Racist Apocalypse: Millennialism on the Far Right

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For the last quarter-century, America has been saturated with apocalyptic themes. Indeed, not since the 1830s and '40s have so many visions of the end been disseminated to so wide an audience.[1] Current apocalyptic scenarios range from secular forecasts of nuclear war and environmental collapse, articulated by Robert Heilbroner and others, to the Biblically-based premillennialism of Hal Lindsey and Jerry Falwell.[2] While the former have spread widely among secular intellectuals, and the latter among a large fundamentalist audience, they do not exhaust America's preoccupation with the end of history. There are other future visions, neither so respectable nor so widely held, at the fringes of American religious and political discourse.

While these outer reaches of the American mind are filled with many complex growths, my concern here is with one form the fringe apocalypse has taken, as part of the ideology of the racist right. These are the groups customarily referred to in the media as "white supremacist" and "neo-Nazi." While they are uniformly committed to doctrines of racial superiority and are often open admirers of the Third Reich, to categorize them merely as "white supremacist" or "neo-Nazi" is simplistic, for these organizations bear little resemblance to earlier American fringe-right manifestations.[3] The groups most representative of the new tendencies include Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho; the now-defunct Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord, whose fortified community was located near Pontiac, Missouri, until 1985; and most elements of the Ku Klux Klan and Posse Comitatus. Their distinctiveness lies in their novel religious character.

While earlier groups on the radical right occasionally maintained links with American fundamentalism, the rightist groups that have grown since about 1970 are more often connected to a religious position outside of and opposed to conservative Protestantism.

The religious roots of the contemporary radical right give it an ideological complexity far beyond the slogan-mongering of its predecessors, and infuses its political agenda with millenarian fervor. This religious position is usually referred to as "Christian Identity," the term that will be employed here. In view of its deviant and esoteric character, it seems advisable to begin by sketching the main points of its theology, and in particular to indicate why so-called "white supremacists" adopt so hostile a posture towards fundamentalists, with whom on superficial examination they might be presumed to have some commonality of interest. In fact, their mutual hostility results not only from such fundamentalist issue positions as support for the State of Israel but from basic theological differences. Against this background, I will then examine Christian Identity's apocalyptic scenario, and, finally, assess the character of its millennialism.

I

Christian Identity is an American off-shoot of British-Israelism, an eccentric but innocuous point of view that continues to enjoy very modest attention in England where it originated and in other parts of the English-speaking world.[4] The idea of a direct link between Anglo-Saxons and Israelites may be found as far back as the early nineteenth-century English millenarian, Richard Brothers, and in still earlier and weaker form among the seventeenth-century Puritans.[5] Nonetheless, as a coherent movement British-Israelism owes its existence to the writings of John Wilson and the proselytizing of Edward Hine during the second half of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, an organizational framework was in place.[6]

The central argument of British-Israelism was both simple and arresting: that the "ten lost tribes of Israel," far from having vanished, were the progenitors of the British peoples as a result of migrations that had taken them from the Near East into Europe. By implication, then, the British were themselves Israelites, although as yet unenlightened concerning their true "identity." Through all the mutations British-Israelism was to undergo, this belief in hidden Israelite identity remained constant. Striking though the conclusion was, it rested on, to put it kindly, a frail evidentiary base, which ranged from tortured interpretations of linguistic and archaeological evidence, to crude folk etymologies (e.g., "Isaac's sons" became "Saxons," the tribe of Dan founded Denmark, and so forth). However, it was doubtless easy to lose sight of evidentiary matters in light of British-Israelism's sweeping religious corollaries, for if the British were indeed Israelites, then they were God's chosen people, the vehicle through whom Biblical prophecies would be fulfilled. It also meant, not incidentally, that their imperial enterprise was ordained by God and protected by his favor.

From an early point, however, British-Israelism was beset by divisive tendencies, notably by disagreements about precisely which peoples possessed Israelite identity. Were the true Israelites merely the peoples of the British Isles, or did the tribes also populate the Continent? And if so, how much of it? Only Western Europe or Central and Southern Europe as well? The issue of geographic scope eventually encompassed the role of the United States, particularly as British power declined and American power increased. John Wilson could speak somewhat patronizingly of a common enterprise with "our American brethren," but it became clear that the American brethren would soon eclipse their British kinsmen, a development that eventually gave rise to an American-centered and genuinely sectarian form of British-Israelism, Herbert W. Armstrong's World-wide Church of God.[7]

Mainstream British-Israelism, whether in England or elsewhere, was not conspicuously anti-Semitic, which is to say no more so than evangelical Protestants tended to be in the late nineteenth century. Jews were regarded as having been cursed by God for having rejected Jesus, and in the view of some had been doubly cursed by having, in their exile, intermarried with "the worst of the Gentile—the Canaanites and Edomites, children emphatically of the curse...."[8] Nonetheless, salvation lay open to them through conversion, and the expectation of British-Israelites was that in God's good time the Jews would convert, although some disagreement remained over whether in the meantime missionary efforts among them were of any use.

Although more might be said of historic British-Israelism, this should suffice for present purposes. For Christian Identity significantly alters British-Israelism by grafting onto it an elaborate racialist and anti-Semitic apparatus that the original did not possess.

British-Israel writers originally were content to deal with the fate of the "lost tribes" alone, by implication conceding that modern Jews still descended from the remaining tribes. Christian Identity writers, however, insist that all of the tribes migrated northwestward into Europe; that there is no link, biological or otherwise, between Jews and Israelites; and, further, that virtually all non-Slavic European peoples are Israelites, each nation having descended from a different tribal ancestor. Identity literature then explains the existence of Jews through two different but reinforcing theories. On the one hand, Jews, far from being Israelites, are in reality "Khazars," descendants of the Khazar people on the Black Sea, whose leadership stratum converted to Judaism in the eighth century.[9] The Khazar hypothesis neatly interlocks with the older anti-Semitic dictum that Jews, as "Asiatics," were unassimilable by Western societies. The other, and currently more influential, Identity explanation of the Jews flows directly out of Identity theology.

The dominant view of contemporary Identity rightists in America is that Jews are offspring of the Devil, not in some mere metaphorical sense but in a concrete, biological manner. For example, when Aryan Nations' religious arm, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, asserts that "there are literal children of Satan in the

world today," it means precisely that.[10] For in Identity theology, the creation of Jews is directly linked to the Sin in the Garden. Original Sin consisted in the copulation of Eve with Satan, from which came Cain, the ancestor of the Jews, transmitting the ancestral curse.[11] This cosmic anti-Semitism sits within a more comprehensive Identity view of racial origins, according to which only "Aryans" (i.e., whites) can trace their origin to Adam. All other races had separate, earlier origins and cannot trace their lineages to Adam. Blacks, according to Wesley Swift, were part of Lucifer's rebellion against God, serving as troops transported to earth "from other planets in the Milky Way."[12] These inferior races had lived on earth for millions of years before "Aryans" were first planted by God in the Garden of Eden (located, Identity writers claim, on the Pamir Plateau in Central Asia) 7,400 years ago in an effort to get the disordered earth back in shape.[13]

Even this sketchiest of summaries should suffice to indicate that Christian Identity owes little to the tendencies that have shaped modern Protestantism, but much not only to British-Israelism, but also to pseudoscience and the occult, including nineteenth-century racial theories, and the mystic, conspiratorial anti-Semitism of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.[14] This bizarre mixture also suggests that, unlike the political anti-Semitism of turn-of-the-century Europe, Christian Identity returns to the folk religion of the Middle Ages, retheologizing anti-Semitism as the center of a dualist vision in which the powers of light and darkness confront one another in a battle whose implications will be both universal and everlasting.[15]

II

Apocalyptic visions traffic in the currency of transformation: the changes will be total, imminent, collective, this-worldly and, in some sense at least, miraculous.[16] British Protestant millennialism, transported to America at the very beginning of the colonization process, had placed the apocalypse within a set of religious conventions. The ultimate transformation itself would be signalled by upheavals of increasing frequency and severity, portents of the even more frightful calamities to come when the old order would be swept aside, Jesus would descend in glory, and the thousand-year reign of the saints would commence. The accelerating tempo of portentous events meant that life on earth would get worse before it got better, that catastrophe and chaos should be welcomed as harbingers of the millennial consummation. This provided psychological solace, since the most frequently noted portents were either natural disasters or major wars. Indeed, the millennialists' grammar of portents was a way of imposing moral order on an apparently anarchic world, since unsettling events in which both the good and the evil suffered could still be assimilated to a vision of God's providence by identifying them as inevitable sign-posts on the way to the millennium.

This understanding of portents, modified but not significantly altered over the years, continues to be shared by American fundamentalists. Although generally careful to avoid interpreting portents in ways that point toward specific

dates for events such as the Second Coming, contemporary millennialists nonetheless continue to look for "signs of the times." This predilection, which provides a line of continuity from Puritan chiliasts to contemporary televangelists, is not, however, shared by Christian Identity. To understand why we must first understand why it is that Christian Identity so vehemently rejects renascent fundamentalism.

Christian Identity believers do little to conceal their contempt for fundamentalism and its highly visible clergy. There is distaste for any interpretation of events that even implies a timetable for the apocalypse: "We now have a plethora of dates that have been published to predict this and that, and more often than not, none of these dates is productive."[17] Instead, "our victory will be won in Yahweh's good time . . ."[18] But the quarrel goes beyond dates and methods of interpretation. The heart of the dispute lies in the form of premillennialism that has taken hold among the majority of American fundamentalists.

Since the turn of the century, American premillennialism has been dominated by the system of Biblical interpretation commonly called dispensationalism, which arose in the early 1800s among the Plymouth Brethren in England. The view of the "latter days" offered by most TV evangelists is a version of dispensationalism. At its point of origin, dispensationalism sought to avoid the potential embarrassments of date-setting by arguing that most Biblical prophecies still remained unfulfilled, a condition that placed the end of history in the indeterminate future. Dispensationalists reached this conclusion by a circuitous line of reasoning that may be summarized by saying that dispensationalism makes the history of the Jewish people central to the fulfillment of Christian eschatological hopes.

At an early point in the Church's history, after the expectation of an imminent return by Jesus had passed, it became commonplace to read scriptural references to the Jewish people allegorically, as referring not to Jews themselves but to the Church as the "new Israel," the position particularly associated with Augustine. The originality of dispensationalism lay in its insistence that passages referring to Israel be read literally rather than allegorically, and that only when these prophecies concerning the Jews were in process of fulfillment would the "latter days" commence. As formulated in the nineteenth century by John Darby and others, such a view did not envision any rapid march to the millennium, since, among other things, Jews continued to be scattered through the Diaspora. This condition was radically altered, of course, by the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, which convinced many dispensationalists that the "prophetic clock" had now begun to run. This view, solidified by the Israeli reunification of Jerusalem in 1967, lead many dispensationalists to predict the beginning of the "end-time" within the generation of persons then living.[19] This remains the view of most American fundamentalists.[20]

It is not difficult to imagine the attitude of Christian Identity toward a chiliastic system in which Jews are central and in which the politics of the Middle East and the security of Israel play an essential role. As far as Identity believers

are concerned, Jews and all their works are literal offspring of Satan; hence Protestant ministers and theologians who adopt dispensationalism are Satan's agents.

Like fundamentalism, Christian Identity is also a millennial movement with an apocalyptic view of history, but its millennialism is in almost every significant respect different from that held by the vast majority of Protestant millennialists. The system of portents by which the latter have traditionally marked the redemptive trajectory is irrelevant to Identity. Contemporary dispensational premillennialists hang on wars and rumors of war in the Middle East, both because war has been an accepted apocalyptic portent for centuries and because the fate of Israel is central to the dispensationalist view of history. Christian Identity, having developed separately, is less influenced by traditional interpretive considerations and rejects utterly the orthodox identification of modern Jews with Biblical Israelites.

It is worth noting in this connection that mainstream British-Israelism demonstrated no such tendency. While British-Israelism never sought to promulgate a single orthodox view of the millennium, many British-Israel writers have been dispensationalists who sought to modify the system in order to accommodate a special salvationist role for Great Britain. Given British interests in the Middle East, this was not particularly difficult. Thus, H. Aldersmith, writing in the early 1930s, saw the British victory over Ottoman Turkey in the Great War as precisely the kind of fulfillment of prophecy that might be anticipated by both dispensationalists and British-Israelites: "... we fully expected and foretold this great European war-woe, the drying up of the Turkish power, the occupation of the promised land by Great Britain, and the return of the Jews to Palestine."[21]

Christian Identity, by fusing British-Israelism with a racial and demonic anti-Semitism, pulled the identity doctrine into paths alien to dispensationalism.

III

If Christian Identity has nothing but contempt for the millennialism that presently saturates American religious broadcasting, what millennialism does it offer in its place? It offers instead a vision of a racial apocalypse, in which both sacred and secular history are systematically read as an epic of racial treason and promised racial redemption. Its followers see white Americans as a "dispossessed majority." Their resentments against the civil rights movement, civil rights legislation and court decisions, and affirmative action programs have thus been channeled into religious myths.

Dispensational premillennialism has been dominated by the question of the timing of the Second Coming, particularly the search for the precise sequence of events that will predict its imminence. Christian Identity effectively abandons this search for the chiliastic timetable and instead emphasizes the rising tempo of racial struggle and conflict. While Identity believers are certain Jesus will eventually reign over a millennial kingdom, they tend to minimize his role in bringing it about. Their preoccupation is with the earthly battle between forces

of light and darkness. The victory, while understood to be inevitable, will not occur until a massive final struggle against the Jewish conspiracy that Identity believes presently dominates America. The traditional battle of Armageddon is here transformed into a prolonged confrontation between Jews, non-whites and the "Adamic race" of "Aryans."

Like other apocalyptic visions, Christian Identity links the final cosmic victory with tumult and violence. But here, in place of the conventionalized portent analysis of premillennialism, there is a complex set of four forms of disaster specific to particular periods and contingencies. There are, first, ancient disasters, the calamities that befell "Aryans" in Biblical times and that remain partly responsible for the unredeemed condition of the world. Second, there are the portentous disasters, the present signs that the last days are near. Third, there are hypothesized disasters that will occur in the future if redemption is not achieved. While all apocalyptic systems wrestle with the tension between the inevitability of divinely ordained events on the one hand and human choice and weakness on the other, Christian Identity has particular difficulty in resolving it. The world will be saved because God wills it—but then again it may not be, as if lurid visions of a final calamity are required to keep the faithful at their tasks. Finally, Identity lays out a series of cleansing disasters that will occur after the "Aryan" victory in order to purge the world of its corruption. Like other millenarians, Identity believers are a good deal more precise about what will happen before the millennium than during it. Identity is vague in specifying what the new order will be like, perhaps because so much of its energy goes into painting the picture of the struggle required to reach it.

In one respect, Christian Identity hews to a line set over many decades by the fringe right, the presumption that the world is under the effective control of a conspiracy, whose secrecy, cunning and power make it virtually invisible and all but invulnerable. Richard Masker, a self-proclaimed "conspiratologist" associated with Aryan Nations, sees "a supersecret shadow government controlling not only the United States but most of western society," enveloping America in an "alien, Asiatic mentality, so evil in its intent and debased in substance as to be almost incomprehensible to our western minds."[22] Like most in the movement, James K. Warner of the New Christian Crusade Church is fond of speaking of "ZOG"—the acronym for "Zionist Occupation Government"—that with "a hidden hand. . . secretly controls the flow of events in Mainstream America."[23] Earl Turner, the eponymous hero of the movement's underground novel, *The Turner Diaries*, bemoans an America in which "We have allowed a diabolically clever, alien minority to put chains on our souls and our minds."[24]

In this literature, there is never much question as to who this minority is: Jews in the demonic incarnation first given wide currency in *The Protocols*, a volume sold by most of the book services run by Identity organizations.[25] The metaphors are predictably crude: Jews are "the cancer invading the Aryan body politic," "an army of. . . two-legged ants," "Satan's spawn."[26] In the mind of Christian Identity, the Jew as absolute evil confronts the absolute good of the "Aryan" racial

adversary, which must inevitably lead to a final conflict in which the issue of racial dominance is settled once and for all. As Aryan Nations puts it, "We believe there is a battle being fought . . . between the children of darkness (today known as Jews) and the children of light (God), the Aryan race, the true Israel of the Bible."[27] No rhetoric is too extreme to characterize what is at stake. Defeat means that "*everything* will be lost—our history, our heritage, all the blood and sacrifices and upward striving of countless thousands of years . . . If we fail, God's great Experiment will come to an end, and this planet will once again, as it did millions of years ago, move through the ether devoid of higher man."[28]

In any case, to read Identity literature is to assume that victory is assured, for like countless millennialists before them, Identity believers take it for granted that God is on their side: "When He moves in these last days against the armies of Communism and the Edomites, He will accomplish their destruction in a very short time . . . ."[29] Richard Girnt Butler, the leader of Aryan Nations and the pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, assures his followers that "all the laws, all the federal agents, all the informers in the world will not stop the coming, preordained Aryan Victory over the world order of Jewry."[30] The same determinism infuses the writings of one of Butler's mentors, Wesley Swift. As Swift saw it, "God . . . is not only with you, but is on your side, . . . and has ordained that His Kingdom shall triumph."[31] Earl Turner, after being permitted to read the secret writings of the revolutionary order into which he is about to be inducted, suddenly recognizes that "We are truly instruments of God in the fulfillment of His Grand Design."[32] As we shall see, beneath this sense of certitude lurks nagging doubt. For the moment, however, it is sufficient to note that in the movement's own terms, the future millennium is preordained.

Nonetheless, as in most apocalyptic visions, believers expect the culminating events to be accompanied by requisite forms of natural and manmade fury to defeat the evil cabal and uproot the old order. However, as already indicated, Christian Identity generally de-emphasizes the older apparatus of earthquake, flood and warfare in favor of a more complex panoply of disasters. The changed role of disaster derives in part from the fact that Christian Identity is in many respects an extended revenge fantasy, built on the belief that the "Aryan" inheritance was lost through a combination of God's punishment for earlier sins and the theft of chosenness by Jews, impostors who now pose as Israelites, depriving the "true" Israelites of their birthright. Hence, as far as Identity believers are concerned, history itself is a prolonged crime for which only the most awful retribution will suffice.

Disasters even preceded the creation of the world. In Wesley Swift's cosmic mythology, the void referred to in the first verse of Genesis was the result of Lucifer's rebellion against God, when the world was torn apart.[33] Later, disaster destroyed the Garden of Eden. Adam's "Aryan" descendants lived on the Pamir Plateau where the Garden was located. There the "Adamic race" built "the forty ancient cities of Takla Makan"; famous, Swift assures us, for "their knowledge, their wisdom, and their science." But the Adamites sinned by "mongrelizing"

with the older, non-white races, and in consequence God caused great cracks to open up, flooding the plateau from subterranean water sources, in Identity's quirky version of the Biblical deluge. The mysterious cities were destroyed and the few surviving "Aryans" forced to firmer ground.[34] The non-whites through whom sin had come were not created by God, having been brought by evil forces from the far reaches of the galaxy. In another twist on an already bizarre story, William Potter Gale, like Swift a major Identity figure in the 1960s, suggests that Satan had already "mixed his seed with the pre-Adamic races, thus producing Asiatic Jews and black Jews," before he got around to cohabiting with Eve.[35] Be that as it may, Identity views all of creation under the aspect of disaster, from primal catastrophes to those still in progress.

When Identity addresses the disasters of the present, it comes closest to a traditional apocalyptic view, for if the world experiences dislocations and stresses, that must surely indicate the closeness of the end. The "signs of the times" do in fact sometimes turn out to be remarkably traditional: a natural world out of joint, where withheld rain threatens famine and imminent earthquakes place cities at risk, and a social world out of kilter, polluted by immorality and vice.

An Aryan Nations' publication notes that the massive "killer earthquake . . . we are told of in the Bible" will wreak destruction on both California and the Pacific Northwest. But disaster is already present, the author goes on to note, in the form of drought, with the consequent threat of famine, all part of "the divine cleansing this planet will undergo shortly."[36] Drought conditions also catch the attention of Pastor Dan Gayman of the Church of Israel in Schell, Missouri, who asks, "Are we on the brink of national famine?" Like the Aryan Nations author, Gayman is less concerned with disaster as a signal of the end—a genuine portent—than he is of disaster as punishment for sin: "Our nation is now suffering from the excesses of man's law and the abuses and judgments that are always incurred when men deny God's law and enthrone the edicts of men." On a practical level, he suggests that the prudent should store grain for the future, and that city dwellers should establish links with rural settings to which they could "flee . . . if you need to escape the city."[37] Here one begins to sense the powerful link between Identity and the overlapping phenomenon of survivalism, since the faithful must prepare redoubts where they can cluster during the calamities ahead.

Just as nature is out of joint, with the clouds withholding rain and geological faults about to change the very landscape, so too does Identity perceive society to be in the throes of calamitous change. The change is often described as the transformation of a once pure world into one corrupted by evil. Indeed, in a single paragraph Gayman links AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases with acid rain, smog, the destruction of the ozone layer, and the chemical contamination of groundwater. All represent "the judgment of God" and before the errant population is appropriately humbled, millions will "probably . . . perish."[38] The litany of sins seems endless: infanticide, sodomy, miscegenation, adultery, materialism, substance abuse—scarcely different than in more mainstream

jeremiads, except that in this case the desired end is less return to a virtuous past than it is advance to a racially purified future. In the meantime, the contaminated present generation can only be regarded with contempt. Even the implacable Earl Turner concludes that ". . . there is no point in killing them all. This moral weakness will have to be bred out of the race over hundreds of generations."[39]

There are the passing references to earthquakes and drought, and the somewhat more frequent invocations of AIDS and general moral rot, yet all have an empty, ritualistic sound compared to the main disaster that overhangs them, the continually reiterated fear of racial extinction. The ultimate disaster for Identity believers is demographic, a disappearance of the white race described in terms no less vivid than those employed by such turn-of-the-century racists as Madison Grant.[40] Now, however, the fears are if anything more intense, for the white race is the true Israel, the instrument of God's purposes on earth. The white population of America, characterized as a bare majority, is about to slide into the status of an embattled minority on its way to extinction: ". . . the imminence of the disaster is overwhelming."[41]

These chroniclers of racial catastrophe agree not only about the magnitude and imminence of the threat but about its cause. David Lane, an imprisoned member of The Order, writes:

> The political entity known as the United States of America has attempted with near single-minded determination, almost from its inception, to destroy any White territorial imperative, of any size and on any continent where such a state could be found. Genocide of the White Race has been the aim and result of the American political entity.[42]

Since America is deemed to be ruled by Jews, it is they, according to Identity, who perpetrate this scheme of racial destruction. "Racial genocide is being perpetrated - by ZOG," writes James K. Warner. In a telling comparison, he goes on to say that "Unlike the Hoax of World War II, *this* holocaust has been confirmed by countless uncontested studies."[43] Just as the Jews have tried to steal the claim to be God's chosen people, the argument goes, they try to steal the rightful claim to be the sole victims of genocide. Just as the Jews are not Israelites, so there was no Holocaust.

The spectre of racial destruction allows Identity believers to attack multiple issues: Jews in control of the government and media; "illegal fecund aliens" brought in to dilute the white population; American policy in South Africa, which will destroy yet another white sanctuary; and abortion, through which white children are deliberately murdered. But they are less certain about how to respond.

The New Christian Crusade Church is not at all sure of the outcome. "(Our) White race enters the twilight of its very existence... Without your help, this truly is—The End. . . ."[44] Dan Gayman agrees that "The handwriting is on the wall!

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America is becoming a non-white nation." On the other hand, he suggests that whites "remove your children from the mixed multitude, and regroup with clusters of your own people . . . ."[45] This survivalist emphasis on commune-like enclaves reappears in more grandiose form in the proposal by David Lane and others for racial states: "Nothing less than a political state, with inviolate borders can secure our existence."[46] Since the prospect of such redrawn boundaries is remote in the extreme, it calls forth a virtual renunciation of all conventional political loyalties. "God (is) our only government," declares Robert Miles of the Mountain Church.[47] David Lane puts it more bluntly: "I do not recognize the existence of a government whose single principle aim is to exterminate my race."[48]

Identity writings convey a very different sense of doom than one finds in such dispensationalist authors as Hal Lindsey. Lindsey's millions die horrible deaths in the nuclear attacks during the Tribulation, but the Second Coming and millennium are assured, and the saved, having been Raptured, will not endure the Tribulation in any case. Identity writers ride a sharper knifeblade between hope and despair. "Any really constructive ordering of human affairs now necessarily lies on the far side of a great disaster. . . . We are entering upon a gaudy, lurid, rotten, and unworthy age which can only end in total disaster for the Jews as well as for everybody else."[49] In the meantime, there is the solace of bloody revenge fantasies, when the "New Order" cleanses the world of its impurities. In the denouement of *The Turner Diaries*, massacres in North America and Europe will cause blood to flow "ankle-deep in the streets," after which, by "a combination of chemical, biological, and radiological means. . . 16 million square miles of the earth's surface, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, [will be] effectively sterilized."[50]

Identity writers assume in their more optimistic moments that they will eventually establish a new order, but they tend to be predictably vague about its details. Like most millenarians, they seem far more interested in describing the evil they oppose than in the salvation they desire. Some elements of the post-disaster utopia are clear, however. It will be designed by and for a racial elite. Wesley Swift tells his audience, "You are the elect of God from before the foundation of the world. . . . My friends, you are not little people; you are the children of the Most High, and you are still in a creative work."[51] Earl Turner describes the secret society he has joined as "the vanguard of the Coming New Era, the pioneers who will lead our race out of its present depths and toward the unexplored heights above."[52]

That "New Order" is usually identified with Jesus' millennial reign, although Jesus tends to play a rather passive role in these scenarios. Aryan Nations promises "a day of judgment and a day when Christ's Kingdom (Government) will be established on earth as it is in heaven," and Karl Schott, Wesley Swift and others promise that Jesus will reign from Jerusalem and unite the twelve tribes of Israel.[53] "Aryans" will rule, for "God's intended purpose was that His racial kinsmen were to be in charge of this earth."[54] Dan Gayman adds that the Temple

in Jerusalem will be rebuilt and its worship service restored, "and it will include the altar, the candlesticks, and all else that was central to the worship established by Yahweh in ancient Israel."[55] (It is worth noting that dispensationalists, for their part, expect Jews to rebuild the Jerusalem Temple prior to the Second Coming, and in fact some American premillennialists have given financial support to ultra-Orthodox groups in Israel that wish to see such a project advanced.)[56]

In short, Identity millennialists foresee a period of mounting violence in which the destruction of the white race will be narrowly averted, their racial adversaries either killed or subordinated, and a Jesus-led "Aryan" regime installed for earthly rule from Jerusalem. It is, to put it mildly, an eccentric mixture, simultaneously fundamentalist and anti-fundamentalist, optimistic and pessimistic, Christian and occult. Where anti-Semites once did little more than mouth slogans, Identity constructs a veritable theology of anti-Semitism, intent on demonstrating that the ostensible Israelites are in fact impostors, while the ostensible Gentiles are in fact Israelites.

IV

The far right is an organizationally fluid phenomenon, made up of countless small, shifting groups whose memberships often overlap. Only such gatherings as the periodic "Aryan Nations Congress," organized by Richard Girnt Butler, supply some measure of cohesion. Neither all of the organizations nor all of their members are fully committed to Identity. Despite these signs of fragmentation, Christian Identity supplies the radical right with a philosophical center of gravity, explicitly or implicitly acknowledged even by those not immediately identifiable as Identity believers.

Louis Beam, a former Grand Dragon of the Texas Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, predicts that increasingly "the New Right will be marked by a large scale acceptance of Identity doctrine. . . . Identity will be, for a major segment of the movement, a cornerstone upon which religious thought is based."[57] Even a casual perusal of right-wing publications demonstrates that Identity figures and organizations are closely linked with non-Identity groups through lectures, social visits and joint meetings. Identity leaders, such as Richard Butler, are the subject of deferential, affectionate comments in the newsletters of the Mountain Church's Robert Miles and White Aryan Resistance's Tom Metzger. In fact, even among those whose roots lie in Klan groups or the American Nazi Party, one senses that Identity is accepted as a quasi-official movement worldview.

The reasons for Identity's rise over the last twenty years include the more general politicization of American religion; the weakening of religious and intellectual authority, which permits the broader circulation of previously stigmatized positions; and a cultural ambiance supportive of apocalyptic views. As deviant as Christian Identity is in comparison to most forms of American political and religious expression, it nonetheless grows from and reflects a larger context, supportive of millennial views of history. Where earlier racists and anti-Semites rarely went beyond the articulation of fears and resentments, Identity purports to

offer a framework that explains the past, provides guidance in the present, and predicts the future, giving to the American far right an ideological coherence it never previously possessed. In considering Christian Identity as a millennial movement, three facets require further examination: attitudes towards Jews; the uneasy equilibrium of optimism and pessimism; and the highly syncretic character of the belief system.

It might appear at first glance as though nothing further need be said of Identity's view of Jews. Its anti-Semitic rhetoric varies only in the degree of its coarseness. The obsessive hatred of Jews and their alleged responsibility for every evil are constants. Nonetheless, there is in fact an interesting quirk in the treatment of Jews by Identity, for Identity conceives its relationship to Jews to be not merely one of hostility but of rivalry. For Christian Identity is one of a small class of millenarian movements that instead of merely asserting millenarian claims, seek to appropriate the millenarian claims of others. Millennialists customarily claim access to special knowledge and to a special saved status that assures them of information concerning the coming millennial order and their place in it. Occasionally, however, they go beyond these assertions to claim that their access to special knowledge has been deliberately kept from them by deceitful means, and that those responsible for the deception have wrongfully appropriated the knowledge for themselves. The millennial task, therefore, becomes not only the conventional one of doing whatever must be done to prepare for and hasten the last days, but also the prior task of unmasking the deception. Thus some of the Melanesian Cargo Cults claimed that Europeans were able to dominate the native population because missionaries had ripped from Bible copies the pages that proved Jesus had been a Papuan.[58]

Such instances of *appropriative millennialism*—claiming as one's own the special status claimed by another group—exaggerates the Manicheanism present in all apocalyptic groups, their tendency to view the world as a battleground between pure good and pure evil. The adversary has a seemingly limitless capacity for misrepresentation and evil-doing. Indeed, the enemy is often described as a conspiracy, working its will in secret. In cases of appropriative millennialism, the evil conspiracy is deemed not simply to be committed to the destruction of the forces of good, but to have literally stolen from those forces the knowledge of their own special destiny. The millennium has been taken from its rightful bearers by those who have no legitimate claim to it.

This exaggerated form of conspiratorialism has multiple attractions for Christian Identity. First, it confirms them in their sense of their own elite status, a status deemed so valuable the adversary will stop at nothing to seize it for itself. Second, the alleged theft of millennial knowledge appears to offer an explanation for Identity's failure to secure a mass following: other "Aryans" ignore or oppose them because they have been taken in by the deception, failing to recognize that they themselves are actually Israelites. That "explains" too why dispensationalists continue to give Jews a major role in the economy of salvation, for fundamentalist clerics have also been duped. Third, the myth of the stolen patrimony provides

yet another seeming confirmation of the cunning of Jews. Finally, the tale of the stolen millennium also allows Identity believers to appropriate Jews' claims to being historic victims. In this version, "Aryans" are the true victims, because their birthright has been stolen. Jews' claim to victim status is merely a manipulative device to enhance their own power. Hence the frequent references in Identity literature to "Holocaust revisionism": the Holocaust never occurred, confessions by Nazis were procured by torture, and so forth. Indeed, the post-Holocaust right must find a way to, as it were, devictimize Jews in order to confirm their own article of faith that Jews run America and will soon rule the world, a position on its face incompatible with the destruction of European Jewry.

The attitude towards Jews is also closely related to Identity's unstable balance between optimism and pessimism. At one level, Identity believes that the new "Aryan" order is inevitable, and that progress toward it is accelerating. But this conviction of an imminent millennium is in constant conflict with fear that the adversary will triumph. The demonization of the Jew, to whom is imputed virtually limitless power over the government, the media and the mainstream churches, suggests that no power may be great enough to prevent Jewish domination of the world. This is, of course, an example of what Richard Hofstadter recognized as a running theme of American right-wing thought, the so-called "paranoid political style," complete with an apparatus of spurious scholarship that "proves" the existence and breadth of the conspiracy.[59] Yet Hofstadter erred, I think, in too readily identifying all such politically "paranoid" groups as millennialist, for one can view the world under the aspect of conspiracy while having reservations about whether the conspiracy can be defeated. Thus, Mrs. S.E.V. Emery dedicated her famous Populist tract, *Seven Financial Conspiracies*, to "the enslaved people of a dying republic," as though she was unsure that even her propagandistic efforts would be sufficient to rouse the citizenry for the final battle.[60] The same doubt creeps into the words of an Identity minister, Pastor Karl Schott, when he says that "Today, Israel [read: Aryans] is in bondage to the Communists, and Edomites [read: Jews], and other anti-Christ powers, and we seem powerless to break this bondage. It will take the Almighty God to break their power."[61] The same unease is reflected in the frequent contemptuous references to Americans as so soft and corrupt that they are scarcely worth saving. As *The Turner Diaries* puts it, "Americans have lost their right to be free."[62]

Identity teeters, therefore, on the edge of despair, committed to an inevitable new order but not always certain that it really is inevitable. It seeks to resolve the tension either through a communal retreatism or the cultivation of a revolutionary elite. Thus, some Identity believers, such as Dan Gayman, advocate rural enclaves where the "Aryan" remnant can seclude itself. For others, however, the increasingly problematic final battle requires direct action in the form of a guerrilla struggle against "ZOG" by "Aryan warriors." The paradigmatic case is The Order, sometimes called The Silent Brotherhood, whose 1983-84 campaign in the West involved assassination, armed robbery and arson. The Order, broken by state and federal law-enforcement authorities, led Identity strategists to

question direct armed action, less on the grounds of morality than on those of effectiveness. However, the fundamental ideological instability remains: apocalypse is predetermined, but the enemy may be invulnerable.

The movement seems to have foresworn violent action through its advocacy of racial partitioning. In July 1986 a map for racial partitioning was presented at the Aryan Nations Congress in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The "New America" is to be built around a "New American Bastion" that takes in all of California, Nevada, Wyoming, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and British Columbia, significant segments of Arizona, Utah and Alberta, and smaller parts of Alaska and Saskatchewan. "ZOG" is reduced to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey and the District of Columbia, along with parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland and New York, while everything in between is given to the "Nation of Islam." Buffer strips of approximately a hundred miles' width separate the three political entities.[63] This is ostensibly a goal to be reached by voluntary action, including the migration of whites to the Pacific Northwest.

It is difficult to imagine anyone seriously regarding such a scheme as politically feasible, even on a greatly reduced scale. Nor is it easy to reconcile its gradualism and its willingness to tolerate the survival and aspirations of "racial inferiors" with the racial millennium advanced in Identity theology. While such programs may have some limited cosmetic value, suggesting that Identity is linked to a legal and serious political movement, they can potentially be generators of substantial discontent within the movement, for they imply that there are provisional goals that can be attained without violence.

Failure to attain such goals, as well as the tension between provisional and final objectives, may well ignite future campaigns of violence not unlike that of The Order, in which an "apocalyptic warring sect" defines the end-time in terms of violent political struggle.[64] Identity and related groups oscillate between allegedly pragmatic political programs and prophecies of the inevitable coming race war. Government pressures drive them periodically toward legal and quasi-legal alternatives, while the failure of such alternatives to secure demonstrable results drives them back towards reliance on a supernaturally driven historical process.[65] The failure of politics and the consequent appeal to transcendent power is not only an invitation to violence; it is an invitation to irrational behavior—"irrational," that is, in the sense that outsiders might use to assess the costs and benefits of intended actions. For what may appear irrational and self-destructive viewed from the outside, may make internally consistent sense viewed from within Identity's own mental universe.[66] Debates on precisely these issues can occasionally be glimpsed, as in the current internal disagreements about the advisability of recruiting "skinheads," advocated by Richard Butler and Tom Metzger, but viewed with suspicion by Dan Gayman and Robert Miles.

Finally, a word is in order concerning the syncretic character of Identity's belief system. It should already be clear that Identity has not emerged from any single significant religious tradition. It is instead a patchwork whose elements have come from many deviant belief systems, both religious and non-religious.

In this sense, Identity is an offspring of what Colin Campbell has called "the cultic milieu," that repository of "rejected knowledge" that encompasses the realm of the stigmatized and forbidden.[67] Identity's evangelical Protestantism has gone through the distorting lens of British-Israelism. In the process it has been shaped as well by the cultic Pyramid literature that developed in Victorian England and became attached to British-Israelism.[68] God's true elect, the wise men of old, constructed the Pyramids, along with Stonehenge and other megaliths, as ways of encoding God's message, except that in the new version of Pyramidism, the elect are the wandering "Aryan"-Israelites. A further graft on Identity is its archaic racialism, which presumes not merely racial inequality but separate creations for each race.[69] Separate racial creation stories allow Wesley Swift and William Potter Gale, for example, to invoke scientific paleontology to confirm the prehistoric origins of non-whites, but they then retreat to Bishop Ussher's chronology to "prove" that the white race was created only a few thousand years ago. As to the anti-Semitism, enough has been said concerning it to show that it owes far more to folk traditions of the Jew as devil-worshipper and magician than to the political anti-Semitism of the turn of the century.

Overlaid on these contributions is a curious tolerance for certain alternative life-styles, manifested in support for natural healing, unorthodox cancer cures, the medicinal uses of garlic, home-birthing and home education, vegetarianism and unprocessed foods, even a certain commitment to environmentalism. Indeed, it would not be inaccurate to suggest that the Identity-dominated right is in fact a kind of "New Age Fascism." Its syncretic fusion of deviant religion, deviant politics and deviant lifestyles makes Identity difficult to classify by conventional categories, but also explains something of both its appeal and danger. For it may be presented not simply as the shrill resentments of marginal groups and individuals but as something the American right never offered before—a way of life. (Nineteenth-century nativists, of course, glorified agrarian America, but that was a way of life that existed quite independently of nativism itself.)

The social and cultural changes produced by the 1960s and 1970s have introduced something approaching an open marketplace both of ideas and of lifestyles.[70] The political conservatism of the Reagan years may have reduced but certainly did not eliminate the effects of what may broadly be called "countercultural" forces, particularly in the realms of personal lifestyle and religious expression. One factor indirectly supporting Identity is therefore the tolerance for communal living arrangements, dietary reforms, holistic medicine and similar implied challenges to authoritative opinions and dominant values.

This paradoxical "countercultural" element derives from two additional interrelated sources. First, those on the Identity right manifest an obsessive concern for contamination. They see their environment as filled with sources of defilement, personified by Jews and non-whites, with whom sexual contact will produce in their view only degenerate "mongrels." The defilement extends beyond miscegenation with "non-Aryans" to include sexual themes in the mass media and popular culture, sexually transmitted diseases such as AIDS, and the

"poisons" that they believe have been introduced into foods and medicines. The obsession with defilement and toxicity begets an equivalent concern with purity and a desire to sever connections with this impure environment in order to retreat into a world contaminations cannot touch.

This wish to erect a boundary between the chosen pure and a polluted world is linked to a second element, the belief that withdrawal from the world is necessary for physical security. As premillennialists, Identity believers regard the "end times" as imminent, with all the chaos and tumult that implies. Unlike most fundamentalists, however, they reject the notion that they will be "raptured" up to be with Jesus during the Tribulation. Instead, they assume that they will have to endure the Tribulation, conceived as a war of Jews and non-whites against "Aryans." Hence the overlap with survivalism and the concern for preparing rural enclaves for this time of troubles. This religiously grounded separatism encourages the development of social settings in which the commitment may be acted out.

The likelihood the the Identity right will constitute a mass movement is relatively slight, given the remoteness of its beliefs from those held by most Americans. Nonetheless, it has already shown a capacity to jump the barrier that normally separates the deviant from the normative. The media attention it has received (e.g., the film "Betrayed"), however superficial, has been vastly disproportionate to its numbers, which suggests the fascination it exercises for those outside its own hermetic world. David Duke, whose early career was spent on the fringes of Identity, has shown a disturbing capacity to mobilize a mass electorate. Tom Metzger, once an Identity preacher, has also demonstrated an unusual capacity to command public attention, most recently when he served (unsuccessfully) in his own defense during the Portland, Oregon, lawsuit mounted against him by the Southern Poverty Law Center.

Beyond this ability to become a focus of popular interest and concern, Identity has also moved out of the political shadows at a time of general cultural instability that often afflicts the *fin de siecle*, and there is every reason to believe that the coming end of not only the century but the millennium will induce more rather than less cultural and political experimentation. If, as seems likely, the 1990s will see significant economic decline as well, the result may be a volitile situation in which Identity bears watching not in spite of its beliefs but because of them.

Notes

1. On the millennialism of the pre-Civil War period, see my *Crucible of the Millennium: The Burned-over District of New York 1840s* (Syracuse, New York, 1986); and, of course, Whitney Cross, *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (New York, 1950).

2. I have discussed the similarities between secular and religious apocalypticism in "Divided Apocalypse: Thinking About the End in Contemporary America," *Soundings* 66 (1983), 257-80. The best study of contemporary religious apocalyptic thought remains Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism (1875-1982)* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1983).

3. I discuss the relationship between present-day and earlier right-wing movements in greater detail in "Millenarian Aspects of 'White Supremacist' Movements," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 1 (1989), 409-34

. 4. Although there have been sectarian outgrowths of British-Israelism, in general the movement did not take sectarian form, its adherents feeling free to remain affiliated with other groups whose views they felt were compatible with the British-Israel position.

5. For a discussion of Brothers, see Clarke Garrett, *Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England* (Baltimore, 1975)

6. For a brief but useful history of British-Israelism, see John Wilson, "British Israelism: The Ideological Restraints on Sect Organization," in Bryan Wilson, ed., *Patterns of Sectarianism: Organisation and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements* (London, 1967), 345-76. The author is, of course, not to be confused with the John Wilson who founded British-Israelism.

Ideas akin to those of British-Israelism received separate development in the theology of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Janet F. Dolgin, "Latter-Day Sense and Substance," in Irving I. Zaretsky and Mark P. Leone, eds., *Religious Movements in Contemporary America* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1974), 531.

7. Armstrong's position is succinctly expressed in Herbert W. Armstrong, *The United States and Britain in Prophecy*, 8th ed. (Pasadena, California, 1980).

8. John Wilson, *Lectures on Our Israelitish Origin*, 5th ed. (London, 1876), 368.

9. While there seems little doubt that the upper reaches of Khazar society converted, most scholars place little weight on the suggestion that any significant segment of contemporary Jewry is of Khazar descent. An exception is Arthur Koestler who argues that European Jews are predominantly of Khazar ancestry. He would doubtless have been horrified to learn that his book on the subject is both admired and sold by Identity organizations. Arthur Koestler, *The Thirteenth Tribe: The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage* (New York, 1976).

10. "This Is Aryan Nations," undated brochure.

11. William Potter Gale, *Identity* (Glendale, California, Ministry of Christ Church, undated), 11. Reprinted by the New Christian Crusade Church, Hollywood, California.

12. Wesley A. Swift, *Testimony of Tradition and the Origin of Races* (Hollywood, California, New Christian Crusade Church, undated reprint), 39. Originally a sermon delivered to the Church of Jesus Christ, Christian, Hollywood, California. This passage is indicative of an occult influence that is common, but little remarked upon, in Identity publications.

13. Swift, *Testimony of Tradition*, 15; Gale, *Identity*, 14.

14. I discuss the occult element in Identity more fully in "'Christian Identity' Groups and the Cultic Milieu," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Sociology of Religion, San Francisco, August 6-9, 1989.

15. An extended discussion of the origins of political anti-Semitism appears in part one of Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (rpt. New York, 1958). Political anti-Semitism was of course dependent upon attitudes transmitted through the much older folk traditions, but political anti-Semitism transmuted these archaic notions into new forms.

16. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1970, rev. ed.), 15.

17. *The Watchman* 11 (Winter 1989), 11. Published by the Church of Israel, "Diocese of Manasseh," Schell, Missouri.

18. Parisfal, "Our Sword for the Struggle," *The Seditionist* 1 (Winter 1988), 12-13.

19. The most widely circulated example of the genre is the best-selling non-fiction paperback of the 1970: Hal Lindsey and L. L. Carlson, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (rpt. New York, 1973).

20. For an example of the penetration of such views, see A. G. Mojtabai's description of religious views in Amarillo, Texas, *Blessed Assurance: At Home with the Bomb in Amarillo, Texas* (Boston, 1986).

21. H. Aldersmith, "Appendix E," in Denis Hanan and H. Aldersmith, eds., *British-Israel Truth* (London, 1932, 14th ed.), 256. Subsequently, British-Israel writers did become notably hostile towards Zionism for helping push Britain out of Palestine.

22. *Calling Our Nation*, no. 59 (1989), 26. Published by Aryan Nations.

23. "Land of the ZOG," *The CDL Report*, no. 112 (special edition, undated), 1. Published by the New Christian Crusade Church, Metairie, Louisiana.

24. Andrew Macdonald (pseud. William Pierce), *The Turner Diaries* (Arlington, Virginia, The National Alliance/National Vanguard Books, 1980, 2nd ed.), 33. Although the National Alliance is not an Identity organization, *The Turner Diaries* has circulated very widely throughout the far-right, including among Identity believers.

25. For a detailed history of *The Protocols*, including its ties to the occult, see Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Chico, California, reprinted 1981).

26. "This is Aryan Nations." Fred Farrel, "Understanding Your Jewish Masters," *The CDL Report*, no. 109 (August, 1988), 5.

27. "This is Aryan Nations."

28. *The Turner Diaries*, 34-35. Emphasis in original.

29. "Come My People Hide Thyself for a Little While," undated brochure. Published by Christian Gospel Fellowship Church, Spokane, Washington. In Identity literature, "Edomites" is a frequent synonym for Jews.

30. Mimeographed letter from Richard G. Butler to Aryan Nations members, December 1, 1988.

31. Swift, *Testimony of Tradition*, 34.

32. *The Turner Diaries*, 71-72. The actual organization known as "The Order" and later as "The Silent Brotherhood" or "Bruders Schweigen" was patterned after the group described in the *Diaries*. Kevin Flynn and Gary Gerhardt, *The Silent Brotherhood: Inside America's Racist Underground* (New York, 1989), 140.

33. Wesley A. Swift, *You: Before the World Was Framed* (Hollywood, California, New Christian Crusade Church, undated reprint), 26. Probably a sermon delivered to the Church of Jesus Christ, Christian.

34. Swift, *Testimony of Tradition*, 10. Gale, *Identity*, 11.

35. Gale, *Identity*, 11.

36. "Last Days of ZOG," *Calling Our Nation*, no. 59 (1989), 25.

37. "Will There Be National Drought in 1989?" *The Watchman* 11 (Winter 1989), 14. "Watchman's Warning!" *The Watchman* 11 (Winter 1989), 40.

38. Pastor Dan Gayman, "Editorial: To the Remnant in Israel," *The Watchman* 11 (Fall 1988), 1-6.

39. *The Turner Diaries*, 166.

40. Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York, 1918, reprinted 1970).

41. David Lane, "Migration," *Calling Our Nation*, no. 59 (1989), 8.

42. Lane, "Migration," 8.

43. "Land of the ZOG," 15. Emphasis in original.

44. "Land of the ZOG," 16.

45. "Life in the Country," *The Watchman* 11 (Winter 1989), 15.

46. Lane, "Migration," 8.

47. *From the Mountain* (March-April 1987), E. Published by the Mountain Church, Cohoctah, Michigan. The Church's pastor, Robert Miles, espouses a form of dualism rather than Identity. Nonetheless, he regards his beliefs as compatible with Identity, and his theology includes themes present in Identity writers, including belief in "Aryans" as descendants of God, and belief that "Aryans" had a spirit existence prior to embodiment on earth.

48. Quoted in *WAR '86* 5 (1986). Published by White Aryan Resistance, Fallbrook, California.

49. "Understanding Your Jewish Masters," 5.

50. *The Turner Diaries*, 209-10.

51. Swift, *Testimony of Tradition*, 6; Swift, *You*, 29-30.

52. *The Turner Diaries*, 203-04.

53. "This Is Aryan Nations." "What We Believe," undated brochure. Published by *The Pathfinder*, Christ's Gospel Fellowship Church, Spokane, Washington. Wesley A. Swift, *Standards*

of the Kingdom (Hollywood, California, New Christian Crusade Church, undated reprint), 33. Originally a sermon delivered at the Church of Jesus Christ, Christian, Hollywood, California.

54. "This Is Aryan Nations."

55. *The Watchman* 11 (Winter, 1989), 27.

56. Barbara and Michael Ledeen, "The Temple Mount Plot," *New Republic*, June 18, 1984, 20-23.

57. *The Seditionist* 1 (Winter 1988), 1.

58. Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia* (New York, 1986, 2nd ed.), 137.

59. Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Political Style and Other Essays* (New York, 1965).

60. Mrs. S. E. V. Emery, *Seven Financial Conspiracies Which Have Enslaved the American People* (Westport, Connecticut, reprinted 1975).

61. "Come My People."

62. *The Turner Diaries*, 33.

63. The map is reproduced in *War '86* 5, no. 3 (1986), 1.

64. John R. Hall, *The Ways Out: Utopian Communal Groups in an Age of Babylon* (London, 1978), 68.

65. A structurally similar dynamic is suggested by E. P. Thompson in his "chiliasm of despair" argument, in which he hypothesizes that millennial fervor and political militancy alternated in early industrial England. *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, reprinted 1966), 388-91.

66. I. C. Jarvie, *The Revolution in Anthropology* (Chicago, reprinted 1967).

67. Barkun, "'Christian Identity' Groups." Colin Campbell, "The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization," *The Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, vol. 5, (London, 1972), 119-36.

68. James Webb, *The Occult Underground* (LaSalle, Illinois, 1974), 232-33.

69. George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1985).

70. Evidence for such a transformation appears in Robert Wuthnow, *The Consciousness Reformation* (Berkeley, California, 1976).