- Ms. Lofgren?
- Ms. Jackson Lee?
- Ms. Waters?
- Mr. Cohen?
- Mr. Johnson?

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Mr. Pierluisi?
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- 67 Mr. Quigley?
- Ms. Chu?
- Mr. Deutch?
- 70 Ms. Sanchez?
- 71 Mr. Polis?
- 72 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Utah?
- 73 Mr. Chaffetz. Present.
- 74 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Illinois, has he
- 75 indicated that he is present? Okay.
- 76 The gentleman from New York?
- 77 Mr. Nadler. Present.
- 78 Chairman Smith. Is present.
- 79 The gentleman from North Carolina?
- Mr. Watt. Present.
- 81 Chairman Smith. And the gentlewoman from Florida?
- Ms. Kish. Mrs. Adams?
- Mrs. Adams. Here.
- 84 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from California?
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly?
- Mr. Gallegly. Present.

87 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Ohio?

- Mr. Chabot. Here.
- 89 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Arkansas?
- 90 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin?
- 91 Mr. Griffin. Here.
- 92 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from South Carolina?
- 93 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gowdy?
- 94 Mr. Gowdy. Present.
- 95 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Virginia?
- 96 Mr. Scott. Present.
- 97 Chairman Smith. Okay. The clerk will report?
- 98 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 12 members responded present.
- 99 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Pennsylvania?
- 100 Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino?
- 101 Mr. Marino. Present.
- 102 Chairman Smith. The clerk will report.
- 103 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 13 members responded present.
- 104 Chairman Smith. Okay. A voting -- I mean, a working
- 105 quorum is present. We will resume our markup, and pursuant
- 106 to notice, I now call up H.R. 3541 for purposes of markup.
- 107 And the clerk will designate the bill.

108 Ms. Kish. H.R. 3541, to prohibit discrimination against

- 109 the unborn on the basis of sex or race and for other
- 110 purposes.
- 111 Chairman Smith. And we will now continue consideration
- 112 of amendments to H.R. 3541. When the committee last
- 113 recessed, we had just agreed to Franks Amendment Number 3.
- 114 We will now go to Trent Franks Amendment Number 12, and the
- 115 gentleman from Arizona is recognized.
- 116 Mr. Franks. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 117 Mr. Chairman, this amendment is designed to safeguard
- 118 the identity of the post-abortive woman in the event of a
- 119 court proceeding. This language is taken directly from H.R.
- 120 3803, the D.C. Paying Capable Unborn Child Protection Act.
- 121 The language provides that the court shall make such
- orders as are necessary to protect the anonymity of any
- 123 woman upon whom an abortion has been performed or attempted
- 124 in violation of this law, unless that woman gives written
- 125 consent to disclose her identity.
- 126 The amendment also requires the court to issue these
- 127 orders to parties, witnesses, and counsel, and, further, the
- 128 court shall direct the sealing of court records and the

129 exclusion of individuals from the courtroom to the extent

- 130 necessary to safeguard the identity of the woman.
- 131 Parties other than elected officials will be assigned a
- 132 pseudonym. This would include family members who may bring
- 133 a civil action since it would be very easy to discover the
- 134 identity of the post-abortive woman from public record.
- 135 Chairman Smith. Will the gentleman from Arizona yield
- 136 for a minute? I jumped the gun and recognized you a little
- 137 too soon.
- 138 Mr. Franks. I was wondering about that.
- 139 Chairman Smith. And you were nice to trust me.
- 140 However, the clerk has to report the amendment first.
- 141 Mr. Nadler. And, Mr. Chairman, we do not have copies of
- 142 the amendment.
- 143 Chairman Smith. The clerk will report the amendment.
- 144 Ms. Kish. Amendment to H.R. 3541, offered by Mr. Franks
- 145 of Arizona, page 16, after line 14 --
- 146 Chairman Smith. Without objection, the amendment will
- 147 be considered as read.
- [The amendment of Mr. Franks follows:]

150 Chairman Smith. And the gentleman will continue to be

- 151 recognized to explain the amendment.
- Mr. Franks. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 153 Essentially, this amendment recognizes Ms. Sheila
- 154 Jackson Lee's amendment. If there is any concerns there
- about protecting the identity of the post-abortive woman, we
- 156 are in full agreement with that.
- 157 The amendment does not permit the identify of parties or
- 158 witnesses to be concealed from the defendant or the
- 159 attorneys for the defendant consistent with the demands of
- 160 due process. And I hope my colleagues will support the
- 161 amendment.
- 162 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Mr. Franks.
- 163 The gentleman from New York, Mr. Nadler, is recognized.
- Mr. Nadler. Yeah. I think the amendment is well
- 165 intentioned. I may well support it.
- I have a question about it, though, and that is, the
- 167 bill provides for criminal and civil proceedings. I am just
- 168 wondering how presumably the person, the woman upon whom an
- abortion has been performed may be or perhaps must be a
- 170 witness. And I am wondering how this anonymity would

171 operate in terms of due process rights for someone accused

- in a criminal or civil proceeding.
- 173 Mr. Franks. Well, the bottom line of the amendment is
- 174 just designed to safeguard the identity of the post-abortive
- 175 woman. So, if this is someone other than the post-abortive
- 176 woman that is a plaintiff, I suppose that it would not apply
- 177 then. But if there is a post-abortive woman involved in the
- 178 court proceeding where an abortion has been performed in
- 179 violation of this law that we are debating, then it would
- 180 apply.
- 181 Mr. Nadler. Would the gentleman yield?
- 182 Mr. Franks. Sure.
- Mr. Nadler. Well, let us assume someone were being
- 184 criminally prosecuted. She is a witness. How does that
- 185 operate? No, she is not being prosecuted. The doctor, let
- 186 us say, is being prosecuted.
- 187 Mr. Franks. But she would then just be assigned a
- 188 pseudonym. You know, we are not breaking new ground here.
- 189 Mr. Nadler. And how does this affect current law
- 190 protecting her privacy?
- 191 Mr. Franks. This would be additional. This only

- 192 applies to this law.
- Mr. Nadler. What is the existing law and how does this
- 194 change it with respect to protecting the privacy of someone
- 195 similarly situated?
- 196 Mr. Franks. Well, I hope I understand your question.
- 197 This does not affect existing law if it is for some other
- 198 violation, but in violation of this law, the one we are
- 199 debating, if --
- 200 Mr. Nadler. Well, my question is, let us assume this
- 201 amendment were not the case. What protections would such a
- 202 person enjoy, and why are they inadequate, and how would
- 203 this change it?
- 204 Mr. Franks. At this point, though, if this amendment is
- 205 not accepted, then if she wanted her identity protected,
- 206 just like any other situation, she could ask the court. She
- 207 could move the court to do that, and they could do it for
- 208 her, but there is no guarantee that they would.
- 209 Mr. Nadler. They could do it, but the court might think
- 210 that in view of her testimony, it should not be anonymous
- 211 because of the due process rights of the accused criminal
- 212 defendant, for example?

- 213 Mr. Franks. Well, if you look at the last part of it,
- 214 the attorneys for the defendant, consistent with the demands
- of due process, would be protected. In other words, it
- 216 would not endanger --
- 217 Mr. Nadler. No, no. What are you quoting in your
- 218 amendment?
- 219 Mr. Franks. The amendment does not permit the identity
- 220 of parties or witnesses to be concealed from the defendant
- 221 or the attorneys for the defendant consistent with the
- 222 demands of due process.
- 223 Mr. Nadler. Or from the jury?
- Mr. Franks. That is page 2, line 12.
- 225 Mr. Nadler. Page 2, line 12. What about from the jury?
- 226 Mr. Franks. It would not apply to them either.
- Mr. Nadler. And in civil cases, would the same apply?
- 228 Well, it does not say. Yeah, I would think so, plaintiff or
- 229 witnesses. Okay, thank you.
- 230 Mr. Franks. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 231 Chairman Smith. Does the gentleman yield back his time?
- 232 Mr. Franks. Yes.
- 233 Chairman Smith. Okay. The gentleman yields back his

- 234 time.
- The question is on the amendment.
- Those in favor, say aye?
- [A chorus of ayes.]
- 238 Chairman Smith. Opposed, no?
- [No response.]
- 240 Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes
- 241 have it, and the amendment is agreed to.
- Does the gentlewoman from Texas, Ms. Jackson Lee, have
- 243 an amendment?
- 244 Ms. Jackson Lee. Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman. And I would
- 245 like to ask unanimous consent to take Jackson Lee 4, 5, and
- 246 is there a third amendment? Pardon me? And Amendment
- 247 Number 320, 13, en bloc.
- Chairman Smith. Okay. Without objection, those three
- 249 amendments will be considered en bloc. And the gentlewoman
- 250 is recognized to explain the amendments.
- Ms. Jackson Lee. Do the amendments need to be
- 252 distributed, Mr. Chairman?
- 253 Chairman Smith. And those amendments are being
- 254 distributed, I believe. The gentlewoman is recognized to

255	explain the three amendments?
256	Ms. Jackson Lee. I ask unanimous consent that the
257	amendments be considered as read, or if the clerk would
258	announce
259	Chairman Smith. I have already asked. And without
260	objection, the amendments will be considered as read.
261	[The amendments of Ms. Jackson Lee follow:]
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Ms. Jackson Lee. All right. Thank you very much.

- Let me express my appreciation to the passion that the
- 265 author of this legislation and many of the proponents have
- 266 with respect to their personal views. And we have had these
- debates, long-standing debates, in this committee. I know
- 268 that we did successfully remove the name of Frederick
- 269 Douglass and Susan B. Anthony, and I think it is appropriate
- 270 having not inquired of their relatives and/or their
- 271 positions while they were alive of their specific support of
- 272 legislation such as this.
- 273 In the course of discussing my amendments, I would like
- 274 to ask unanimous consent to introduce into the record the
- 275 American Society for Reproductive Medicine, a letter dated
- 276 December 20, 2011, and read very briefly.
- The bill speaking to H.R. 3541 would make illegal the
- 278 use of elective pregnancy termination in certain
- 279 circumstances. Our report, however, is limited to a
- 280 specific family building treatment modality and does not
- 281 address pregnancy termination. We feel it is inappropriate
- 282 to use the conclusions about sex selection during a family
- 283 building process in the context of a discussion about

284	pregnancy termination.
285	Family building, of course, is a science, but also a
286	preference that is used proactively to family plan, but also
287	to suggest what a family may in a healthy manner desire. I
288	may not agree even with that, but it certainly is not the
289	idea of termination.
290	Chairman Smith. And without objection, the letter will
291	be made a part of the record.
292	[The information follows:]
293	

294 Ms. Jackson Lee. I cannot -- thank you, Mr. Chairman --295 see the underlying premise of the bill because I do not see 296 any major studies that would suggest that we have a crisis 297 with respect to terminating pregnancies in the United 298 States. And I do not believe that this is an international 299 law here in the United States, any evidence of such. 300 So, my Amendment Number 13, which I am starting with, 301 does, in fact, strike the provision that it seems that Mr. Franks was attempting to introduce. But it also strikes 302 303 page 12 and striking line 14, which refers to the 13th 304 Amendment, which has to do, as I read the Constitution, with 305 slavery. And I find it particular offensive to associate underpinnings of this bill with the idea of slavery. And I 306 307 assume there may be some explanation for that, but I find 308 that to be inappropriate for this legislation. And that would be my first amendment. 309 310 My other amendment deals with the idea of race 311 discrimination in jury selection since this will be a 312 criminal offense, and I would argue that \$5,000 is too low an amount for any individual found to be discriminating in 313 314 jury selection, and believe it would be appropriate to

- 315 include that to be \$10,000.
- 316 My third amendment deals with a sense of Congress to
- 317 emphasize the importance of the privacy between patient and
- 318 physician. This legislation, to me, seems to be intruding
- 319 down into the deep bowels of patient-physician relationship
- 320 where a patient is being counseled. It also, frankly,
- 321 though I may not agree, interferes with State laws. Some
- 322 State laws are more severe; some are not. But it actually
- 323 intrudes itself into the concept of a patient having the
- 324 privacy protected by that physician and by that physician's
- 325 office.
- 326 I, again, refer to the underlying premise of the bill,
- 327 the evidence of race selection, in terms of pregnancy
- 328 termination. That may occur in countries far beyond our
- 329 border. We asked the question, is there an epidemic of
- 330 women in the United States going to have an abortion because
- 331 they are having a girl. Understand that that has happened
- 332 in places like China where there is a one child mandate that
- 333 might be a problem. But I do not see that as documented
- 334 here in this country.
- 335 And to introduce legislation because of a passion and

336 concern about a woman's right to choose because of the 337 vigorous disagreement of some of the members of this 338 communist on a woman's right to choose, to classify it as a 339 vicious criminal act, and to suggest that compounded on the 340 right to choose is that choosing of a girl over a boy or a 341 boy over a girl and that is an epidemic or a problem that 342 needs to be federally legislated here in the United States 343 Congress. I have always said that choice is not pro-abortion. It 344 is the decision of a woman and her faith leader, her family, 345 346 her physician, to be able to make a very personal decision, 347 in many instances, to save the life of the mother. So, I would argue that my three initiatives, my three 348 349 amendments, one that would strike page 12, line 14 referring 350 to the 13th Amendment that has to do with slavery, a very 351 personal, personal and emotional time for many of us in this 352 room in terms of the history of our legacy or of our 353 ancestors, and then to protect the patient-physician 354 privilege, and then to increase the amount of dollars for discrimination jury selection. 355 356 I ask my colleagues to support this amendment.

357 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Ms. Jackson Lee.

- 358 The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Franks, is recognized.
- 359 Mr. Franks. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. And, Mr.
- 360 Chairman, in all sincere deference to the lady, I would have
- 361 to oppose these en bloc amendments, and would urge my
- 362 colleagues to do the same.
- 363 It is interesting that in two of the three en bloc
- 364 amendments that we have made an effort to respond to what we
- 365 thought was a potentially issues that should be responded to
- 366 related to the ASRM. Our original findings were absolutely
- 367 accurate in the way that we portrayed them. But because Ms.
- 368 Jackson Lee had the amendment, we decided to make it
- 369 absolutely clear to where it could not be any ambiguity.
- 370 And my previous amendment put verbatim the ASRM position.
- 371 And so we are trying to make every effort to try to work
- 372 with the gentlelady as possible.
- 373 Related to the patient-doctor relationship, there is
- 374 nothing in this bill, nothing in this bill, that requires
- 375 doctors to police or to have some responsibility to ask
- 376 their patients anything about the motivations for the
- 377 abortion. Sort of the analogy, Mr. Chairman, would be if a

378 doctor prescribed a certain, say, Valium or something. He 379 is not required to say, well, are you going to kill somebody 380 with this Valium? Are you going to collect on your 381 husband's insurance somehow? He is not required to do that 382 before he prescribes the medicine. 383 If, however, she told him that was the plan, or if 384 someone else credibly said that is why she is doing it, or if he knew that was the case, then, of course, he would be 385 implicated as part of a crime. And that is the same 386 387 situation here. There is no requirement for the doctor to 388 ask the mother anything about her motivations here, and I 389 want to make that very clear because that has been falsely put out there in the media, and it is just simply that. It 390 391 is simply false. 392 Now, let me, if I could, speak to the issue on the constitutional authority of PRENDA. First of all, as you 393 394 know, we are required according to our rules to put our 395 constitutional authority in every bill that we introduce 396 now. And let me just re-quote here the reason that we use this. "Congress has the authority to pass PRENDA under the 397

power to regulate interstate commerce and under the power

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granted under Section 2 of the 13th Amendment to eradicate 400 all badges of slavery and the power under Section 5 of the 14th Amendment to eliminate all barriers to gender equality 401 402 based on invidious, archaic, and over broad stereotypes." 403 That is a quote. 404 In 1866, Mr. Chairman, Congress enacted the first civil 405 rights act. Now, this is important because it ties in here, 406 and hopefully demonstrates that our motivations here are as sincere as we know how to make them. 407 408 In 1866, Congress enacted the civil rights act. This 409 provided that all citizens of the United States of every 410 race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, shall have the right to 411 412 make and enforce contracts, to sue, to be parties, to give 413 evidence, to inherit, to purchase, to lease, to sell, to 414 hold, and convey real and personal property, and to the full 415 equal benefit of all laws, proceedings for the security of persons and properties as enjoyed by white citizens. 416 417 Now, that is the first civil rights act, which was based

entirely on the 13th Amendment. So, we are trying to do the

same here. Congress found that the power to enact the Civil

420 Rights Act infringements by the States through the 13th

- 421 Amendment, the first section of which prohibits slavery or
- 422 involuntary servitude except as punishment for a crime, and
- 423 the second section, which gives Congress the power to
- 424 enforce this article by appropriate legislation.
- We believe this is appropriate legislation, Mr.
- 426 Chairman. Basically, it has been understood by Congress
- 427 that the 13th Amendment prohibits slavery and the opposite
- 428 of slavery, which is liberty. I mean, the opposite of
- 429 slavery is liberty, so, therefore, to be aborted on the
- 430 basis of your race is an abrogation of your liberty. And,
- 431 therefore, any unwarranted restrictions on liberty are
- 432 incidents of slavery.
- Again, this is quoted right out of the Supreme Court
- 434 case --
- 435 Ms. Jackson Lee. Would the gentleman yield?
- 436 Mr. Franks. -- Jones versus Alfred B. Mayer. I will in
- 437 just one moment. So, the Section II of the 13th Amendment
- 438 empowers Congress to protect any citizen from unjust
- 439 restrictions on liberty.
- 440 And with that, I would yield.

Ms. Jackson Lee. I appreciate the gentleman's

- 442 interpretation. I think long legislative history and the
- 443 long debate under the 13th Amendment directs its
- 444 interpretation to involuntary servitude and slavery, which
- 445 you would question whether or not a parent of African-
- 446 American heritage would be selecting or aborting their child
- 447 on the basis of race. They can give birth to anything else
- 448 but that.
- And so, I am puzzled, and I would make the argument
- 450 again that it is an inappropriate utilization under the
- 451 premise of this legislation that talks about either sex
- 452 self-selection or now you have expanded it to race. And I
- 453 think that is really challenging because I do not know if
- 454 you are a Caucasian and you are aborting because you have a
- 455 Caucasian child. I do not know what else you could have.
- 456 You know, I am just baffled. And I would argue that it is
- 457 inappropriate.
- 458 Chairman Smith. The gentleman's time --
- Ms. Jackson Lee. I yield back to the gentleman.
- 460 Chairman Smith. -- has expired. And the gentleman from
- 461 New York, Mr. Nadler, is recognized.

462 Mr. Nadler. Thank you. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike

- 463 the last word.
- 464 Chairman Smith. The gentleman is recognized for five
- 465 minutes?
- Mr. Nadler. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the
- 467 gentlelady's amendment to strike Finding K in its entirety.
- 468 I did not think it was possible to make this bill worse,
- 469 but the gentleman from Arizona managed to make this finding
- 470 even more outrageous than the original, and it deserved to
- 471 be struck.
- 472 The finding distorts the views of the American Society
- 473 for Reproductive Medicine so flagrantly that they have
- 474 actually written a letter to him asking him to correct the
- 475 record.
- On December 20th, they wrote to the sponsor saying, "The
- 477 bill would make illegal the use of elective pregnancy
- 478 termination in certain circumstances. Our report, however,
- 479 is limited to a specific family building treatment modality,
- 480 and does not address pregnancy termination. We feel it is
- inappropriate to use the conclusions about sex selection
- 482 during a family building process in the context of a

483 discussion about pregnancy termination. We would ask you to

- 484 correct this misrepresentation of our report in the bill."
- Instead of correcting it, his amendment went even
- 486 further in a selective reading of their opinion to create an
- 487 impression other than that intended by its authors. Did
- 488 Sheila put this in the record already, this letter? Well,
- 489 this letter from the American Society of Reproductive
- 490 Medicine was inserted into the record by the gentlelady from
- 491 Texas.
- 492 I would ask the gentleman from Arizona, in view of this
- 493 whether he means for his bill to include assisted
- 494 reproduction. Would this bill apply to their work, or is he
- 495 simply intent on ignoring their clear statement that their
- 496 opinion is unrelated to this bill?
- 497 I will yield.
- 498 Mr. Franks. Well, Mr. Chairman, what we did here, first
- 499 of all, the original finding was entirely accurate. It did
- 500 not distort ASRM in any way.
- 501 Mr. Nadler. Reclaiming my time. I just want an answer
- 502 to the question.
- 503 Mr. Franks. All right.

504 Mr. Nadler. Do you intend this to apply to assisted

- 505 reproduction?
- 506 Mr. Franks. This bill does not apply to that. It
- 507 applies to abortion.
- 508 Mr. Nadler. Well, does his language indicate that? So,
- 509 you would state that if individual fertilization techniques
- 510 are used in a manner that only embryos of the desired sex
- 511 have been planted and the others are discarded, this
- 512 amendment and this bill would not make that illegal.
- 513 Mr. Franks. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Nadler, the definition of
- 514 abortion is clearly outlined in the amendment. And it would
- 515 only apply within that context. It does not address the
- 516 other areas that you are talking about.
- 517 Mr. Nadler. So, the direct answer would be that it
- 518 would not make in vitro fertilization techniques, discarding
- 519 embryos of one sex and saving those of the other, it would
- 520 not make that illegal, correct?
- Mr. Franks. Mr. Chairman, even though I might, you
- 522 know, have a problem with that, too, this bill would not
- 523 address that issue, that is correct.
- Mr. Nadler. Well, reclaiming my time, I appreciate and

525	I am thankful that that is the case. But in that case, why
526	is the reference to the letter from the American Association
527	for Reproductive Medicine, which applies only to in vitro
528	fertilization to assisted reproduction techniques, why is
529	that in the bill, especially after they sent a letter saying
530	that their views are being misrepresented, and that their
531	views apply only to assisted reproduction. Why are we not
532	taking the reference to their views out of the bill if you
533	are saying that the bill does not apply to what they are
534	talking about at all?
535	Mr. Franks. What I have said is that the bill does not
536	apply to the things you mentioned. However, if you read the
537	language from ASRM let me just read it here. "To be
538	clear, the ASRM has opined on only two forms of sex
539	selection, sperm sorting and embryo sex selection. ASRM
540	supports sex selection at the sperm sorting stage, but
541	opposes sex selection for embryos." Their reason, again,
542	this is quote, their reason is because sperm sorting is,
543	"less invasive" than creating embryos, and because an embryo
544	deserves greater ethnical respect than a sperm. Again,
545	their perspective, not necessarily mine. Well, I mean, in

- 546 this case it is.
- But the point is this seems completely reasonable to me.
- 548 The ASRM has laid out ethical guidelines --
- Mr. Nadler. Reclaiming my time, you may read their
- 550 ethical guidelines as saying we should prohibit what this
- 551 bill would prohibit. They have said very clearly that what
- 552 they wrote is not intended to deal with the situation at
- 553 all. And in view of that, however you want to read what
- 554 they write, they say that that is not what they intended,
- 555 and, therefore, it is wrong to include a reference to their
- 556 statement in this bill applying it to what they say they did
- 557 not mean. And, therefore --
- 558 Mr. Franks. If the gentleman would yield. First of
- 559 all, ASRM --
- Chairman Smith. Without objection, the gentleman is
- 561 recognized for an additional minute.
- Mr. Nadler. Thank you. And, therefore, the
- 563 gentlelady's amendment ought to be passed because however
- 564 you read their view, they say that is a wrong interpretation
- of their view, and they are not referring to what the bill
- 566 covers. And it is, therefore, an invasion of their rights

567 to refer to them in the bill. And on that I will yield.

- Mr. Franks. Mr. Chairman, I would just say very simply,
- if you read what we quoted out of ASRM, it is precisely
- 570 exactly what they wrote. And they have shown that their
- 571 principles and guidelines that they apply to sperm sorting
- 572 and to embryo selection would have a greater impact, and
- 573 particularly "with issues particular to sex selection of
- 574 embryos overlapped with issues relevant to other forms of
- 575 sex selection." And we are trying to deal with the sex
- 576 selection parts of it. We quote them absolutely in context.
- 577 We quote them exactly.
- 578 If they have some problem with the amendment that we
- 579 mentioned, then they have to change their written position
- 580 because all we are doing is quoting it verbatim.
- Mr. Nadler. Okay. Reclaiming my time, I will just say
- 582 one thing, and that is that is your interpretation of what
- 583 they are writing. They say that is not what they mean.
- 584 They are entitled to respect, and they should not be quoted
- 585 against what they say they meant.
- 586 I will yield back.
- Chairman Smith. The gentleman yields back his time.

588 The question is on the three amendments offered en bloc.

- 589 All in favor, say -- oh, I am sorry. The gentleman from
- 590 South Carolina, Mr. Gowdy, is recognized.
- Mr. Gowdy. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just had a
- 592 couple of questions for the amendments' author.
- 593 First, Section 243 doubles the fine for Batson
- 594 violations from \$5,000 to \$10,000. And I was curious how
- 595 many instances of that \$5,000 fine were administered last
- 596 year. And perhaps I will submit that for the record, or I
- 597 will answer it. The answer is zero. So, we are seeking to
- 598 double the fine for a problem that does not exist, but yet
- 599 the explanation for not supporting the underlying bill is
- 600 that it fixes a problem --
- Mr. Nadler. Point of order, Mr. Chair --
- Mr. Gowdy. -- that does not exist.
- Mr. Nadler. Point of order, Mr. Chairman.
- 604 Chairman Smith. The gentleman will state his point of
- 605 order.
- Mr. Nadler. The record should reflect that the
- 607 gentlelady of whom the question is being asked is not
- 608 present to answer.

609 Mr. Gowdy. The second question that I would --

- 610 Chairman Smith. It is not a point of order, but we will
- for the discussion nevertheless.
- 612 Mr. Gowdy. The second question that I would have for
- 613 the amendments' author is with respect to a sense of
- 614 Congress and the doctor-patient relationship. There are
- only three ways we could get a doctor-patient relationship.
- 616 One is to codify it in Federal law, two is to codify it in
- 617 State law, and three is common law, two of which this body
- 618 has no power over whatsoever.
- 619 And I do not interpret this amendment to be seeking to
- amend any Federal codification of the doctor-patient
- 621 relationship, so I am questioning what impact this "sense of
- 622 Congress" would have.
- And the gentleman from New York is right. I do not see
- 624 the amendments' author. But if anyone else can tell me how
- 625 many \$5,000 fines were administered for Batson violations
- 626 last year. Hearing none, I would yield back.
- 627 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Mr. Gowdy.
- 628 The question is on the three amendments considered en
- 629 bloc.

- All in favor, say aye?
- Mr. Watt. Mr. Chairman?
- Chairman Smith. We will suspend the vote, and the
- 633 gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. Watt, is recognized.
- 634 Mr. Watt. I am sorry. Let me strike the last word --
- Chairman Smith. The gentleman is recognized for five
- 636 minutes.
- Mr. Watt. -- and yield to Mr. Nadler.
- 638 Mr. Nadler. Thank you. I will not take anywhere near
- 639 five minutes. I just want to observe in reference to the
- 640 question the gentleman asked a moment ago. I do not know
- how many times that \$5,000 fine was administered, but I
- 642 would point out that that figure was set in 1948, and
- 643 generally a Congress from time to time does update
- 644 penalties. And 1948, \$5,000 is probably worth, I do not
- know, \$50 or \$60,000 today. The gentlelady suggesting it be
- 646 upped to \$10 is a minor adjustment frankly from what was
- 647 done in 1948.
- I will yield back.
- Mr. Watt. I yield back.
- Chairman Smith. The gentleman yields back his time.

651 The question again is on the three amendments considered

- 652 en bloc.
- All in favor, say aye?
- [A chorus of ayes.]
- 655 Chairman Smith. All opposed, nay?
- [A chorus of noes.]
- 657 Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the Chair, the nays
- 658 have it, and the amendment is not agreed to.
- Are there other amendments? The gentleman from
- 660 Illinois, Mr. Quigley, is recognized.
- 661 Mr. Quigley. Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment at the
- 662 desk.
- 663 Chairman Smith. The clerk will report the amendment.
- Ms. Kish. Amendment to H.R. 3541, offered by Mr.
- Quigley of Illinois, add at the end the following: Section
- 666 5, delayed effective date. This Act shall not take until
- 667 the Violence Against Women Act is --
- 668 Chairman Smith. Without objection, the amendment will
- 669 be considered as read.
- [The amendment of Mr. Quigley follows:]

671

Chairman Smith. And the gentleman is recognized to

- 673 explain his amendment.
- Mr. Quigley. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- Mr. Chairman, my amendment will achieve what the
- 676 proponents of this measure claim to be accomplishing with
- 677 this bill, improving the status of women. My amendment
- 678 would prevent H.R. 3541 from going into effect until the
- 679 Violence Against Women Act, or VAWA, is fully funded for two
- 680 years.
- VAWA, unlike the bill we are considering today, will
- 682 actually improve the health, safety, and well-being of
- 683 millions of American women. Since its enactment in 1994,
- VAWA has drastically improved our response to violence
- 685 against women. Reporting of domestic violence has increased
- 686 by over 50 percent. VAWA funds ensure rape crisis centers
- 687 get to keep their doors open, and victims of rape get the
- 688 immediate care they need. And VAWA has provided vital
- 689 training to law enforcement, while expanding legal services
- 690 available to victims.
- 691 Sadly, domestic violence programs in 2010 were unable to
- 692 meet 9,541 requests for service because of insufficient

693 resources. Seventy-seven percent of programs reported

- 694 funding cuts, while 82 percent of programs reported an
- 695 increased demand for services.
- Domestic violence programs around the country have had
- 697 to cut back vital services, such as transportation, to get
- 698 women and children to safety, and programs to support
- 699 financial independence that will allow women to escape their
- 700 abusers and live in safety on their own.
- 701 There has never been a more important time to
- 702 reauthorize and fully fund the Violence Against Women Act.
- 703 If the proponents of H.R. 3541 were truly interested in
- 704 improving the status of women and protecting them from
- 705 violence and coercion, they will fully fund and reauthorize
- 706 VAWA. Unfortunately, we have reason to fear that some
- 707 members of this body may not.
- 708 Two weeks before last, the Senate Judiciary Committee
- 709 passed a VAWA reauthorization on party lines. The
- 710 groundwork is being laid to have members in this House who
- 711 today claim to care so deeply for the rights and well-being
- of women vote against a landmark piece of women's rights
- 713 legislation, VAWA. I hope this is not the case. And if

714 members truly support protecting women, they will vote for

- 715 my amendment which requires full funding of VAWA for two
- 716 years.
- 717 VAWA saves lives, while H.R. 3541 ignores lives. VAWA
- 718 empowers women, while H.R. 3541 debases them. VAWA is color
- 719 blind, while H.R. 3541 perpetuates stereotypes.
- 720 And, Mr. Chairman, in today's New York Times, we learned
- 721 that a new report being released Tuesday by the National
- 722 Domestic Violence Hotline says that 1 in 4 women, after
- 723 calling the hotline, had said that a partner had pressured
- 724 them to become pregnant, and told them not to use
- 725 contraceptives, or forced them to have unprotected sex.
- 726 Toward this end, I encourage my colleagues to vote for
- 727 this amendment, and vote to support legislation that will
- 728 truly --
- 729 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Will the gentleman yield?
- 730 Mr. Quigley. -- empower women rather than weaken and
- 731 degrade them.
- 732 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Will the gentleman yield?
- 733 Mr. Quigley. Yes.
- 734 Mr. Sensenbrenner. The Crime Subcommittee had a hearing

- 735 this morning on the reauthorization of VAWA, and an
- 736 oversight hearing on the agency. The director appeared.
- 737 And there was unanimous bipartisan support. I wish that the
- 738 gentleman from Illinois had been at the subcommittee hearing
- 739 this morning, and maybe he would have revised and extended
- 740 his remarks after hearing all of the support that VAWA got.
- 741 Mr. Quigley. Reclaiming my time. The remarks that I
- 742 was talking about were the Senate Judiciary Committee, which
- 743 it passed VAWA reauthorization without a single Republican
- 744 vote.
- 745 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Will the gentleman further yield?
- 746 Mr. Quigley. I was not at the other committee meeting
- 747 which the gentleman referred to because I was in yet another
- 748 committee --
- 749 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Will the gentleman yield?
- 750 Mr. Quigley. Sure.
- 751 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Is the gentleman taking his
- 752 inspiration from the Senate rather than his colleagues on
- 753 this committee?
- 754 Mr. Quigley. I take my inspiration from wherever I can
- 755 get it, sir.

- 756 [Laughter.]
- 757 Mr. Quigley. I am a Cub fan. What do you do?
- 758 [Laughter.]
- 759 Mr. Quigley. Mr. Chairman, I yield back.
- 760 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Mr. Quigley.
- 761 The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Franks, is recognized.
- 762 Mr. Franks. Well, Mr. Chairman, as you might imagine, I
- 763 do not see the clear connection between this amendment and
- 764 the bill. But let me say one encouraging thing about the
- 765 amendment is that it seems to see the point that sex
- 766 selection abortion is an act of violence against women. I
- 767 do not know that that is what the gentleman is trying to
- 768 suggest or not, but if there is a connection, I think that
- 769 would be it.
- 770 And to suggest that somehow PRENDA ignores women,
- 771 nothing could be further from the truth. It keeps unborn
- 772 women from being ignored.
- 773 And so, let me just specifically address the amendment.
- 774 Unlike most of DoJ's law enforcement grant programs, VAWA
- 775 has escaped the current economic crisis largely unscathed.
- 776 For example, Byrne/JAG, the primary Federal assistance to

777 State and local law enforcement, has gone from receiving

- 778 over \$500 million in 2010 to \$425 million in Fiscal Year
- 779 2011, and to just \$350 in Fiscal Year 2012. That is a 30
- 780 percent decrease in just over two years for a program that
- 781 funds our most basic police activities, many of which are
- 782 designed to protect a lot of different people.
- 783 By contrast, the VAWA programs have received essentially
- 784 flat funding in this economy They got \$419 million in 2010,
- 785 \$419 million in 2011, and \$413 million in 2010.
- 786 Mr. Quigley. Will the gentleman yield?
- 787 Mr. Franks. Now, everyone -- let me finish this, and I
- 788 will certainly yield. Everyone supports the combatting of
- 789 the terrible crimes of domestic violence and sexual assault,
- 790 and we have many things in our State and Federal Department
- 791 of Justice programs that deal with that. And it
- 792 disingenuous to suggest that Congress is under funding VAWA,
- 793 and particularly given these economic times because VAWA is
- 794 being funded at flat funding for these last two years.
- 795 And so, I would oppose this amendment, Mr. Chairman.
- 796 And I would yield to the gentleman.
- 797 Mr. Quigley. Thank you. If we are speaking of

798 optimism, if the gentleman is so confident that VAWA will

- 799 get fully funded, then he would have no objections
- 800 supporting this amendment.
- 801 My objections with the bill as a whole is not what the
- 802 gentleman has suggested. It is as the World Health
- 803 Organization has said, countries have found that measures
- 804 such as this, rather than preventing such abortions, the ban
- 805 simply result in "a greater demand for clandestine
- 806 procedures, which fall outside regulations, protocols,
- 807 monitoring, and basic safety."
- 808 Mr. Franks. Well, reclaiming my time, Mr. Chairman, the
- 809 gentleman can make that argument for almost anything. We
- 810 have theft, we have rape, we have murder. And we still make
- 811 laws against them even though they continue to exist. And,
- 912 yes, it is true, I suppose laws against rape and murder
- 813 cause the perpetrators to want to do it in private, but it
- 814 does not mean that we should not have a law against it.
- And with that, I would yield back, Mr. Chairman.
- Chairman Smith. The gentleman yields back his time.
- 817 Thank you, Franks.
- 818 Are there other members who wish to be heard on the

- 819 amendment?
- If not, the question is on the amendment.
- 821 All those in favor, say aye?
- [A chorus of ayes.]
- 823 Chairman Smith. Opposed, no?
- [A chorus of noes.]
- 825 Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the chair, the noes
- 826 have it, and the amendment is not agreed to.
- Mr. Quigley. I ask for a voice vote --
- 828 Chairman Smith. A roll call vote --
- 829 Mr. Quigley. -- roll call.
- 830 Chairman Smith. -- has been requested, and the clerk
- 831 will call the roll?
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith?
- 833 Chairman Smith. No.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith votes no.
- 835 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- Mr. Sensenbrenner. No.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes no.
- 838 Mr. Coble?
- [No response.]

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Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly?
840
841
         Mr. Gallegly. No.
842
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly votes no.
843
         Mr. Goodlatte?
844
         [No response.]
845
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Lungren?
         [No response.]
846
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot?
847
848
         [No response.]
849
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Issa?
850
         [No response.]
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Pence?
851
852
         [No response.]
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes?
853
854
         [No response.]
         Ms. Kish. Mr. King?
855
856
         [No response.]
857
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks?
         Mr. Franks. No.
858
859
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks votes no.
         Mr. Gohmert?
860
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Ms. Kish. Mr. Jordan?
862
863
         [No response.]
864
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Poe?
865
         [No response.]
866
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Chaffetz?
         [No response.]
867
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin?
868
869
         Mr. Griffin. No.
870
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin votes no.
871
         Mr. Marino?
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[No response.]

Mr. Gowdy. No.

Mr. Gowdy?

Ms. Kish. Mr. Gowdy votes no.

Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino votes no.

Mr. Marino. No.

877 Mr. Ross?

861

872

873

874

- 878 [No response.]
- Ms. Kish. Mrs. Adams?
- Mrs. Adams. No.
- Ms. Kish. Ms. Adams votes no.

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Mr. Quayle?

Mr. Quayle. No.
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- Ms. Kish. Mr. Quayle votes no.
- 885 Mr. Amodei?
- [No response.]
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Conyers?
- [No response.]
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Berman?
- [No response.]
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler?
- Mr. Nadler. Aye.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
- 894 Mr. Scott?
- Mr. Scott. Aye.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Scott votes aye.
- 897 Mr. Watt?
- 898 Mr. Watt. Aye.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Watt votes aye.
- 900 Ms. Lofgren?
- 901 [No response.]
- 902 Ms. Kish. Ms. Jackson Lee?

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903 [No response.]
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- 904 Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters?
- 905 [No response.]
- 906 Ms. Kish. Mr. Cohen?
- 907 [No response.]
- 908 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson?
- 909 Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- 910 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 911 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 912 [No response.]
- 913 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quigley?
- 914 Mr. Quigley. Aye.
- 915 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quigley votes aye.
- 916 Ms. Chu?
- 917 Ms. Chu. Aye.
- 918 Ms. Kish. Ms. Chu votes aye.
- 919 Mr. Deutch?
- 920 Mr. Deutch. Aye.
- 921 Ms. Kish. Mr. Deutch votes aye.
- 922 Ms. Sanchez?
- 923 Ms. Sanchez. Aye.

924 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.

- 925 Mr. Polis?
- 926 Mr. Polis. Aye.
- 927 Ms. Kish. Mr. Polis votes aye.
- 928 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from California, Mr.
- 929 Issa?
- 930 Mr. Issa. No.
- 931 Ms. Kish. Mr. Issa votes no.
- 932 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Ross?
- 933 Mr. Ross. No.
- 934 Ms. Kish. Mr. Ross votes no.
- 935 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Chabot?
- 936 Mr. Chabot. No.
- 937 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot votes no.
- 938 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from North Carolina?
- 939 Mr. Coble. No.
- 940 Ms. Kish. Mr. Coble votes no.
- Ohairman Smith. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Poe?
- 942 Mr. Poe. No.
- 943 Ms. Kish. Mr. Poe votes no.
- Ohairman Smith. The gentleman from Florida, Mr.

- 945 Goodlatte?
- 946 Mr. Goodlatte. No.
- 947 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Iowa, Mr. King?
- 948 Mr. King. No.
- 949 Ms. Kish. Mr. King votes no.
- 950 Chairman Smith. Are there other members who wish to be
- 951 recorded? If not, the clerk will report?
- 952 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 9 members voted aye, 16 members
- 953 voted nay.
- 954 Chairman Smith. The majority having voted against the
- 955 amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.
- 956 Are there any other amendments?
- 957 Ms. Chu. Mr. Chair, I have an amendment at the desk,
- 958 Amendment Number 9.
- 959 Chairman Smith. The gentlewoman from California has an
- 960 amendment at the desk, and the clerk will report the
- 961 amendment. This is Amendment Number 9, Ms. Chu.
- 962 Ms. Chu. Yes, Number 9.
- 963 Chairman Smith. Okay.
- 964 Ms. Kish. Amendment to H.R. 3541, offered by Ms. Chu of
- 965 California, add at the end the following, Section 5,

966 Protecting Pregnant Women Act, (a) a short title. This

967 section may be cited as a protecting -
968 Chairman Smith. Without objection, the amendment will

969 be considered as read.

970 [The amendment of Ms. Chu follows:]

972 Chairman Smith. And the gentlewoman is recognized to 973 her explain her amendment. Ms. Chu. My amendment is simple. If you are serious 974 975 about addressing the issues of protecting women and 976 children, then you should have no problem supporting this 977 amendment, which I call the Protecting Pregnant Women Act. 978 The sponsor of this bill claims that PRENDA is necessary to protect unborn babies in the United States and pregnant 979 mothers from family pressures that promote son preference. 980 981 Well, this amendment will do that and more. It creates an 982 Office of Pregnant Women to ensure that all pregnant women 983 and their babies, no matter their background, economic station, or race, will be able to carry their pregnancies to 984 985 term safely and healthily. 986 Deaths from pregnancy and childbirth in the United States have doubled in the past 20 years, and these 987 988 preventable deaths affect minorities, women living in 989 poverty, and immigrants more than any other group, just the 990 people that this bill was supposed to protect. And, in fact, across the Nation, African-American women have a four 991 992 times greater risk of pregnancy-related death than whites, a

993 statistic rivaling that of developing nations. 994 The Office of Pregnant Women will have programs that will ensure the physical safety of women who are pregnant 995 996 and who are contemplating becoming pregnant. It will 997 provide facilities for mothers to be who are threatened with physical injury, and will provide necessary medical 998 999 assistance to ensure healthy completion of pregnancy. 1000 This office will be tasked with enforcing Title VII of 1001 the Civil Rights Act and the Family and Medical Leave Act so 1002 women can take the care and rest they need for a safe and 1003 healthy childbirth. 1004 Now, I know that many on this committee might not agree 1005 that we should ensure pregnant women have access to a safe 1006 place to carry their pregnancy to term and access to the 1007 prenatal care that they need. In fact, most members of the 1008 committee on the other side of the aisle voted against the 1009 Affordable Care Act, which would have increased protection 1010 for pregnant women. And I know that 15 members of this 1011 committee voted against the Federal Employee Paid Parental 1012 Leave in 2009, which would have let pregnant women take four

weeks paid leave for the birth of their child, ensuring the

1013

- 1014 health of both mother and baby.
- 1015 But despite all that, I have heard over and over again
- 1016 how concerned everybody is on this committee about ensuring
- 1017 that babies are born health, and that their mothers,
- 1018 regardless of background, can feel protected and safe as
- 1019 they bring a child into this world. So, that has given me
- 1020 hope that today we can come together and implement policies
- 1021 that reflect our deep concern for these women and their
- 1022 babies, no matter the race or the baby's sex.
- 1023 And so, I hope that my colleagues will support this
- 1024 amendment.
- 1025 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Ms. Chu.
- 1026 The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Franks, is recognized.
- 1027 Mr. Franks. Well, Mr. Chairman, again, in due deference
- 1028 to the gentlelady, I would oppose the amendment. I do think
- 1029 it has a noble goal, but the legislation would be very
- 1030 duplicative in that we already have the necessary offices
- 1031 and the appropriations needed to see to women's safety
- 1032 during pregnancy. The Department of Justice is well
- 1033 equipped to do the job under existing law, and I think to
- 1034 create a new office inside DoJ would just be duplicative to

- 1035 what is already being done.
- 1036 And, of course, there is a provision in the amendment
- 1037 that essentially writes a blank check to this effort.
- 1038 And, Mr. Chairman, I guess I would also, in responding
- 1039 to the gentlelady's comments, you know, some of us have
- 1040 worked very hard in this area. I used to be the head of
- 1041 what they called the Governor's Office for Children in
- 1042 Arizona, it is like our children's department in the State,
- 1043 many years ago. And one of the things I found that if we
- 1044 wanted to help children the most, the best policies that we
- 1045 could do is to make policies that created an environment for
- 1046 families to succeed economically and otherwise.
- 1047 And so, there may be different strategies here, but I do
- 1048 recognize the noble goal of the legislation that she is
- 1049 offering. But I would oppose it based on the points that I
- 1050 made.
- 1051 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Mr. Franks.
- 1052 Mr. Nadler. Mr. Chairman?
- 1053 Chairman Smith. Are there others who wish to be heard?
- 1054 The gentleman from New York, Mr. Nadler, is recognized.
- 1055 Mr. Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I move to strike

- 1056 the last word.
- 1057 Chairman Smith. The gentleman is recognized for five
- 1058 minutes.
- 1059 Mr. Nadler. Mr. Chairman, I urge adoption of the
- 1060 gentlelady's amendment. It would provide pregnant women or
- 1061 women who are contemplating becoming pregnant with the
- 1062 support they need to resist the pressures for son presence.
- 1063 We know that this is what works, and we should do it.
- 1064 There is no reason why we should not do everything we
- 1065 possibly can to support women as they seek the safety and
- 1066 autonomy necessary to resist pressures and coercion around
- 1067 this very important aspect of their lives.
- 1068 I hope the supporters of this bill will join the
- 1069 gentlewoman in her effort to support women in a real and
- 1070 substantive manner.
- 1071 I hope that this amendment will not be voted down, and
- 1072 by voting it down give more credence to an observation made
- 1073 by a member of this body some years ago, that some people at
- 1074 least who are opposed to abortion and are pro-life act as if
- 1075 they believe life begins at conception and ends at birth.
- 1076 This amendment would show that we believe that whenever life

1077 begins, it does not terminate at birth. It continues. We

- 1078 need protections for the pregnant women. We need help for
- 1079 them so that they will have less pressure to have an
- 1080 abortion or to have an abortion for a specific reason, and
- 1081 help to make sure that the baby develops properly and in a
- 1082 good environment.
- 1083 So, I hope the supporters of this bill will join the
- 1084 gentlewoman in her effort to support women in a real and
- 1085 substantive manner. It is the right thing to do. I want to
- 1086 commend her for offering it, and I urge its adoption.
- 1087 I yield back.
- 1088 Chairman Smith. The gentleman yields back his time.
- 1089 Are there other members who wish to be heard?
- 1090 If not, the question is on the amendment.
- 1091 All in favor, say aye?
- 1092 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 1093 Chairman Smith. Opposed, nay?
- [A chorus of noes.]
- 1095 Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the chair, the nays
- 1096 have it, and the amendment is not agreed to.
- 1097 Ms. Chu. I ask for a recorded vote.

Chairman Smith. A recorded vote has been requested, and

1099 the clerk will call the roll? 1100 Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith? 1101 Chairman Smith. No. 1102 Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith votes no. 1103 Mr. Sensenbrenner? Mr. Sensenbrenner. No. 1104 Ms. Kish. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes no. 1105 1106 Mr. Coble? 1107 [No response.] Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly? 1108 [No response.] 1109 Ms. Kish. Mr. Goodlatte? 1110

1115 Mr. Chabot. No.

[No response.]

[No response.]

1116 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot votes no.

Ms. Kish. Mr. Lungren?

Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot?

1117 Mr. Issa?

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1118 [No response.]

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Ms. Kish. Mr. Pence?
1119
1120
          [No response.]
1121
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes?
1122
          [No response.]
1123
          Ms. Kish. Mr. King?
1124
          [No response.]
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks?
1125
          Mr. Franks. No.
1126
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks votes no.
1127
1128
          Mr. Gohmert?
          [No response.]
1129
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Jordan?
1130
1131
          Mr. Jordan. No.
1132
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Jordan votes no.
1133
          Mr. Poe?
1134
          [No response.]
1135
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Chaffetz?
1136
          [No response.]
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin?
1137
1138
          [No response.]
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Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino?

1139

1140 Mr. Marino. No.

- 1141 Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino votes no.
- 1142 Mr. Gowdy?
- 1143 Mr. Gowdy. No.
- 1144 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gowdy votes no.
- 1145 Mr. Ross?
- 1146 Mr. Ross. No.
- 1147 Ms. Kish. Mr. Ross votes no.
- 1148 Mrs. Adams?
- 1149 Mrs. Adams. No.
- 1150 Ms. Kish. Ms. Adams votes no.
- 1151 Mr. Quayle?
- 1152 Mr. Quayle. No.
- 1153 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quayle votes no.
- 1154 Mr. Amodei?
- 1155 [No response.]
- 1156 Ms. Kish. Mr. Conyers?
- 1157 [No response.]
- 1158 Ms. Kish. Mr. Berman?
- 1159 [No response.]
- 1160 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler?

1161 Mr. Nadler. Aye.

- 1162 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
- 1163 Mr. Scott?
- 1164 Mr. Scott. Aye.
- 1165 Ms. Kish. Mr. Scott votes aye.
- 1166 Mr. Watt?
- 1167 Mr. Watt. Aye.
- 1168 Ms. Kish. Mr. Watt votes aye.
- 1169 Ms. Lofgren?
- 1170 [No response.]
- 1171 Ms. Kish. Ms. Jackson Lee?
- [No response.]
- 1173 Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters?
- [No response.]
- 1175 Ms. Kish. Mr. Cohen?
- 1176 [No response.]
- 1177 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson?
- 1178 Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- 1179 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 1180 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 1181 Mr. Pierluisi. Aye.

1182 Ms. Kish. Mr. Pierluisi votes aye.

- 1183 Mr. Quigley?
- 1184 Mr. Quigley. Aye.
- 1185 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quigley votes aye.
- 1186 Ms. Chu?
- 1187 Ms. Chu. Aye.
- 1188 Ms. Kish. Ms. Chu votes aye.
- 1189 Mr. Deutch?
- [No response.]
- 1191 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez?
- 1192 Ms. Sanchez. Aye.
- 1193 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.
- 1194 Mr. Polis?
- 1195 Mr. Polis. Aye.
- 1196 Ms. Kish. Mr. Polis votes aye.
- 1197 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from North Carolina?
- 1198 Mr. Coble. No.
- 1199 Ms. Kish. Mr. Coble votes no.
- 1200 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Poe?
- 1201 Mr. Poe. No.
- 1202 Ms. Kish. Mr. Poe votes no.

1203 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Gohmert?

- 1204 Mr. Gohmert. No.
- 1205 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gohmert votes no.
- 1206 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from California, Mr.
- 1207 Gallegly?
- 1208 Mr. Gallegly. No.
- 1209 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly votes no.
- 1210 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Virginia, Mr.
- 1211 Goodlatte?
- 1212 Mr. Goodlatte. No.
- 1213 Ms. Kish. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
- 1214 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Iowa, Mr. King?
- 1215 Mr. King. No.
- 1216 Ms. Kish. Mr. King votes no.
- 1217 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Arkansas, Mr.
- 1218 Griffin?
- 1219 Mr. Griffin. No.
- 1220 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin votes no.
- 1221 Chairman Smith. And the gentleman from California, Mr.
- 1222 Issa?
- 1223 Mr. Issa. No.

- 1224 Ms. Kish. Mr. Issa votes no.
- 1225 Chairman Smith. Are there other members who wish to
- 1226 record their vote?
- 1227 If not, the clerk will report?
- 1228 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 9 members voted aye, 18 members
- 1229 voted nay.
- 1230 Chairman Smith. The majority having voted against the
- 1231 amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.
- 1232 Are there other amendments?
- 1233 Ms. Chu. Mr. Chair, I have Amendment Number 10 at the
- 1234 desk.
- 1235 Chairman Smith. The gentlewoman from California has
- 1236 Amendment Number 10 at the desk. And the clerk will report
- 1237 the amendment.
- 1238 Ms. Kish. Amendment to H.R. 3541, offered by Ms. Chu of
- 1239 California, on page 2, strike line 18 and all that follows
- 1240 through line 14 on page 9, and insert the following:
- 1241 Chairman Smith. Without objection, the amendment is
- 1242 considered as read.
- 1243 [The amendment of Ms. Chu follows:]
- 1244

1245 Chairman Smith. And the gentlewoman is recognized to 1246 explain her amendment.

- 1247 Ms. Chu. Thank you, Mr. Chair.
- 1248 This amendment amends the findings of the bill to make
- 1249 clear that the United Nations and other international
- 1250 agencies have a tremendous amount of experience addressing
- 1251 some preference through its work in countries where sex
- 1252 selection is far more common than in the United States.
- 1253 The international consensus, based on years of study, is
- 1254 that the most effective way to address son preference is by
- 1255 fighting the root economic, social, and cultural causes of
- 1256 sex inequality.
- 1257 But this bill as currently written misleading states
- 1258 that the UN Commission on the Status of Women has urged
- 1259 governments to take necessary measures to prevent prenatal
- 1260 sex selection. The reality is that the commission called on
- 1261 states to eliminate all forms of discrimination against girl
- 1262 child and the root causes of son preference.
- 1263 Earlier this year, the leading United Nations agencies
- 1264 working to address gender based sex selection, that is the
- 1265 World Health Organization, UN Women, UNICEF, UN Population

1266 Fund, and the Office of the High Commissioner for Human 1267 Rights, released a joint statement which is called 1268 "Preventing Gender Bias Sex Selection," and I have that 1269 right here. 1270 These five UN agencies all agree that laws seeking to 1271 prohibit sex-based abortion, like the one we are discussing 1272 today, are counterproductive and likely to result in a 1273 greater demand for clandestine procedures which fall outside 1274 regulations, protocols, and monitoring. And they agree that 1275 prohibitive policies like PRENDA are ineffective. Moreover, 1276 these restrictive laws and policies could have unintended 1277 harsh consequences, and may violate the human rights of 1278 women. 1279 If this committee were really serious about preventing 1280 sex selection, we would do as research suggests and seriously commit to addressing the underlying causes of son 1281 1282 preference. Broader strategies to eliminate gender 1283 discrimination and promote real gender equality has been the 1284 most effective means of reducing the occurrence of sex 1285 selection.

In the Republic of Korea, for example, sex preference

1286

1287 has largely been overcome through strategies aimed at 1288 empowering women and making them equal part of society. The 1289 government successfully lowered the male-female ratio by 1290 passing important and fundamentally significant laws that 1291 improved women's legal status, such as allowing women's 1292 rights and responsibilities within the their birth family, 1293 even after marriage, and recognizing women headed households, as well as by launching a love your daughter 1294 1295 media and public education campaign. 1296 By voting yes on my amendment, we can ensure that the 1297 United States is relying on the international community's 1298 deep experience on this issue to most effectively prevent 1299 sex selection. Voting against this amendment would be an 1300 indication that this committee is more interested in 1301 preventing women from accessing legal medical procedures 1302 than it is in anything else. 1303 So, I urge members of this committee to vote yes on my 1304 amendment and to use the proven methods that will change this practice, and that will not hurt women's access to 1305 1306 medical care. Chairman Smith. Thank you, Ms. Chu. 1307

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1308 The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Franks.
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- 1309 Mr. Franks. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1310 Mr. Chairman, I would once again respectfully oppose the
- 1311 amendment. It would strike the vast majority of the current
- 1312 findings in the bill without any explanation of any kind
- 1313 that they are inaccurate in any way.
- 1314 The amendment also makes the absolute statement that
- 1315 "legal restrictions on sex selection are ineffective"
- 1316 without allowing Congress to take the very first steps
- 1317 toward prohibiting discriminatory abortions based on race or
- 1318 sex, which is supported, Mr. Chairman, by 86 percent of the
- 1319 American people.
- 1320 Second, the issues raised in the suggested new findings
- 1321 are red herrings. Neither UN treaty obligations or
- international norms under CEDA mandate that member nations
- 1323 allow sex selection or race selection abortion. In fact, no
- 1324 treaty to which the U.S. is a signatory prohibits a member
- 1325 nation from restricting even abortion. And a large number
- 1326 of member nations have laws more restrictive of sex
- 1327 selection techniques, including sex selection abortion, than
- 1328 the United States. The People's Republic of China, the

- 1329 United Kingdom, and India all ban sex selection.
- 1330 Now, it is getting pretty late in the day, Mr. Chairman,
- 1331 when China with its one child policy bans sex selection
- 1332 abortion and the United States does not.
- 1333 Next, Ms. Chu's suggested findings state that access to
- 1334 technology is not the cause of sex discrimination, but it is
- 1335 really not relevant because the bill does not block access
- 1336 to technology. Then she suggests that banning abortions
- 1337 based on sex or race will endanger women's health. But as
- 1338 we clearly state in the findings of PRENDA, these abortions
- 1339 are not defined as predicated -- I am sorry. These
- 1340 abortions are defined as predicated on sex or race
- 1341 discrimination and do not implicate the health of the women.
- 1342 So, it is just not relevant.
- 1343 Again, Mr. Chairman, just to repeat, this bill simply
- 1344 says that you cannot discriminate against an unborn child by
- 1345 subjecting them to an abortion based on sex or race. And I
- 1346 am sorry that it gets so distorted, but I would oppose the
- 1347 amendment.
- 1348 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Mr. Franks.
- 1349 Are there other members who wish to speak on the

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1350
     amendment?
          If not, the question is on the amendment.
1352
          All in favor, say aye?
          [A chorus of ayes.]
1353
1354
          Chairman Smith. Opposed, say no?
1355
          [A chorus of noes.]
          Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the chair, the noes
1356
     have it, and the amendment is not agreed to.
1357
1358
          Mr. Chu. Mr. Chair, I ask for a recorded vote.
1359
          Chairman Smith. A recorded vote has been requested, and
1360
     the clerk will call the roll?
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith?
1361
1362
          Chairman Smith. No.
1363
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith votes no.
1364
          Mr. Sensenbrenner?
1365
          [No response.]
1366
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Coble?
1367
          [No response.]
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly?
1368
1369
          Mr. Gallegly. No.
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly votes no.
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Mr. Goodlatte?
1371
1372
          Mr. Goodlatte. No.
1373
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.
          Mr. Lungren?
1374
1375
          [No response.]
1376
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot?
          [No response.]
1377
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Issa?
1378
1379
          [No response.]
1380
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Pence?
          [No response.]
1381
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes?
1382
1383
          [No response.]
1384
          Ms. Kish. Mr. King?
1385
          [No response.]
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks?
1386
1387
          Mr. Franks. No.
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks votes no.
1388
          Mr. Gohmert?
1389
1390
          Mr. Gohmert. No.
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Gohmert votes no.
1391
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1393 Mr. Jordan. No. 1394 Ms. Kish. Mr. Jordan votes no. 1395 Mr. Poe? 1396 Mr. Poe. No. 1397 Ms. Kish. Mr. Poe votes no. 1398 Mr. Chaffetz? [No response.] 1399 1400 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin? 1401 Mr. Griffin. No. 1402 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin votes no. Mr. Marino? 1403 Mr. Marino. No. 1404 1405 Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino votes no. 1406 Mr. Gowdy? Mr. Gowdy. No. 1407 1408 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gowdy votes no.

1392 Mr. Jordan?

1409

1410

1411

Mr. Ross?

1412 Mrs. Adams?

Mr. Ross. No.

Ms. Kish. Mr. Ross votes no.

1413 Mrs. Adams. No.

- 1414 Ms. Kish. Ms. Adams votes no.
- 1415 Mr. Quayle?
- 1416 Mr. Quayle. No.
- 1417 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quayle votes no.
- 1418 Mr. Amodei?
- [No response.]
- 1420 Ms. Kish. Mr. Conyers?
- [No response.]
- 1422 Ms. Kish. Mr. Berman?
- [No response.]
- 1424 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler?
- 1425 Mr. Nadler. Aye.
- 1426 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
- 1427 Mr. Scott?
- 1428 Mr. Scott. Aye.
- 1429 Ms. Kish. Mr. Scott votes aye.
- 1430 Mr. Watt?
- 1431 Mr. Watt. Aye.
- 1432 Ms. Kish. Mr. Watt votes aye.
- 1433 Ms. Lofgren?

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1434
          [No response.]
          Ms. Kish. Ms. Jackson Lee?
1435
1436
          [No response.]
1437
          Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters?
1438
          [No response.]
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Cohen?
1439
          [No response.]
1440
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson?
1441
1442
          Mr. Johnson. Aye.
1443
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
          Mr. Pierluisi?
1444
          Mr. Pierluisi. Aye.
1445
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Pierluisi votes aye.
1446
          Mr. Quigley?
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1448
          Mr. Quigley. Aye.
          Ms. Kish. Mr. Quigley votes aye.
1449
          Ms. Chu?
1450
1451
          Ms. Chu. Aye.
          Ms. Kish. Ms. Chu votes aye.
1452
1453
          Mr. Deutch?
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1454

[No response.]

1455 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez?

- 1456 Ms. Sanchez. Aye.
- 1457 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.
- 1458 Mr. Polis?
- 1459 Mr. Polis. Aye.
- 1460 Ms. Kish. Mr. Polis votes aye.
- 1461 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Chabot?
- 1462 Mr. Chabot. No.
- 1463 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot votes no.
- 1464 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from North Carolina, Mr.
- 1465 Coble?
- 1466 Mr. Coble. No.
- 1467 Ms. Kish. Mr. Coble votes no.
- 1468 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Iowa, Mr. King?
- 1469 Mr. King. No.
- 1470 Ms. Kish. Mr. King votes no.
- 1471 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Virginia, Mr.
- 1472 Forbes?
- 1473 Mr. Forbes. No.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes votes no.
- 1475 Chairman Smith. And the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr.

- 1476 Sensenbrenner?
- 1477 Mr. Sensenbrenner. No.
- 1478 Ms. Kish. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes no.
- 1479 Chairman Smith. Are there other members who wish to be
- 1480 recorded?
- 1481 If not, the clerk will call the roll?
- 1482 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 9 members voted aye, 18 members
- 1483 voted nay.
- 1484 Chairman Smith. The majority having voted against the
- 1485 amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.
- 1486 It is my understanding that there are two amendments
- 1487 remaining, both to be offered, though not concurrently, by
- 1488 the gentleman from New York, Mr. Nadler. And he is now
- 1489 recognized for the purpose of offering an amendment.
- 1490 Mr. Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an
- 1491 amendment at the desk, Nadler 11.
- 1492 Chairman Smith. The clerk will report the amendment.
- 1493 Ms. Kish. Amendment to H.R. 3541, offered by Mr. Nadler
- 1494 of New York, page 13, strike line 6 and all that follows
- 1495 through page 17, line 3, and insert the following:
- 1496 Chairman Smith. And without objection, the amendment

1497 will be considered as read.1498 [The amendment of Mr. Nadler follows:]1499

1500 Chairman Smith. And the gentleman is recognized to

- 1501 explain his amendment.
- 1502 Mr. Nadler. Thank you.
- 1503 Mr. Chairman, I think we can all agree that the one
- 1504 thing no woman should ever be subject to is coercion. If a
- 1505 woman is contemplating having a child, she should obviously
- 1506 be free to do so. She should not face threats or coercion
- 1507 from anyone in order to terminate the pregnancy. She
- 1508 deserves our full support. In fact, I still hope that one
- 1509 day the pro-life lobby will help us ensure that all women
- 1510 are able to obtain proper prenatal care and nutrition, and
- 1511 that we can do more to bring down the rate of infant and
- 1512 child mortality.
- 1513 I agree with what the proponents have said about the
- 1514 coercion, and I have taken it to heart. My amendment would
- 1515 prohibit any use of force or coercion to force a woman to
- 1516 end the pregnancy. The reason is irrelevant. I certainly
- 1517 understand -- the reason for the coercion, that is. If
- 1518 there is coercion, it ought to be outlawed.
- 1519 I certainly understand that the authors of this bill are
- 1520 trying to make a point, but I am bothered by the fact that

1521 other forms of force or coercion would go unpunished. That

- 1522 is just wrong. It should be a flat prohibition.
- 1523 Similarly, my amendment would prohibit the use of force
- 1524 or coercion to prevent a woman from having an abortion. It
- 1525 uses the exact language of the bill and applies it whether
- 1526 that "force or threat of force to intentionally injure or
- 1527 intimidate a person" is used to make a person have an
- 1528 abortion or to prevent the person from having an abortion.
- I think we should at least be able to agree that no
- 1530 woman should be subject to force, coercion, or intimidation
- 1531 when it comes to such an important and sensitive subject or,
- 1532 for that matter, for anything else, though the amendment
- 1533 does not deal with other force and coercion.
- 1534 I hope the proponents will join me in broadening the
- 1535 scope of this bill to protect all pregnant women from all
- 1536 forms of coercion with respect to the question of abortion.
- 1537 I thank you. I yield back.
- 1538 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Mr. Nadler.
- 1539 The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Franks, is recognized.
- 1540 Mr. Franks. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1541 Mr. Chairman, I would oppose this amendment. The

1542	amendment overlooks one very fundamental thing about the
1543	bill; the bill itself, one of its primary provisions is a
1544	provision that outlaws coercing a woman to have a sex
1545	selection abortion, and his amendment would gut that part of
1546	it completely, and would add kind of a second dimension to
1547	it that would seek to prevent the coercion of a doctor to
1548	perform an abortion, or a doctor to refrain from performing
1549	an abortion. And it is sort of does not really belong in
1550	this bill.
1551	This bill, as it stands, protects women from coercion to
1552	obtain a sex selection or a race selection abortion. And,
1553	Mr. Chairman, that is a challenge in this country as seen in
1554	a UC Berkeley study from 2011 where they report that
1555	American woman, some in immigrant populations, are being
1556	kicked, beaten, choked, or even starved by their husbands to
1557	force them to do a sex selection abortion. And that is
1558	where they are unwilling to go to a clinic to have the sex
1559	selection abortion.
1560	And so, the bill, one of its primary efforts is to
1561	prevent that coercion, and this amendment only complicates
1562	that and really stymies the bill in general. Essentially,

1563 it is not a correcting amendment. It essentially strikes

- 1564 everything in the bill almost except the finding.
- 1565 Mr. Nadler. Would the gentleman yield?
- Mr. Franks. That is why I would oppose the amendment,
- 1567 and I would yield back.
- 1568 Mr. Nadler. Would the gentleman yield? I think the
- 1569 gentleman misreads the amendment. The amendment would
- 1570 certainly still make it still oppose, would still make it a
- 1571 crime to coerce a woman to have an abortion for sex
- 1572 selection purposes. It would also be a crime to coerce a
- 1573 woman to have an abortion for any other purpose.
- 1574 What the amendment does is broaden it. Certainly the
- 1575 prohibition against coercing a woman to have a sex selection
- 1576 abortion is still there. What we are doing with this
- 1577 amendment is saying it is a crime to coerce a woman to have
- 1578 an abortion for sex selection purposes or for any other
- 1579 reason is what the amendment --
- 1580 Mr. Franks. Reclaiming my time. If the gentleman would
- 1581 like to introduce a new bill with me to make sure that we
- 1582 strengthen the laws against coercing any woman to have an
- 1583 abortion for any purpose, I am your man. I would be glad to

- 1584 work with you on that.
- 1585 This bill is taking a very narrow, specific subject and
- 1586 saying that we are dealing with discriminating against an
- 1587 unborn child by subjecting them to an abortion based on race
- 1588 or sex selection. And the bottom line is there is a lot of
- 1589 good areas where we need to strengthen laws against
- 1590 coercion, and I would be willing to talk to the gentleman.
- 1591 Mr. Nadler. Would the gentleman yield?
- 1592 Mr. Franks. But this is not the place for it. And with
- 1593 that, I am going to go ahead and yield back, Mr. Nadler.
- 1594 Chairman Smith. Okay. The gentleman yields back his
- 1595 time.
- The question is on the amendment.
- 1597 All in favor, say aye?
- 1598 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 1599 Chairman Smith. All opposed, say nay?
- [A chorus of noes.]
- 1601 Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the chair, the noes
- 1602 have it, and the amendment is not agreed to.
- 1603 The gentleman asks for a recorded vote, and the clerk
- 1604 will call the roll?

1606 Chairman Smith. No. 1607 Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith votes no. 1608 Mr. Sensenbrenner? 1609 Mr. Sensenbrenner. No. 1610 Ms. Kish. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes no. 1611 Mr. Coble? 1612 [No response.] 1613 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly? 1614 Mr. Gallegly. No. 1615 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly votes no. Mr. Goodlatte? 1616 1617 Mr. Goodlatte. No. 1618 Ms. Kish. Mr. Goodlatte votes no.

Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith?

[No response.]

1605

1619

1621 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot?

Mr. Lungren?

- 1622 Mr. Chabot. No.
- 1623 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot votes no.
- 1624 Mr. Issa?
- 1625 [No response.]

1626 Ms. Kish. Mr. Pence? 1627 [No response.] 1628 Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes? [No response.] 1629 1630 Ms. Kish. Mr. King? 1631 [No response.] Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks? 1632 Mr. Franks. No. 1633 Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks votes no. 1634 1635 Mr. Gohmert? 1636 Mr. Gohmert. No. Ms. Kish. Mr. Gohmert votes no. 1637 1638 Mr. Jordan? 1639 Mr. Jordan. No. 1640 Ms. Kish. Mr. Jordan votes no. Mr. Poe? 1641 1642 [No response.] 1643 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chaffetz? [No response.] 1644 1645 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin?

1646

[No response.]

1647 Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino?

- Mr. Marino. No.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino votes no.
- 1650 Mr. Gowdy?
- 1651 Mr. Gowdy. No.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Gowdy votes no.
- 1653 Mr. Ross?
- 1654 Mr. Ross. No.
- 1655 Ms. Kish. Mr. Ross votes no.
- 1656 Mrs. Adams?
- 1657 Mrs. Adams. No.
- 1658 Ms. Kish. Ms. Adams votes no.
- 1659 Mr. Quayle?
- 1660 Mr. Quayle. No.
- 1661 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quayle votes no.
- 1662 Mr. Amodei?
- 1663 [No response.]
- 1664 Ms. Kish. Mr. Conyers?
- 1665 [No response.]
- 1666 Ms. Kish. Mr. Berman?
- [No response.]

1668 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler?

- 1669 Mr. Nadler. Aye.
- 1670 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler votes aye.
- 1671 Mr. Scott?
- 1672 Mr. Scott. Aye.
- 1673 Ms. Kish. Mr. Scott votes aye.
- 1674 Mr. Watt?
- 1675 Mr. Watt. Aye.
- 1676 Ms. Kish. Mr. Watt votes aye.
- 1677 Ms. Lofgren?
- 1678 Ms. Lofgren. Aye.
- Ms. Kish. Ms. Lofgren votes aye.
- 1680 Ms. Jackson Lee?
- 1681 [No response.]
- 1682 Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters?
- 1683 [No response.]
- 1684 Ms. Kish. Mr. Cohen?
- 1685 [No response.]
- 1686 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson?
- 1687 Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- 1688 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson votes aye.

1689 Mr. Pierluisi?

1690 Mr. Pierluisi. Aye.

1691 Ms. Kish. Mr. Pierluisi votes aye.

1692 Mr. Quigley?

1693 Mr. Quigley. Aye.

Ms. Kish. Mr. Quigley votes aye.

1695 Ms. Chu?

1696 Ms. Chu. Aye.

1697 Ms. Kish. Ms. Chu votes aye.

1698 Mr. Deutch?

[No response.]

1700 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez?

1701 Ms. Sanchez. Aye.

1702 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.

1703 Mr. Polis?

1704 Mr. Polis. Aye.

1705 Ms. Kish. Mr. Polis votes aye.

1706 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from North Carolina, Mr.

1707 Coble?

1708 Mr. Coble. No.

1709 Ms. Kish. Mr. Coble votes no.

1710 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Florida, Mr. Amodei?

- 1711 Mr. Amodei. No.
- 1712 Ms. Kish. Mr. Amodei votes no.
- 1713 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Virginia, Mr.
- 1714 Forbes?
- 1715 Mr. Forbes. No.
- 1716 Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes votes no.
- 1717 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Poe?
- 1718 Mr. Poe. No.
- 1719 Ms. Kish. Mr. Poe votes no.
- 1720 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Iowa, Mr. King?
- 1721 Mr. King. No.
- 1722 Ms. Kish. Mr. King votes no.
- 1723 Chairman Smith. Are there other members who wish to be
- 1724 recorded?
- 1725 The clerk will report?
- 1726 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 10 members voted aye, 18
- 1727 members voted nay.
- 1728 Chairman Smith. The majority having voted against the
- 1729 amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.
- 1730 Are there any other amendments? The gentleman from New

- 1731 York, Mr. Nadler.
- 1732 Mr. Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have an
- 1733 amendment at the desk, the other one. I do not know the
- 1734 number.
- 1735 Chairman Smith. Nadler Number 14. The clerk will
- 1736 report the amendment.
- 1737 Ms. Kish. Amendment to H.R. 3541, offered by Mr. Nadler
- 1738 of New York, add at the end of the bill the following:
- 1739 Section 5, a study of discriminatory employment practices
- 1740 toward pregnant workers, (a) --
- 1741 Chairman Smith. Without objection, the amendment will
- 1742 be considered as read.
- 1743 [The amendment of Mr. Nadler follows:]
- 1744

1745 Chairman Smith. And the gentleman will is recognized to

- 1746 explain his amendment.
- 1747 Mr. Nadler. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 1748 Mr. Chairman, this amendment requires the Attorney
- 1749 General, in consultation with the Department of Labor and
- 1750 the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, to study and
- 1751 report back to Congress with recommendations for how to
- 1752 finally bring an end to discrimination against pregnant
- 1753 women who are workers before the bill that we are
- 1754 considering today can take effect.
- 1755 It is inexcusable that nearly 35 years after passage of
- 1756 the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978 women still are
- 1757 being forced to leave jobs, being denied basic and
- 1758 reasonable accommodations that would allow them to continue
- 1759 working during pregnancy, and being paid less than other
- 1760 workers because of pregnancy and motherhood.
- 1761 The sponsors of the underlying bill claim that, among
- other things, the bill protects pregnant women from
- 1763 coercion. We know that at its heart this bill is not really
- 1764 aimed at assuring that every woman is free to make the
- 1765 fundamentally personal and constitutionally protected

1766 decision about carrying a pregnancy to term. While I do not 1767 believe that the underlying bill, which threatens doctors 1768 and other service providers with criminal and civil 1769 penalties, advances the civil rights of pregnant women or 1770 benefits them in any way, this amendment and legislation 1771 that I am currently drafting can make a positive and 1772 material difference in pregnant women's lives. Just yesterday, the EEOC held a hearing on this 1773 1774 important issue of discrimination against pregnant women in 1775 the workforce. And I recommend to my colleagues to review 1776 the transcript and testimony available on the EEOC's 1777 website. Witnesses at that hearing testified about 1778 employers who deny pregnant women reasonable accommodations 1779 that would otherwise allow them to stay on the job, choosing 1780 instead to demote, suspend, force an unnecessary and unpaid 1781 FMLA leave, or terminate these workers. 1782 Professor Joan Williams from the University of 1783 California Hastings College of the Law, explained how some 1784 employers are giving women a Hobson's choice: get an 1785 abortion or lose your job or any chance of career 1786 advancement.

1787 Mr. Chairman, as you and the other members of the 1788 committee know, I am strongly pro-choice. By definition, pro-choice means that one does not support coercion of 1789 1790 women's health decisions on any level -- to have an 1791 abortion, not to have an abortion -- by any person, entity, 1792 or institution, and that those decisions belong with the 1793 women, her doctor, and her family. 1794 I am stunned and outraged that now well into the 21st 1795 century, pregnant women would face such blatant 1796 discrimination and harassment. While I strongly believe 1797 that these practices already violate Federal law, that 1798 message has not been made clear enough. This amendment and 1799 my forthcoming legislation will ensure that Congress is 1800 heard loud and clear on this issue. 1801 This is not a partisan issue, but one of basic civil 1802 rights and good economic and business policy. Particularly 1803 during these times of economic instability and as families 1804 rely more and more on women's income, we should make sure 1805 that pregnant workers, who are literally months to weeks 1806 away from having another mouth to feed, do not lose their paychecks or benefits. That type of stress is terrible for 1807

1808 anyone, but it has particularly dire consequences for

- 1809 pregnant women and their families.
- 1810 By taking action to clarify that discrimination against
- 1811 pregnant workers will not be tolerated, we will assist
- 1812 businesses by clarifying their obligation, and ensuring that
- 1813 they take steps that will help them keep workers in the
- 1814 workplace, reducing turnover and related hiring and training
- 1815 expenses. It will not create undue hardship on employers;
- 1816 it will help pregnant women keep the jobs that allow them to
- 1817 support themselves and their families.
- 1818 Thank you. I yield. And I would ask my colleagues to
- 1819 support the amendment.
- 1820 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Will the gentleman yield?
- 1821 Mr. Nadler. And, again, I yield.
- 1822 Mr. Sensenbrenner. Will the gentleman yield?
- 1823 Mr. Nadler. Yes, I will.
- 1824 Mr. Sensenbrenner. I noticed that you delay the
- 1825 effective date of this act until the report is submitted by
- 1826 the Attorney General. I think you could get a lot more
- 1827 support for this if you deleted lines 10 through 12 on page
- 1828 3. Is the gentleman willing to do that?

1829 Mr. Nadler. Reclaiming my time, no, I am not willing to

- 1830 do that, but I do not think that getting this report should
- 1831 take very much time. In fact, I would be willing to put a
- 1832 time limit into the amendment if that would make people
- 1833 happier. I would be willing to put into the bill December
- 1834 31st, 2012, into the amendment rather.
- 1835 Chairman Smith. No takers.
- 1836 Does the gentleman yield back his time?
- 1837 Mr. Nadler. I yield back.
- 1838 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Arizona, Mr. Franks,
- 1839 is recognized.
- 1840 Mr. Franks. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman. It seems
- 1841 that Mr. Sensenbrenner stole my thunder here. I probably do
- 1842 not have quite the same level of confidence in our Attorney
- 1843 General to not sit on this study as Mr. Nadler might.
- 1844 But the bottom line here is, Mr. Chairman, this bill has
- 1845 been distorted and maligned a lot, and I really want to say
- 1846 to everyone here that I appreciate the comity and the tone
- 1847 of the debate that we have had today. And I appreciate
- 1848 everybody from both sides of the aisle for that.
- 1849 And just to reiterate, the effort of this bill here is

1850 to simply say that we cannot discriminate against unborn 1851 children by subjecting them to an abortion based on their 1852 sex or race. And I know there are a lot of questions that 1853 arise from that, and I know it causes us to have to look at 1854 some things that we might not want to look at. But somehow 1855 it just seems like we could come together on that. 1856 You know, many years Jefferson Davis asked the question when he was talking about slavery, he said will you consent 1857 1858 to be robbed of your property, meaning slaves, or will you 1859 strike bravely for liberty, property, and honor, and life? 1860 That was his call to fighting to keep slavery in place. But 1861 that changed, and then many years beyond that he said, well, 1862 it really wasn't about the slavery issue; it was about 1863 political demagogues in the north, and it was a means to 1864 acquire power. 1865 Well, we see through that now, and 100 years from now, I 1866 think that society is going to look back and say, you know, 1867 I cannot believe that there was a time when we were aborting 4,000 children a day in America. I cannot believe that was 1868 1869 happening. I cannot believe that we allowed children to be 1870 aborted because they were little girls instead of little

1871 boys, or because they were the wrong sex. That is not who 1872 America is, and the American people, Mr. Chairman, are not 1873 confused about this. About 86 percent of them support this 1874 legislation. 1875 Those who say that this would interfere with the doctor-1876 patient relationship, it is just not true. Ms. Chu was 1877 quoted at the Huffington Post saying that this would cause doctors to have to read women's minds. There is nothing in 1878 1879 this bill to require doctors to ascertain the motives of the 1880 woman. And I just somehow hope that we can remind ourselves 1881 1882 that the bill simply does these things. It simply says you 1883 cannot discriminate against an unborn child by subjecting 1884 him to an abortion based on their sex or race. It simply 1885 says you cannot coerce a woman to do that. And, Mr. 1886 Chairman, I have got to believe that we can get together on 1887 that at some point. 1888 And with that, I would just hope that we would remind ourselves once that we were not always aware of the humanity 1889 1890 of certain members of our society in the past. And when we

became aware of their humanity and the inhumanity of what

1891

1892 was done to them, our hearts and minds began to change. And

- 1893 I hope that that happens today.
- 1894 And with that, I would yield back.
- 1895 Chairman Smith. Thank you, Mr. Franks.
- 1896 The question is on the amendment.
- 1897 All in favor, say aye?
- 1898 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 1899 Chairman Smith. All opposed, nay?
- 1900 [A chorus of noes.]
- 1901 Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the chair, the noes
- 1902 have it, and the amendment is not agreed to.
- 1903 A recorded vote has been requested, and the clerk will
- 1904 call the roll?
- 1905 Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith?
- 1906 Chairman Smith. No.
- 1907 Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith votes no.
- 1908 Mr. Sensenbrenner?
- 1909 Mr. Sensenbrenner. No.
- 1910 Ms. Kish. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes no.
- 1911 Mr. Coble?
- 1912 [No response.]

1914 Mr. Gallegly. No. 1915 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly votes no. 1916 Mr. Goodlatte? 1917 Mr. Goodlatte. No. 1918 Ms. Kish. Mr. Goodlatte votes no. 1919 Mr. Lungren? [No response.] 1920 1921 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot? 1922 Mr. Chabot. No. 1923 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot votes no. Mr. Issa? 1924 1925 [No response.] 1926 Ms. Kish. Mr. Pence? 1927 [No response.]

Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes?

Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes votes no.

Mr. Forbes. No.

Mr. King?

[No response.]

Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks?

Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly?

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1933

1934 Mr. Franks. No.

1935 Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks votes no.

1936 Mr. Gohmert?

1937 Mr. Gohmert. No.

1938 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gohmert votes no.

1939 Mr. Jordan?

1940 Mr. Jordan. No.

1941 Ms. Kish. Mr. Jordan votes no.

1942 Mr. Poe?

1943 Mr. Poe. No.

1944 Ms. Kish. Mr. Poe votes no.

1945 Mr. Chaffetz?

1946 [No response.]

1947 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin?

1948 Mr. Griffin. No.

1949 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin votes no.

1950 Mr. Marino?

1951 Mr. Marino. No.

1952 Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino votes no.

1953 Mr. Gowdy?

1954 Mr. Gowdy. No.

Ms. Kish. Mr. Gowdy votes no.

- 1956 Mr. Ross?
- 1957 Mr. Ross. No.
- 1958 Ms. Kish. Mr. Ross votes no.
- 1959 Mrs. Adams?
- 1960 Mrs. Adams. No.
- 1961 Ms. Kish. Ms. Adams votes no.
- 1962 Mr. Quayle?
- 1963 Mr. Quayle. No.
- 1964 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quayle votes no.
- 1965 Mr. Amodei?
- 1966 Mr. Amodei. No.
- 1967 Ms. Kish. Mr. Amodei votes no.
- 1968 Mr. Conyers?
- 1969 [No response.]
- 1970 Ms. Kish. Mr. Berman?
- 1971 Mr. Berman. Aye.
- 1972 Ms. Kish. Mr. Berman votes aye.
- 1973 Mr. Nadler?
- 1974 Mr. Nadler. Aye.
- 1975 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler votes aye.

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1976 Mr. Scott?
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- 1977 Mr. Scott. Aye.
- 1978 Ms. Kish. Mr. Scott votes aye.
- 1979 Mr. Watt?
- 1980 Mr. Watt. Aye.
- 1981 Ms. Kish. Mr. Watt votes aye.
- 1982 Ms. Lofgren?
- 1983 Ms. Lofgren. Aye.
- 1984 Ms. Kish. Ms. Lofgren votes aye.
- 1985 Ms. Jackson Lee?
- 1986 [No response.]
- 1987 Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters?
- 1988 Ms. Waters. Aye.
- 1989 Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters votes aye.
- 1990 Mr. Cohen?
- 1991 [No response.]
- 1992 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson?
- 1993 Mr. Johnson. Aye.
- 1994 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson votes aye.
- 1995 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 1996 Mr. Pierluisi. Aye.

1997 Ms. Kish. Mr. Pierluisi votes aye.

- 1998 Mr. Quigley?
- 1999 Mr. Quigley. Aye.
- 2000 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quigley votes aye.
- 2001 Ms. Chu?
- 2002 Ms. Chu. Aye.
- 2003 Ms. Kish. Ms. Chu votes aye.
- 2004 Mr. Deutch?
- 2005 [No response.]
- 2006 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez?
- 2007 Ms. Sanchez. Aye.
- 2008 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez votes aye.
- 2009 Mr. Polis?
- 2010 Mr. Polis. Aye.
- 2011 Ms. Kish. Mr. Polis votes aye.
- 2012 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from North Carolina, Mr.
- 2013 Coble?
- 2014 Mr. Coble. No.
- 2015 Ms. Kish. Mr. Coble votes no.
- 2016 Chairman Smith. Are there other members who to be
- 2017 recorded?

2018 The gentleman from Iowa, Mr. King?

- 2019 Mr. King. No.
- 2020 Ms. Kish. Mr. King votes no.
- 2021 Chairman Smith. And the clerk will report?
- 2022 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 12 members voted aye, 19
- 2023 members voted nay.
- 2024 Chairman Smith. The majority having voted against the
- 2025 amendment, the amendment is not agreed to.
- 2026 Are there any other amendments? If not, a reporting
- 2027 quorum being present, the question is on reporting the bill,
- 2028 as amended, favorably to the House.
- 2029 Those in favor, say aye?
- 2030 [A chorus of ayes.]
- 2031 Chairman Smith. Those opposed, say no?
- 2032 [A chorus of noes.]
- 2033 Chairman Smith. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes
- 2034 still have it, and the bill -- a recorded vote has been
- 2035 requested, and the clerk will call the roll?
- 2036 Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith?
- 2037 Chairman Smith. Aye.
- 2038 Ms. Kish. Mr. Smith votes aye.

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Mr. Sensenbrenner?
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2040
     Mr. Sensenbrenner. Aye.
2041
     Ms. Kish. Mr. Sensenbrenner votes aye.
2042
         Mr. Coble?
2043
         Mr. Coble. Aye.
2044
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Coble votes aye.
2045
    Mr. Gallegly?
          Mr. Gallegly. Aye.
2046
2047
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Gallegly votes aye.
2048
         Mr. Goodlatte?
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         Mr. Goodlatte. Aye.
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Goodlatte votes aye.
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2051
         Mr. Lungren?
2052
     [No response.]
2053
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot?
         Mr. Chabot. Aye.
2054
2055
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Chabot votes aye.
2056
         Mr. Issa?
2057
         [No response.]
2058
         Ms. Kish. Mr. Pence?
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2059

[No response.]

2060 Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes?

- 2061 Mr. Forbes. Aye.
- 2062 Ms. Kish. Mr. Forbes votes aye.
- 2063 Mr. King?
- 2064 Mr. King. Aye.
- 2065 Ms. Kish. Mr. King votes aye.
- 2066 Mr. Franks?
- 2067 Mr. Franks. Aye.
- 2068 Ms. Kish. Mr. Franks votes aye.
- 2069 Mr. Gohmert?
- 2070 Mr. Gohmert. Aye.
- Ms. Kish. Mr. Gohmert votes aye.
- 2072 Mr. Jordan?
- 2073 Mr. Jordan. Aye.
- 2074 Ms. Kish. Mr. Jordan votes aye.
- 2075 Mr. Poe?
- 2076 Mr. Poe. Yes.
- 2077 Ms. Kish. Mr. Poe votes yes.
- 2078 Mr. Chaffetz?
- [No response.].
- 2080 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin?

2081	Mr.	Griffin.	Aye.
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- 2082 Ms. Kish. Mr. Griffin votes aye.
- 2083 Mr. Marino?
- 2084 Mr. Marino. Aye.
- 2085 Ms. Kish. Mr. Marino votes aye.
- 2086 Mr. Gowdy?
- 2087 Mr. Gowdy. Yes.
- 2088 Ms. Kish. Mr. Gowdy votes yes.
- 2089 Mr. Ross?
- 2090 Mr. Ross. Aye.
- 2091 Ms. Kish. Mr. Ross votes aye.
- 2092 Mrs. Adams?
- 2093 Mrs. Adams. Aye.
- Ms. Kish. Ms. Adams votes aye.
- 2095 Mr. Quayle?
- 2096 Mr. Quayle. Aye.
- 2097 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quayle votes aye.
- 2098 Mr. Amodei?
- 2099 Mr. Amodei. Aye.
- 2100 Ms. Kish. Mr. Amodei votes aye.
- 2101 Mr. Conyers?

2102 Mr. Conyers.	. No.
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- 2103 Ms. Kish. Mr. Conyers votes no.
- 2104 Mr. Berman?
- 2105 Mr. Berman. No.
- 2106 Ms. Kish. Mr. Berman votes no.
- 2107 Mr. Nadler?
- 2108 Mr. Nadler. No.
- 2109 Ms. Kish. Mr. Nadler votes no.
- 2110 Mr. Scott?
- 2111 Mr. Scott. No.
- 2112 Ms. Kish. Mr. Scott votes no.
- 2113 Mr. Watt?
- 2114 Mr. Watt. No.
- 2115 Ms. Kish. Mr. Watt votes no.
- 2116 Ms. Lofgren?
- 2117 Ms. Lofgren. No.
- 2118 Ms. Kish. Ms. Lofgren votes no.
- 2119 Ms. Jackson Lee?
- [No response.]
- 2121 Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters?
- 2122 Ms. Waters. No.

2123 Ms. Kish. Ms. Waters votes no.

- 2124 Mr. Cohen?
- 2125 [No response.]
- 2126 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson?
- 2127 Mr. Johnson. No.
- 2128 Ms. Kish. Mr. Johnson votes no.
- 2129 Mr. Pierluisi?
- 2130 Mr. Pierluisi. No.
- 2131 Ms. Kish. Mr. Pierluisi votes no.
- 2132 Mr. Quigley?
- 2133 Mr. Quigley. No.
- 2134 Ms. Kish. Mr. Quigley votes no.
- 2135 Ms. Chu?
- 2136 Ms. Chu. No.
- 2137 Ms. Kish. Ms. Chu votes no.
- 2138 Mr. Deutch?
- 2139 [No response.]
- 2140 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez?
- 2141 Ms. Sanchez. No.
- 2142 Ms. Kish. Ms. Sanchez votes no.
- 2143 Mr. Polis?

- 2144 Mr. Polis. No.
- 2145 Ms. Kish. Mr. Polis votes no.
- 2146 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from California, Mr.
- 2147 Issa.
- 2148 Mr. Issa. Yes.
- 2149 Ms. Kish. Mr. Issa votes yes.
- 2150 Chairman Smith. The gentleman from Texas, Mr. Gohmert.
- 2151 Mr. Gohmert. Yes.
- 2152 Chairman Smith. Are there other members who wish to be
- 2153 recorded?
- 2154 If not, the clerk will call the roll?
- 2155 Ms. Kish. Mr. Chairman, 20 members voted aye, 13
- 2156 members voted nay.
- 2157 Chairman Smith. The ayes have it, and the bill, as
- 2158 amended, is ordered reported favorably. Without objection,
- 2159 the bill will be reported as a single amendment in the
- 2160 nature of a substitute incorporating amendments adopted.
- 2161 And the staff is authorized to make technical and conforming
- 2162 changes.
- 2163 Members will have 2 days to submit views.
- 2164 [The information follows:]
- 2165

Chairman Smith. Let me say to the gentleman from

Arizona, whether members agree or disagree with him, he has

put a lot of work and effort into this bill, and his effort

and work has to be appreciated by many of us. So, thank

you, Mr. Franks.

[Applause.]

Chairman Smith. And we stand in adjournment.

[Whereupon, at 2:41 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]