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## The Sleeping Giant

Eugene F. Diamond, M.D.

One great legacy left by the Catholic community to the American istorical scene is a succession of atute politicians. A procession of hnic leaders, usually operating from minority political base, have chieved positions of influence and introl through a combination of ganizational drudgery and an inborn tuition for the unspoken will of the eople. To a large extent, these politileaders have been first or second eneration products of European ucieties which were characterized by ersecution and coercion of the disenunchised. Though their pursuit of Niver was born of a desire to escape ertain vulnerabilities, their use of wwer has, by and large, been characenzed by a sensitivity of the needs of he underdog and a dedication to the

obligation of government to protect the defenseless elements in the society. Since most ethnic politicians achieved office after a power struggle with an entrenched Anglo-Saxon Protestant adversary, there was little occasion to agonize over the proper role of a Catholic minority in a pluralistic society. Fierce identification with a conspicious Catholic position was frequently the key to amalgamating a coalition of other minority groups against an intolera it and oppresive overlord. The infrastructure of this Catholic political system still exists in many areas although there has been a dilution of its homogeneity by the need for some of its principals to broaden their appeal in order to fulfill national aspirations. There has also been a modification of its social preoccupation as its constituents move from the sweat shops to the country clubs. The most unfortunate development in the function of the Catholic political system, however, has been its estrangement from the institutional church during its current epochal battles.

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The accumulated expertise and ctical genius of the many able atholic politicians is seldom evident in the abortion reform controversy as it develops state by state. This is not to demean the veoman performances by individual legislators in leading floor fights and developing parliamentary approaches. The problem has been that politicians have tended to defer to the clergy in the development of overall strategies and grassroots campaigns. At the parish level, the clergy have tended to be particularly inert and ineffective and, at times, even antagonistic toward developing organized lay protest against abortion law repeal. The non-involvement of the clergy would seem to derive from a confusion regarding the real issues involved. Instead of keeping the abortion issue in its proper context of life and death, young curates have tended to lump it with contraception. Nothing, it would seem, conflicts so much with a young priests post-concillar self image as an issue even slightly tainted with "pelvic morality". Deprived then, of a coordinated and broadbased voter's protest, the Catholic tactic has typically settled for lofty and inspiring episcopal statements, couched in theological phraseology and devoid of any real or implied threat of political action. Into the void left by the lack of a diocesan grand strategy, there typically scurries a zealous and incredibly energetic group of physicians, lawyers, and other lay people who patch together a Right to Life group out of volunteers already overcommitted to professional obligations and child care. Because these people are high-energy types and because they are absolutely guilt-ridden if they shirk a single opportunity to speak out against abortion, their achievements ive been monumental. When arraye sleek and affluent opponen they are constantly frus usually feel as though carrying water in a leaking of their meager resources ar in reacting to the manifol legislative thrusts of the activists. Typically, a suit the American Civil Libertic behalf of a coterie of me deans and department hear Right-to-Life attorneys int frantic sessions to prepare are usually lucid and well Nowhere to my knowleds has the ordinary of a dioc a full-time legal staff energetic and imaginative to bring test cases to cour to dramatize those issues which we want higher couin the balance. It wou credibility to accept the there are not adequal resources available for sur Meanwhile, state and di strike down a succession because of the alleged in language relating to a threof the mother. Yet, as pi recognize that this lank ge is so precise and meaningful in sense that, for all intents . I purpose, no abortions are propo 1 or performed to save a woman's e.

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Many have spoken of the problems related to the coexistence of bills to repeal abortion laws and bills to provide aid to private education on the

me legislative calendar. It should be wious that this situation is capable exploitation by opponents of either Il if we give the slightest indication a willingness to trade one for the ther. It is also obvious that no sislative program of this type ever ceeds through compromise. No one imagine a civil-rights program which offered to sacrifice jobs or the ole in return for housing or medical are. From a practical standpoint, it would also seem obvious that any hreat to close parochial schools loses as political impact when it is tendered with hand-wringing and timidity and lears regarding its ecumenical consequences. In many areas, Catholic chool boards are now in the position of the poker player who bluffed with two dueces and lost. In Chicago, for example, after the Catholic school board announced that it would not close its schools, as previously breatened, the public school board refused even to discuss a proposal for hared time.

The same type of situation can now be seen to be developing with regard In Catholic hospitals as suits are filed to attack conscience clauses and the tights of Catholic hospitals to withhold their premises from abortion, terilization, and public birth control activities. The same voices of vacillation and accommodation are again raised. The same prophets of doom stride to the podium to intone gloomy prognostications regarding the untenability of the Catholic legal position. We hear that the code of the Catholic Hospital Association is being "revised" and anxieties are now being voiced in doctor's lounges from coast to coast that we may again be on the brink of a corporate cave-in before the battle even gets to the ramparts. Again we listen, in vain, for the language of power play and confrontation. Where is the forceful and charismatic leader who will lead us to a show down at the gap? Where is the loud ecclesiastical voice which will call for the summary close-down of every Catholic hospital on the day that first Catholic hospital is directed by a court to schedule an abortion. Not in the orderly transferral of facilities from the sisters to the community will we find any political leverage but only in the abrupt and unforewarned control of this large segment of the health care delivery system.

While we scan the horizon for banners and listen for the sound of trumpets, we sink deeper into ennui and Nirvana. The winter of our discontent is lengthening but there is still ample time. As the dominoes continue to fall and as attacks on potential life give way to attacks on nascent life and, ultimately, to attacks on deformed life and life nearing its quietus, we still have hope. We hope for the miracle which will cut away the ties which now bind down the energies of our Church, so that this sleeping grant will arise in time to salvage some of our society's values.