115th CONGRESS 1st Session S.

To protect a woman's right and ability to determine whether and when to bear a child or end a pregnancy by limiting restrictions on the provision of abortion services.

# IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. BLUMENTHAL (for himself, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. BROWN, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. COONS, Ms. WARREN, Mr. SCHATZ, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. KAINE, Mr. BENNET, Mr. TESTER, Mr. DURBIN, Ms. HASSAN, Mrs. MCCASKILL, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. FRANKEN, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. BOOK-ER, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. MURPHY, Mr. PETERS, Mr. UDALL, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. HEINRICH, Ms. CANTWELL, Mr. SCHUMER, Ms. CORTEZ MASTO, Mr. KING, Ms. STABENOW, Mr. MENENDEZ, and Mr. LEAHY) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

# A BILL

- To protect a woman's right and ability to determine whether and when to bear a child or end a pregnancy by limiting restrictions on the provision of abortion services.
  - 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 "Women's Health Pro-

5 tection Act of 2017".

## 1 SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

2 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

3 (1) Access to safe, legal abortion services is es4 sential to women's health and central to women's
5 ability to participate equally in the economic and so6 cial life of the United States.

7 (2) Access to safe, legal abortion services has 8 been hindered in the United States in various ways, 9 including blockades of health care facilities and asso-10 ciated violence; restrictions on insurance coverage; 11 restrictions on minors' ability to obtain services; and 12 unnecessary health regulations that single out abor-13 tion providers and those seeking their services, and 14 which do not confer any health benefit or further the 15 safety of abortion, but harm women by reducing the 16 availability of services.

17 (3) In the early 1990s, protests and blockades 18 at health care facilities where abortions were per-19 formed, and associated violence, increased dramati-20 cally and reached crisis level, requiring Congres-21 sional action. Congress passed the Freedom of Ac-22 cess to Clinic Entrances Act (Public Law 103–259) 23 to address that situation and ensure that women 24 could physically access abortion services.

25 (4) Since 2010, there has been an equally dra-26 matic increase in the number of laws and regulations

S.L.C.

3

1 singling out abortion that threaten women's health 2 and burden their access to safe abortion services by 3 interfering with health care professionals' ability to 4 provide such services. The Supreme Court's decision 5 in Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt (579 U.S. 6 (2016)), reaffirmed the constitutional right 7 to abortion and struck down two unnecessary health 8 regulations that created undue burdens upon access 9 to abortion. Congressional action is necessary to put 10 an end to these types of harmful restrictions. In ad-11 dition, there has been a dramatic increase in the 12 passage of laws that blatantly violate the constitu-13 tional protections afforded women, such as bans on 14 abortion prior to viability. 15 (5) Legal abortion is one of the safest medical 16 procedures in the United States, safer than numer-17 ous procedures that take place outside of hospitals, 18 as noted by the Supreme Court in Whole Woman's

*Health.* That safety is furthered by regulations that
are based on medical science and are generally applicable to the medical profession or to medically comparable procedures.

(6) Many State and local governments are imposing restrictions on the provision of abortion that
are neither evidence-based nor generally applicable

S.L.C.

4

1 to the medical profession or to medically comparable 2 procedures. Though described by their proponents as 3 health and safety regulations, many of these abor-4 tion-specific restrictions do not confer any health 5 benefit. Also, these restrictions interfere with wom-6 en's personal and private medical decisions, make 7 access to abortion more difficult and costly, and 8 even make it impossible for some women to obtain 9 those services.

10 (7) These restrictions harm women's health by 11 reducing access not only to abortion services but also 12 to the other essential health care services offered by 13 the providers targeted by the restrictions, including 14 contraceptive services, which reduce unintended 15 pregnancies and thus abortions, and screenings for 16 cervical cancer and sexually transmitted infections. 17 These harms fall especially heavily on low-income 18 women, women of color, immigrants, and women liv-19 ing in rural and other medically underserved areas.

(8) The cumulative effect of these numerous restrictions has been to make a woman's ability to exercise her constitutional rights dependent on the
State in which she lives. Federal legislation putting
a stop to harmful restrictions throughout the United
States is necessary to ensure that women in all

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States have meaningful access to safe abortion serv ices, a constitutional right repeatedly affirmed by
 the United States Supreme Court, most recently in
 2016.

5 (9) Congress has the authority to protect wom-6 en's ability to access abortion services pursuant to 7 its powers under the Commerce Clause and its pow-8 ers under section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to 9 the Constitution to enforce the provisions of section 10 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

11 (b) PURPOSE.—It is the purpose of this Act to pro-12 tect women's health by ensuring that abortion services will 13 continue to be available and that abortion providers are 14 not singled out for medically unnecessary restrictions that 15 burden women by preventing them from accessing safe abortion services. It is not the purpose of this Act to ad-16 17 dress all obstacles in the path of women who seek access to abortion (for example, this Act does not apply to clinic 18 19 violence, restrictions on insurance or medical assistance 20 coverage of abortion, or requirements for parental consent 21 or notification before a minor may obtain an abortion) 22 which Congress should address through separate legisla-23 tion as appropriate.

#### 24 SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

25 In this Act:

1 (1) ABORTION.—The term "abortion" means 2 any medical treatment, including the prescription of 3 medication, intended to cause the termination of a 4 pregnancy except for the purpose of increasing the 5 probability of a live birth, to remove an ectopic preg-6 nancy, or to remove a dead fetus. 7 (2) ABORTION PROVIDER.—The term "abortion provider" means a health care professional who per-8 9 forms abortions. 10 (3) GOVERNMENT.—The term "government"

11 includes a branch, department, agency, instrumen-12 tality, or individual acting under color of law of the 13 United States, a State, or a subdivision of a State. 14 (4) HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL.—The term "health care professional" means a licensed medical 15 16 professional (including physicians, certified nurse-17 midwives, nurse practitioners, and physician assist-18 ants) who is competent to perform abortions based 19 on clinical training.

20 (5) MEDICALLY COMPARABLE PROCEDURES.—
21 The term "medically comparable procedures" means
22 medical procedures that are similar in terms of risk,
23 complexity, duration, or the degree of sterile pre24 caution that is indicated.

71 (6) PREGNANCY.—The term "pregnancy" refers 2 to the period of the human reproductive process be-3 ginning with the implantation of a fertilized egg. (7) STATE.—The term "State" includes each of 4 5 the 50 States, the District of Columbia, the Com-6 monwealth of Puerto Rico, and each territory or pos-7 session of the United States. 8 (8) VIABILITY.—The term "viability" means 9 the point in a pregnancy at which, in the good-faith 10 medical judgment of the treating health care profes-11 sional, based on the particular facts of the case be-12 fore her or him, there is a reasonable likelihood of 13 sustained fetal survival outside the uterus with or 14 without artificial support. 15 SEC. 4. PROHIBITED MEASURES AND ACTIONS. 16 (a) GENERAL PROHIBITIONS.—The following limita-17 tions or requirements are unlawful and shall not be imposed or applied by any government because they single 18 19 out the provision of abortion services for restrictions that 20 are more burdensome than those restrictions imposed on

21 medically comparable procedures, they do not significantly22 advance women's health or the safety of abortion services,23 and they make abortion services more difficult to access:

24 (1) A requirement that a medical professional
25 perform specific tests or medical procedures in con-

nection with the provision of an abortion, unless
 generally required for the provision of medically
 comparable procedures.

4 (2) A requirement that the same clinician who
5 performs a patient's abortion also perform specified
6 tests, services or procedures prior to or subsequent
7 to the abortion.

8 (3) A limitation on an abortion provider's abil-9 ity to prescribe or dispense drugs based on current 10 evidence-based regimens or her or his good-faith 11 medical judgment, other than a limitation generally 12 applicable to the medical profession.

(4) A limitation on an abortion provider's ability to provide abortion services via telemedicine,
other than a limitation generally applicable to the
provision of medical services via telemedicine.

17 (5) A requirement or limitation concerning the 18 physical plant, equipment, staffing, or hospital 19 transfer arrangements of facilities where abortions 20 are performed, or the credentials or hospital privi-21 leges or status of personnel at such facilities, that is 22 not imposed on facilities or the personnel of facilities 23 where medically comparable procedures are performed. 24

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(6) A requirement that, prior to obtaining an
 abortion, a patient make one or more medically un necessary in-person visits to the provider of abortion
 services or to any individual or entity that does not
 provide abortion services.

6 (7) A requirement or limitation that prohibits
7 or restricts medical training for abortion procedures,
8 other than a requirement or limitation generally ap9 plicable to medical training for medically comparable
10 procedures.

11 (b) Other Prohibited Measures or Actions.—

12 (1) IN GENERAL.—A measure or action that 13 applies to and restricts the provision of abortion 14 services or the facilities that provide abortion serv-15 ices that is similar to any of the prohibited limita-16 tions or requirements described in subsection (a) 17 shall be unlawful if such measure or action singles 18 out abortion services or make abortion services more 19 difficult to access and does not significantly advance 20 women's health or the safety of abortion services.

(2) PRIMA FACIE CASE.—To make a prima
facie showing that a measure or action is unlawful
under paragraph (1) a plaintiff shall demonstrate
that the measure or action involved—

S.L.C.

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1	(A) singles out the provision of abortion
2	services or facilities in which abortion services
3	are performed; or
4	(B) impedes women's access to abortion
5	services based on one or more of the factors de-
6	scribed in paragraph (3).
7	(3) FACTORS.—Factors for a court to consider
8	in determining whether a measure or action impedes
9	access to abortion services for purposes of paragraph
10	(2)(B) include the following:
11	(A) Whether the measure or action inter-
12	feres with an abortion provider's ability to pro-
13	vide care and render services in accordance with
14	her or his good-faith medical judgment.
15	(B) Whether the measure or action is rea-
16	sonably likely to delay some women in accessing
17	abortion services.
18	(C) Whether the measure or action is rea-
19	sonably likely to directly or indirectly increase
20	the cost of providing abortion services or the
21	cost for obtaining abortion services (including
22	costs associated with travel, childcare, or time
23	off work).
24	(D) Whether the measure or action re-
25	quires, or is reasonably likely to have the effect

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1	of necessitating, a trip to the offices of the
2	abortion provider that would not otherwise be
3	required.
4	(E) Whether the measure or action is rea-
5	sonably likely to result in a decrease in the
6	availability of abortion services in the State.
7	(F) Whether the measure or action im-
8	poses criminal or civil penalties that are not im-
9	posed on other health care professionals for
10	comparable conduct or failure to act or that are
11	harsher than penalties imposed on other health
12	care professionals for comparable conduct or
13	failure to act.
14	(G) The cumulative impact of the measure
15	or action combined with other new or existing
16	requirements or restrictions.
17	(4) DEFENSE.—A measure or action shall be
18	unlawful under this subsection upon making a prima
19	facie case (as provided for under paragraph (2)), un-

less the defendant establishes, by clear and con-20 21 vincing evidence, that—

(A) the measure or action significantly ad-22 23 vances the safety of abortion services or the 24 health of women; and

S.L.C.

12

(B) the safety of abortion services or the
 health of women cannot be advanced by a less
 restrictive alternative measure or action.

4 (c) OTHER PROHIBITIONS.—The following restric5 tions on the performance of abortion are unlawful and
6 shall not be imposed or applied by any government:

7 (1) A prohibition or ban on abortion prior to
8 fetal viability, including a prohibition, ban, or re9 striction on a particular abortion procedure, subject
10 to subsection (d).

(2) A prohibition on abortion after fetal viability when, in the good-faith medical judgment of the
treating physician, continuation of the pregnancy
would pose a risk to the pregnant woman's life or
health.

16 (3) A restriction that limits a pregnant wom17 an's ability to obtain an immediate abortion when a
18 health care professional believes, based on her or his
19 good-faith medical judgment, that delay would pose
20 a risk to the woman's health.

(4) A measure or action that prohibits or restricts a woman from obtaining an abortion prior to
fetal viability based on her reasons or perceived reasons or that requires a woman to state her reasons
before obtaining an abortion prior to fetal viability.

1 (d) LIMITATION.—The provisions of this Act shall 2 not apply to laws regulating physical access to clinic en-3 trances, requirements for parental consent or notification 4 before a minor may obtain an abortion, insurance or med-5 ical assistance coverage of abortion, or the procedure de-6 scribed in section 1531(b)(1) of title 18, United States 7 Code.

8 (e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This Act shall apply to gov-9 ernment restrictions on the provision of abortion services, 10 whether statutory or otherwise, whether they are enacted 11 or imposed prior to or after the date of enactment of this 12 Act.

## 13 SEC. 5. LIBERAL CONSTRUCTION.

(a) LIBERAL CONSTRUCTION.—In interpreting the
provisions of this Act, a court shall liberally construe such
provisions to effectuate the purposes of the Act.

(b) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this Act
shall be construed to authorize any government to interfere with a woman's ability to terminate her pregnancy,
to diminish or in any way negatively affect a woman's constitutional right to terminate her pregnancy, or to displace
any other remedy for violations of the constitutional right
to terminate a pregnancy.

## 1 SEC. 6. ENFORCEMENT.

2 (a) ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The Attorney General
3 may commence a civil action for prospective injunctive re4 lief on behalf of the United States against any government
5 official that is charged with implementing or enforcing any
6 restriction that is challenged as unlawful under this Act.
7 (b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—Any individual or entity ag-9 grieved by an alleged violation of this Act may com-10 mence a civil action for prospective injunctive relief 11 against the government official that is charged with 12 implementing or enforcing the restriction that is 13 challenged as unlawful under this Act.

14 (2) FACILITY OR PROFESSIONAL.—A health
15 care facility or medical professional may commence
16 an action for prospective injunctive relief on behalf
17 of the facility's or professional's patients who are or
18 may be adversely affected by an alleged violation of
19 this Act.

20 (c) EQUITABLE RELIEF.—In any action under this
21 section, the court may award appropriate equitable relief,
22 including temporary, preliminary, or permanent injunctive
23 relief.

24 (d) COSTS.—In any action under this section, the
25 court shall award costs of litigation, as well as reasonable
26 attorney fees, to any prevailing plaintiff. A plaintiff shall

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not be liable to a defendant for costs in an action under
 this section.

3 (e) JURISDICTION.—The district courts of the United 4 States shall have jurisdiction over proceedings commenced 5 pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same with-6 out regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have ex-7 hausted any administrative or other remedies that may be 8 provided for by law.

### 9 SEC. 7. PREEMPTION.

10 No State or subdivision thereof shall enact or enforce
11 any law, rule, regulation, standard, or other provision hav12 ing the force and effect of law that conflicts with any pro13 vision of this Act.

# 14 SEC. 8. SEVERABILITY.

15 If any provision of this Act, or the application of such 16 provision to any person or circumstance, is held to be un-17 constitutional, the remainder of this Act, or the applica-18 tion of such provision to all other persons or cir-19 cumstances, shall not be affected thereby.