

Beyond the Abortion Wars. By Charles C. Camosy. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015. Pp. xiv + 207. \$22.

Camosy's landmark study emphasizes that in the United States most people hold moderate views about abortion. His book advances an imaginative proposal for a new public policy that reflects a broad public consensus, especially among the increasingly influential demographics of women, millennials, and Hispanics. His bold and controversial approach presents a breakthrough in our national debate.

The discussion begins with a brief history of the abortion debate to reimagine how we can constructively engage it today. Then the argument continues by discussing the moral status of the fetus, and providing an accessible explanation that presents complex philosophical arguments (such as on personhood) in a practical manner. A crucial point is made: the Catholic Church does not teach that at fertilization human life *is* a person—the Church teaches only that it should be treated *as* a person. This is important insofar as developments in embryogenesis may in the future justify treating life as a person at a different point than fertilization. For example, research on induced pluripotent stem cells (beyond the scope of this book) indicates how procreation in animals can occur without fertilization.

The recognition of the moral status of the fetus inevitably raises the question whether termination can be justified in the Catholic tradition. Here the clarity and insight of the analysis is outstanding. On the one hand, the traditional argument about the obligation to protect the innocence of a fetus is reinterpreted. While a fetus is innocent in the formal sense of not being able to intend any action or aggression against the mother, the fetus can nonetheless in a material sense cause a mortal threat to the life of its mother. In such a scenario the mother may defend herself without intending the death of the fetus by using the principle of double effect as a last resort. The classical case of a pregnant mother having a hysterectomy to treat cancer can be justified as a proportionate intervention insofar as the death of a pre-viable embryo is foreseen but not intended. Other cases can apply the same rationale, such as evacuating the uterus with a pre-viable fetus in situations of life-threatening pulmonary hypertension. On the other hand, there are scenarios when double-effect reasoning can justify refusing aid to a fetus (with the foreseen but unintended death that results)—this contrasts with any intention to kill it. A common example is when the health rather than the life of the mother is at stake, such as rape. This is where the analysis is most controversial and robust insofar as it engages the widespread problem of sexual violence against women. This issue is particularly problematic for Catholic healthcare.

There is a sustained argument, presented cogently and persuasively, that public policy on abortion must accommodate these critical distinctions based upon double-effect reasoning. This is not only because the distinctions are recognized by a majority of citizens but more especially because otherwise only one half of the population (women) would have to bear disproportionate burdens and disastrous consequences. To achieve a balanced approach to abortion that reflects the large middle ground of opinion in the United States, the book concludes with an astute proposal for a new public policy that integrates the above arguments: a legal recognition of the embryo,

acceptance of situations that justify termination through the use of double-effect reasoning, and effective protection and support for the mother before and after childbirth.

In addition to the impact of the book for public policy, it is especially important for the Catholic community in the United States, for a variety of reasons. First, the author is a Catholic theologian who provides extraordinary leadership on this hotly contested and widespread dilemma by bridging superb scholarship with practical implications for the general public. Second, his stance highlights a pervasive scandal insofar as Catholic communities typically do not provide sufficient support for women in difficult circumstances before and after childbirth, especially when protection and shelter are needed. Finally, a sound hermeneutic is adopted to explain that the interpretations are consistent with current Catholic doctrine—the book reveals a great theologian at work, shifting dense arguments (that are mapped very effectively in the notes) into language that lay people can grasp.

This is an extraordinary study that should be used extensively by students and scholars in the academy, by clinicians and professionals in health care, by the laity and religious in religious communities, and perhaps most especially by politicians and policy makers who seek to move beyond the abortion wars of past generations.

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Catholic Labor Movements in Europe: Social Thought and Action, 1914–1965. By Paul Misner. Washington: Catholic University of America, 2015. Pp. ix + 341. \$65.

Misner is the author of the magisterial earlier 1991 volume, *Social Catholicism in Europe: From the Onset of Industrialization to the First World War*, undoubtedly the best single book in English covering that material. Many have waited for this second volume, bringing the material up through World War I to the Vatican Council. Like its predecessor, this latest study is also likely to be the best single book in English covering its material. It covers Catholic worker movements in Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands.

A brief summary of the argument runs as follows. If, in the period before World War I, Catholic workers' movements put a major stress on re-Christianizing society, in the period between World War I and World War II, the stress lay on vindicating the rights of workers but not alienating them from their Christian faith. Throughout most of this period, Catholics generally saw themselves as a third way between liberalism and socialism and there was very little strong connection between liberals and socialists and Catholic parties or unions. Collaboration in resistance movements during World War II led to a cooperative breakthrough between Catholics, socialists, and liberals. In the post-World War II period, Catholic parties and workers' or social movements gained new traction. Now they embraced a kind of societal pluralism instead of a total re-Christianization of society. Unlike Leo XIII, Pius XI, and the church in the