

116TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

S. 160

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

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 16, 2019

Mr. Graham (for himself, Mr. Rubio, Mr. Barrasso, Mr. Blunt, Mr. Risch, Mr. Lankford, Mr. Portman, Mr. Grassley, Mr. Tillis, Mr. Hoeven, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Crapo, Mr. Braun, Mr. Cornyn, Mr. Sasse, Mr. Inhofe, Ms. Ernst, Mr. Boozman, Mrs. Fischer, Mr. Cramer, Mrs. Blackburn, Mr. Rounds, Mrs. Hyde-Smith, Mr. Perdue, Mr. Moran, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Wicker, Mr. Young, Mr. Enzi, Mr. Burr, Mr. Cassidy, Mr. Romney, Mr. Isakson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Daines, Mr. Scott of South Carolina, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Lee, Mr. Paul, Mr. McConnell, Mr. Toomey, and Mr. Thune) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

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

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Pain-Capable Unborn
- 5 Child Protection Act".

1 SEC. 2. LEGISLATIVE FINDINGS.

- 2 Congress finds and declares the following:
- 1) Pain receptors (nociceptors) are present throughout the unborn child's entire body and nerves link these receptors to the brain's thalamus and subcortical plate by no later than 20 weeks after fertilization.
 - (2) By 8 weeks after fertilization, the unborn child reacts to touch. After 20 weeks, the unborn child reacts to stimuli that would be recognized as painful if applied to an adult human, for example, by recoiling.
 - (3) In the unborn child, application of such painful stimuli is associated with significant increases in stress hormones known as the stress response.
 - (4) Subjection to such painful stimuli is associated with long-term harmful neurodevelopmental effects, such as altered pain sensitivity and, possibly, emotional, behavioral, and learning disabilities later in life.
 - (5) For the purposes of surgery on unborn children, fetal anesthesia is routinely administered and is associated with a decrease in stress hormones compared to their level when painful stimuli are applied without such anesthesia. In the United States,

- surgery of this type is being performed by 20 weeks after fertilization and earlier in specialized units affiliated with children's hospitals.
 - (6) The position, asserted by some physicians, that the unborn child is incapable of experiencing pain until a point later in pregnancy than 20 weeks after fertilization predominately rests on the assumption that the ability to experience pain depends on the cerebral cortex and requires nerve connections between the thalamus and the cortex. However, recent medical research and analysis, especially since 2007, provides strong evidence for the conclusion that a functioning cortex is not necessary to experience pain.
 - (7) Substantial evidence indicates that children born missing the bulk of the cerebral cortex, those with hydranencephaly, nevertheless experience pain.
 - (8) In adult humans and in animals, stimulation or ablation of the cerebral cortex does not alter pain perception, while stimulation or ablation of the thalamus does.
 - (9) Substantial evidence indicates that structures used for pain processing in early development differ from those of adults, using different neural elements available at specific times during develop-

- ment, such as the subcortical plate, to fulfill the role
 of pain processing.
 - (10) The position, asserted by some commentators, that the unborn child remains in a coma-like sleep state that precludes the unborn child experiencing pain is inconsistent with the documented reaction of unborn children to painful stimuli and with the experience of fetal surgeons who have found it necessary to sedate the unborn child with anesthesia to prevent the unborn child from engaging in vigorous movement in reaction to invasive surgery.
 - (11) Consequently, there is substantial medical evidence that an unborn child is capable of experiencing pain at least by 20 weeks after fertilization, if not earlier.
 - (12) It is the purpose of the Congress to assert a compelling governmental interest in protecting the lives of unborn children from the stage at which substantial medical evidence indicates that they are capable of feeling pain.
 - (13) The compelling governmental interest in protecting the lives of unborn children from the stage at which substantial medical evidence indicates that they are capable of feeling pain is intended to be separate from and independent of the compelling

- 1 governmental interest in protecting the lives of un-
- 2 born children from the stage of viability, and neither
- 3 governmental interest is intended to replace the
- 4 other.

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

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

9 "§ 1532. Pain-capable unborn child protection

- 10 "(a) Unlawful Conduct.—Notwithstanding any
- 11 other provision of law, it shall be unlawful for any person
- 12 to perform an abortion or attempt to do so, unless in con-
- 13 formity with the requirements set forth in subsection (b).
- 14 "(b) Requirements for Abortions.—
- 15 "(1) Assessment of the age of the un-
- 16 BORN CHILD.—The physician performing or at-
- tempting the abortion shall first make a determina-
- tion of the probable post-fertilization age of the un-
- born child or reasonably rely upon such a determina-
- 20 tion made by another physician. In making such a
- determination, the physician shall make such inquir-
- ies of the pregnant woman and perform or cause to
- be performed such medical examinations and tests
- as a reasonably prudent physician, knowledgeable
- about the case and the medical conditions involved,

1	would consider necessary to make an accurate deter-
2	mination of post-fertilization age.
3	"(2) Prohibition on Performance of Cer-
4	TAIN ABORTIONS.—
5	"(A) GENERALLY FOR UNBORN CHILDREN
6	20 WEEKS OR OLDER.—Except as provided in
7	subparagraph (B), the abortion shall not be
8	performed or attempted, if the probable post-
9	fertilization age, as determined under para-
10	graph (1), of the unborn child is 20 weeks or
11	greater.
12	"(B) Exceptions.—Subparagraph (A)
13	does not apply if—
14	"(i) in reasonable medical judgment,
15	the abortion is necessary to save the life of
16	a pregnant woman whose life is endan-
17	gered by a physical disorder, physical ill-
18	ness, or physical injury, including a life-en-
19	dangering physical condition caused by or
20	arising from the pregnancy itself, but not
21	including psychological or emotional condi-
22	tions;
23	"(ii) the pregnancy is the result of
24	rape against an adult woman, and at least
25	48 hours prior to the abortion—

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

the pain-capable unborn child has the potential to survive outside the womb, the physician who performs or attempts an abortion under an exception provided by subparagraph (B) shall ensure a second physician trained in neonatal resuscitation is present and prepared to provide care to the child consistent with the requirements of subparagraph (E).

"(E) CHILDREN BORN ALIVE AFTER ATTEMPTED ABORTIONS.—When a physician performs or attempts an abortion in accordance with this section, and the child is born alive, as defined in section 8 of title 1 (commonly known as the Born-Alive Infants Protection Act of 2002), the following shall apply:

"(i) Degree of care required.—
Any health care practitioner present at the time shall humanely exercise the same degree of professional skill, care, and diligence to preserve the life and health of the child as a reasonably diligent and conscientious health care practitioner would render to a child born alive at the same gestational age in the course of a natural birth.

1	"(ii) Immediate admission to a
2	HOSPITAL.—Following the care required to
3	be rendered under clause (i), the child born
4	alive shall be immediately transported and
5	admitted to a hospital.

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

"(F) Documentation requirements.—

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

2

3

4

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

cy, from a personal physician licensed by
the State, a counselor licensed by the
State, or a victim's rights advocate provided by a law enforcement agency that the
adult woman seeking the abortion obtained
medical treatment or counseling for the
rape or an injury related to the rape.

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

"(G) Informed Consent.—

"(i) Consent form required.—The physician who intends to perform or attempt to perform an abortion under the provisions of subparagraph (B) may not

1	perform any part of the abortion procedure
2	without first obtaining a signed Informed
3	Consent Authorization form in accordance
4	with this subparagraph.
5	"(ii) Content of Consent form.—
6	The Informed Consent Authorization form
7	shall be presented in person by the physi-
8	cian and shall consist of—
9	"(I) a statement by the physician
10	indicating the probable post-fertiliza-
11	tion age of the pain-capable unborn
12	child;
13	"(II) a statement that Federal
14	law allows abortion after 20 weeks
15	fetal age only if the mother's life is
16	endangered by a physical disorder,
17	physical illness, or physical injury,
18	when the pregnancy was the result of
19	rape, or an act of incest against a
20	minor;
21	"(III) a statement that the abor-
22	tion must be performed by the method
23	most likely to allow the child to be
24	born alive unless this would cause sig-
25	nificant risk to the mother:

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

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

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

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

- 1 "(d) Bar to Prosecution.—A woman upon whom
- 2 an abortion in violation of subsection (a) is performed or
- 3 attempted may not be prosecuted under, or for a con-
- 4 spiracy to violate, subsection (a), or for an offense under
- 5 section 2, 3, or 4 of this title based on such a violation.
- 6 "(e) Civil Remedies.—
- "(1) CIVIL ACTION BY A WOMAN ON WHOM AN

 8 ABORTION IS PERFORMED.—A woman upon whom

 9 an abortion has been performed or attempted in vio
 10 lation of any provision of this section may, in a civil

 11 action against any person who committed the viola
 12 tion, obtain appropriate relief.
 - "(2) CIVIL ACTION BY A PARENT OF A MINOR ON WHOM AN ABORTION IS PERFORMED.—A parent of a minor upon whom an abortion has been performed or attempted under an exception provided for in subsection (b)(2)(B), and that was performed in violation of any provision of this section may, in a civil action against any person who committed the violation obtain appropriate relief, unless the pregnancy resulted from the plaintiff's criminal conduct.
 - "(3) APPROPRIATE RELIEF.—Appropriate relief in a civil action under this subsection includes—

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

1	"(A) objectively verifiable money damages
2	for all injuries, psychological and physical, occa-
3	sioned by the violation;
4	"(B) statutory damages equal to three
5	times the cost of the abortion; and
6	"(C) punitive damages.
7	"(4) Attorneys fees for plaintiff.—The
8	court shall award a reasonable attorney's fee as part
9	of the costs to a prevailing plaintiff in a civil action
10	under this subsection.
11	"(5) Attorneys fees for defendant.—If a
12	defendant in a civil action under this subsection pre-
13	vails and the court finds that the plaintiff's suit was
14	frivolous, the court shall award a reasonable attor-
15	ney's fee in favor of the defendant against the plain-
16	tiff.
17	"(6) Awards against woman.—Except under
18	paragraph (5), in a civil action under this sub-
19	section, no damages, attorney's fee or other mone-
20	tary relief may be assessed against the woman upon
21	whom the abortion was performed or attempted.
22	"(f) Data Collection.—
23	"(1) Data submissions.—Any physician who
24	performs or attempts an abortion described in sub-
25	section (b)(2)(B) shall annually submit a summary

1	of all such abortions to the National Center for
2	Health Statistics (hereinafter referred to as the
3	'Center') not later than 60 days after the end of the
4	calendar year in which the abortion was performed
5	or attempted.
6	"(2) Contents of Summary.—The summary
7	shall include the number of abortions performed or
8	attempted on an unborn child who had a post-fer-
9	tilization age of 20 weeks or more and specify the
10	following for each abortion under subsection
11	(b)(2)(B):
12	"(A) the probable post-fertilization age of
13	the unborn child;
14	"(B) the method used to carry out the
15	abortion;
16	"(C) the location where the abortion was
17	conducted;
18	"(D) the exception under subsection
19	(b)(2)(B) under which the abortion was con-
20	ducted; and
21	"(E) any incident of live birth resulting
22	from the abortion.
23	"(3) Exclusions from data submissions.—
24	A summary required under this subsection shall not
25	contain any information identifying the woman

1	whose pregnancy was terminated and shall be sub-
2	mitted consistent with the Health Insurance Port-
3	ability and Accountability Act of 1996 (42 U.S.C
4	1320d-2 note).
5	"(4) Public Report.—The Center shall annu-
6	ally issue a public report providing statistics by
7	State for the previous year compiled from all of the
8	summaries made to the Center under this sub-
9	section. The Center shall take care to ensure that
10	none of the information included in the public re-
11	ports could reasonably lead to the identification of
12	any pregnant woman upon whom an abortion was
13	performed or attempted. The annual report shall be
14	issued by July 1 of the calendar year following the
15	year in which the abortions were performed or at-
16	tempted.
17	"(g) Definitions.—In this section the following
18	definitions apply:
19	"(1) Abortion.—The term 'abortion' means
20	the use or prescription of any instrument, medicine

drug, or any other substance or device—

of a woman known to be pregnant; or

"(A) to intentionally kill the unborn child

21

22

1	"(B) to intentionally terminate the preg-
2	nancy of a woman known to be pregnant, with
3	an intention other than—
4	"(i) after viability to produce a live
5	birth and preserve the life and health of
6	the child born alive; or
7	"(ii) to remove a dead unborn child.
8	"(2) Attempt.—The term 'attempt', with re-
9	spect to an abortion, means conduct that, under the
10	circumstances as the actor believes them to be, con-
11	stitutes a substantial step in a course of conduct
12	planned to culminate in performing an abortion.
13	"(3) Counseling.—The term 'counseling'
14	means counseling provided by a counselor licensed
15	by the State, or a victims rights advocate provided
16	by a law enforcement agency.
17	"(4) Facility.—The term 'facility' means any
18	medical or counseling group, center or clinic and in-
19	cludes the entire legal entity, including any entity
20	that controls, is controlled by, or is under common
21	control with such facility.
22	"(5) Fertilization.—The term 'fertilization'
23	means the fusion of human spermatozoon with a
24	human ovum.

- "(6) MEDICAL TREATMENT.—The term 'medical treatment' means treatment provided at a hospital licensed by the State or operated under authority of a Federal agency, at a medical clinic licensed by the State or operated under authority of a Federal agency, or from a personal physician licensed by the State.
 - "(7) MINOR.—The term 'minor' means an individual who has not attained the age of 18 years.
 - "(8) PERFORM.—The term 'perform', with respect to an abortion, includes inducing an abortion through a medical or chemical intervention including writing a prescription for a drug or device intended to result in an abortion.
 - "(9) Physician.—The term 'physician' means a person licensed to practice medicine and surgery or osteopathic medicine and surgery, or otherwise legally authorized to perform an abortion.
 - "(10) Post-fertilization age' means the age of the unborn child as calculated from the fusion of a human spermatozoon with a human ovum.
 - "(11) PROBABLE POST-FERTILIZATION AGE OF THE UNBORN CHILD.—The term 'probable post-fertilization age of the unborn child' means what, in

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

- 1 reasonable medical judgment, will with reasonable
- 2 probability be the post-fertilization age of the un-
- born child at the time the abortion is planned to be
- 4 performed or induced.
- 5 "(12) REASONABLE MEDICAL JUDGMENT.—The
- 6 term 'reasonable medical judgment' means a medical
- 7 judgment that would be made by a reasonably pru-
- 8 dent physician, knowledgeable about the case and
- 9 the treatment possibilities with respect to the med-
- ical conditions involved.
- 11 "(13) Unborn Child.—The term 'unborn
- child' means an individual organism of the species
- homo sapiens, beginning at fertilization, until the
- point of being born alive as defined in section 8(b)
- of title 1.
- 16 "(14) Woman.—The term 'woman' means a fe-
- male human being whether or not she has reached
- the age of majority.".
- 19 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections
- 20 at the beginning of chapter 74 of title 18, United States
- 21 Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new
- 22 item:

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

- (c) Chapter Heading Amendments.—
- 24 (1) Chapter Heading in Chapter.—The
- chapter heading for chapter 74 of title 18, United

1		States Code, is amended by striking "Partial-
2		Birth Abortions" and inserting "Abortions"
3		(2) Table of Chapters for Part I.—The
4		item relating to chapter 74 in the table of chapters
5		at the beginning of part I of title 18, United States
6		Code, is amended to read as follows:
	"74.	Abortions