FIRST REGULAR SESSION

SENATE BILL NO. 241

103RD GENERAL ASSEMBLY

INTRODUCED BY SENATOR WEBBER.

1316S.01I KRISTINA MARTIN, Secretary

AN ACT

To repeal sections 188.015, 188.017, 188.026, 188.027, 188.038, 188.052, 188.056, 188.057, 188.058, 188.080, and 188.375, RSMo, and to enact in lieu thereof four new sections relating to abortion, with an emergency clause.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows:

Section A. Sections 188.015, 188.017, 188.026, 188.027,

- 2 188.038, 188.052, 188.056, 188.057, 188.058, 188.080, and
- 3 188.375, RSMo, are repealed and four new sections enacted in
- 4 lieu thereof, to be known as sections 188.015, 188.027, 188.052,
- 5 and 188.080, to read as follows:

188.015. As used in this chapter, the following terms

- 2 mean:
- 3 (1) "Abortion":
- 4 (a) The act of using or prescribing any instrument,
- 5 device, medicine, drug, or any other means or substance with
- 6 the intent to destroy the life of an embryo or fetus in his
- 7 or her mother's womb; or
- 8 (b) The intentional termination of the pregnancy of a
- 9 mother by using or prescribing any instrument, device,
- 10 medicine, drug, or other means or substance with an
- 11 intention other than to increase the probability of a live
- 12 birth or to remove a dead unborn child;
- 13 (2) "Abortion facility", a clinic, physician's office,
- 14 or any other place or facility in which abortions are
- 15 performed or induced other than a hospital;

EXPLANATION-Matter enclosed in bold-faced brackets [thus] in this bill is not enacted and is intended to be omitted in the law.

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          (3)
               "Affiliate", a person who or entity that enters
    into, with an abortion facility, a legal relationship
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    created or governed by at least one written instrument,
    including a certificate of formation, a franchise agreement,
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    standards of affiliation, bylaws, or a license, that
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    demonstrates:
          (a) Common ownership, management, or control between
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    the parties to the relationship;
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          (b) A franchise granted by the person or entity to the
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    affiliate; or
               The granting or extension of a license or other
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    agreement authorizing the affiliate to use the other
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    person's or entity's brand name, trademark, service mark, or
    other registered identification mark;
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               "Conception", the fertilization of the ovum of a
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    female by a sperm of a male;
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               "Department", the department of health and senior
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    services;
          (6)
               ["Down Syndrome", the same meaning as defined in
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    section 191.923;
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                "Gestational age", length of pregnancy as
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    measured from the first day of the woman's last menstrual
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    period;
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          [(8)] (7) "Medical emergency", a condition which,
    based on reasonable medical judgment, so complicates the
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    medical condition of a pregnant woman as to necessitate the
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    immediate abortion of her pregnancy to avert the death of
    the pregnant woman or for which a delay will create a
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serious risk of substantial and irreversible physical

impairment of a major bodily function of the pregnant woman;

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- [(9)] (8) "Physician", any person licensed to practice 46 medicine in this state by the state board of registration 47 48 for the healing arts; [(10)] (9) "Reasonable medical judgment", a medical 49 50 judgment that would be made by a reasonably prudent physician, knowledgeable about the case and the treatment 51 52 possibilities with respect to the medical conditions 53 involved; 54 [(11)] (10) "Unborn child", the offspring of human 55 beings from the moment of conception until birth and at every stage of its biological development, including the 56 human conceptus, zygote, morula, blastocyst, embryo, and 57 58 fetus; [(12)] (11) "Viability" or "viable", that stage of 59 fetal development when the life of the unborn child may be 60 61 continued indefinitely outside the womb by natural or 62 artificial life-supportive systems; [(13)] (12) "Viable pregnancy" or "viable intrauterine 63 64 pregnancy", in the first trimester of pregnancy, an 65 intrauterine pregnancy that can potentially result in a liveborn baby. 66 188.027. 1. Except in cases of medical emergency, no 2 abortion shall be performed or induced on a woman without 3 her voluntary and informed consent, given freely and without
 - her voluntary and informed consent, given freely and without coercion. Consent to an abortion is voluntary and informed and given freely and without coercion if, and only if, at least seventy-two hours prior to the abortion:
- 7 (1) The physician who is to perform or induce the 8 abortion, a qualified professional, or the referring 9 physician has informed the woman orally, reduced to writing, 10 and in person, of the following:

11 (a) The name of the physician who will perform or 12 induce the abortion;

- (b) Medically accurate information that a reasonablepatient would consider material to the decision of whether
- or not to undergo the abortion, including:
- a. A description of the proposed abortion method;
- 17 b. The immediate and long-term medical risks to the
- 18 woman associated with the proposed abortion method
- 19 including, but not limited to, infection, hemorrhage,
- 20 cervical tear or uterine perforation, harm to subsequent
- 21 pregnancies or the ability to carry a subsequent child to
- term, and possible adverse psychological effects associated
- with the abortion; and
- 24 c. The immediate and long-term medical risks to the
- 25 woman, in light of the anesthesia and medication that is to
- 26 be administered, the unborn child's gestational age, and the
- 27 woman's medical history and medical condition;
- 28 (c) Alternatives to the abortion which shall include
- 29 making the woman aware that information and materials shall
- 30 be provided to her detailing such alternatives to the
- 31 abortion;
- 32 (d) A statement that the physician performing or
- 33 inducing the abortion is available for any questions
- 34 concerning the abortion, together with the telephone number
- 35 that the physician may be later reached to answer any
- 36 questions that the woman may have;
- 37 (e) [The location of the hospital that offers
- 38 obstetrical or gynecological care located within thirty
- miles of the location where the abortion is performed or
- 40 induced and at which the physician performing or inducing
- 41 the abortion has clinical privileges and where the woman may

42 receive follow-up care by the physician if complications arise; 43 The gestational age of the unborn child at the 44 (f)] time the abortion is to be performed or induced; and 45 46 [(g)] **(f)** The anatomical and physiological 47 characteristics of the unborn child at the time the abortion is to be performed or induced; 48 49 The physician who is to perform or induce the 50 abortion or a qualified professional has presented the 51 woman, in person, printed materials provided by the department, which describe the probable anatomical and 52 physiological characteristics of the unborn child at two-53 54 week gestational increments from conception to full term, including color photographs or images of the developing 55 unborn child at two-week gestational increments. Such 56 57 descriptions shall include information about brain and heart functions, the presence of external members and internal 58 59 organs during the applicable stages of development and information on when the unborn child is viable. The printed 60 materials shall prominently display the following 61 statement: "The life of each human being begins at 62 conception. Abortion will terminate the life of a separate, 63 unique, living human being."; 64 65 The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion, a qualified professional, or the referring 66 67 physician has presented the woman, in person, printed 68 materials provided by the department, which describe the

abortion, a qualified professional, or the referring
physician has presented the woman, in person, printed
materials provided by the department, which describe the
various surgical and drug-induced methods of abortion
relevant to the stage of pregnancy, as well as the immediate
and long-term medical risks commonly associated with each
abortion method including, but not limited to, infection,
hemorrhage, cervical tear or uterine perforation, harm to

subsequent pregnancies or the ability to carry a subsequent child to term, and the possible adverse psychological effects associated with an abortion;

The physician who is to perform or induce the 77 abortion or a qualified professional shall provide the woman 78 79 with the opportunity to view at least seventy-two hours prior to the abortion an active ultrasound of the unborn 80 81 child and hear the heartbeat of the unborn child if the heartbeat is audible. The woman shall be provided with a 82 83 geographically indexed list maintained by the department of health care providers, facilities, and clinics that perform 84 ultrasounds, including those that offer ultrasound services 85 86 free of charge. Such materials shall provide contact information for each provider, facility, or clinic including 87 telephone numbers and, if available, website addresses. 88 89 Should the woman decide to obtain an ultrasound from a 90 provider, facility, or clinic other than the abortion facility, the woman shall be offered a reasonable time to 91 92 obtain the ultrasound examination before the date and time set for performing or inducing an abortion. The person 93 conducting the ultrasound shall ensure that the active 94 ultrasound image is of a quality consistent with standard 95 medical practice in the community, contains the dimensions 96 97 of the unborn child, and accurately portrays the presence of external members and internal organs, if present or 98 viewable, of the unborn child. The auscultation of fetal 99 heart tone must also be of a quality consistent with 100 standard medical practice in the community. If the woman 101 chooses to view the ultrasound or hear the heartbeat or both 102 103 at the abortion facility, the viewing or hearing or both 104 shall be provided to her at the abortion facility at least

seventy-two hours prior to the abortion being performed or induced;

- 107 (5) The printed materials provided by the department
 108 shall include information on the possibility of an abortion
 109 causing pain in the unborn child. This information shall
 110 include, but need not be limited to, the following:
- 111 (a) Unborn children as early as eight weeks
 112 gestational age start to show spontaneous movements and
 113 unborn children at this stage in pregnancy show reflex
 114 responses to touch;
- 115 (b) In the unborn child, the area around his or her
 116 mouth and lips is the first part of the unborn child's body
 117 to respond to touch and by fourteen weeks gestational age
 118 most of the unborn child's body is responsive to touch;
- 119 (c) Pain receptors on the unborn child's skin develop
 120 around his or her mouth at around seven to eight weeks
 121 gestational age, around the palms of his or her hands at ten
 122 to ten and a half weeks, on the abdominal wall at fifteen
 123 weeks, and over all of his or her body at sixteen weeks
 124 gestational age;
- 125 (d) Beginning at sixteen weeks gestational age and
 126 later, it is possible for pain to be transmitted from
 127 receptors to the cortex of the unborn child's brain, where
 128 thinking and perceiving occur;
- (e) When a physician performs a life-saving surgery,

 he or she provides anesthesia to unborn children as young as

 sixteen weeks gestational age in order to alleviate the

 unborn child's pain; and
- (f) A description of the actual steps in the abortion procedure to be performed or induced and at which steps the abortion procedure could be painful to the unborn child;

136 (6) The physician who is to perform or induce the
137 abortion or a qualified professional has presented the
138 woman, in person, printed materials provided by the
139 department explaining to the woman alternatives to abortion
140 she may wish to consider. Such materials shall:

- (a) Identify on a geographical basis public and private agencies available to assist a woman in carrying her unborn child to term, and to assist her in caring for her dependent child or placing her child for adoption, including agencies commonly known and generally referred to as pregnancy resource centers, crisis pregnancy centers, maternity homes, and adoption agencies. Such materials shall provide a comprehensive list by geographical area of the agencies, a description of the services they offer, and the telephone numbers and addresses of the agencies; provided that such materials shall not include any programs, services, organizations, or affiliates of organizations that perform or induce, or assist in the performing or inducing of, abortions or that refer for abortions;
- (b) Explain the Missouri alternatives to abortion services program under section 188.325, and any other programs and services available to pregnant women and mothers of newborn children offered by public or private agencies which assist a woman in carrying her unborn child to term and assist her in caring for her dependent child or placing her child for adoption, including but not limited to prenatal care; maternal health care; newborn or infant care; mental health services; professional counseling services; housing programs; utility assistance; transportation services; food, clothing, and supplies related to pregnancy; parenting skills; educational programs; job training and

placement services; drug and alcohol testing and treatment;
and adoption assistance;

- (c) Identify the state website for the Missouri
 alternatives to abortion services program under section
 188.325, and any toll-free number established by the state
 operated in conjunction with the program;
- 173 Prominently display the statement: "There are 174 public and private agencies willing and able to help you 175 carry your child to term, and to assist you and your child 176 after your child is born, whether you choose to keep your 177 child or place him or her for adoption. The state of Missouri encourages you to contact those agencies before 178 making a final decision about abortion. State law requires 179 180 that your physician or a qualified professional give you the 181 opportunity to call agencies like these before you undergo 182 an abortion.";
- 183 The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion or a qualified professional has presented the 184 185 woman, in person, printed materials provided by the department explaining that the father of the unborn child is 186 liable to assist in the support of the child, even in 187 instances where he has offered to pay for the abortion. 188 189 Such materials shall include information on the legal duties 190 and support obligations of the father of a child, including, 191 but not limited to, child support payments, and the fact 192 that paternity may be established by the father's name on a 193 birth certificate or statement of paternity, or by court action. Such printed materials shall also state that more 194 information concerning paternity establishment and child 195 196 support services and enforcement may be obtained by calling 197 the family support division within the Missouri department of social services; and 198

199 (8) The physician who is to perform or induce the
200 abortion or a qualified professional shall inform the woman
201 that she is free to withhold or withdraw her consent to the
202 abortion at any time without affecting her right to future
203 care or treatment and without the loss of any state or
204 federally funded benefits to which she might otherwise be
205 entitled.

- 2. All information required to be provided to a woman considering abortion by subsection 1 of this section shall be presented to the woman individually, in the physical presence of the woman and in a private room, to protect her privacy, to maintain the confidentiality of her decision, to ensure that the information focuses on her individual circumstances, to ensure she has an adequate opportunity to ask questions, and to ensure that she is not a victim of coerced abortion. Should a woman be unable to read materials provided to her, they shall be read to her. Should a woman need an interpreter to understand the information presented in the written materials, an interpreter shall be provided to her. Should a woman ask questions concerning any of the information or materials, answers shall be provided in a language she can understand.
- 3. No abortion shall be performed or induced unless and until the woman upon whom the abortion is to be performed or induced certifies in writing on a checklist form provided by the department that she has been presented all the information required in subsection 1 of this section, that she has been provided the opportunity to view an active ultrasound image of the unborn child and hear the heartbeat of the unborn child if it is audible, and that she further certifies that she gives her voluntary and informed

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consent, freely and without coercion, to the abortion procedure.

- 232 4. No physician shall perform or induce an abortion unless and until the physician has obtained from the woman 233 234 her voluntary and informed consent given freely and without 235 coercion. If the physician has reason to believe that the woman is being coerced into having an abortion, the 236 237 physician or qualified professional shall inform the woman 238 that services are available for her and shall provide her 239 with private access to a telephone and information about such services, including but not limited to the following: 240
- 241 (1) Rape crisis centers, as defined in section 455.003;
- 242 (2) Shelters for victims of domestic violence, as 243 defined in section 455.200; and
 - (3) Orders of protection, pursuant to chapter 455.
- 245 5. The physician who is to perform or induce the 246 abortion shall, at least seventy-two hours prior to such 247 procedure, inform the woman orally and in person of:
- 248 (1) The immediate and long-term medical risks to the
 249 woman associated with the proposed abortion method
 250 including, but not limited to, infection, hemorrhage,
 251 cervical tear or uterine perforation, harm to subsequent
 252 pregnancies or the ability to carry a subsequent child to
 253 term, and possible adverse psychological effects associated
 254 with the abortion; and
- 255 (2) The immediate and long-term medical risks to the 256 woman, in light of the anesthesia and medication that is to 257 be administered, the unborn child's gestational age, and the 258 woman's medical history and medical conditions.
- 260 Mo physician shall perform or induce an abortion 260 unless and until the physician has received and signed a 261 copy of the form prescribed in subsection 3 of this

section. The physician shall retain a copy of the form in the patient's medical record.

- 7. In the event of a medical emergency, the physician who performed or induced the abortion shall clearly certify in writing the nature and circumstances of the medical emergency. This certification shall be signed by the physician who performed or induced the abortion, and shall be maintained under section 188.060.
- 270 8. No person or entity shall require, obtain, or 271 accept payment for an abortion from or on behalf of a patient until at least seventy-two hours have passed since 272 273 the time that the information required by subsection 1 of this section has been provided to the patient. Nothing in 274 275 this subsection shall prohibit a person or entity from 276 notifying the patient that payment for the abortion will be 277 required after the seventy-two-hour period has expired if 278 she voluntarily chooses to have the abortion.
- The term "qualified professional" as used in this 279 280 section shall refer to a physician, physician assistant, registered nurse, licensed practical nurse, psychologist, 281 licensed professional counselor, or licensed social worker, 282 283 licensed or registered under chapter 334, 335, or 337, 284 acting under the supervision of the physician performing or 285 inducing the abortion, and acting within the course and 286 scope of his or her authority provided by law. provisions of this section shall not be construed to in any 287 way expand the authority otherwise provided by law relating 288 to the licensure, registration, or scope of practice of any 289 such qualified professional. 290
- 10. By November 30, 2010, the department shall produce the written materials and forms described in this section. Any written materials produced shall be printed in a

294 typeface large enough to be clearly legible. All 295 information shall be presented in an objective, unbiased 296 manner designed to convey only accurate scientific and 297 medical information. The department shall furnish the 298 written materials and forms at no cost and in sufficient 299 quantity to any person who performs or induces abortions, or to any hospital or facility that provides abortions. 300 301 department shall make all information required by subsection 302 1 of this section available to the public through its 303 department website. The department shall maintain a toll-304 free, twenty-four-hour hotline telephone number where a caller can obtain information on a regional basis concerning 305 the agencies and services described in subsection 1 of this 306 307 section. No identifying information regarding persons who 308 use the website shall be collected or maintained. 309 department shall monitor the website on a regular basis to 310 prevent tampering and correct any operational deficiencies. In order to preserve the compelling interest of 311 the state to ensure that the choice to consent to an 312 abortion is voluntary and informed, and given freely and 313 without coercion, the department shall use the procedures 314 for adoption of emergency rules under section 536.025 in 315 order to promulgate all necessary rules, forms, and other 316 317 necessary material to implement this section by November 30, 2010. 318 319

319 12. If the provisions in subsections 1 and 8 of this
320 section requiring a seventy-two-hour waiting period for an
321 abortion are ever temporarily or permanently restrained or
322 enjoined by judicial order, then the waiting period for an
323 abortion shall be twenty-four hours; provided, however, that
324 if such temporary or permanent restraining order or
325 injunction is stayed or dissolved, or otherwise ceases to

have effect, the waiting period for an abortion shall be seventy-two hours.

188.052. 1. An individual abortion report for each

- 2 abortion performed or induced upon a woman shall be
- 3 completed by the physician who performed or induced the
- 4 abortion. [Abortion reports shall include, but not be
- 5 limited to, a certification that the physician does not have
- any knowledge that the woman sought the abortion solely
- 7 because of a prenatal diagnosis, test, or screening
- 8 indicating Down Syndrome or the potential of Down Syndrome
- 9 in the unborn child and a certification that the physician
- does not have any knowledge that the woman sought the
- abortion solely because of the sex or race of the unborn
- child.]
- 13 2. An individual complication report for any post-
- 14 abortion care performed upon a woman shall be completed by
- 15 the physician providing such post-abortion care. This
- 16 report shall include:
- 17 (1) The date of the abortion;
- 18 (2) The name and address of the abortion facility or
- 19 hospital where the abortion was performed or induced;
- 20 (3) The nature of the abortion complication diagnosed
- 21 or treated.
- 3. All abortion reports shall be signed by the
- 23 attending physician who performed or induced the abortion
- 24 and submitted to the department within forty-five days from
- 25 the date of the abortion. All complication reports shall be
- 26 signed by the physician providing the post-abortion care and
- 27 submitted to the department within forty-five days from the
- 28 date of the post-abortion care.
- 29 4. A copy of the abortion report shall be made a part
- 30 of the medical record of the patient of the abortion

facility or hospital in which the abortion was performed or induced.

5. The department shall be responsible for collecting
all abortion reports and complication reports and collating
and evaluating all data gathered therefrom and shall
annually publish a statistical report based on such data
from abortions performed or induced in the previous calendar
year.

Any person who is not a physician who 188.080. performs or induces or attempts to perform or induce an abortion on another is quilty of a class B felony, and, upon conviction, shall be punished as provided by law. physician performing or inducing an abortion who does not have clinical privileges at a hospital which offers obstetrical or gynecological care located within thirty miles of the location at which the abortion is performed or induced shall be guilty of a class A misdemeanor, and, upon conviction shall be punished as provided by law.]

[188.017. 1. This section shall be known and may be cited as the "Right to Life of the Unborn Child Act".

2. Notwithstanding any other provision of law to the contrary, no abortion shall be performed or induced upon a woman, except in cases of medical emergency. Any person who knowingly performs or induces an abortion of an unborn child in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a class B felony, as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation of this subsection shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate the provisions of this subsection.

3. It shall be an affirmative defense for any person alleged to have violated the

provisions of subsection 2 of this section that the person performed or induced an abortion because of a medical emergency. The defendant shall have the burden of persuasion that the defense is more probably true than not.

- 4. The enactment of this section shall only become effective upon notification to the revisor of statutes by an opinion by the attorney general of Missouri, a proclamation by the governor of Missouri, or the adoption of a concurrent resolution by the Missouri general assembly that:
- (1) The United States Supreme Court has overruled, in whole or in part, Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973), restoring or granting to the state of Missouri the authority to regulate abortion to the extent set forth in this section, and that as a result, it is reasonably probable that this section would be upheld by the court as constitutional;
- (2) An amendment to the Constitution of the United States has been adopted that has the effect of restoring or granting to the state of Missouri the authority to regulate abortion to the extent set forth in this section; or
- (3) The United States Congress has enacted a law that has the effect of restoring or granting to the state of Missouri the authority to regulate abortion to the extent set forth in this section.]
- [188.026. 1. This section and sections 188.056, 188.057, and 188.058 shall be known and may be cited as the "Missouri Stands for the Unborn Act".
- 2. In Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973), certain information about the development of the unborn child, human pregnancy, and the effects of abortion was either not part of the record or was not available at the time. Since 1973, advances in medical and scientific technology have greatly expanded our knowledge of prenatal life and the effects of abortion on women. The general assembly of this state finds:

(1) At conception, a new genetically distinct human being is formed;

- individual human being begins at conception has long been recognized in Missouri law: "[T]he child is, in truth, alive from the moment of conception". State v. Emerich, 13 Mo. App. 492, 495 (1883), affirmed, 87 Mo. 110 (1885). Under section 1.205, the general assembly has recognized that the life of each human being begins at conception and that unborn children have protectable interests in life, health, and well-being;
- (3) The first prohibition of abortion in Missouri was enacted in 1825. Since then, the repeal and reenactment of prohibitions of abortion have made distinctions with respect to penalties for performing or inducing abortion on the basis of "quickening"; however, the unborn child was still protected from conception onward;
- (4) In ruling that Missouri's prohibition on abortion was constitutional in 1972, the Missouri supreme court accepted as a stipulation of the parties that "'[i]nfant Doe, Intervenor Defendant in this case, and all other unborn children have all the qualities and attributes of adult human persons differing only in age or maturity. Medically, human life is a continuum from conception to death.'" Rodgers v. Danforth, 486 S.W.2d 258, 259 (1972);
- (5) In Webster v. Reproductive Health Services, 492 U.S. 490 (1989), the Supreme Court, while considering the "preamble" that set forth "findings" in section 1.205, stated: "We think the extent to which the preamble's language might be used to interpret other state statutes or regulations is something that only the courts of Missouri can definitively decide. State law has offered protections to unborn children in tort and probate law". Id. at 506. Since Webster, Missouri courts have construed section 1.205 and have consistently found that an unborn child is a person for purposes of Missouri's homicide and assault laws when the

unborn child's mother was killed or assaulted by another person. Section 1.205 has even been found applicable to the manslaughter of an unborn child who was eight weeks gestational age or earlier. State v. Harrison, 390 S.W.3d 927 (Mo. Ct. App. 2013);

- (6) In medicine, a special emphasis is placed on the heartbeat. The heartbeat is a discernible sign of life at every stage of human existence. During the fifth week of gestational age, an unborn child's heart begins to beat and blood flow begins during the sixth week;
- (7) Depending on the ultrasound equipment being used, the unborn child's heartbeat can be visually detected as early as six to eight weeks gestational age. By about twelve weeks gestational age, the unborn child's heartbeat can consistently be made audible through the use of a handheld Doppler fetal heart rate device;
- (8) Confirmation of a pregnancy can be indicated through the detection of the unborn child's heartbeat, while the absence of a heartbeat can be an indicator of the death of the unborn child if the child has reached the point of development when a heartbeat should be detectable;
- (9) Heart rate monitoring during pregnancy and labor is utilized to measure the heart rate and rhythm of the unborn child, at an average rate between one hundred ten and one hundred sixty beats per minute, and helps determine the health of the unborn child;
- "the difficult question of when life begins" and wrote: "[p]hysicians and their scientific colleagues have regarded [quickening] with less interest and have tended to focus either upon conception, upon live birth, or upon the interim point at which the fetus becomes 'viable', that is, potentially able to live outside the mother's womb, albeit with artificial aid".

 Roe, 410 U.S. at 160. Today, however, physicians' and scientists' interests on life in the womb also focus on other markers of

development in the unborn child, including, but not limited to, presence of a heartbeat, brain development, a viable pregnancy or viable intrauterine pregnancy during the first trimester of pregnancy, and the ability to experience pain;

- Missouri v. Danforth, 428 U.S. 52 (1976), the Supreme Court noted that "we recognized in Roe that viability was a matter of medical judgment, skill, and technical ability, and we preserved the flexibility of the term". Id. at 64. Due to advances in medical technology and diagnoses, present-day physicians and scientists now describe the viability of an unborn child in an additional manner, by determining whether there is a viable pregnancy or viable intrauterine pregnancy during the first trimester of pregnancy;
- While the overall risk of miscarriage after clinical recognition of pregnancy is twelve to fifteen percent, the incidence decreases significantly if cardiac activity in the unborn child has been confirmed. detection of a heartbeat in an unborn child is a reliable indicator of a viable pregnancy and that the unborn child will likely survive to birth, especially if presenting for a prenatal visit at eight weeks gestational age or later. For asymptomatic women attending a first prenatal visit between six and eleven weeks gestational age where a heartbeat was confirmed through an ultrasound, the subsequent risk of miscarriage is one and six-tenths percent. Although the risk is higher at six weeks gestational age at nine and four-tenths percent, it declines rapidly to one and five-tenths percent at eight weeks gestational age, and less than one percent at nine weeks gestational age or later;
 - (13) The presence of a heartbeat in an unborn child represents a more definable point of ascertaining survivability than the ambiguous concept of viability that has been adopted by

the Supreme Court, especially since if a heartbeat is detected at eight weeks gestational age or later in a normal pregnancy, there is likely to be a viable pregnancy and there is a high probability that the unborn child will survive to birth;

- (14) The placenta begins developing during the early first trimester of pregnancy and performs a respiratory function by making oxygen supply to and carbon dioxide removal from the unborn child possible later in the first trimester and throughout the second and third trimesters of pregnancy;
- (15) By the fifth week of gestation, the development of the brain of the unborn child is underway. Brain waves have been measured and recorded as early as the eighth week of gestational age in children who were removed during an ectopic pregnancy or hysterectomy. Fetal magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) of an unborn child's brain is used during the second and third trimesters of pregnancy and brain activity has been observed using MRI;
- (16) Missouri law identifies the presence of circulation, respiration, and brain function as indicia of life under section 194.005, as the presence of circulation, respiration, and brain function indicates that such person is not legally dead, but is legally alive;
- (17) Unborn children at eight weeks gestational age show spontaneous movements, such as a twitching of the trunk and developing limbs. It has been reported that unborn children at this stage show reflex responses to touch. The perioral area is the first part of the unborn child's body to respond to touch at about eight weeks gestational age and by fourteen weeks gestational age most of the unborn child's body is responsive to touch;
- (18) Peripheral cutaneous sensory receptors, the receptors that feel pain, develop early in the unborn child. They appear in the perioral cutaneous area at around seven to eight weeks gestational age, in the palmar regions at

ten to ten and a half weeks gestational age, the abdominal wall at fifteen weeks gestational age, and over all of the unborn child's body at sixteen weeks gestational age;

- (19) Substance P, a peptide that functions as a neurotransmitter, especially in the transmission of pain, is present in the dorsal horn of the spinal cord of the unborn child at eight to ten weeks gestational age.

 Enkephalins, peptides that play a role in neurotransmission and pain modulation, are present in the dorsal horn at twelve to fourteen weeks gestational age;
- (20) When intrauterine needling is performed on an unborn child at sixteen weeks gestational age or later, the reaction to this invasive stimulus is blood flow redistribution to the brain. Increased blood flow to the brain is the same type of stress response seen in a born child and an adult;
- (21) By sixteen weeks gestational age, pain transmission from a peripheral receptor to the cortex is possible in the unborn child;
- (22) Physicians provide anesthesia during in utero treatment of unborn children as early as sixteen weeks gestational age for certain procedures, including those to correct fetal urinary tract obstruction. Anesthesia is administered by ultrasound-guided injection into the arm or leg of the unborn child;
- development of the human brain states, "It may be concluded that, although nociperception (the actual perception of pain) awaits the appearance of consciousness, nociception (the experience of pain) is present some time before birth. In the absence of disproof, it is merely prudent to assume that pain can be experienced even early in prenatal life (Dr. J. Wisser, Zürich): the fetus should be given the benefit of the doubt". Ronan O'Rahilly & Fabiola Müller. The Embryonic Human Brain: An Atlas of Developmental Stages (3d ed. 2005);

By fourteen or fifteen weeks 233 gestational age or later, the predominant 234 abortion method in Missouri is dilation and 235 evacuation (D&E). The D&E abortion method 236 includes the dismemberment, disarticulation, and 237 exsanguination of the unborn child, causing the 238 239 unborn child's death; (25) The Supreme Court acknowledged in 240 Gonzales v. Carhart, 550 U.S. 124, 160 (2007), 241 that "the standard D&E is in some respects as 242 brutal, if not more, than the intact D&E" 243 partial birth abortion method banned by Congress 244 and upheld as facially constitutional by the 245 246 Supreme Court, even though the federal ban was 247 applicable both before and after viability and 248 had no exception for the health of the mother; Missouri's ban on the partial birth 249 250 abortion method, section 565.300, is in effect because of Gonzales v. Carhart and the Supreme 251 Court's subsequent decision in Nixon v. 252 253 Reproductive Health Services of Planned Parenthood of the St. Louis Region, Inc., 550 254 255 U.S. 901 (2007), to vacate and remand to the 256 appellate court the prior invalidation of section 565.300. Since section 565.300, like 257 Congress' ban on partial birth abortion, is 258 259 applicable both before and after viability, 260 there is ample precedent for the general assembly to constitutionally prohibit the brutal 261 D&E abortion method at fourteen weeks 262 gestational age or later, even before the unborn 263 child is viable, with a medical emergency 264 265 exception; (27)In Roper v. Simmons, 543 U.S. 551 266 (2005), the Supreme Court determined that 267 "evolving standards of decency" dictated that a 268 Missouri statute allowing the death penalty for 269 270 a conviction of murder in the first degree for a 271 person under eighteen years of age when the crime was committed was unconstitutional under 272 273 the Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments to the 274 United States Constitution because it violated 275 the prohibition against "cruel and unusual 276 punishments";

277 In Bucklew v. Precythe, 139 S. Ct. 1112, 1123 (2019), the Supreme Court noted that 278 "'[d]isgusting' practices" like disemboweling 279 and quartering "readily qualified as 'cruel and 280 unusual', as a reader at the time of the Eighth 281 Amendment's adoption would have understood those 282 words"; 283 (29) Evolving standards of decency dictate 284 that Missouri should prohibit the brutal and 285 painful D&E abortion method at fourteen weeks 286 gestational age or later, with a medical 287 288 emergency exception, because if a comparable method of killing was used on: 289 290 A person convicted of murder in the first degree, it would be cruel and unusual 291 292 punishment; or (b) An animal, it would be unlawful under 293 294 state law because it would not be a humane 295 method, humane euthanasia, or humane killing of certain animals under chapters 273 and 578; 296 297 (30) In Roper, the Supreme Court also found that "[i]t is proper that we acknowledge 298 299 the overwhelming weight of international opinion against the juvenile death penalty.... 300 opinion of the world community, while not 301 controlling our outcome, does provide respected 302 303 and significant confirmation for our own 304 conclusions". Roper, 543 U.S. at 578. In its 305 opinion, the Supreme Court was instructed by "international covenants prohibiting the 306 juvenile death penalty", such as the 307 International Covenant on Civil and Political 308 Rights, 999 U.N.T.S. 171. Id. at 577; 309 The opinion of the world community, 310 reflected in the laws of the United Nation's 193-311 member states and six other entities, is that in 312 most countries, most abortions are prohibited 313 after twelve weeks gestational age or later; 314 The opinion of the world community is 315 316

also shared by most Americans, who believe that most abortions in the second and third trimesters of pregnancy should be illegal, based on polling that has remained consistent since 1996;

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in pregnancy have a higher medical risk for women. Compared to an abortion at eight weeks gestational age or earlier, the relative risk increases exponentially at later gestational ages. The relative risk of death for a pregnant woman who had an abortion performed or induced upon her at:

- (a) Eleven to twelve weeks gestational age is between three and four times higher than an abortion at eight weeks gestational age or earlier;
- (b) Thirteen to fifteen weeks gestational age is almost fifteen times higher than an abortion at eight weeks gestational age or earlier;
- (c) Sixteen to twenty weeks gestational age is almost thirty times higher than an abortion at eight weeks gestational age or earlier; and
- (d) Twenty-one weeks gestational age or later is more than seventy-five times higher than an abortion at eight weeks gestational age or earlier;
- (34) In addition to the short-term risks of an abortion, studies have found that the long-term physical and psychological consequences of abortion for women include, but are not limited to, an increased risk of preterm birth, low birthweight babies, and placenta previa in subsequent pregnancies, as well as serious behavioral health issues. These risks increase as abortions are performed or induced at later gestational ages. These consequences of an abortion have a detrimental effect not only on women, their children, and their families, but also on an already burdened health care system, taxpayers, and the workforce;
- (35) A large percentage of women who have an abortion performed or induced upon them in Missouri each year are at less than eight weeks gestational age, a large majority are at less than fourteen weeks gestational age, a larger majority are at less than eighteen weeks

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gestational age, and an even larger majority are at less than twenty weeks gestational age. A prohibition on performing or inducing an abortion at eight weeks gestational age or later, with a medical emergency exception, does not amount to a substantial obstacle to a large fraction of women for whom the prohibition is relevant, which is pregnant women in Missouri who are seeking an abortion while not experiencing a medical emergency. The burden that a prohibition on performing or inducing an abortion at eight, fourteen, eighteen, or twenty weeks gestational age or later, with a medical emergency exception, might impose on abortion access, is outweighed by the benefits conferred upon the following:

- (a) Women more advanced in pregnancy who are at greater risk of harm from abortion;
- (b) Unborn children at later stages of
 development;
- (c) The medical profession, by preserving its integrity and fulfilling its commitment to do no harm; and
- (d) Society, by fostering respect for human life, born and unborn, at all stages of development, and by lessening societal tolerance of violence against innocent human life;
- In Webster, the Supreme Court noted, in upholding a Missouri statute, "that there may be a 4-week error in estimating gestational age". Webster, 492 U.S. at 516. Thus, an unborn child thought to be eight weeks gestational age might in fact be twelve weeks gestational age, when an abortion poses a greater risk to the woman and the unborn child is considerably more developed. An unborn child at fourteen weeks gestational age might be eighteen weeks gestational age and an unborn child at eighteen weeks gestational age might be twenty-two weeks gestational age, when an abortion poses a greater risk to the woman, the unborn child is considerably more developed, the abortion method likely to be employed is more brutal, and the risk of pain experienced by the

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unborn child is greater. An unborn child at twenty weeks gestational age might be twenty-four weeks gestational age, when an abortion poses a greater risk to the woman, the unborn child is considerably more developed, the abortion method likely to be employed is more brutal, the risk of pain experienced by the unborn child is greater, and the unborn child may be viable.

- 3. The state of Missouri is bound by Article VI, Clause 2 of the Constitution of the United States that "all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land". One such treaty is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, entered into force on March 23, 1976, and adopted by the United States on September 8, 1992. In ratifying the Covenant, the United States declared that while the provisions of Articles 1 through 27 of the Covenant are not self-executing, the United States' understanding is that state governments share responsibility with the federal government in implementing the Covenant.
- 4. Article 6, Paragraph 1, U.N.T.S. at 174, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states, "Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life". The state of Missouri takes seriously its obligation to comply with the Covenant and to implement this paragraph as it relates to the inherent right to life of unborn human beings, protecting the rights of unborn human beings by law, and ensuring that such unborn human beings are not arbitrarily deprived of life. The state of Missouri hereby implements Article 6, Paragraph 1 of the Covenant by the regulation of abortion in this state.
- 5. The state of Missouri has interests that include, but are not limited to:

(1) Protecting unborn children throughout pregnancy and preserving and promoting their lives from conception to birth;

- (2) Encouraging childbirth over abortion;
- (3) Ensuring respect for all human life from conception to natural death;
- (4) Safeguarding an unborn child from the serious harm of pain by an abortion method that would cause the unborn child to experience pain while she or he is being killed;
- (5) Preserving the integrity of the medical profession and regulating and restricting practices that might cause the medical profession or society as a whole to become insensitive, even disdainful, to life. This includes regulating and restricting abortion methods that are not only brutal and painful, but if allowed to continue, will further coarsen society to the humanity of not only unborn children, but all vulnerable and innocent human life, making it increasingly difficult to protect such life;
- by permitting some unborn children to be killed by abortion, while requiring that unborn children be protected in nonabortion circumstances through, including, but not limited to, homicide, assault, self-defense, and defense of another statutes; laws guaranteeing prenatal health care, emergency care, and testing; state-sponsored health insurance for unborn children; the prohibition of restraints in correctional institutions to protect pregnant offenders and their unborn children; and protecting the interests of unborn children by the appointment of conservators, guardians, and representatives;
- (7) Reducing the risks of harm to pregnant women who obtain abortions later in pregnancy; and
- (8) Avoiding burdens on the health care system, taxpayers, and the workforce because of increased preterm births, low birthweight babies, compromised pregnancies, extended

postpartum recoveries, and behavioral health problems caused by the long-term effects of abortions performed or induced later in the pregnancy.]

[188.038. 1. The general assembly of this state finds that:

- (1) Removing vestiges of any past bias or discrimination against pregnant women, their partners, and their family members, including their unborn children, is an important task for those in the legal, medical, social services, and human services professions;
- (2) Ending any current bias or discrimination against pregnant women, their partners, and their family members, including their unborn children, is a legitimate purpose of government in order to guarantee that those who "are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights" can enjoy "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness";
- (3) The historical relationship of bias or discrimination by some family planning programs and policies towards poor and minority populations, including, but not limited to, the nonconsensual sterilization of mentally ill, poor, minority, and immigrant women and other coercive family planning programs and policies, must be rejected;
- (4) Among Missouri residents, the rate of black or African-American women who undergo abortions is significantly higher, about three and one-half times higher, than the rate of white women who undergo abortions. Among Missouri residents, the rate of black or African-American women who undergo repeat abortions is significantly higher, about one and one-half times higher, than the rate of white women who undergo repeat abortions;
- (5) Performing or inducing an abortion because of the sex of the unborn child is repugnant to the values of equality of females and males and the same opportunities for girls

and boys, and furthers a false mindset of female inferiority;

- (6) Government has a legitimate interest in preventing the abortion of unborn children with Down Syndrome because it is a form of bias or disability discrimination and victimizes the disabled unborn child at his or her most vulnerable stage. Eliminating unborn children with Down Syndrome raises grave concerns for the lives of those who do live with disabilities. It sends a message of dwindling support for their unique challenges, fosters a false sense that disability is something that could have been avoidable, and is likely to increase the stigma associated with disability.
- 2. No person shall perform or induce an abortion on a woman if the person knows that the woman is seeking the abortion solely because of a prenatal diagnosis, test, or screening indicating Down Syndrome or the potential of Down Syndrome in an unborn child.
- 3. No person shall perform or induce an abortion on a woman if the person knows that the woman is seeking the abortion solely because of the sex or race of the unborn child.
- 4. Any physician or other person who performs or induces or attempts to perform or induce an abortion prohibited by this section shall be subject to all applicable civil penalties under this chapter including, but not limited to, sections 188.065 and 188.085.]

[188.056. 1. Notwithstanding any other provision of law to the contrary, no abortion shall be performed or induced upon a woman at eight weeks gestational age or later, except in cases of medical emergency. Any person who knowingly performs or induces an abortion of an unborn child in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a class B felony, as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation

 of this subsection shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate the provisions of this section.

- 2. It shall be an affirmative defense for any person alleged to have violated the provisions of subsection 1 of this section that the person performed or induced an abortion because of a medical emergency. The defendant shall have the burden of persuasion that the defense is more probably true than not.
- 3. Prosecution under this section shall bar prosecution under section 188.057, 188.058, or 188.375 if prosecution under such sections would violate the provisions of Amendment V to the Constitution of the United States or Article I, Section 19 of the Constitution of Missouri.
- 4. If any one or more provisions, subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of this section or the application thereof to any person, circumstance, or period of gestational age is found to be unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid by a court of competent jurisdiction, the same is hereby declared to be severable and the balance of the section shall remain effective notwithstanding such unenforceability, unconstitutionality, or invalidity. The general assembly hereby declares that it would have passed this section, and each provision, subsection, sentence, clause, phrase, or word thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more provisions, subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of the section, or the application of the section to any person, circumstance, or period of gestational age, would be declared unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid.]

[188.057. 1. Notwithstanding any other provision of law to the contrary, no abortion shall be performed or induced upon a woman at fourteen weeks gestational age or later, except in cases of medical emergency. Any person who knowingly performs or induces an abortion of an unborn child in violation of this subsection

shall be guilty of a class B felony, as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation of this subsection shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate the provisions of this section.

- 2. It shall be an affirmative defense for any person alleged to have violated the provisions of subsection 1 of this section that the person performed or induced an abortion because of a medical emergency. The defendant shall have the burden of persuasion that the defense is more probably true than not.
- 3. Prosecution under this section shall bar prosecution under section 188.056, 188.058, or 188.375 if prosecution under such sections would violate the provisions of Amendment V to the Constitution of the United States or Article I, Section 19 of the Constitution of Missouri.
- 4. If any one or more provisions, subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of this section or the application thereof to any person, circumstance, or period of gestational age is found to be unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid by a court of competent jurisdiction, the same is hereby declared to be severable and the balance of the section shall remain effective notwithstanding such unenforceability, unconstitutionality, or invalidity. The general assembly hereby declares that it would have passed this section, and each provision, subsection, sentence, clause, phrase, or word thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more provisions, subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of the section, or the application of the section to any person, circumstance, or period of gestational age, would be declared unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid.]

[188.058. 1. Notwithstanding any other provision of law to the contrary, no abortion

shall be performed or induced upon a woman at eighteen weeks gestational age or later, except in cases of medical emergency. Any person who knowingly performs or induces an abortion of an unborn child in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a class B felony, as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation of this section shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate the provisions of this section.

- 2. It shall be an affirmative defense for any person alleged to have violated the provisions of subsection 1 of this section that the person performed or induced an abortion because of a medical emergency. The defendant shall have the burden of persuasion that the defense is more probably true than not.
- 3. Prosecution under this section shall bar prosecution under section 188.056, 188.057, or 188.375 if prosecution under such sections would violate the provisions of Amendment V to the Constitution of the United States or Article I, Section 19 of the Constitution of Missouri.
- 4. If any one or more provisions, subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of this section or the application thereof to any person, circumstance, or period of gestational age is found to be unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid by a court of competent jurisdiction, the same is hereby declared to be severable and the balance of the section shall remain effective notwithstanding such unenforceability, unconstitutionality, or invalidity. The general assembly hereby declares that it would have passed this section, and each provision, subsection, sentence, clause, phrase, or word thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more provisions, subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of the section, or the application of the section to any person, circumstance, or period

 of gestational age, would be declared unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid.]

[188.375. 1. This section shall be known and may be cited as the "Late-Term Pain-Capable Unborn Child Protection Act".

- 2. As used in this section, the phrase "late-term pain-capable unborn child" shall mean an unborn child at twenty weeks gestational age or later.
- 3. Notwithstanding any other provision of law to the contrary, no abortion shall be performed or induced upon a woman carrying a late-term pain-capable unborn child, except in cases of medical emergency. Any person who knowingly performs or induces an abortion of a late-term pain-capable unborn child in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a class B felony, as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation of this subsection shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate the provisions of this subsection.
- 4. It shall be an affirmative defense for any person alleged to have violated the provisions of subsection 3 of this section that the person performed or induced an abortion because of a medical emergency. The defendant shall have the burden of persuasion that the defense is more probably true than not.
- 5. Prosecution under subsection 3 of this section shall bar prosecution under section 188.056, 188.057, or 188.058 if prosecution under such sections would violate the provisions of Amendment V to the Constitution of the United States or Article I, Section 19 of the Constitution of Missouri.
- 6. When in cases of medical emergency a physician performs or induces an abortion upon a woman in her third trimester carrying a lateterm pain-capable unborn child, the physician shall utilize the available method or technique

of abortion most likely to preserve the life or health of the unborn child. In cases where the method or technique of abortion most likely to preserve the life or health of the unborn child would present a greater risk to the life or health of the woman than another legally permitted and available method or technique, the physician may utilize such other method or technique. In all cases where the physician performs or induces an abortion upon a woman during her third trimester carrying a late-term pain-capable unborn child, the physician shall certify in writing the available method or techniques considered and the reasons for choosing the method or technique employed.

- 7. When in cases of medical emergency a physician performs or induces an abortion upon a woman during her third trimester carrying a lateterm pain-capable unborn child, there shall be in attendance a physician other than the physician performing or inducing the abortion who shall take control of and provide immediate medical care for a child born as a result of the abortion.
- 8. Any physician who knowingly violates any of the provisions of subsection 6 or 7 of this section shall be guilty of a class D felony, as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation of subsection 6 or 7 of this section shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate the provisions of those subsections.
- 9. If any one or more provisions, subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of this section or the application thereof to any person, circumstance, or period of gestational age is found to be unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid by a court of competent jurisdiction, the same is hereby declared to be severable and the balance of the section shall remain effective notwithstanding

86 such unenforceability, unconstitutionality, or 87 invalidity. The general assembly hereby declares that it would have passed this section, 88 and each provision, subsection, sentence, 89 90 clause, phrase, or word thereof, irrespective of 91 the fact that any one or more provisions, 92 subsections, sentences, clauses, phrases, or words of the section, or the application of the 93 94 section to any person, circumstance, or period 95 of gestational age, would be declared unenforceable, unconstitutional, or invalid.] 96 Section B. Because of the need to protect the health and safety of Missouri women, section A of this act is 2 3 deemed necessary for the immediate preservation of the 4 public health, welfare, peace, and safety, and is hereby declared to be an emergency act within the meaning of the 5 6 constitution, and section A of this act shall be in full 7 force and effect upon its passage and approval.

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