## FIRST REGULAR SESSION SENATE COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTE FOR

### SENATE BILLS NOS. 279, 139 & 345

#### 100TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Reported from the Committee on Health and Pensions, March 14, 2019, with recommendation that the Senate Committee Substitute do pass.

1576S.06C

ADRIANE D. CROUSE, Secretary.

#### AN ACT

To repeal sections 188.010, 188.027, and 188.052, RSMo, and to enact in lieu thereof six new sections relating to abortion, with penalty provisions and a contingent effective date for a certain section.

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

Section A. Sections 188.010, 188.027, and 188.052, RSMo, are repealed

- 2 and six new sections enacted in lieu thereof, to be known as sections 188.010,
- 3 188.017, 188.026, 188.027, 188.052, and 188.375, to read as follows:
  - 188.010. In recognition that God is the author of life and that
- 2 article I, section 2 of the Constitution of Missouri provides that all
- 3 persons have a natural right to life, it is the intention of the general
- 4 assembly of the state of Missouri to [grant]:
- 5 (1) **Defend** the right to life [to] of all humans, born and unborn[, and to];
- 6 (2) Declare that the state and all of its political subdivisions are
- 7 a "sanctuary of life" that protects pregnant women and their unborn
- 8 children; and
- 9 (3) Regulate abortion to the full extent permitted by the Constitution of
- 10 the United States, decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and federal
- 11 statutes.
  - 188.017. 1. This section shall be known and may be cited as the
- 2 "Right to Life of the Unborn Child Act".
- 2. Notwithstanding any other provision of law to the contrary,
- 4 no abortion shall be performed or induced upon a woman, except in
- 5 cases of medical emergency. Any person who knowingly performs or
- 6 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.

188.026. 1. Except in cases of medical emergency, no abortion shall knowingly be performed or induced upon a pregnant woman if the heartbeat of the unborn child has been detected in accordance with the provisions of this section.

- 2. A physician who intends to perform or induce an abortion upon a pregnant woman shall determine whether there is a detectable heartbeat of the unborn child. The method of determining the presence of a heartbeat shall be consistent with the physician's good faith understanding of standard medical practice. The physician shall record in the pregnant woman's medical record the estimated gestational age of the unborn child, the method used to test for the presence or absence of a heartbeat, the date and time of the test, and the results of the test. The physician shall give the pregnant woman the option to view or hear the heartbeat.
- 3. If a heartbeat is detected, the physician shall, in writing, inform the pregnant woman that a heartbeat has been detected and that an abortion may not be performed under Missouri law except in cases of medical emergency. If a heartbeat is not detected, an abortion may be performed or induced within ninety-six hours of the conclusion of the heartbeat test in accordance with the provisions of this chapter and other applicable law. If an abortion is not performed within ninety-six hours of the conclusion of the heartbeat detection test, a new heartbeat detection test shall be conducted by a physician who intends to perform or induce an abortion on the pregnant woman.
- 4. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 188.075, a physician who fails to conduct a heartbeat detection test prior to the performance or inducement of an abortion upon a pregnant woman shall, for each

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instance of failure, be subject to having his or her license or license application rejected, revoked, or suspended by the state board of registration for the healing arts in accordance with the provisions of section 334.100 for a period of six months and shall be subject to a fine of one thousand dollars.

- 5. Notwithstanding the provisions of section 188.075, a physician who performs or induces an abortion upon a pregnant woman after a heartbeat detection test reveals the presence of a heartbeat in the unborn child shall have his or her license revoked, and any future license application rejected, by the state board of registration for the healing arts in accordance with the provisions of section 334.100.
- 6. A pregnant 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.
- 188.027. 1. Except in the case of medical emergency, no abortion shall be performed or induced on a woman 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:
- 6 (1) The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion, a qualified 7 professional, or the referring physician has informed the woman orally, reduced 8 to writing, and in person, of the following:
  - (a) The name of the physician who will perform or induce the abortion;
- 10 (b) Medically accurate information that a reasonable patient would 11 consider material to the decision of whether or not to undergo the abortion, 12 including:
  - a. A description of the proposed abortion method;
- b. The immediate and long-term medical risks to the woman associated with the proposed 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 possible adverse psychological effects associated with the abortion; and
  - c. The immediate and long-term medical risks to the woman, in light of the anesthesia and medication that is to be administered, the unborn child's gestational age, and the woman's medical history and medical condition;
    - (c) Alternatives to the abortion which shall include making the woman

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23 aware that information and materials shall be provided to her detailing such 24 alternatives to the abortion;

- (d) A statement that the physician performing or inducing the abortion is available for any questions concerning the abortion, together with the telephone number that the physician may be later reached to answer any questions that the woman may have;
- 29 (e) The location of the hospital that offers obstetrical or gynecological care 30 located within thirty miles of the location where the abortion is performed or induced and at which the physician performing or inducing the abortion has 31 32 clinical privileges and where the woman may receive follow-up care by the 33 physician if complications arise;
  - (f) The gestational age of the unborn child at the time the abortion is to be performed or induced; and
- 36 (g) The anatomical and physiological characteristics of the unborn child at the time the abortion is to be performed or induced;
  - (2) The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion or a qualified professional has presented the woman, in person, printed materials provided by the department, which describe the probable anatomical and physiological characteristics of the unborn child at two-week gestational increments from conception to full term, including color photographs or images of the developing unborn child at two-week gestational increments. Such descriptions shall include information about brain and heart functions, the presence of external members and internal organs during the applicable stages of development and information on when the unborn child is viable. The printed materials shall prominently display the following statement: "The life of each human being begins at conception. Abortion will terminate the life of a separate, unique, living human being.";
  - (3) The physician who is to perform or induce 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;

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- (4) The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion or a qualified professional shall provide the woman with the opportunity to view at least seventy-two hours prior to the abortion an active ultrasound of the unborn child [and hear the heartbeat of the unborn child if the heartbeat is audible]. The woman shall be provided with a geographically indexed list maintained by the department of health care providers, facilities, and clinics that perform ultrasounds, including those that offer ultrasound services free of charge. Such materials shall provide contact information for each provider, facility, or clinic including telephone numbers and, if available, website addresses. Should the woman decide to obtain an ultrasound from a provider, facility, or clinic other than the abortion facility, the woman shall be offered a reasonable time to obtain the ultrasound examination before the date and time set for performing or inducing an abortion. The person conducting the ultrasound shall ensure that the active ultrasound image is of a quality consistent with standard medical practice in the community, contains the dimensions of the unborn child, and accurately portrays the presence of external members and internal organs, if present or viewable, of the unborn child. [The auscultation of fetal heart tone must also be of a quality consistent with standard medical practice in the community.] If the woman chooses to view the ultrasound [or hear the heartbeat or both at the abortion facility, the viewing [or hearing or both] shall be provided to her at the abortion facility at least seventy-two hours prior to the abortion being performed or induced;
- (5) Prior to an abortion being performed or induced on an unborn child of twenty-two weeks gestational age or older, the physician who is to perform or induce the abortion or a qualified professional has presented the woman, in person, printed materials provided by the department that offer information on the possibility of the abortion causing pain to the unborn child. This information shall include, but need not be limited to, the following:
- 87 (a) At least by twenty-two weeks of gestational age, the unborn child 88 possesses all the anatomical structures, including pain receptors, spinal cord, 89 nerve tracts, thalamus, and cortex, that are necessary in order to feel pain;
- 90 (b) A description of the actual steps in the abortion procedure to be 91 performed or induced, and at which steps the abortion procedure could be painful 92 to the unborn child;
- 93 (c) There is evidence that by twenty-two weeks of gestational age, unborn 94 children seek to evade certain stimuli in a manner that in an infant or an adult

- 95 would be interpreted as a response to pain;
- 96 (d) Anesthesia is given to unborn children who are twenty-two weeks or 97 more gestational age who undergo prenatal surgery;
- 98 (e) Anesthesia is given to premature children who are twenty-two weeks 99 or more gestational age who undergo surgery;
- 100 (f) Anesthesia or an analgesic is available in order to minimize or 101 alleviate the pain to the unborn child;
  - (6) The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion or a qualified professional has presented the woman, in person, printed materials provided by the department explaining to the woman alternatives to abortion 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;
- 129 (d) Prominently display the statement: "There are public and private 130 agencies willing and able to help you carry your child to term, and to assist you

and your child after your child is born, whether you choose to keep your child or place him or her for adoption. The state of Missouri encourages you to contact those agencies before making a final decision about abortion. State law requires that your physician or a qualified professional give you the opportunity to call agencies like these before you undergo an abortion.";

- (7) The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion or a qualified professional has presented the woman, in person, printed materials provided by the department explaining that the father of the unborn child is liable to assist in the support of the child, even in instances where he has offered to pay for the abortion. Such materials shall include information on the legal duties and support obligations of the father of a child, including, but not limited to, child support payments, and the fact that paternity may be established by the father's name on a birth certificate or statement of paternity, or by court action. Such printed materials shall also state that more information concerning paternity establishment and child support services and enforcement may be obtained by calling the family support division within the Missouri department of social services; and
- (8) The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion or a qualified professional shall inform the woman that she is free to withhold or withdraw her consent to the abortion at any time without affecting her right to future care or treatment and without the loss of any state or federally funded benefits to which she might otherwise be 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

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- 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 consent, freely and without coercion, to the abortion procedure.
- 172 4. No abortion shall be performed or induced on an unborn child of 173 twenty-two weeks gestational age or older unless and until the woman upon 174 whom the abortion is to be performed or induced has been provided the opportunity to choose to have an anesthetic or analgesic administered to 175 176 eliminate or alleviate pain to the unborn child caused by the particular method of abortion to be performed or induced. The administration of anesthesia or 177 178 analysesics shall be performed in a manner consistent with standard medical 179 practice in the community.
  - 5. No physician shall perform or induce an abortion unless and until the physician has obtained from the woman her voluntary and informed consent given freely and without coercion. If the physician has reason to believe that the woman is being coerced into having an abortion, the physician or qualified professional shall inform the woman that services are available for her and shall provide her with private access to a telephone and information about such services, including but not limited to the following:
    - (1) Rape crisis centers, as defined in section 455.003;
- 188 (2) Shelters for victims of domestic violence, as defined in section 455.200; 189 and
- 190 (3) Orders of protection, pursuant to chapter 455.
- 191 6. The physician who is to perform or induce the abortion shall, at least 192 seventy-two hours prior to such procedure, inform the woman orally and in person 193 of:
  - (1) The immediate and long-term medical risks to the woman associated with the proposed 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 possible adverse psychological effects associated with the abortion; and
- 199 (2) The immediate and long-term medical risks to the woman, in light of 200 the anesthesia and medication that is to be administered, the unborn child's 201 gestational age, and the woman's medical history and medical conditions.
- 7. No physician shall perform or induce an abortion unless and until the

physician has received and signed a 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.

- 8. In the event of a medical emergency as provided by section 188.039, 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.
- 9. No person or entity shall require, obtain, or accept payment for an abortion from or on behalf of a patient until at least seventy-two hours have passed since the time that the information required by subsection 1 of this section has been provided to the patient. Nothing in this subsection shall prohibit a person or entity from notifying the patient that payment for the abortion will be required after the seventy-two-hour period has expired if she voluntarily chooses to have the abortion.
- 10. The term "qualified professional" as used in this section shall refer to a physician, physician assistant, registered nurse, licensed practical nurse, psychologist, licensed professional counselor, or licensed social worker, licensed or registered under chapter 334, 335, or 337, acting under the supervision of the physician performing or inducing the abortion, and acting within the course and scope of his or her authority provided by law. The provisions of this section shall not be construed to in any way expand the authority otherwise provided by law relating to the licensure, registration, or scope of practice of any such qualified professional.
- 11. 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 typeface large enough to be clearly legible. All information shall be presented in an objective, unbiased manner designed to convey only accurate scientific and medical information. The department shall furnish the written materials and forms at no cost and in sufficient quantity to any person who performs or induces abortions, or to any hospital or facility that provides abortions. The department shall make all information required by subsection 1 of this section available to the public through its department website. The department shall maintain a toll-free, twenty-four-hour hotline telephone number where a caller can obtain information on a regional basis concerning the agencies and services described in subsection 1 of this section. No identifying information

regarding persons who use the website shall be collected or maintained. The department shall monitor the website on a regular basis to prevent tampering and correct any operational deficiencies.

- 12. In order to preserve the compelling interest of the state to ensure that the choice to consent to an abortion is voluntary and informed, and given freely and without coercion, the department shall use the procedures for adoption of emergency rules under section 536.025 in order to promulgate all necessary rules, forms, and other necessary material to implement this section by November 30, 247 2010.
- 13. If the provisions in subsections 1 and 9 of this section requiring a seventy-two-hour waiting period for an abortion are ever temporarily or permanently restrained or enjoined by judicial order, then the waiting period for an abortion shall be twenty-four hours; provided, however, that if such temporary or permanent restraining order or 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 abortion performed or induced upon a woman shall be completed by her attending physician. The report shall also include the time, date, method, and results of the heartbeat detection test performed prior to the abortion pursuant to section 188.026.
  - 6 2. An individual complication report for any post-abortion care performed 7 upon a woman shall be completed by the physician providing such post-abortion 8 care. This report shall include:
  - 9 (1) The date of the abortion;

- 10 (2) The name and address of the abortion facility or hospital where the 11 abortion was performed;
  - (3) The nature of the abortion complication diagnosed or treated.
- 3. All abortion reports shall be signed by the attending physician, and submitted to the state department of health and senior services within forty-five days from the date of the abortion. All complication reports shall be signed by the physician providing the post-abortion care and submitted to the department of health and senior services within forty-five days from the date of the post-abortion care.
- 4. A copy of the abortion report shall be made a part of the medical record of the patient of the facility or hospital in which the abortion was performed.

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5. The state department of health and senior services 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 in the previous calendar year.

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

- 2. As used in this section, the phrase "pain capable unborn child" shall mean an unborn child at twenty weeks since the first day of the woman's last menstrual period, at which point an unborn child is capable of feeling pain.
- 7 3. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no abortion shall be performed or induced upon a woman carrying a pain capable unborn child, except in cases of medical emergency. Any person who 10 knowingly performs or induces an abortion of a pain capable unborn child in violation of this subsection shall be guilty of a class B felony, 11 12 as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional 13 license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation of this 14 15 subsection shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate the 16 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.
- 22 5. When in cases of medical emergency a physician performs or 23 induces an abortion upon a woman carrying a pain capable unborn child, the physician shall utilize the available method or technique of 24abortion most likely to preserve the life or health of the unborn child. 25 In cases where the method or technique of abortion most likely to 26 preserve the life or health of the unborn child would present a greater 27risk to the life or health of the woman than another legally permitted and available method or technique, the physician may utilize such 29 other method or technique. In all cases where the physician performs 30 or induces an abortion upon a woman carrying a pain-capable unborn 31child, the physician shall certify in writing the available method or

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techniques considered and the reasons for choosing the method or technique employed pursuant to subsection 8 of this section. 34

- 6. When in cases of medical emergency a physician performs or induces an abortion upon a woman carrying a 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.
- 7. Any physician who knowingly violates any of the provisions 41 of subsections 5 or 6 of this section shall be guilty of a class D felony, 42 as well as subject to suspension or revocation of his or her professional 43 license by his or her professional licensing board. A woman upon 44 whom an abortion is performed or induced in violation of subsections 45 5 or 6 of this section shall not be prosecuted for a conspiracy to violate 46 the provisions of those subsections.
- 48 8. (1) Any physician who performs or induces an abortion under this section shall report to the department of health and senior 49 services. The reporting shall be on a schedule and on forms set forth 50 by the director of the department annually before December thirty-51 first. The reports shall include the following information: 52
  - (a) Probable gestational age:
  - a. If a determination of probable gestational age was made, whether ultrasound was employed in making the determination, and the week of probable gestational age determined;
- 57 b. If a determination of probable gestational age was not made, 58 the basis of the determination that a medical emergency existed;
  - (b) Method of abortion;
- (c) If the abortion was performed or induced upon a woman carrying a pain capable unborn child, the basis of the determination that the patient had a condition that so complicated the medical 62 condition of the patient that it necessitated the abortion of her 63 pregnancy in order to avert her death or avert a serious risk of 64 substantial and irreversible physical impairment of a major bodily 65 66 function; and
- 67 (d) If the abortion was performed or induced upon a woman carrying a pain capable unborn child, whether the method of abortion 68 used was one that, in reasonable medical judgment, provided the best 69

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opportunity for the unborn child to survive and, if such a method was not used, the basis of the determination that termination of the pregnancy in that manner would pose a greater risk either of the death of the patient or of the substantial and irreversible physical impairment of a major bodily function of the patient than would other available methods.

- (2) Reports required under subdivision (1) of this subsection shall not contain the name or the address of the patient whose pregnancy was terminated, nor shall the report contain any information identifying the patient. Such reports shall be kept confidential by the department, shall not be available for public inspection, and shall not be made available except pursuant to court order.
- 83 (3) Beginning June 30, 2020, and annually thereafter, the department of health and senior services shall issue a public report 84 providing statistics for the previous calendar year compiled from all of the reports covering that year submitted in accordance with this 86 section for each of the items listed in subdivision (1) of this 87 subsection. Each report shall provide the statistics for all previous 88 calendar years from the effective date of this section, adjusted to 89 reflect any additional information from late or corrected reports. The 90 91 department shall ensure that none of the information included in the 92 public reports could reasonably lead to the identification of any patient 93 upon whom an abortion was performed or induced.
  - 9. It is the intent of the legislature that this section be severable as noted in section 1.140. In the event that any subsection, subdivision, paragraph, sentence, or clause of this section be declared invalid under the Constitution of the United States or the Constitution of the State of Missouri, it is the intent of the legislature that the remaining provisions of this section remain in force and effect as far as capable of being carried into execution as intended by the legislature.

Section B. The enactment of section 188.017 of this act shall only become effective upon notification to the revisor of statutes of 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:

5 (1) The United States Supreme Court has overruled, in whole or in part, 6 Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973), restoring or granting to the state of Missouri

- 7 the authority to regulate abortion to the extent set forth in section 188.017, and
- 8 that as a result, it is reasonably probable that section 188.017 of this act would
- 9 be upheld by the court as constitutional; or
- 10 (2) An amendment to the Constitution of the United States, has been
- 11 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 section 188.017.

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# Unofficial

Bill

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