

Submission

on the

Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill 2016

to the

Health, Communities, Disability Services and Domestic and Family Violence Prevention Committee and Inquiry into laws governing termination of pregnancy in Queensland

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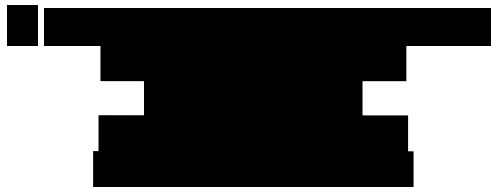
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by

FamilyVoice Australia



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1. Introduction

On 26 May 2016 the Parliament referred the *Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill 2016* and the wider issue of abortion to the Health, Communities, Disability Services and Domestic and Family Violence Prevention Committee.

Submissions are due Thursday, 30 June 2016.

FamilyVoice Australia is a national Christian voice – promoting true family values for the benefit of all Australians. Our vision is to see strong families at the heart of a healthy society: where marriage is honoured, human life is respected, families can flourish, Australia's Christian heritage is valued, and fundamental freedoms are enjoyed.

We work with people from all mainstream Christian denominations. We engage with parliamentarians of all political persuasions and are independent of all political parties. We have full-time FamilyVoice representatives in all states.

FamilyVoice has had a longstanding interest advocating the sanctity of human life from conception to natural death.

2. Terms of Reference

The terms of reference for the inquiry are:

The Committee, concurrent with its consideration of the Bill, consider, report and make recommendations on aspects of the law governing termination of pregnancy in Queensland to the House on options regarding:

- 1. existing practices in Queensland concerning termination of pregnancy by medical practitioners;*
- 2. existing legal principles that govern termination practices in Queensland;*
- 3. the need to modernise and clarify the law (without altering current clinical practice), to reflect current community attitudes and expectations;*
- 4. legislative and regulatory arrangements in other Australian jurisdictions including regulating terminations based on gestational periods; and*
- 5. provision of counselling and support services for women.*

The Committee is required to report by Friday, 26 August 2016.

3. The right to life

3.1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The right to life is the most fundamental of all human rights because without it all other rights are rendered meaningless. The right to life is enshrined in Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

■ *Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.¹*

The right to life is also enshrined in Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR):

1. *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.*
2. *In countries which have not abolished the death penalty, sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime and not contrary to the provisions of the present Covenant and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This penalty can only be carried out pursuant to a final judgement rendered by a competent court.*
3. *When deprivation of life constitutes the crime of genocide, it is understood that nothing in this article shall authorize any State Party to the present Covenant to derogate in any way from any obligation assumed under the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.*
4. *Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.*
5. *Sentence of death shall not be imposed for crimes committed by persons below eighteen years of age and shall not be carried out on pregnant women.*
6. *Nothing in this article shall be invoked to delay or to prevent the abolition of capital punishment by any State Party to the present Covenant.*²

Article 6(5) of the ICCPR, which prohibits the death penalty being carried out on pregnant women, reinforces the biological reality that the unborn child is a human being that must be protected.

Just as the death penalty of a pregnant woman ends an unborn child's life, so too does abortion end the life of an unborn child.

3.1. Convention on the Rights of the Child

Article 6 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Australia is a signatory, protects the right to life of the child:

1. *States Parties recognize that every child has the inherent right to life.*
2. *States Parties shall ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child.*³

Article 3(1) provides that:

1. *In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.*⁴

It is important to note that these rights do not simply apply to children post birth. The preamble to the Convention stresses that legal protections apply to children both before and after birth:

1. *Bearing in mind that, as indicated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, "the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth"...*⁵

Any change to abortion laws in Queensland should give primary consideration to, and be consistent with, the rights of the child as enunciated in this international instrument.

3.2. Human life begins at conception

The science is clear as to when human life begins, as emeritus professor at the University of Toronto Keith Moore explains:

Human development begins after the union of male and female gametes or germ cells during a process known as fertilization (conception)... Fertilization is a sequence of events that begins with the contact of a sperm (spermatozoon) with a secondary oocyte (ovum) and ends with the fusion of their pronuclei (the haploid nuclei of the sperm and ovum) and the mingling of their chromosomes to form a new cell. This fertilized ovum, known as a zygote, is a large diploid cell that is the beginning, or primordium, of a human being.”⁶

3.3. The unborn child

The unborn child is a human being

Every abortion ends the life of an unborn child. This is the disturbing reality. Abortion treats the unborn child as irrelevant and virtually invisible.

The view that an unborn child is not a human being is not realistic or sustainable in the light of current scientific evidence.

The science of foetology has dramatically improved our understanding of unborn human life. It is no longer possible in the age of 4-D ultrasound and *in utero* foetal surgery to hold that the foetus is just a bunch of cells.

These are some salient facts about the unborn child revealed by recent scientific developments:

- The unborn child’s heartbeat can be detected as early as 5 weeks of pregnancy. At 6 weeks the mean heart rate is 117 beats per minute. At 10 weeks the mean heart rate is 171 beats per minute.⁷
- A motor response can first be seen as a whole body movement away from a stimulus and observed on ultrasound from as early as 7.5 weeks’ gestational age. The area around the mouth is the first part of the body to respond to touch at approximately 8 weeks, but by 14 weeks most of the body is responsive to touch.⁸
- By 15 weeks gestation the human foetus has fully developed and functioning taste buds.⁹
- “Starting from the 14th week of gestation twin foetuses plan and execute movements specifically aimed at the co-twin. These findings force us to predate the emergence of social behaviour: when the context enables it, as in the case of twin foetuses, other-directed actions are not only possible but predominant over self-directed.”¹⁰

The unborn child can feel pain

The fact that unborn children are capable of feeling pain emphasises the humanity of the foetus. Dr Kanwaljeet S. Anand, from the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences and the Pain

Neurobiology Laboratory at Arkansas Children's Hospital Research, has testified before the District Court of Nebraska:

It is my opinion that the human fetus possesses the ability to experience pain from 20 weeks of gestation, if not earlier, and the pain perceived by a fetus is possibly more intense than that perceived by term newborns or older children...¹¹

The reality that unborn children are capable of feeling pain highlights the inhumane nature of abortion.

Foetal viability

A new study has found that babies born at 22 weeks can survive. As *LifeSiteNews* reported:

The age of fetal viability may be revised downward, as a new study has found that a significant number of babies born at 22 weeks will survive if they receive life-saving treatment.

*Nearly one out of every four babies born at that early date was able to live after receiving medical treatment, according to a study published today in *The New England Journal of Medicine*.*

*Five percent of babies born at 22 weeks survived without any outside assistance, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.*

In all, 18 of the 78 babies born at 22 weeks survived after being given treatment. Researchers found that 39 percent of these babies survived without even moderate impairments. Six of the survivors suffered from serious complications such as hearing loss, blindness, or cerebral palsy.

The rate improved for babies born at 23 weeks gestation: About one-third of those babies survived, half with no serious complications.

About 5,000 of the 18,000 babies born at a very premature age are born at 22 or 23 weeks of pregnancy.

"It confirms that if you don't do anything, these babies will not make it, and if you do something, some of them will make it," said Dr. David Burchfield, the University of Florida's chief of neonatology, who did not take part in the study.¹²

Babies capable of surviving outside of the womb are being aborted in Queensland.

Any consideration of abortion law must take into account the reality that abortion ends the life of an innocent human being, many of which can survive outside of the womb. An approach to the law which makes the unborn child invisible is not rational or justifiable.

Presenting abortion as merely another medical procedure is misleading. Pregnancy as such is not a disease.

Abortion is only a medical procedure in the same sense as execution by lethal injection is a medical procedure. That is to say, both are procedures performed by a doctor using medical knowledge, but not for any identifiable medical purpose. Abortion is not aimed at achieving health but simply at ending pregnancy through terminating the life of the unborn child.

Recommendation 1:

Mothers seeking an abortion should be provided with a fact sheet detailing developmental stages of the unborn child.

4. Inquiry Terms of Reference

4.1. Existing practices in Queensland concerning termination of pregnancy by medical practitioners

Twenty-seven babies aged 20 weeks or more survived abortions in Queensland in 2015, the Queensland Minister for Health and Minister for Ambulance Services Cameron Dick has revealed.¹³

Shockingly, *ABC News* reported:

*Queensland Health confirmed that in such cases, care is not rendered to the baby after a decision to terminate is made and it is left to perish in the clinic.*¹⁴

In his response to a question on notice, the Queensland Minister for Health revealed the following abortion live births since 2005:¹⁵

Calendar year	Termination with live birth outcome
2005	8
2006	16
2007	20
2008	15
2009	13
2010	17
2011	20
2012	20
2013	23
2014	25
2015	27

These figures clearly show more than a tripling of the number of babies surviving abortion since 2005. The *Daily Mail Australia* reported the Queensland Health Minister as saying the number could be much higher when non-confirmed incidents are taken into account.¹⁶

Recommendation 2:

Queensland law should place a positive obligation upon health professionals to provide life-sustaining care to babies that survive abortion.

4.2. Existing legal principles that govern termination practices in Queensland

The Committee's Information Paper has summarised the law regarding abortion in Queensland:

- *Abortion is a crime for women and for doctors procuring it.*
- *It is legal if the doctor believes a woman's physical and/or mental health is in serious danger.¹⁷*

The abortion law in Queensland currently provides some protection for the unborn, whereas the proposed *Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill 2016* has none.

4.3. The need to modernise and clarify the law (without altering current clinical practice), to reflect current community attitudes and expectations

No amount of public support for something that is inherently wrong, namely the taking of innocent human life, can make it right. If that were the case, some of the worst human rights abuses in history could be justified.

If community attitudes were considered, however, it is worth noting public support for strengthening Queensland abortion laws rather than liberalising them. A Galaxy poll conducted in May 2016 found that:

- *Most voters in Queensland (55%) believe abortion involves the taking of a human life. This view is most commonly held by women (56%), those that have not completed year 12 (58%) and those living in regional and rural Queensland (58%).*
- *Two thirds of voters in Queensland (66%) believe that an unborn child at 20 weeks of pregnancy is a human person with human rights.*
- *It is widely accepted that abortion can harm the mental and physical health of a woman (84%). Those aged 18-34 years (90%) are the most likely to have concerns about the harm to the physical and mental health of the woman.*
- *Only 38% of Queensland voters support abortion in cases where a healthy mother is carrying a healthy unborn baby. In contrast, 45% are opposed to abortion under these circumstances and 17% are uncommitted.*
- *Those aged 18-34 years are the most likely to be in favour of abortion in circumstances when the mother and baby are both healthy. In contrast, among those aged 50 years and older those opposed to abortion in these circumstances outnumber those in favour by more than two to one.*
- *Most voters in Queensland (72%) would not allow abortion after 13 weeks. This includes 50% that would allow abortion up to 13 weeks and 22% opposed to abortion at any time.*

- *There is widespread belief in Queensland (94%) that before having an abortion a woman should receive free independent counselling and information so that she can make a fully informed decision.*
- *There is also strong support (87%) for a cooling off period of several days between making an appointment for an abortion and the actual operation.*
- *Three quarters of Queensland voters (75%) believe parental consent should normally be required for girls under the age of 16 to have an abortion.*
- *Eight in ten voters (79%) support conscientious objection provisions allowing doctors and nurses to opt out of having to perform abortion operations against their will.*
- *The community is divided over abortion laws in Queensland with 39% of the opinion that the law as it currently stands is too restrictive and 42% thinking it is about right. A further 11% do not believe the law is restrictive enough.*
- *Those that believe abortion should not be decriminalised (49%) outnumber those in favour of the decriminalisation of abortion (43%).*
- *Around half of all Queensland voters (48%) say that if their local Member of Parliament voted in favour of decriminalising abortion it would influence their vote, and this issue would be more likely to cost the MP votes (50%) than be a vote winner (38%).¹⁸*

Any changes to the abortion law based on community attitudes should therefore strengthen the rights of the unborn, not weaken them.

Recommendation 3:

Any change to Queensland abortion laws purportedly made on the basis of current community attitudes and expectations should strengthen rather than weaken abortion laws.

4.4. *Legislative and regulatory arrangements in other Australian jurisdictions including regulating terminations based on gestational periods*

New South Wales

New South Wales abortion law is detailed by the Committee's Information paper as follows:

- *Abortion is a crime for women and for doctors procuring it.*
- *It is legal if the doctor believes that the woman's life or physical and/or mental health is in serious danger. Social, economic and medical factors may be considered.¹⁹*

South Australia

Abortion law in South Australia is summarised so:

Under the Criminal Law Consolidation Act 1935 (SA):

- *Up to 28 weeks: abortion is lawful if two qualified medical practitioners agree the woman's physical and/or mental health is at greater risk by continuing the pregnancy than from termination, or that the child is at risk of being seriously handicapped. A two-month residency requirement applies.*

- *After 28 weeks: the termination must be necessary to save the woman's life or prevent grave injury to her physical or mental health.*²⁰

Victoria

In Victoria:

Abortion is no longer a crime under the Crimes Act 1958 (Vic) as a result of the Abortion Law Reform Act 2008 (Vic):

- *Up to 24 weeks gestation: a registered medical practitioner may perform an abortion on a woman upon request.*
- *After 24 weeks gestation: a registered medical practitioner may only perform an abortion where the practitioner and at least one other registered medical practitioner reasonably believes that the abortion is appropriate in all the circumstances.*²¹

Western Australia

In Western Australia:

Abortion is illegal under the Western Australia Criminal Code unless performed by a medical practitioner in good faith, with reasonable care and skill and it is justified under the Health Act 1911 (WA):

- *Up to 20 weeks: justified with the informed consent of the woman.*
- *After 20 weeks: not justified unless two appointed medical practitioners agree the woman or unborn child has a severe medical condition and the procedure is performed in an approved facility.*²²

Tasmania

In Tasmania:

Abortion is no longer a crime under the Tasmanian Criminal Code Act 1924. Under the Reproductive Health (Access to Terminations) Act 2013 (Tas):

- *Up to 16 weeks: abortion is allowed, provided the woman consents.*
- *After 16 weeks: two medical practitioners must agree that the woman's physical and/or mental health is at greater risk by continuing the pregnancy.*²³

Northern Territory

The Northern Territory law is summarised as follows:

Abortion is illegal under the Criminal Code Act but is lawful in certain circumstances provided under the Medical Services Act (NT):

- *Up to 14 weeks: if two medical practitioners agree the woman's physical and/or mental health is at greater risk by continuing the pregnancy, there is substantial risk of the child being seriously handicapped. Must be performed in a hospital.*
- *After 14 weeks and up to 23 weeks: abortion is lawful if immediately necessary to prevent serious harm to the woman's physical or mental health.*²⁴

Australian Capital Territory

The Committee's Information Paper has summarised the law regarding abortion in the ACT:

- *Abortion is no longer a crime under the Crimes Act 1900 (ACT).*
- *Under the Medical Practitioners (Maternal Health) Amendment Act 2002 (ACT), abortion is available on request.²⁵*

Of all the jurisdictions in Australia, the Australian Capital Territory currently has the least amount of protection for unborn children, followed by Victoria. Notwithstanding the nature of the ACT decriminalised system, a number of regulatory provisions and penalties exist within the *Health Act 1993*:

Section 80

Meaning of abortion for pt 6

In this part:

"abortion" means causing a woman's miscarriage by:

- (a) administering a drug; or*
- (b) using an instrument; or*
- (c) any other means.*

Section 81

Only doctor may carry out abortion

A person who is not a doctor must not carry out an abortion.

Maximum penalty: imprisonment for 5 years.

Section 82

Abortion to be carried out in approved medical facility

A person must not carry out an abortion except in a medical facility, or part of a medical facility, approved under section 83 (1).

Maximum penalty: 50 penalty units, imprisonment for 6 months or both.

Section 83

Approval of facilities

(1) If a medical facility is suitable on medical grounds for carrying out abortions, the Minister may approve the medical facility or an appropriate part of the medical facility.

(2) An approval is a notifiable instrument.

Note A notifiable instrument must be notified under the Legislation Act 2001

(3) The Minister must not unreasonably refuse or delay a request for approval of a medical facility under subsection (1).

Section 84

No obligation to carry out abortion

(1) No-one is under a duty (by contract or by statutory or other legal requirement) to carry out or assist in carrying out an abortion.

(2) A person is entitled to refuse to assist in carrying out an abortion.²⁶

The *Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill 2016* would make Queensland abortion laws even more lax than the ACT and, therefore, the most liberal abortion of all the states and territories.

4.5. Provision of counselling and support services for women

In 2009, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported on the pressure placed upon women to undergo abortions:

Seven out of 10 men involved in unwanted pregnancies try to influence women to have abortions, according to a prominent Brisbane pregnancy clinic.

A senior counsellor from Pregnancy Counselling Link, which receives up to 3000 calls a year, believes up to 70 per cent of cases involve men pressuring their partners to have terminations.²⁷

The prevalence of coerced abortion indicates a need to strengthen current laws to better protect women from such pressure.

5. Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill 2016

The *Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill 2016* would repeal three sections from the *Criminal Code Act 1899*: 224 (attempts to procure abortion); 225 (the like by women with child); and 226 (supplying drugs or instruments to procure abortion). The bill would also amend the *Transport Operations (Road Use Management) Act 1995*.

If passed, the legislation would make abortion legal right up until birth, without restriction, and give Queensland the most lax abortion laws in Australia.

5.1. Repeal of section 224 (attempts to procure abortion)

Section 224 of the *Criminal Code Act 1899* states:

224 Attempts to procure abortion

Any person who, with intent to procure the miscarriage of a woman, whether she is or is not with child, unlawfully administers to her or causes her to take any poison or other noxious thing, or uses any force of any kind, or uses any other means whatever, is guilty of a crime, and is liable to imprisonment for 14 years.

This section protects the unborn child from a third party causing an abortion. It is an important protection for both the woman and the child from the type of action reported by *The Independent*. The paper revealed in 2015 that a man in Norway had tricked his ex-girlfriend into taking abortion pills by slipping them into her smoothie:

"He had tried several times to convince me to have an abortion but it was not an option for me," the 20-year-old woman told the court.

Lacing the smoothie with abortion pills was the man's second attempt to make is [sic] ex-girlfriend lose the child...

The man had purchased the pills over the internet and attempted to induce a miscarriage early on in the pregnancy by telling the woman they were painkillers.

When this did not result in a miscarriage, the man purchased a second batch of pills, claiming he was concerned after reading online that an unsuccessful abortion attempt could lead to a child being born with deformities.

After the woman drank the smoothie she experienced severe abdominal pain and later miscarried.

It was discovered by the woman's doctor that her miscarriage had been induced by a high dose of abortion medicine.

The man told the court he felt "like a total shitbag" when the severity of his actions dawned on him.²⁸

Another similar case, in the United States, was reported by *Daily News* in 2015:

A former Manhattan restaurant owner was convicted Friday of attempted murder for slipping his girlfriend an abortion drug while she was 13-weeks pregnant.

Joshua Woodward pleaded no contest to secretly giving his girlfriend the early-term abortion drug misoprostol shortly before she miscarried in October 2009, Los Angeles prosecutors said.

Authorities previously said Woodward administered the drug on three occasions before the sad loss – once orally and twice vaginally during foreplay.

Woodward, a partner in the Table 8 restaurant chain that graced the Cooper Square Hotel before it changed to Standard Hotel East Village, is expected to get nine years in state prison at his sentencing next year, prosecutors said.

The former girlfriend declined to comment when reached by the Daily News Friday.

She previously told police that Woodward, 43, didn't want the baby from the moment he learned of the pregnancy and pleaded with her to get an abortion.

She declined, leading to a bitter breakup.

While spending time apart, Woodward began researching misoprostol online, authorities said in a 2012 court motion obtained by The News.

They said he typed the phrases, "ways men have forced abortions," and "evil ways to terminate a pregnancy," into his web search engine.

Woodward later told the pregnant girlfriend he wanted to resume their relationship and planned to be a supportive parent – but the truth was that he only wanted to get close again to force an abortion, a Los Angeles Police investigator wrote in a 2009 search warrant affidavit obtained by The News.

After two unsuccessful attempts, Woodward realized he needed to increase his dosage, police said.

On Oct. 18, 2009, Woodward conducted further online research about dosage and the length of time misoprostol is detectible in a person's blood.

He then visited the girlfriend's apartment, dipped his hand into his backpack during an intimate encounter and applied the drug to her during sexual touching, the affidavit said.

The girlfriend suffered severe cramping and miscarried the fetus about 15 hours later, the affidavit said.

She noticed a powdery substance in her underwear and called police, who set up a sting operation, according to the affidavit.

Investigators told the girlfriend to keep the miscarriage a secret and invite Woodward back over. A week later, police arrested Woodward outside her Los Angeles apartment with more misoprostol, they said.

"With his right hand he pulled out a small piece of clear plastic with a white powdery substance from his right front pocket and started grinding the item on his pants just below the pocket," the detective wrote in the 2009 court paperwork.

Woodward's former celebrity chef partner Govind Armstrong distanced himself from the attempted murder suspect after his 2009 arrest.

"They are no longer partners," Armstrong's publicist previously told The News.²⁹

If the *Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill* is passed, what recourse will there be for a woman who is tricked into taking an abortion drug?

Recommendation 5:

Section 224, which provides an important protection against an individual administering abortion drugs to a pregnant woman without her knowledge, should be retained.

5.2. Repeal of section 225 (the like by women with child)

Section 225 of the *Criminal Code Act 1899* states:

225 The like by women with child

Any woman who, with intent to procure her own miscarriage, whether she is or is not with child, unlawfully administers to herself any poison or other noxious thing, or uses any force of any kind, or uses any other means whatever, or permits any such thing or means to be administered or used to her, is guilty of a crime, and is liable to imprisonment for 7 years.

The repeal of section 225 interferes with the fundamental human right to life of the unborn child and should not be supported.

Recommendation 6:

Section 225, which protects the right to life of the unborn child, should be retained.

5.3. Repeal of section 226 (supplying drugs or instruments to procure abortion)

Section 226 of the *Criminal Code Act 1899* states:

226 Supplying drugs or instruments to procure abortion

Any person who unlawfully supplies to or procures for any person anything whatever, knowing that it is intended to be unlawfully used to procure the miscarriage of a woman, whether she is or is not with child, is guilty of a misdemeanour, and is liable to imprisonment for 3 years.

This section is an important protection against an individual supplying abortion drugs to another who may, as in the example detailed in the *The Independent* newspaper article, deliberately causes a woman to have an abortion without her knowledge.

Recommendation 7:

Section 226, which protects the right to life of the unborn child, should be retained.

6. Conclusion

The right to life is the most basic and fundamental of all human rights. The right is recognised in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The fact that the ICCPR prohibits the death penalty being carried out on pregnant women further highlights that the unborn child has an inalienable right to life.

Beyond these philosophical and legal instruments, science is clear that human life begins at conception. Modern advancements in technology make it untenable to hold the view that the unborn child is just a bunch of cells.

Presently in Queensland, babies capable of surviving outside of the womb are being aborted. Rather than address this tragedy, the *Abortion Law Reform (Women's Right to Choose) Amendment Bill 2016* would make it more prevalent by legalising abortion right up until birth, without restriction, and would make Queensland's abortion laws the most lax in the country.

7. Endnotes

¹ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 3, http://www.claiminghumanrights.org/udhr_article_3.html

² International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights, Article 6, <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>

³ International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights, Article 6, <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>

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- ¹⁶ Liam Quinn, "At least 27 babies SURVIVED being born during late term abortions and were left to die in clinics in Queensland last year", *Daily Mail Australia*, 15 June 2016, www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3642611/At-27-babies-survived-late-term-abortions-Queensland-year-left-die.html#ixzz4BhuQpmJA
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