

Religious Conservatives, Up Close IV

ANNE HUSTED BURLEIGH AND WILLIAM R. BURLEIGH

To hear Cincinnati's Anne Husted Burleigh and her husband Bill talk is to hear a very fresh version of a very old view of family life. Thirty-one years ago the couple married, and Anne, who earned a bachelor's degree in European history and master's in American history while working as a reporter at the *Indianapolis Star*, quit her job to begin making a home. "I was happy," she explains, "to have my freedom to do all the things I wanted to."

She promptly started work on her first book, a study of John Adams. Her latest, just out, is called *Journey Up the River: A Midwestern's Spiritual Pilgrimage*. Though Anne's reporting job was exciting, she says she "never missed it at all." While many people see the move from job to home as a great sacrifice, Anne's view is different. "If I'd kept working it would have been a great deprivation to my husband, my children, and to me, because the greatest joy I've had has been to take care of my loved ones and educate my children."

Pressed whether she'd recommend her way of life to young women today, Anne replies, "I wouldn't presume to tell girls what to do because I don't know what's going on in their heart, in the interior of their family, or what their obligations are. But I do suggest that if they have children they ask themselves who better could rear them. I would be so distressed if I had to turn over that job to a surrogate, because I'd feel I wasn't taking care of my responsibility, and was missing out on my biggest satisfaction." Parents who look honestly at what they might sacrifice will "quite often find a way to stay home and take care of those young minds and hearts and souls."

One objection raised to such a choice is that it wastes the caretaker's education, but Anne disagrees strenuously. "Oh no, a mother should be the best educated person in the world. I think it's a young woman's responsibility to receive the finest liberal arts education she can. To say it's advisable for young women to stay home with their kids doesn't mean they have to let their brains dry up—they should keep reading and studying and thinking."

The other objection now leveled against a career like Anne's is monetary: there just isn't any way most women can afford not to work, is there? But Anne and Bill's life belies that assumption. They started out quite humbly: "Certainly

we had nothing for a quite a long time, but we never really felt we were poor. I ended up many weeks with 50 cents or less left in my little grocery budget, yet somehow we always squeaked by."

Anne believes that "young women and men have to decide whose career is going to support the family, who's going to be the chief breadwinner. And if they say, OK, it's the husband, then I think they both need to point in that direction. The rearing of the children is both the parent's primary task, but the man's and woman's gifts to that family end are likely to be different."

Anne doesn't think that a mother working is inherently bad at all. She just advises that one career be the primary one and that any work the mother does allow her flexibility to spend as much time as possible with her children. "I think mothers can be quite inventive, and in this respect the computer is a godsend. It seems to me that mothers can now more easily work in their home and be there when their children need them." Anne adds that "even when our kids were little, I wrote book reviews." As they grew, she took on bigger tasks, including a regular column for the Catholic journal *Crisis*.

Reared as a Methodist, Anne had some religious doubts in high school. In college she became interested in the Catholic church. "European history can't be studied without studying the Church," she says, "and I was intrigued. I also got interested through Bill. I had never met a man who was so strong in his faith, and felt he had something wonderful I'd better look into."

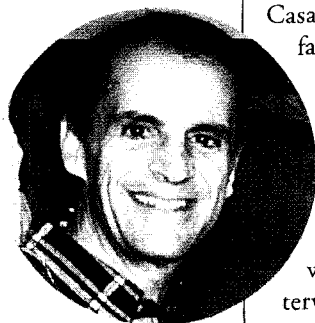
Husband Bill worked his way up from a part-time sports reporter for his hometown paper in Evansville, Indiana, to be president and chief operating officer of the Scripps-Howard newspapers.

Bill tries to mix his religion into his civic service. He's worked with the Sisters of Charity hospitals for a decade, and is a member of the Knights of Malta religious order. A "good bit" of his recent activity "has been focused on Catholic inner-city schools in Cincinnati, trying to get the corporate community to recognize what a wonderful resource they are and give them financial undergirding to support the little miracles they are performing." Summing up his life, Bill says simply that "all I've wanted to do is raise a good family, put out a good newspaper, and get to heaven."



Photo Credit: Robert A. Fischel

LARRY CASAZZA



By the time he became a doctor, Larry Casazza had fallen away from his faith. "I was raised in the Catholic tradition. I had eight years of nuns followed by eight years of Jesuit training. I drifted away from that as I sensed that it was more form and requirement than anything that had to do with my faith. For many years afterwards I pursued my medical career objectives." While working in

Pakistan and Nepal on health projects, Casazza began to recognize that man is a composite of body, soul, mind, and spirit. "What I saw there was a spiritual integration amongst Muslims and Hindus that I hadn't experienced in my own Christian life. It certainly affirmed that the spiritual element was something I had ignored and pretty much negated in my own life. That created at least a yearning."

"Back in about 1975, I did have what people would call a religious experience. At that point, God answered a prayer in a way that I could not deny was anything but a response from Him, and that began a gradually deepening relationship." Casazza's faith is now a central part of his life. "My relationship with God through Jesus Christ truly sustains me," he says.

In a very literal sense, Casazza has reshaped his life to try to become an instrument of the Lord. He has spent years doctoring in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the Third World. Currently he works on international relief projects with a large Christian development agency called World Vision, where "I am responsible for child survival, working very closely with a group from Johns Hopkins Public Health who are our technical partners in implementing these projects."

Casazza considers his overseas efforts a two-way street. "These aren't in the dynamic of master and servant but as true brother-assisting-brother, with benefits in both directions." Casazza believes it would be a mistake for Americans to isolate themselves from the world. He bases this both on his understanding of Christian responsibility and on practical arguments. "An isolationist policy would soon reduce the prosperity we enjoy. In clinical terms, we cannot isolate ourselves from outside diseases, with today's modern transportation systems." Casazza believes that Americans will always want to help people in other countries. "At no point do I despair that the American public is going to give up on effective foreign assistance. Whenever I go back home to Montana and get an opportunity to talk to groups like the Lions and Rotary clubs, I find strong interest in global outreach."

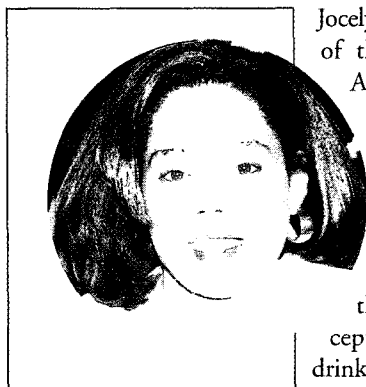
Casazza calls himself a conservative, but he does not want to be included in the religious right. "I would put myself on the conservative side of issues. But at the same time, in terms to foreign assistance to countries that are struggling to improve their infant mortality rates, and better the condition of women and families and the poor—these are issues which I am very committed to, personally and professionally. Those are issues that liberals might claim in their camp." Casazza believes that the term "religious

right" reduces people to caricatures. "It is another little pigeon hole. I am uncomfortable when the secular press or whoever comes up with these quick ways of slotting people. It depersonalizes. And certainly among the Christian circles that I am familiar with, nobody really fits into that category. These are thinking people."

Casazza is suspicious of any politician who is too overtly religious. "I must say that when someone starts waving the Bible at a political discussion I get uneasy. Obviously when it is an issue that directly comes up against something that is very clear in God's word as behavior that is unacceptable, then that is an easy one. But as Christians our responsibility is to love, and one can become so strident and rigid that you become unloving. And then I think you've lost the forest for the trees."

Casazza prays for and respects whoever is the leader of the country. "Scripture says that authority has been placed there by God. Even when they are not of my particular political persuasion, I still give them respect and support in my prayers." And he hopes politicians will in turn have reverence for God's wisdom.

JOCELYN JONES



Jocelyn Jones, 24, is a recent graduate of the University of Virginia, an African American, and a devout Christian. During her senior year, she committed herself to Christ. "It was gradual. I knew that there was something more." Jones's commitment has changed her social life. "Certain things that were just kind of accepted as the norm, whether it be drinking or whatever, I realized those things were not helping me. So I

changed. I tend now to surround myself with people who are a little more open about their Christianity, and their lifestyles reflect it."

After graduation, Jones found work as assistant to the president of the Network of Politically Active Christian Women (N-PAC). "We fight for Biblical principles in government. We have been specifically targeting the black community and alerting them to the issues being dealt with in legislation. We believe that God is going to restore in our government a higher standard of moral excellence, but he is going to have to use Christians to do that." N-PAC is most interested in abortion, education, homosexuality, and welfare reform.

Jones thinks that the black community should stop depending on the government and get back to its roots. "Since slavery, the center of our culture has been Christ. We need to get back to making where we stand with God our priority." Jones teaches Bible study in inner-city Raleigh, North Carolina, as a volunteer, and hopes one day to volunteer with single mothers. "I want to help them build themselves up, not only with a commitment to God but also with practical things like finance and money."

Jones's group opposed Henry Foster's nomination for Surgeon General because of Foster's abortion record. "A lot of people have lined up with a certain leader because he is black, not neces-

sarily for his beliefs." She is pleased so far with the election to Congress of more Christian conservatives. "We agree with many of the stances that they take. We are watching still to make sure everyone's voting in line with what we believe. A Republican Congress does not necessarily mean a Christian one."

Jones says, "Because of today's desperate situation, we have a lot of organizing to do in the black community. All Christians, but black Christians in particular, are going to have to ask what is going to come first: the party, our race, or Christ, putting him before even racial issues."

GLEN KEANE

Pocahontas, the sylph-like Native American princess whose romance with Captain John Smith was the film hit of the summer of '95, is the child of Glen Keane, supervising animator for Disney films. Keane drew Pocahontas as well as other beloved Disney characters like Aladdin, the beast in *Beauty and the Beast*, Ariel of *The Little Mermaid* and the golden eagle Marahute in *The Rescuers Down Under*. All this success has not gone to Keane's head, however. He remains a humble family man, hard-working artist, and Christian.

Keane, son of "Family Circus" cartoonist Bill Keane, has been at Disney for over 20 years. It was shortly after entering the Disney training program that he began to examine his faith. "I remember walking around the department feeling incredibly honored that I was there, and challenged as an artist. But at the same time this heaviness was coming over me, and I was sensing an emptiness inside. I knew that if I had to stand before God, I could not say I was pure in His eyes."

One day at work, the animators were matched in pairs, and Keane was partnered with Ron Husband. Keane noticed that at lunch Husband ate alone, reading the Bible. "I had never seen anybody read the Bible. I was raised Catholic, it was just not something anybody close to me ever did. And I had never really read it so I went to him and asked him what the Bible had to say about this emptiness I was feeling, about having my sins forgiven, and how I could know I was right before God." Husband showed the verse John 3:16 to Keane. "Suddenly, for the first time, I had the faith inside to believe that. It was as if I could reach down in my heart, and there was something I could put toward that verse. I knew there was nothing I could do to earn my way, that He had paid everything for me. All it took was for me to believe that He was God's son."

Keane's newfound faith helped him approach his art with fresh confidence. "I felt like I could pursue my animation with reckless abandon. With a joy and freedom that I did not have before." When Keane animates a character, it often reflects his Christianity. "Every film I make is an expression of my faith, although that is not the main intention of the film. It seems that there is always a parable

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--Glen Keane

mixed in there for me." In *The Rescuers Down Under*, the little boy flies on the eagle's back, learning to trust. At the end of the film, the eagle lets the boy jump off a waterfall and soar by himself for a while before the eagle catches him. "To me that is a parable of faith. God is always there to lift us up on eagle's wings and carry us, if we trust him." In *Beauty and the Beast*, the beast is transformed from the inside out. "To me, it is a great illustration of 2 Corinthians, 5:17: 'If any man is in Christ, he is a new creation.'"

"Even in *Pocahontas*, though there are a lot of New Age messages in it, that did not stop me from being able to equate the movement of the wind to the movement of the

Holy Spirit, guiding and giving direction in my life just the way the wind does for Pocahontas." For Keane, it is easier to animate a character that he has conviction about and who is real to him. An animator does more than simply draw a figure, he gives the character its spirit. "An animator is really an actor with a pencil."

When Keane first became a Christian, he thought he wanted to get out of animation to become a minister. He told his pastor about wanting to do something "serious," and his pastor told him to stay put. "You are there because that is where God wants you to be. You can have a big impact sharing your light at Disney," he told me. Keane does not look at people as potential converts. "If somebody asks me about the hope I have, then I tell them what drives my life from the inside out, but I don't start evangelizing in the hallways."

"On my desk I have a verse that says, 'Whatever you do, work with your heart as working for the Lord.'" Keane keeps this verse in mind when decisions are made that he does not agree with. "I approach that as if it was the Lord saying, 'I want you do to the best you can. Even though it is not your idea or the way you would choose to do it, do it for me.'" Sometimes other employees will ask how Keane can be so calm about having two months of work sim-

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ply thrown out. "If you are honest you say that it really hurts and sometimes there are tears involved. But in the end I tell them I don't look at it like I am just working for Disney. I am working for the Lord first, and then for them."

While Keane is deeply committed to his work, he decided early on that he needed to make time for his wife, and later his two children. Leaving work is not always easy. "I may have spent the whole day going over somebody else's work and going to meetings. And finally I sit down and start my scene. I am going to animate Pocahontas diving off the cliff, say, and I can just picture the wind blowing in her hair and how she feels. But it's six o'clock—I've got to get home. You have to decide where your priorities are. Home is real, my wife and kids. This is animation; I can focus on my scene tomorrow."

While Disney is undergoing some cosmic changes, Keane feels comfortable leading the animation department. "There is a genuineness and sincerity in animators that is very unusual in Hollywood. There are a lot of family people in this line of work." Once a week Keane meets with some other Disney employees for Bible study. Although other branches of Disney may release controversial films, the animation department stands apart. "If it was feature animation that was doing a film like *Priest*, I would really struggle with that. Actually, I don't think I would struggle for long—I don't think I would be there. But I see feature animation as separate, as a group of artists producing our own work. I feel very comfortable there. All I can do is focus on the one area that God has given me some say in, and that is in my own work as an animator."

NANCY PEARCEY

Nancy Pearcey's Christian faith is not segmented to a one-hour period on Sunday mornings; it influences her views on art, culture, science, politics, and family. "I think if there is something that is true about the world, it is true about all of life. And it's got to cover the public and the private. It has to cover the way I act as a citizen, as an employee at my work, and how I act in my community, church, and family."

In high school, Pearcey says, "I began to question my faith and decided that the only way to know the truth was to set aside my faith entirely and to look at it alongside all the other religions and philosophies of the world." She searched for a creed she could live by. "It was a very cognitive thing for me. I became convinced eventually that Christianity did answer the basic philosophical questions better than any other system."

Pearcey's faith has not wavered, but she continues to be an intellectual adventurer. Four years ago, she helped Charles Colson,

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—Nancy Pearcey

the former Nixon aide and founder of the Prison Fellowship, establish a broad-ranging national radio show called *BreakPoint*. Within three years, the program had a weekly audience of 5 million listeners. "What we give people is a lot meatier than your average radio program. We delve into the basic principles behind current events. We will take an issue, and try to teach people what the underlying philosophical movement is." Recently, the program has featured series on genetic engineering, virtue, a Christian view of art and literature, and the historical interplay between Christianity and science. "We have done some fairly substantial pieces. And we discovered that people are really hungry for that. It has been encouraging to see that Christians want to understand the modern world in sophisticated ways."

As a working mother with a new baby and a teenager, Pearcey does not have much spare time. But she does pray and read the Bible daily. And she sees cultural conservatives like herself gaining national acceptance. "For many decades, conservative views were kicked to the margins. As a result, conservatives had to come up with reasoned and articulate defenses for their viewpoints on various issues. They are coming back armed with those arguments, and they are putting the proponents of liberalism on the defensive."

ROBERT SIRICO

It's rare to find a Catholic priest today who praises the free market; it's rarer still to find one who also worked with Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden to elect left-wing politicians in California. Yet Father Robert Sirico did just that in the 1970s, when he abandoned the Catholic faith of his childhood and "drifted first theologically and then politically" into crusades for unionism, farm workers, gay rights, feminism, and pacifism.

Then one day "a friend insisted I sit down and read some books on economics and history. By this time I was well out of the church, didn't see myself as a Catholic, and was veering toward atheism. As I came to understand things like Friedrich Hayek's notion of a spontaneous social order, these books set me on an intellectual trajectory that resulted in my abandoning the Left. Those ideas led me to reconsider the whole tradition of the natural law, which in turn led me on a spiritual journey, and eventually back to the faith of my Brooklyn childhood. I went to confession, and recovered my faith." After some time in a monastery, Sirico went to seminary at the Catholic University of America and became a Paulist Father.

Reminded that many youths read libertarian economists like Hayek and Ludwig von Mises and go on to reject religion,



Sirico replies, "They haven't read them carefully enough. Embedded in the Austrian school of economics is an intellectual link with medieval scholastic thinkers, a strong kinship with the moral theologians of Salamanca and elsewhere. In a way, economics is a subcategory of moral theology."

Sirico also sees this kinship in Pope John Paul II's so-called "phenomenological" approach to philosophy, a fancy way of saying that philosophers shouldn't start with airy theories about human behavior but ought to begin instead from a clear-eyed look at how men behave in practice. "Even the names of their books make this clear," Sirico argues, noting that Pope John Paul II's central book is entitled *The Acting Person*, while von Mises's economic masterpiece is *Human Action*.

Frustrated by the hostility to markets and "abysmal ignorance of free society" he found in seminary, Sirico eventually founded in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty. Only five years old, the Institute has grown to nine full-time staff members and a \$1 million budget. Though run by a priest and named for a famous Catholic—the Lord Acton of "power corrupts" fame—the institute is remarkably ecumenical. A majority of the staffers, Sirico says, are Protestant, and they work with seminaries around the world of every denomination and faith, "Mormon to Muslim."

Asked why he thinks so many clergy are anti-business, Sirico speaks of the clergy's lack of practical experience with business. "They think the way they get money is the way everybody gets money, namely by collecting it. But in fact the money we collect in church had to be produced somewhere before we collect it."

Conversely, when pressed about the anti-religious tendencies of some businessmen, Sirico says, "I guess my vision of this is obscured by living in west Michigan, where we have some of the most successful businesses in the country, and some of the most deeply spiritual people managing them." Of course, it's not uncommon to find a person engrossed in practical affairs precisely because he hasn't discovered the spiritual. But when he finally does glimpse the spiritual realm it takes on a greater purpose than the production of wealth, which is not a sufficient basis for a meaningful life."

An experience Sirico had at the age of five lies close to the core of his dynamism. He lived in a small Brooklyn apartment above Coney Island Avenue in a neighborhood featuring a Joseph's robe patchwork of Jews, Poles, Chinese, blacks, Italians, Hungarians, and more. "Across our window I could see Mrs. Schneider baking some wonderful concoction I later learned was called 'rugelach.' She beckoned me, and I jumped out the window and ran to her. As I held out my hands to receive the warm pastry, I noticed her right forearm had blue numbers tattooed on it. Later I asked my mother what those numbers were, and she told me the story of what had gone on just a few years previously in Nazi Germany. From that moment on, I had a horror of totalitarianism, of power's corrupting influence, and of any government that treats people as a means."

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KENNETH TOMLINSON

If you saw *Reader's Digest* editor-in-chief Kenneth Tomlinson at a reception for the first time and didn't know who he was, you'd never guess that he edits the magazine with the world's largest circulation. He's a quiet, self-confident man who, like the magazine he steers, would never launch a crusade or find heretics to smite.

But *Reader's Digest* has always been a moral publication, trying to give people information and inspiration to lead better lives and build stronger communities. "*Reader's Digest* is not a religious magazine," Tomlinson says, "but it's a magazine that, within the boundaries of the Judeo-Christian ethic, focuses on right and wrong." And while Tomlinson doesn't use the term religious right, he's certainly a conservative who is quite religious.

Tomlinson, 51, was raised as a Methodist in Galax, Virginia. But he left Methodism when he was 16 because he considered the church too devoted to left-wing politics.

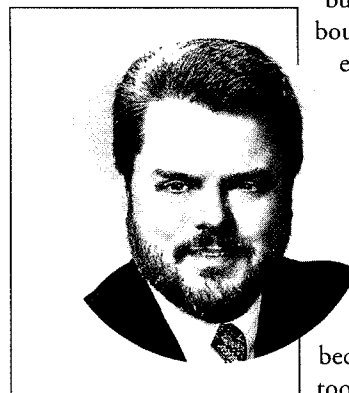
Not until his mid-thirties, when

he was the *Digest's* Paris correspondent, did he return to church-going. During this period, Tomlinson's two children were born, and, he says, "raising children brings religion." He became a regular churchgoer at the American Cathedral in Paris, an Anglican church. Returning to America, he's been a church-going Episcopalian ever since.

For Tomlinson, there's a firm barrier between his religion and his politics. He and his family have quit parishes that have become too political. "I don't go to church to debate what the U.N. should do in Bosnia," he says. "I think religion should deal with moral issues in our personal lives."

"I'm not a super-joiner," says Tomlinson who has remained detached from most organizations for religious conservatives. He's not sure whether such groups are a good idea. He is, however, a great admirer of some of the leaders of religious conservatism like Michael Novak.

Though Tomlinson is a registered Republican who served as head of the Voice of America during the Reagan administration, he'd much rather have religious people use the lessons of their faith to lead better lives than to pull one lever or another on Election Day. Compared to their secular counterparts, "religious people have to face more frequently the issues of right and wrong," he says. "I don't think they have a responsibility to the nation, but they should do the right thing, and follow the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes."



THE MOVEMENT FOR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

by Michael W. McConnell

In the past few decades, there has been an extraordinary secularization of American public life, especially in the schools. Religious and traditionalist parents are finding that their viewpoints and concerns are ruled out-of-order, while at the same time the schools can be used to promote ideas and values that are sometimes offensive and hostile to their own.

This has inspired many conservative Christian groups to propose legislation, or even a constitutional amendment, to guarantee equal treatment for religious speakers, groups, and ideas in the public sphere. This would end the double standard that currently denies religious speech and practice the protections offered all other kinds of expression. The proposals include two principles:

First, when private persons (including students in public schools) are permitted to engage in speech reflecting a secular viewpoint, then speech reflecting a religious viewpoint should be permitted on the same basis.

Second, when the government provides benefits to private activities, such as charitable work, health care, education, or art, there should be no discrimination or exclusion on the basis of religious expression, character, or motivation. Religious citizens should not be required to engage in self-censorship as a precondition to participation in public programs. (This idea was incorporated in the Senate welfare reform bill.)

Most people agree that government should be neutral toward religion, but the beginning of wisdom in this contentious area of law is to recognize that neutrality and secularism are not the same thing. In the marketplace of ideas, secular viewpoints and ideologies compete with religious viewpoints and ideologies. It is no more neutral to favor the secular over the religious than it is to favor the religious over the secular. It is time to reorient constitutional law away from the false neutrality of the secular state, and toward a genuine equality of rights.

The demand for religious equality is often denounced as a tactic of the so-called "religious right," but it was Justice William Brennan, the leading liberal on the Court in this generation, who

wrote that "religionists no less than members of any other group enjoy the full measure of protection afforded speech, association, and political activity generally. The establishment clause... may not be used as a sword to justify repression of religion or its adherents from any aspect of public life" (*McDaniel v. Paty*, 1978).

Unfortunately, Justice Brennan's words now serve more as a description of needed reforms than as a description of prevailing law. Whether because of mistaken views of constitutional law, fear of lawsuits, or actual hostility to traditional religion, school officials and other government functionaries frequently deny the rights of religious citizens with impunity. Usually the victims of these violations lack the courage, resources, or inclination to sue. With surprising frequency, these official acts are upheld by the courts. Even when they are not upheld, the officials suffer no penalty and have no incentive to change their ways.

In thousands of cases, valedictory speeches have been censored because of religious content, student research topics have been selectively curtailed, distribution of religious leaflets has been limited, and public employees have been ordered to hide their Bibles. (See sidebar.) Some of this discrimination is blatantly unconstitutional; some of it has been upheld under current constitutional doctrine; all of it thrives on the uncertainty and confusion of Supreme Court decisions.

Interpretation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment during the past 40 years has wavered between two fundamentally inconsistent visions of the relation between religion and government. Under one vision, known as "strict separation," there is a high and impregnable wall dividing government and religion. Religion is permitted—indeed it is constitutionally protected—as long as it is confined to the private sphere of home, family, church, and synagogue. But the public sphere must be strictly secular. Laws must be based on strictly secular premises, public education must be strictly secular, public programs must be administered in a strictly secular manner, and public monies must be channeled only to strictly secular activities.



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