Dooming America: Conspiracy and Apocalypticism in the Populist Evangelical and White Nationalist Imaginations

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DOOMING AMERICA: CONSPIRACY AND APOCALYPTICISM IN THE
EVANGELICAL POPULIST AND WHITE NATIONALIST
IMAGINATIONS

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of Fort Hays State University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Master of Arts

by

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Date 4/24/23

Approved
Major Professor

Approved
Dean of the Graduate School
“In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good, that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.”

-President George Washington, Farewell Address, 1796

“Do not call conspiracy all that this people calls conspiracy, and do not fear what it fears, or be in dread.”

-Isaiah 8:12
ABSTRACT

Scholarship on American evangelicalism and its historical intersection with the ideology and activities of White Nationalism has typically focused on identifying shared cultural affinities in areas related broadly to the values and objectives of historic conservatism. These include issues of traditional patriarchy and gender roles, racial and/or religious prejudice, anti-immigrant views, and hostile responses to progressive socio-cultural change. Sociological, psychological, political and other frames of analysis applied to the study of American evangelicalism’s historical and cultural crossover with White Nationalism also identifies shared tendencies towards operating with conspiratorial and apocalyptic beliefs and frames of mind. To date, no comprehensive historical examination has been made in scholarly literature of the role of apocalyptic narratives and conspiracy beliefs in animating or motivating the actions and attitudes of evangelical Christians or White Nationalists or to what extent the apocalyptic narratives of each of these subcultures may have interacted and influenced each other’s development.

Through a process of intra-White cultural and ideological exchange the premillennial dispensational apocalyptic narrative of fundamentalist-evangelical Christianity as illustrated in Hal Lindsey’s *The Late Great Planet Earth* (1970) informed the later development of the apocalyptic narrative of the White Power movement’s vision of an end times race war as seen in *The Turner Diaries* (1978). Organizations such as the John Birch Society and other anticommunist political and cultural movements and messaging like those of the McCarthy hearings of 1954 and the presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater in 1964 served as the nexus of this intra-White apocalyptic narrative exchange.
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I also wish to thank my wife Maddy and our daughter Emmy, for your loving, patient, gracious and unswerving support and encouragement throughout this yearslong graduate school journey. I couldn’t have made it this far without your believing in me and your willingness to wait patiently for me to finish this process through many long hours and days of extra work. I also wish to thank my parents, Jerry and Margaret, as well as my bonus parents, Brian and Melanie, for all the encouragement, interest, and extra help you have given as I have labored through this thesis and coursework. Thanks also to my siblings Pete, Karen, Megan, Chris, Sasha and Makenzie for your loving presence and support in my life. I love you all. Finally, thanks be to God who has made all this possible and who has provided the strength and endurance to finish this race when at times it seemed impossible. Soli Deo Gloria.
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This project originated with keen, interwoven personal interests in the history, theology and culture of American evangelical Christianity as well as in the intellectual history of modern extremist ideologies. These historical interests became manifested in reality in the tumultuous contemporary political and cultural events surrounding the election of Donald J. Trump to the American presidency in 2016. The era of the Trump Administration saw the populist constituency of the American Right, including extremist elements, emboldened anew as President Trump winked and nodded to the fringe conspiracy theories of QAnon and paramilitary groups like the Proud Boys, Three Percenters and Oath Keepers. Then-President Trump’s refusal to utterly condemn these sorts of extremist groups amid the acts of violence in locales like Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017 only served to further excite the passions of the Far Right of American politics. As a result, conspiracist and apocalyptic beliefs have reached new levels of adherence as well as mainstream legitimacy within the conservative movement with the rise of Trumpian politics and rhetoric on the American Right.

Beyond fringe White Nationalist and paramilitary groups, the largest demographic group swept up in President Trump’s thrall were Protestant evangelical Christians. The author of this study is a vested stakeholder in the orthodox Protestant Christian faith and the inquiry undertaken into these matters have not only been a matter of private, personal religious conviction and deep concern but also a question of an immersive, vocational reality, as the author has worked extensively in Protestant evangelical churches pastorally and in Christian educational institutions. The research process undertaken for this study combines the immersive, lived experiences of the author within American evangelicalism and its institutions with the established processes of historical research: extensive secondary source reading and primary
source analysis. Reflection, contemplation, and analysis on the intersection of theological, historical, cultural and ideological factors in the evangelical spaces the author has been immersed in proved indispensable for arriving at the conclusions about the evidence examined. Further, a careful and schematized comparative analysis of the apocalyptic and conspiratorial themes, characters, symbols, and other factors found in the evangelical dispensationalist text of *The Late Great Planet Earth* and the White Nationalist text of *The Turner Diaries* was essential for identifying shared and divergent characteristics between the movements.
INTRODUCTION

For love of God and Country. These twin pillars have, in varying forms, served as the cultural foundation of Christian Nationalist ideology in United States history from the British colonial era down to the present. Sociologists Andrew L. Perry and Samuel L. Whitehead argue in their book *Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States*, for a definition of Christian Nationalism as

A cultural framework—a collection of myths, traditions, symbols, narratives, and value systems—that idealizes and advocates a fusion of Christianity with American civic life... it includes assumptions of nativism, white supremacy, patriarchy, and heteronormativity, along with divine sanction for authoritarian control and militarism. It is as ethnic and political as it is religious.¹

In the mid-twentieth century, populist White evangelical apocalypticism intersected with virulent anti-communism and White supremacy within the context of the John Birch Society and like-minded, conspiracy driven organizations in the early 1960’s. As these organizations converged across the decade of social upheavals connected to the Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War, by the 1970’s a new White Power paramilitary movement began to take shape around the movement’s racist apocalyptic narrative that emerged in the post-Vietnam era of the mid-1970’s, largely driven in response to social equality legislation removing the historic legal bulwark upholding White supremacy and to US foreign policy decision-making from the 1970’s to the mid-1980’s. Through a process of intra-White cultural and ideological exchange the premillennial dispensational apocalyptic narrative of fundamentalist-evangelical Christianity as illustrated in Hal Lindsey’s *The Late Great Planet Earth* informed the later development of the apocalyptic narrative of the White Power movement’s vision of an end times race war as seen in

The Turner Diaries. Organizations such as the John Birch Society and other anticommunist political and cultural movements and messaging like those of the McCarthy hearings of 1954 and the presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater in 1964 served as the nexus of this intra-White apocalyptic narrative exchange.

The initial symptoms of these churnings may be seen in the early Cold War era during the 1940’s and 1950’s as rising public hysteria mounted concerning the grave threat of communism posed by a triumphant Soviet Union that emerged as a superpower following the end of World War II, Mao Zedong consolidated power in China and the Iron Curtain fell on Eastern Europe. Riding this wave of public fear into the national headlines was the bullish Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI), who began a campaign to root out alleged “Reds, Pinks, and Lavenders” working in government, military and other high-profile positions in the Spring of 1954. Although McCarthy’s sensational accusations of alleged communists and other non-conformists were shown to be unfounded, they nevertheless served to further inflame public fears. By the early 1960’s, communist regimes would also be established on the Korean Peninsula, in Cuba and elsewhere. Amid widespread public fears related to the communist threat, the timing was ripe in the United States for zealous nationalistic reactions to combat the communist menace.

A decade later, Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) launched a campaign on a populist platform for the Republican Party’s nomination for president and was overwhelmingly defeated in 1964 by incumbent Lyndon B. Johnson (D-TX). Historian Richard Hofstadter, who was also a contemporary observer of McCarthy’s and Goldwater’s activities, describes the McCarthy-Goldwater base of supporters as ‘pseudo-conservatives.’ According to Hofstadter, “the pseudo-conservative is a man who, in the name of upholding traditional American values and institutions and defending them against more or less fictitious dangers, consciously or unconsciously aims at
their abolition.”² Paradoxically, Hofstadter’s archetype of the pseudo-conservative, of which the Christian Nationalist is representative, seeks to preserve or reestablish its mythic ideal of a White Christian American society by undermining, defacing or destroying outright the actual constitutional and institutional foundations of the nation it claims to patriotically defend. This is an essentially apocalyptic vision, in which pseudo-conservatives are attempting to enact deviant conspiratorial or theological narratives about the annihilation, or at least defeat, of sinful, evil ‘others’ in the real world and (re)establishing a new, idealized world in place of the old corrupted one.

As American nationalist attitudes were animated afresh in the 1950’s and 1960’s, White evangelical Protestant Christianity quickly grew and came to include a powerful network of influential religious leaders (note, in particular, the central role of the National Association of Evangelicals, founded in 1942, in the development of the movement’s network). Renowned evangelist Billy Graham became the national face of the evangelical movement in the 1950’s. Along with other leaders, Graham actively preached against the threat of communism, played a pivotal role in the founding of Christianity Today magazine, engaged in speculation about prophetic biblical texts being fulfilled in present-day geopolitical events, and emphasized the importance of Judeo-Christian faith involvement as a patriotic duty. Indeed, following a period of close study of biblical prophecy, Graham declared in a radio sermon that “there are strong indications in the Bible that in the last days a great sinister anti-Christian movement will arise. At this moment it appears that communism has all the earmarks of this great anti-Christian

Thus, a reinvigorated, populist Christian Nationalism emerged to fight against shadowy communist forces.

Alongside a resurgent American nationalism and fast-growing evangelical Protestantism, new civic and business organizations began to appear to promote patriotic American values in response to the communist threat. Among these, the John Birch Society (JBS), founded in 1958 by Robert W. Welch Jr., stands out for its aggressive tactics and conspiracy-driven outlook. The organization enjoyed a brief period of prominence in the early 1960’s among Republican constituents but was eventually castigated as a fringe group by conservative luminaries such as Ronald Reagan, William F. Buckley, and others. If Hofstadter’s analysis of the populist pseudo-conservatives who supported Barry Goldwater is any indication, the late 1950’s and early 1960’s may have seen the confluence of cultural streams at the right time to explain the emergence of JBS.

Amid the fever-pitch paranoia characterizing the public’s, as well as the government’s, fear of the communist menace during the 1950’s and 1960’s, a renewed movement advocating for the civil rights of African Americans, led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Thurgood Marshall and others were winning important legal battles for the advance of racial equality. For instance, in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas I* (1954) and *II* (1955), the Supreme Court declared the prevailing doctrine of racially separate but equal public spaces to be unconstitutional and a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex and national origin and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 provided important legal safeguards against state-level attempts to disenfranchise of people of color. During the 1960’s

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3 Billy Graham, “Christianity vs. Communism” (Minneapolis: Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, 1951).
and carrying into the 1970’s, other historically marginalized groups including women (e.g. the attempted Equal Rights Amendment in 1972 and *Roe v. Wade* in 1973), LGBTQ people (e.g. the Stonewall Riots in 1969), and other peoples of color (e.g. Chicano and American Indian Movements) also politicked, protested and advocated for equality before the law, an end to legal discrimination against them, and other associated rights and protections.

Alongside the progress of social equality legislation, many Americans gradually came to oppose the US war effort in Vietnam. Nightly news reports featuring wounded GIs and scenes of violence and destruction along with the false impressions of nearing victory given by US government and military leaders soured public support for the war. Significantly, when the US loss in Vietnam is juxtaposed with the domestic social upheavals stemming from injustices and inequalities at home, the edifice of America as a divinely favored White, Protestant and exceptional nation began to crumble. The 1960’s and 1970’s historical reputation as a period of social upheaval and change in the United States is thus well-deserved.

As progressive socio-cultural movements achieved legal victories and mainstream recognition and support, segments of the Republican-leaning patriarchal, White, conservative Protestant constituency reacted with predictable hostility to the changing cultural landscape. In one noteworthy example, the Reverend Jerry Falwell Sr., pastor of the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, VA and eventual leader of the Religious Right openly opposed racial integration of public schools and founded his K-12 Liberty Christian Academy (1967) and Liberty University (1971) in response. Although Falwell later repudiated his earlier comments opposing racial integration of public schools, the association of the founding of these educational institutions with racism remains. Bob Jones University, a private Christian institution in South Carolina found its longstanding official segregationist policies and bans on interracial dating and
marriage among staff and students directly at odds with the Internal Revenue Service. The IRS sought to revoke Bob Jones University’s tax-exempt status on grounds that it engaged in racially discriminatory practices. In 1983, the Supreme Court ruled in *Bob Jones University v. United States* that the school’s First Amendment right to religious freedom was not infringed by the legal penalty imposed by the IRS and the school subsequently lost its tax-exempt status (which it has since regained through modification of past policies).

As over expressions of racial prejudice and discrimination came to be viewed with increasing disapproval by a growing majority of the American public, Republican politicos realized the growing need to avoid any appearance of racism, antisemitism, etc. or face potential electoral defeats. Republican politicians thus adopted the use of carefully coded dog-whistle messaging to speak to the fears of Whites. Indeed, “rather than explicit language, such as the ‘Negro problem,’ the path was cleared for a new language, such as the ‘urban problem,’ which rearticulated the deep sentiments of anti-blackness connected to Jim Crow/Keynesian racial language.”

To this end Richard Nixon positioned himself as a ‘law and order’ candidate and courted disaffected Whites below the Mason-Dixon Line with his infamous Southern Strategy. In the 1980’s, Ronald Reagan masterfully presented the Republican Party as God-fearing and as the party of fiscal and individual responsibility while boldly reiterating mythic notions of American exceptionalism. Meanwhile, throughout the 1970’s and 1980’s, White conservative Protestants as well as military veterans disillusioned with the US failure to achieve decisive victory in Vietnam each became significant constituencies for the Republican Party.

**Conspiracy, Apocalypse, Paramilitarism and Political Organizing**

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Following the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, previously independent White separatist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, Neo Nazis, and Christian Identity congregations began to gather in common cause to resist and fight against the advances of diverse and progressive socio-cultural groups and ideas. Christian Nationalist ideology proved to be a shared set of sentiments between White separatist and some White evangelical Protestants during the 1970’s and 1980’s. Further, White paramilitary separatists and White evangelical Protestants shared an affinity for strong Second Amendment protection of the right to bear arms. Organizations such as the National Rifle Association, *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, and a flood of entertainment ventures in the form of popular paperback novels and movies such as the Rambo franchise featuring action megastar Sylvester Stallone contributed to the development and propagation of a ‘warrior’ subculture in the 1980’s. In these narratives, warriors (overwhelmingly White men) working within societal institutions (police, firemen, soldiers) and on the outskirts of it (lone mercenaries) fought to protect the society from external threats, deploying violence with high skill to vanquish foreign villains. Frequently in these narratives, the United States government is viewed as a hopelessly weak and corrupt organization that the warrior must fight in an unending secondary conflict. Overlapping themes of violence, conspiratorial views of government and cultural outsiders, and the need to resist perceived threats to the historic, hierarchical cultural status quo from previously marginalized groups within the society were described with apocalyptic rhetoric by White paramilitary separatists and evangelical Protestants alike during the 1970’s and 1980’s.

Historian Richard Hofstadter and others in the mid-twentieth century noted the conspiratorial and ‘paranoid’ tendencies among segments of the populist, pseudo-conservative supporters of politicians such as Joseph McCarthy and Barry Goldwater. Psycho-social study and
analysis of the dynamics of conspiracy belief in the public has gained increasing scholarly
attention in recent years. Social psychologists Karen M. Douglas and Jan-Willem van Proojien
and political scientist Michael Barkun have given particular attention to the shape and
characteristics of conspiracy beliefs and their committed adherents. Douglas and van-Proojien
propose four criteria for the establishment of a theoretical framework that may be applied to the
study of belief in conspiracies across academic disciplines.\(^5\) These four criteria state that belief in
conspiracies is *consequential, universal, emotional, and social*. Belief in conspiracies is first
described as *consequential*, meaning that there are real impacts on individual lives and broader
society resulting from conspiracy beliefs and the majority of these impacts are deemed to be
negative or detrimental. The second criteria is that belief in conspiracies are *universal*, that is,
people across differing historical periods and in diverse cultural settings have and continue to
believe in conspiracy theories.

Third, van-Proojien and Douglas observe that conspiracy beliefs are *emotional*. What is
meant here is that conspiracy believers tend to operate on intuition and assumption about the
validity of their views rather than on the basis of empirical evidence or critical analysis. Political
scientist Michael Barkun and the social psychologists each note the interesting phenomena that
conspiracy believers who author books and other publications actively seek to mimic the
approach to research and presentation of evidence which are the hallmark of mainstream
scholarship. Despite the appearance of what may seem like the application of rigorous research
methodologies by conspiracy writers to their work, these efforts are best described as pseudo-
scholarship that simply and extensively footnotes and creates bibliographic entries of source

\(^5\) Karen M. Douglas and Jan-Willem van Proojen, “Belief in Conspiracies: Basic Principles in an Emerging
materials which are frequently of dubious origin or are quotations from the works of like-minded conspiracists, indicating that strong confirmation bias occurs in conspiracy belief circles. Lastly, Douglas and van-Proojien assert that conspiracy beliefs are social. The researchers note that for those adhering to conspiracy beliefs, individual social relationships can be adversely impacted because those in close relational proximity to the believer may find their convictions to be absurd which can in turn lead to inter-relational conflict. On the societal level, conspiracy beliefs can produce intergroup conflict as one ingroup perceives that a strange or hostile outgroup is plotting against them in some form or fashion. Significantly, van-Proojien and Douglas also posit that the stronger the sense of ingroup identity that exists within a group, the greater potential there is for the occurrence of what social psychologists term ‘collective narcissism,’ which is characterized as an exaggerated or even delusional belief in the exceptional superiority of one’s ingroup over others. The most overt and obvious examples in contemporary Western culture of collective narcissism relate to notions of one group’s sense of racial superiority over all others.

The question of where and how conspiratorial beliefs intersect with apocalyptic views to inform and energize aggressive political organizing and militant actions on the American Right is a key question of this project. Critically, Barkun observes that “the dualism inherent in conspiracy ideas makes them ideal vehicles for apocalyptic anxieties.”6 Within American populist evangelicalism, the eschatological perspective known as premillennial dispensationalism has attained the status of accepted orthodoxy among rank-and-file believers. Further, whilst premillennial dispensationalism arose as a negative eschatology (that is, holding a deeply pessimistic view of the quickly deteriorating human condition and state of world affairs), over much of the past 150 years it has developed into an entire hermeneutical framework for

interpreting the Bible. A more detailed description will be provided below but at this juncture the most salient feature of premillennial dispensationalism to note is the system’s theologically dualistic and gnosticizing tendencies. Claims to newly discovered knowledge resulting from fresh speculation about fulfillment of prophetic passages in the Old and New Testaments as borne out in present-day geopolitical events and allegedly revealing the nearness of Christ’s second coming in which he and his people will defeat the Antichrist and his servants have been typical stock-in-trade in populist evangelical preachments and belief for well-over a century.

Current political polling data collected and analyzed by the conservative-leaning American Enterprise Institute in its American Perspectives Survey of 2021 indicates ongoing associations between populist evangelical apocalyptic thought and belief in conspiracies. Indeed, according to the survey data:

More than six in 10 (67 percent) of white evangelical Christian Republicans say the claim that an unelected group of government officials, known as the “Deep State,” were working against the interests of the Trump administration is mostly or completely accurate. The theory of the Deep State holds significantly less influence among non-evangelical Republicans, only 52 percent of whom say this claim is accurate.7

Further contributing to the proliferation of apocalyptic speculation and conspiracy belief on the American Right in the era of mass communication has been the use of radio, television, and now the internet by politicians, pundits, and preachers. Inevitably, to use the parlance of Neil Postman in his now-classic work Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business, the use of these technological mediums has also served to change the message being sent to the masses. For Postman writing in 1985, television had terribly degraded the quality of public discourse on a range of serious matters including politics, religion, and education. For

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Postman, televised religious services primarily serve as yet another form of entertainment. Consequently, “if an audience is not immersed in an aura of mystery and symbolic otherworldliness, it is unlikely that it can call for the state of mind required for a non-trivial religious experience.”

In recent scholarship, various authors have addressed questions of conspiracy belief and populist evangelical apocalypticism and their associations with political organizing and militant nationalist actions to prevent the advance of progressive socio-cultural change. The works of Edward J. Blum (Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion and American Nationalism, 1865-1898) and Kelly J. Baker (Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930) address the socio-cultural importance of populist White, patriarchal, Protestant solidarity to thwart the advance of African Americans and other marginalized groups in the half-century following the Civil War. Historians of American evangelicalism including George Marsden (Fundamentalism in American Culture) and Matthew Avery Sutton (American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism) extensively chronicle internal developments within evangelicalism itself and note the movement’s occasional and unfortunate association with overtly racist ideas and organizations. The works of Ibram X. Kendi (Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America) and Corey Robin (The Reactionary Mind: Conservatism from Edmund Burke to Sarah Palin) are essential historiographies documenting the intellectual and ideological trajectory and history of White, Protestant nationalism in the United States. Kathleen Belew’s Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America is a vital chronicle of the coalescing and organizing

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of varied White Nationalist organizations into a unified movement from the mid-1970’s to the mid-1990’s.

Chapter One of this thesis will survey the historical and theological backgrounds of White Christian Nationalism in the United States. The historical origins of premillennial dispensational eschatology and an overview of this system will be provided to familiarize the reader with the general lines of thought of this populist evangelical theological framework. This will be followed by a brief presentation of the historical background of White paramilitary/White supremacist organizations with particular attention on the coalescing of independent factions into a more unified national network following the end of the Vietnam War in 1975. Next, we will seek to explain the resurgence of White, Christian Nationalism within the context of the early Cold War period of the 1950’s by examining the public hysteria surrounding the threat of communism’s advance and the conspiratorial, apocalyptic responses to that threat from the conservative white Protestant majority of the time. The chapter will conclude with an overview of social, cultural and political actions and consequences stemming from these beliefs.

Chapter Two will examine and offer critical analysis of populist evangelical apocalypticism’s most influential work of the late twentieth century, Hal Lindsey’s The Late Great Planet Earth, originally published in 1970 as a non-fiction work and which had sold in excess of 35 million copies and been translated into over 50 languages by 1999. Lindsey’s work will thus serve as the leading evangelical primary source of this study. In order to draw out potential conceptual, character, thematic and other linkages between the apocalyptic narratives of premillennial dispensationalism in evangelicalism and the White Power Movement, a White

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Nationalist reading will be applied to Lindsey’s text which prioritizes the racialized cultural values, beliefs, and tendencies in thought and behavior of the White Nationalist movement. This study will use criteria drawn from the work political scientist Michael Barkun and social-psychologists Willem van-Proojien and Karen M. Douglass related conspiracy and apocalyptic belief dynamics discussed above. These racialized cultural values and beliefs which form the criteria for a White Nationalist reading include first, White Supremacy, the conviction that Anglo-Saxon peoples are superior to all other ethnic groups, including Jews. The Jewish historian Fredric Cople Jaher has noted the confluence of White Nationalist bigotry with antisemitic conspiracy theories and segments of both premillennial dispensational and Roman Catholic thought in the 1930’s and 1940’s.\textsuperscript{10} Second is Protestant Christian Religious Superiority, for those White Nationalists who subscribe to Protestant Christian faith, the conviction that other religious and philosophical systems are not only deficient in their views but deviant and dangerous.\textsuperscript{11}

Third, simultaneous belief in the exceptionalism and increasing moral depravity of the United States as a country ordained of God for a special purpose in the world but whose righteous path has been derailed because the nation and its institutions have been co-opted by

\textsuperscript{10} Fredric Cople Jaher, A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness: The Origins and Rise of Antisemitism in America (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1994), 246. Jaher observes “Christian rage against Judaism was significant in shaping the outlook of hate peddlers. Father [Charles] Coughlin’s main grievances were the monetary system and communism, but he perceived them both as outgrowths of the sinister Jewish denial of the Messiah. [Gerald] Winrod, a dispensationalist, also cast the Jew as the villain in the drama of salvation: The world conspiracy of the Elders of Zion was a satanic scheme to dethrone God and Christianity. Marxism, the Soviet revolution, the Federal Reserve System, and the Depression were additional Jewish collaborations with Satan.” Notably, Father Charles Coughlin worked closely with the German American Bund in promoting antisemitism.

Leftist interests. Fourth, a tendency to explain socio-cultural progressive victories and changes in American culture, society, politics, demographics, et al. as the result of a vast series of evil conspiracies or one all-encompassing universal conspiracy led and carried out by a sinister and all-powerful secret organization such as the Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG, an antisemitic conspiracy which holds that an elite group of Jews in politics and business control the US government or even a one-world government). Fifth, an overpowering sense of besiegement of the White Nationalist ingroup by hostile outgroups, usually consisting of a coalition of racial minorities, political Leftists, and non-Christians which seek to harm or eliminate the embattled White Nationalist ingroup. Noted political historian Richard Hofstadter’s writings chronicling his contemporary observations of the conspiratorial and apocalyptic tendencies of what he termed the ‘pseudo-conservative’ movement during the 1950’s and 1960’s will be treated as important primary sources. Tim LaHaye’s personal recollections in his book, Rapture! of his involvement with the John Birch Society in the 1960’s will serve as a historical case in which White evangelical and White Power movement apocalyptic views may have cross-pollinated via intra-White cultural exchange.

Chapter Three will examine and analyze selected primary source materials representative of White paramilitary/White supremacist ideology with particular attention on apocalyptic themes and conspiracy beliefs. The Turner Diaries, a notorious fictional, futuristic correspondence penned by White supremacist William Pierce in 1978 will be examined as a

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14 Douglass and van Proojien, “Belief in Conspiracies”.

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definitive work outlining the White paramilitary/White supremacist belief in the coming of an apocalyptic war between peoples of different races, each trying to exterminate the other. Further, *The Turner Diaries* will be analyzed for the purpose of identifying occurrences of conspiracy beliefs pertaining to the US government’s attempts to control the citizenry and commit other perceived acts of corruption. Using the fictional dating of events within *The Turner Diaries*, an apocalyptic narrative chronology of the White Power movement’s genocidal end-times race war will be constructed to compare this narrative with that of premillennial dispensationalism.

Following examination and analysis of relevant primary source materials from within populist American evangelicalism and the White paramilitary movement, the Chapter Four will assess where the two movements converge and diverge from one another in the 1960’s-1980’s. Domestically within the United States, similar and dissimilar conspiratorial-apocalyptic responses to progressive socio-cultural achievements and advancements will be considered. Populist American evangelical and white paramilitary movement responses to US foreign policy decisions and other geopolitical circumstances will also be examined for similarities and dissimilarities with particular focus on the Cold War. The conclusion will close the thesis with a brief consideration and commentary on the implications of the study for the current American political, social and cultural climate.
CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF PREMILLENNIAL DISPENSATIONALISM IN AMERICAN EVANGELICALISM AND THE MODERN WHITE POWER MOVEMENT

This chapter presents the historical and theological background of premillennial dispensational apocalyptic theology within American evangelicalism and following this, provide a historical and ideological survey of different currents of White Nationalism within US history with particular attention given to the Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi organizations. Our purpose is to assist the reader in discerning the particular political, cultural and theological-ideological emphases of each movement and to highlight their shared characteristics as well as their distinctives. Let us turn now to surveying the historical development and theological distinctives of premillennial dispensational eschatology within American evangelical Christianity.

Evangelical Dispensationalism: Historical Development and Theological Distinctives

In Christian theology, ‘eschatology’ (from the Greek ἔσχατος (éskhatos), an adjective meaning ‘last’) is the category of doctrine which is broadly concerned with “the future of God’s kingdom that is fully realized in Jesus’ second coming, the resurrection of the dead, and his judgment of humankind.15” Within American evangelicalism, the three eschatological perspectives of post-millennialism, amillennialism and premillennialism have enjoyed varying degrees of adherence and popularity from the Pre-Revolutionary period to the present. Differences of perspective hinge on how the text of Revelation 20:1-6 are interpreted.16 Post-

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16 “Then I saw an angel coming down from heaven, holding in his hand the key to the bottomless pit and a great chain. 2 He seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand
millennialism (‘post’ referring to Christ’s second coming as being after the millennium) is possessed of the optimistic view that if the Christian Church labors diligently to preach the gospel of salvation, invests heavily in missionary efforts to convert non-Christians, and engages in social and moral reform, their efforts may help speed the second coming of Jesus Christ. Post-millennial eschatology found much resonance from the founding of the republic up to the time of the First World War (c. 1914) among American Christians because of a widely held belief in the United States’ exceptionalism and the visible sense of progress in some (not all) aspects of national life.\textsuperscript{17} Amillennialism, denies a literal millennial reign of Jesus and instead sees the present period of history since the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ in which the Christian Church is active and growing as the ongoing, unfolding of the millennium which culminates suddenly with the second coming of Jesus Christ. Following his return, Christ will commence the final judgment and establish an eternal reign thereafter. Amillennialism has not, historically enjoyed the same wide adherence as post-millennialism or premillennialism in the United States and even in the present is most frequently subscribed to by academically-inclined Calvinistic evangelicals.

The term ‘premillennial’ refers to the eschatological perspective that Jesus Christ will return before the period of his thousand-year reign on earth. Premillennial belief consists of two

\begin{quote}
years\textsuperscript{3} and threw him into the pit and locked and sealed it over him, so that he would deceive the nations no more, until the thousand years were ended. After that he must be let out for a little while.\textsuperscript{4} Then I saw thrones, and those seated on them were given authority to judge. I also saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God. They had not worshiped the beast or its image and had not received its brand on their foreheads or their hands. They came to life and reigned with Christ a thousand years.\textsuperscript{5} (The rest of the dead did not come to life until the thousand years were ended.) This is the first resurrection.\textsuperscript{6} Blessed and holy are those who share in the first resurrection. Over these the second death has no power, but they will be priests of God and of Christ, and they will reign with him a thousand years.” (Rev. 20:1-6, NRSV).
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{17} George Marsden, \textit{Fundamentalism and American Culture}, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 49. Kindle.
\end{flushright}
major schools, the historic and dispensational.¹⁸ Historic premillennialism, in contrast to the dispensational view, does not emphasize covenantal distinctions (or ‘two covenant’ structure) between the Church and ethnic Israel, nor does the view insist on a literal, futurist fulfillment of biblical prophecies (i.e. ‘Futurism’ interprets many prophetic statements in the Bible as not having yet been fulfilled). Rather, historic premillennialism views many biblical prophecies as having already been fulfilled in past historical events (e.g. Jesus’ prophetic warning in the Olivet Discourse in Matthew 24:1-2 about the destruction of the Second Jerusalem Temple was fulfilled in 70 CE when the Romans destroyed the Temple during the First Roman Jewish War c. 66-73 CE).

The theological framework known as premillennial dispensationalism may be defined as “a view of God’s activities in history...each dispensation is a different time period in which humans are tested in responding to God’s will. Seven dispensations cover creation to judgment.”¹⁹ As a system of thought, premillennial dispensationalism originated with John Nelson Darby, a nineteenth century Anglo-Irish leader and preacher among the Plymouth Brethren sect in the British Isles. He made several trips to North America where his premillennial dispensational system of biblical interpretation gained many adherents and has enjoyed greater

¹⁸ For general, comparative discussions of the historic and dispensational schools of thought from within evangelical scholarship see Christian Theology, 2nd Ed. by Millard J. Erickson Ch. 59 pgs. 1211-1231; Christian Faith: A Systematic Theology for Pilgrim’s on the Way by Michael Horton Ch. 28, pgs. 919-956; Three Views on the Millennium and Beyond Ed. Darrell L. Bock and Stanley N. Gundry; for the function of premillennial apocalypticism within evangelical thought and culture see The Problem With Evangelical Theology: Testing the Exegetical Foundations of Calvinism, Dispensationalism, and Wesleyanism, First Ed. by Ben Witherington III; A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America 2nd Ed. by Michael J. Barkun; and for the historical development and context of premillennialism see Fundamentalism in American Culture: New Edition by George Marsden; and American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism by Matthew Avery Sutton. ¹⁹ Westminster Dictionary of Theological Terms, 1996 ed., s.v. “Dispensationalism” (by Donald K. McKim).
staying power than in his native Great Britain. Historically, premillennial dispensationalism gained popularity in the wake of the calamitous events of the American Civil War during a time of bitter national grief, uncertainty and division. Historian George Marsden explains that “the rapid spread of premillennial thought must have reflected some disillusionment with the progress of civilization. No doubt social pessimism contributed to the growth of the dispensationalist movement in post-Civil-War America during the Gilded Age. The war clearly had not introduced a golden age of the reign of righteousness as some had predicted.” It must be noted, however, subscribers to premillennial dispensationalism at the time were not uniformly pessimistic about the state of American society; some were unresolved because belief in the nation’s exceptionalism remained potent. By the end of the First World War, however, adherence to the optimistic postmillennialist outlook waned in the United States. In the wake of a devastating global conflict, the Spanish Flu pandemic of 1918-1919 that killed millions, and the seeming rise in decadent social behavior during the 1920’s, many more conservative Protestants to adopted the pessimistic view of the human condition and its future trajectory that is characteristic of premillennial dispensationalism.

A modernist inductive methodology of Baconian heritage informs the literal approach taken to interpreting the Bible by premillennial dispensationalists. Again, Marsden’s description is vital:

All dispensational interpreters agreed on this. Prophecies must mean exactly what they said (“Israel” must mean the Jews, never the church). Prophetic numbers referred to exact periods of time. Predictions would come true as real events, although the Bible might use

images to describe them—as “The Beast” of Revelation 19 for the earth’s last and worst political tyrant.\(^ {23}\)

Prophetic fulfillment is a matter of central concern for dispensationalists and great attention is given to exhaustively schematizing the dispensations of God’s work in history. The most prominent and lasting example of this schematizing of biblical prophecy is found in the notes of the Scofield Reference Bible, compiled by Cyrus Ingerson Scofield (c. 1843-1921). Interestingly, Scofield was a two-time Confederate Army Civil War veteran who, after the war, studied law in St. Louis, Missouri, and served two year-length terms in the Kansas House of Representatives in 1871 and 1872. Following this, he campaigned for John J. Ingalls of Kansas in a successful bid to get the latter elected to the US Senate. Ingalls subsequently secured an appointment for the then 29-year old Scofield as US Attorney for Kansas and the Indian Territory. Only after losing his position as US Attorney amid a legal scandal and allegations of fraud did Scofield undergo a radical conversion experience to evangelical Christianity sometime in the mid to late 1870’s. He promptly abandoned his previously dissolute manner of living.\(^ {24}\)

Later, shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, as Scofield having long established his evangelical and dispensational bonafides, undertook his work in earnest on the Scofield Reference Bible, in which exhaustive footnotes and commentary draw the reader’s attention to the dispensational system’s elaborate framework of prophecy and its fulfillment. For instance, in a footnote on Revelation 19:20 which reports a vision of the casting of the satanic Beast and the False Prophet into the lake of fire, Scofield comments on important linkages between the

\(^{23}\) Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 60. Kindle.

apocalyptic passages found in the books of Daniel and Revelation as well as other texts as follows:

The Beast is the “little horn” of Daniel 7:24-26 and “desolator” of Daniel 9:27, the “abomination of desolation of Mt. 24:15, “the man of sin” of 2 Thes. 2:4-8.\(^{25}\)

Originally published in 1909 by Oxford University Press with the King James Version of the biblical text, Scofield’s Reference Bible remains a trusted and frequently used resource for fundamentalist Christians who subscribe to premillennial dispensationalism.

In addition to Scofield’s Reference Bible, premillennial dispensationalism’s attempts at the detailed schematizing of biblical prophecy’s fulfillment took on noteworthy visual forms as well. Clarence Larkin (c. 1850-1924), an American Baptist pastor, produced highly elaborate hand-drawn diagrams, popularly known as prophecy charts, of biblical prophecy’s fulfillment with special attention given to dispensational eschatology.\(^{26}\) Larkin’s drawings and accompanying commentary were published in 1918 in his most famous work, Dispensational Truth, Or God’s Plan and Purpose in the Ages. These elaborate charts, with their mimicry of scientific and technological charts reflected the evangelical attempts to apply Baconian empirical methods to the interpretation of the Bible. For much of the early and mid-twentieth century, these charts became popular and key features at Bible prophecy conferences hosted by local churches and at larger regional or national meetings in the United States.


\(^{26}\) See Figures 2-6 in the Figures section below for representative examples of Larkin’s prophecy chart drawings.
The term “apocalyptic” itself refers to a specific genre of literature found in Ancient Near Eastern religious texts “that portrays the end of the world and of human history.” For premillennial dispensationalists, a sample of biblical prophecies indicating the return of Christ is nearing include the restoration of the Promised Land to the Jewish people as in Jeremiah 16:14-16. Needless to say, the establishment of modern nation-state Israel in 1948 and its gaining official recognition from US President Harry S. Truman caused no small amount of excitement among prophecy enthusiasts. Subsequent military victories by nation-state Israel in events such as the Six Day War in June 1967 seemed to premillennial dispensationalists to be further confirmation of God’s working to fulfill ancient prophetic statements in the Bible in the present unfolding of world events.

Dispensationalism also demonstrates a strong preoccupation with the rise of a satanically enabled Antichrist figure who will exercise singular rule over the nations of the world (eg 1 John 2:18-22, 4:3; 2 John 7). The Antichrist will, among other things, persecute those who become Christians during the period of the Great Tribulation, a time of great suffering on the earth prior to the Final Judgment. The Rapture, an act in which God will suddenly remove Christians to

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28 14 Therefore, the days are surely coming, says the Lord, when it shall no longer be said, “As the Lord lives who brought the people of Israel up out of the land of Egypt,” 15 but “As the Lord lives who brought the people of Israel up out of the land of the north and out of all the lands where he had driven them.” For I will bring them back to their own land that I gave to their ancestors. 16 I am now sending for many fishermen, says the Lord, and they shall catch them, and afterward I will send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain and every hill and out of the clefts of the rocks.” (Jer. 16:14-16, NRSV).

Heaven from the earth prior to the Great Tribulation, (Matthew 24:30-31, 1 Thessalonians 4:13-17) are important signs of the end of days in the dispensational theological framework.

A final tendency of premillennial dispensationalists is the historical shift in their involvement in politics. Prior to World War I, most dispensationalists emphasized the necessity of personal conversion and Christian ministry and service as the primary means of reforming society. Historians of evangelicalism tend to note World War I as a turning point in which premillennial dispensationalists became more politically active, trending towards Republican conservatism and expressing support for the American effort in the Great War. Showman evangelist Billy Sunday would strut about the stage waving Old Glory and expressing pro-war sentiments and vilifying the enemy with anti-German rhetoric. Later, after World War II, evangelicals would continue showing strong support for US nationalism in the face of the perceived communist threat.

**The Modern White Power Movement: Historical Developments and Ideological Distinctives**

Racial progress and racist intransigence are essential, dueling constants in the grand narrative of United States history generally and in the historical development of the White Power movement particularly. Consider, for example, the twin triumphs of the abolition of slavery with President Abraham Lincoln’s issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation made effective January 1, 1863 and the Union Army’s victory in the Civil War, followed by the cataclysmic assassination of the Emancipator at the hands of a Confederate zealot, which was followed by the

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32 Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped From the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Bold-Type Books, 2016), Location 120, Kindle. In the preface to his influential and controversial text, Kendi asserts that racist progress always follows racial progress.
subsequent ratification of the Thirteenth (1865, abolition of slavery), Fourteenth (1868, guarantee of equal citizenship for African Americans), and Fifteenth (1870, guarantee of the right to vote to African American men) Amendments to the US Constitution. During Reconstruction in the South, newly liberated African Americans not only began to receive educational and other opportunities, some such as Mississippi’s Hiram Rhodes Revels, ascended to public office and other positions of leadership.\textsuperscript{33}

However, no sooner had the racial progress witnessed in the abolition of slavery in 1865 occurred than did racist progress rear its head with the founding of what may be the oldest domestic terrorism organization in US history. The Ku Klux Klan, an avowedly Protestant Christian organization, was founded in 1866 at Pulaski, Tennessee by six former Confederate Army officers. The former Confederate Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest became involved with the group in late 1866 and was elected as the Klan’s first national leader with the title of Grand Wizard at a convention in Nashville, Tennessee in 1867. Scholar Kelly J. Baker notes in her important book, *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930* that early on, the Klan “specified its aims of chivalry, humanity, mercy and patriotism.”\textsuperscript{34}

Soon enough, however, the first-generation Klan’s activities focused especially on terrorizing newly freed people of color and their White allies through intimidation, vandalism, and violence. Indeed, as Edward J. Blum recounts of Klan activities during Reconstruction:

Reports of violence against schools, churches, and teachers were so pervasive that when Congress commissioned an inquiry about the Ku Klux Klan, federal investigators repeatedly asked defendants: ‘Has there been in your county or your part of the State any

\textsuperscript{33} Hiram Rhodes Revels was elected as the first ever African American to serve in the US Senate in 1870 and served for a little over one year until 1871 in that office.

disturbances of your schools?’ The answers were horrifying, since teachers and pupils had been whipped, burned, and murdered.\textsuperscript{35} Congress responded to the violence and disorder wrought by the Klan by passing the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, designed to enforce Fourteenth Amendment protections for African Americans and to protect the safety of persons and property targeted by Klan violence.

Reconstruction’s demise in 1877 and the ensuing repression of Blacks in the late nineteenth century was brought on by what Blum argues was “the post-Civil War reunification of whites, the decline in American race relations, and the rise of a militarized, imperialistic nation were permitted, and even encouraged, by northern whites, who abandoned the hopes for racial equality and brotherhood…”\textsuperscript{36} Further marginalizing and repressing Blacks was the Supreme Court’s fateful ruling in \textit{Plessy v. Ferguson} in 1896, which declared that racial segregation laws did not violate the Constitution, allowing the rise of the “separate but equal” legal doctrine that would remain in place for well over a half century. With the advent of new forms of mass media communication in the early twentieth century, racist beliefs and goals could be advanced with new rapidity.

D.W. Griffith’s landmark silent film, \textit{The Birth of a Nation}, was released in American movie theaters on February 8, 1915. The film, based originally on a book by Thomas Dixon Jr. entitled \textit{The Clansman}, romantically depicts the birth of the Ku Klux Klan in the aftermath of the Civil War and the Klan’s heroic efforts to protect the American nation and the virtues of White womanhood from the threat posed by newly freed, hyper-libidinous Black men.\textsuperscript{37} The film received rave reviews from White audiences in its time, with perhaps the greatest endorsement

\textsuperscript{36} Blum, \textit{Reforging the White Republic}, 3, Kindle.
being that it was screened at the White House during the administration of President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson is frequently and infamously quoted as saying of the film that “It’s like writing history with lightning. My only regret is that it is all so terribly true.”\textsuperscript{38} Historian Mark Benbow, however, concludes that “Wilson never gave an overt, open endorsement of \textit{The Birth of a Nation}. He agreed with most of the views expressed in the movie but not the more radical ones, such as the deportation of American blacks to Africa.”\textsuperscript{39}

When the second generation of the Ku Klux Klan emerged in the 1920’s under the leadership, first, of a former Methodist minister William Joseph Simmons in 1915, and then secondly under Hiram Wesley Evans, a dentist, the organization enjoyed unparalleled public favor and its membership roles swelled to approximately four million. The Klan of the 1920’s promoted itself under the nationalist slogan “One Hundred Percent Americanism,” seen in the twin emblems of the American flag, “an obvious and long-standing tie to patriotism” and “the fiery cross…[an] uplifting of Protestantism and religious belief” which “the Klan envisioned…[as] material artifacts as signifiers of nation.”\textsuperscript{40} The Klan of the 1920’s could boast not only about a large national membership among both men and women, but direct influence in local, state and national politics. Klansmen were elected to public office and politicians in some quarters sought the Klan’s endorsement.

Meanwhile in this same period, during the summer of 1925, fundamentalist Protestant Christianity was dealt a humiliating cultural and intellectual blow in the Scopes Monkey Trial. American Civil Liberties Union defense attorney Clarence Darrow interrogated guest prosecutor

\textsuperscript{39} Benbow, “Birth of a Quotation,” 528.
\textsuperscript{40} Baker, \textit{Gospel According to the Klan}, 70. Kindle.
and devout evangelical Christian William Jennings Bryan on the reliability of the Bible. Darrow’s questioning of a seemingly flatfooted Bryan painted he and his fellow Christian fundamentalists as anti-intellectual, science-denying rubes in the national media. The fundamentalist-evangelical movement’s reputation would be sullied for decades to come.

The restoration of the Klan’s image to prominence would prove short-lived however, as its members engaged in unseemly and violent activities. In May 1924, the Klan organized a parade through the town of South Bend, Indiana; home to the Roman Catholic Notre Dame University. Known for their anti-Catholic bigotry, the Klan’s presence was resented by Notre Dame students and faculty and resulted in three days of riots and public disorder. One especially notorious and heinous episode involved the Klan’s Grand Dragon for the State of Indiana, David Curtis Stephenson, who was convicted of the brutal second-degree murder of Madge Olberholtzer. Curtis, a man with a long history of womanizing, alcoholism and a known abuser, nevertheless served the Indiana Klan’s political agenda as he successfully “integrated the order into statewide politics by helping to elect several Indiana politicians supportive of the general Klan platform of 100 percent Americanism and Protestantism…”41 The Curtis conviction contributed to the Indiana Klan’s fall from power in state politics and reflected the decline of the Klan’s influence by the late 1920’s nationally.

Whilst the second generation Klan experienced major decline, the German American Bund was founded by Fritz Kuhn in 1936 as a pro-Nazi American fascist movement. The organization’s goal was to spread Nazi ideology in the United States and establish a political presence that could serve as an American partner to the German Nazi Party. The German-

American Bund established approximately twenty family campgrounds where they spread Nazi values and ideas about White civilization and extolled the virtues of Nazi Germany. As tensions grew in Europe during the late 1930’s, “the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC)...was formed in 1938 by Congressman Martin Dies Jr. to address the German-American Bund...and pro-Nazi organizations and individuals in the United States...”

Ultimately, HUAC, along with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Office of the Attorney General determined that the German-American Bund was not a significant threat to national security.

The climax of the Bund’s activities was their February 1939 gathering at Madison Square Garden in New York City. The event was attended by some 22,000 supporters of the Bund and a massive, floor-to-ceiling length portrait of President George Washington and American flags served as central set-pieces on the convention floor. German American Bund members are seen in archival footage reciting the Pledge of Allegiance and singing the National Anthem whilst also being dressed in Nazi Party uniforms, swastikas are prominently displayed and convention-goers are offering Nazi salutes with raised arms en masse. Fritz Kuhn, head of the German American Bund summons “Aryans, Nordics and Christians [to] wake up and not only speak out...to men that our government shall be returned to the American people who founded it.”

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outbreak of World War II, however, the German-American Bund’s popularity declined rapidly and its influence was short-lived.

Following the end of the Second World War, more American progress for racial equality would come through government action. President Harry S. Truman signed Executive Order 9981 on July 26, 1948 officially desegregating the United States military. The Civil Rights Movement under the leadership of figures such as Martin Luther King Jr. Thurgood Marshall, Bayard Rustin and others greatly increased their organizing and efforts at legally challenging racial injustice in the courts. The United States Supreme Court heard arguments in 1953 and 1954 in the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka case and its ruling overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine established nearly sixty years earlier in Plessy v. Ferguson. Following the Brown ruling, the NAACP sought to implement the high court’s ruling in the nation’s public schools, perhaps most notably in the case of the Little Rock Nine who attempted to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus refused to allow the Black students entry to the school and lent segregationist protestors support by deploying the Arkansas National Guard to prevent integration from occurring. President Dwight D. Eisenhower then intervened to carry integration of Central High School forward by sending troops from the US Army 101st Airborne Division to protect Black students and prevent segregationists from further interfering.

Whites, especially in the South, continued to resist efforts at racial desegregation of public spaces and other social equality advancements. During the 1960’s, a third, smaller and more violent generation of the Ku Klux Klan emerged in the 1950’s and 1960’s to intimidate, terrorize and murder those pursuing socio-culturally progressive reforms in American society. Klan member Byron De La Beckwith assassinated Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers on
June 12, 1963. Months later on Sunday September 15, 1963 numerous sticks of dynamite planted by Klansmen Thomas Blanton, Bobby Frank Cherry, and Robert Edward Chambliss exploded, killing four young Black girls preparing to sing in the choir for Sunday morning services at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama. The following summer on June 21, 1964, three Freedom Summer voting drive workers: James Early Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner who worked with the Congress for Racial Equality were kidnapped in Philadelphia, Mississippi by Klansmen, including Neshoba County Sheriff’s deputy Cecil Price. The three men were held for several hours in the county’s jail before being taken by car to an isolated road in the countryside and shot dead by the Klansmen. The combined Klan murder of an African American man and two Jewish men brought the attention of President Lyndon B. Johnson who pressed Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover to investigate the disappearances of the three men. Federal agents eventually located the burnt out car and bodies of the three men buried in a rural dam site. The Klansmen were subsequently arrested and stood trial but only a few were convicted and none served more than six years in prison.

In the Spring of 1959, George Lincoln Rockwell established the World Union of Free Enterprise International Socialists, which was subsequently renamed the American Nazi Party (ANP) to garner greater public attention than its small membership, footprint and short lifespan might have otherwise merited. The American Nazi Party’s ideology are rooted in the ideals of Adolf Hitler and the German Third Reich including use of Nazi uniforms and symbols like the swastika by members. Prior to his murder at the hands of the Marxist radical John Patler in 1967, whom Rockwell had banned from the ANP for Patler’s attempts to incorporate Marxist concepts into the ANP’s ideology, Rockwell laid the groundwork for the proliferation of Nazi ideas in the United States on a national scale. Significantly, Rockwell also strategically couched his
antisemitism in the language of Christian religiosity. As Historian and Rockwell biographer Frederick J. Simonelli notes:

In the early 1960s, Rockwell first explored the strategic value of cloaking anti-Semitism in the veneer of Christian fundamentalism in correspondence with a German confidant. Ralph Forbes, Richard Butler, and the late Robert Miles - all followers of Rockwell - are seminal figures in the Christian Identity movement, which currently operates churches in Idaho, California, Texas, Michigan, Arkansas, and Oregon. Today, those nominally "Christian" churches venerate Rockwell, likening Rockwell to St. Paul in the early Christian church. Even that imagery originated with Rockwell. On several occasions, he referred to the relationship between himself and Adolf Hitler as similar to that between St. Paul and Jesus Christ.\(^\text{45}\)

Rockwell’s strategy mirrors Adolf Hitler’s and the German Nazi regime’s pragmatic appeal to summoning the German Catholic and Protestant churches to join the Fascist cause dedicated to conquest, glory, racial purity and the establishment of a new Reich for German civilization. Hitler and the many in the Nazi regime were repulsed by and held visceral antipathy for the teachings of traditional Christianity but recognized they could not alienate the churches and succeed in their political and military objectives. Indeed, Hitler opined while speaking with guests in 1941:

> Christ was an Aryan, and St. Paul used his doctrine to mobilize the criminal underworld and thus organize a proto-Bolshevism. This intrusion upon the world marks the end of a long reign, that of the clear Graeco-Latin genius…But Christianity is an invention of sick brains: one could imagine nothing more senseless, nor any more indecent way of turning the Godhead into a mockery. A Negro with his taboos is crushingly superior to the human being who seriously believes in Transubstantiation.\(^\text{46}\)

Rockwell’s ANP would serve as a temporary waystation for men who would eventually start their own White supremacist organizations, including William L. Pierce; founder of the National


\(^{46}\) Martin Borman, Hitler's Table Talk (United Kingdom, Ostara Publications, 2016 Edition), 58.
Alliance and author of *The Turner Diaries*. Having surveyed the historical, theological and ideological backgrounds of premillennial dispensational eschatology among American fundamentalist-evangelical Christians and American White supremacy movements and organizations, we turn next to examining Hal Lindsey’s book *The Late Great Planet Earth.*
CHAPTER TWO

“VISIONS OF RAPTURE AND RUMORS OF WAR: THE COLLISION OF PREMILLENNIAL DISPENSATIONALISM, CONSPIRACY BELIEFS AND RACISM IN RIGHT WING AMERICAN POLITICS DURING THE COLD WAR”

“And the rocket’s red glare, bomb’s bursting in air
Gave proof through the night, that our flag was still there,
O say does that Star-Spangled Banner yet wave
O’er the land of the free, and the home of the brave?”47

-Francis Scott Key, “The Star-Spangled Banner”, 1814

Those mythic lines from Francis Scott Key’s poem “The Star Spangled Banner” describe the writer’s looking on as the British Army’s artillery barrage rained down upon Fort McHenry near Baltimore, Maryland during the War of 1812. The vivid imagery of ‘the rocket’s red glare, bomb’s bursting in air’ while the flag, though tattered and burnt, defiantly waved on elicits romantic feelings of American exceptionalism and a committed desire to militantly defend the nation, whatever the cost.

Over the course of United States history, millions of religious, racial and cultural newcomers have desired to be counted among “the free” and “the brave” in American society. In response to this increasing cultural diversity, however, a militant and populist segment of the citizenry concentrated on the Right-Wing of the political spectrum has sought to defend the United States from perceived threats within and without to its authentic and pure form as a

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White, Protestant Christian, and patriarchal nation ordained of God to fulfill a special purpose in the course of human events.\textsuperscript{48} Protecting White racial, religious and cultural hegemony has been a priority in public policy dating to the era of the nation’s founding. The Naturalization Act of 1790 restricted immigration to the United States to peoples of Western European descent and the Supreme Court’s ruling in the \textit{Dred-Scott} case of 1857 ruled that enslaved African Americans remained the property of their owner even in States where slavery was abolished.

Post-Civil War Reconstruction efforts and policies collapsed by 1877, relegating Blacks to second-class status, impoverishment, and the establishment of racial segregation of public spaces under the Supreme Court’s \textit{Plessy v. Ferguson} ruling of 1896 for well over the next half century. During the first half of the twentieth century, Blacks accused of violating racial hierarchies were lynched across the country by White mobs. As many Blacks fled the South hoping for a better future on the West Coast or in Northern cities, they faced continued White efforts at discrimination and segregation. As scholar Derek S. Hoff notes of discriminatory housing policies in American suburbs in the 1940’s and 1950’s, “in many postwar suburbs, efforts to keep out apartment buildings, public housing, and such nuisances as ‘inharmonious populations’ were thinly veiled attempts to stave off the so-called ‘Negro Invasion.’”\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{48} Gail Bederman, \textit{Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917}. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995), 22. Bederman notes the centrality of nineteenth century Anglo-Saxon cultural values as a driving force in the carrying out of Manifest Destiny as well as the gender-racial hierarchy social structure American society. These views are also visible in Hal Lindsey’s dispensational interpretation of the Bible. “Similarly, Anglo-Saxonist imperialists insisted that civilized white men had a racial genius for self-government which necessitated the conquest of more “primitive,” darker races…”God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has. . . made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples,” insisted Senator Albert Beveridge in 1900…”

Since the 1960’s, the Right-Wing of the American political spectrum has consisted of a curious and at times seemingly unlikely hodge-podge of constituents. It has included fundamentalist and evangelical Christians, working, middle- and upper-class Whites resentful of socioeconomic equality and advancement for non-whites, and at the outer edges one finds fringe groups, motivated and animated by beliefs in conspiracies of varying sorts like the John Birch Society and its rabid anti-communist stance as well as racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan, Neo Nazis, Christian Identity groups and others. A significant segment of populist evangelical Protestant Christianity known as premillennial dispensationalists, has been similarly animated by imaginative, literal interpretations of biblical prophecy and apocalyptic visions and locating their fulfillment in alarming modern geopolitical events. As has been noted above, these evangelical pronouncements of prophecy’s fulfillment and the apparent unfolding of apocalyptic events in the present share some common dynamics with belief in conspiracy theories.

This chapter will examine premillennial dispensationalism’s social, intellectual, and political commingling and cross-pollination with the anticommunism and racial prejudice of the Cold War era from the 1950’s-1970’s. The works of noted political and social historian Richard Hofstadter in which he chronicles his contemporary observations of the conspiracist and apocalyptic tendencies of what he termed the ‘pseudo-conservative’ movement during the 1950’s and 1960’s are invaluable primary sources. Hofstadter’s *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963) and *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1964) represent especially important cultural narrative source generated by a trained, scholarly expert, and is essential for contextualizing conspiracism and dispensational apocalypticism during the Cold War period.

This chapter applies a “White Nationalist reading” (discussed above) to the prolific premillennial dispensationalist author Hal Lindsey’s consequential work, *The Late Great Planet*
Earth, with the question of whether dispensational theology is antisemitic being of particular interest.\(^5\) Further, the “antisemitism-as-inevitability-in-the-plan-of-God” rationale in the dispensationalist schema is a key question.\(^5\) Originally published in 1970 as a non-fiction work, selling in excess of 35 million copies by 1999 (including translation into over 50 languages), Lindsey’s book has wielded singular influence in cementing premillennial dispensational thought in the populist evangelical imagination in the mid to late twentieth century.\(^5\)

Alongside Lindsey’s work, this chapter will conclude with the recollections of Tim LaHaye, a leading Right Wing Christian minister and political activist, founder of the secretive Council for National Policy (CNP) and purveyor of conspiracy theories and premillennial

\(^{50}\) Philip Melling, *Fundamentalism in America: Millennialism, Identity and Militant Religion.* (New York and London: Routledge Press, 1999). A central question of this study which is nebulous and controversial is the alleged relationship between dispensationalism and White Nationalist ideology. White Nationalist ideology is virulently antisemitic and dispensationalism has a significant track record since the end of the Second World War of championing Jewish Zionism and the reestablishment of modern nation-state Israel. To question whether dispensationalism, including Hal Lindsey’s theology, is antisemitic may seem contradictory. Historian Philip Melling discusses Lindsey’s approach to dispensational theology, its influence and his denunciation of antisemitism. He notes “Dispensationalist prophecy privileges the Jews as chosen people and expresses support for Israeli causes. Yet it also accepts that anti-Semitism is foreordained by God and that the future persecution of the Jewish people is inevitable. Hal Lindsey condemns anti-Semitism and attributes much of it to Satan’s influence. He also asserts that the tragedies suffered by the Jews in history are foretold in the Bible and that the prophesied persecution of the Jews will increase in the last days.”

\(^{51}\) Paul Boyer, "Rapturous Tidings: The Holocaust, Bible Prophecy Belief, and Conservative America." *Dimensions* 15, no. 1 (05, 2001), https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/rapturous-tidings-holocaust-bible-prophecy-belief/docview/195056271/se-2. (accessed March 18, 2023). Of the inevitability of antisemitism as a significant aspect of prophetic fulfillment in the dispensational schema, historian Paul Boyer observes, “Evil persons like Hitler who attack the Jews, even in fulfillment of God’s will, they rather tortuously insisted, deserve to be denounced, and will be severely punished. In a typical formulation, Hal Lindsey argued that the long history of anti-Semitic violence, while part of God’s plan, was “insane and unjust,” and that “true Christians” could only view it with “amazement and compassion.” But by interpreting anti-Semitic persecution as part of a divine prophetic plan, this belief system, at the very least, encouraged passivity in the face of such outbreaks, including the Holocaust. They are deplorable, but inevitable.” The observations of Melling and Boyer about Hal Lindsey’s stance against antisemitism yet weak responses to it juxtaposed with dispensationalism’s view of extreme antisemitism as prophetic-apocalyptic inevitability suggest that there exists within dispensational theology a kind of ‘blind antisemitism.’ That is, dispensationalists like Hal Lindsey actively denounce anti-Semitism whilst promulgating a theological system which includes it and nearly insists on it as a historical and prophetic imperative for a right understanding of the fulfillment of apocalyptic events. The attempt herein, then, to apply a White Nationalist reading or interpretation to Lindsey’s apocalyptic writings is both warranted and novel and has not yet been fully attempted, to our knowledge, in scholarly literature.

\(^{52}\) Smith, “The Late Great Planet Earth Made the Apocalypse a Popular Concern,” 2017.
dispensational eschatology for half a century.\textsuperscript{53} LaHaye, who was involved with the virulently anticommunist John Birch Society (JBS) in San Diego, California in the 1960’s while also pastoring a local Baptist church, recalls in his book \textit{Rapture! [Under Attack]: Will You Survive the Great Tribulation?} (1992, 1998) details of his involvement as well as tensions with the JBS, making him a crucial historical witness and connection between different branches of the Far-Right of American politics during the Cold War.

\textbf{Dispensational Apocalypticism and Conspiracy Beliefs During the Cold War}

In the years immediately following the Second World War, American society found itself in the grips of a profound public fear concerning the global rise of communism, not only in the USSR and its Eastern European satellites, but also in China (1949), the Korean peninsula (1953) and Cuba (1959). Conservative White American Protestants in this period found their cultural values and priorities under threat more than foreign, atheistic communism, however. The 1950’s also saw a trickle of social equality legal victories won through the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement (e.g. \textit{Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka,} 1954), leading to a flood of legally established social equality by the end of the 1960’s (e.g. Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965, etc.). This conservative White Protestant sense of cultural and intellectual besiegement was not a sudden or new phenomena in the 1950’s. Beginning with the Civil War, the sociocultural dominance in American society previously enjoyed by the White, ruggedly masculine, conservative Protestant worldview was challenged repeatedly, setting off a long, gradual process of intellectual challenges to evangelical religious beliefs and societal movement.

towards increasing socio-cultural equality.\textsuperscript{54}

Eighteenth and nineteenth century scholars in differing academic fields placed key aspects of traditional conservative Protestant theology under increasing scrutiny. In particular, Higher Criticism, the application of historical critical methods developed in German universities in the late eighteenth century, to analyze biblical texts as any other ancient sources would be scrutinized, severely challenged evangelical presuppositions about the inerrancy of holy scripture. In the natural sciences, Charles Darwin’s \textit{On the Origin of the Species} (c. 1859) posited that humans and other organisms developed to their current form over an eons-length process of evolution through random natural selection. Such an explanation for humanity’s origins stands in stark contrast to traditional Christian understandings of God’s creating and ordering the world and cosmos.\textsuperscript{55} This historical transition from older approaches and assumptions related to the authority of the Bible’s content thus marks a shift away from Western society’s religiously informed approach to ontological questions towards a more secularized outlook informed by Enlightenment philosophy and positivist approaches to science.

Socio-cultural equality and inclusion began with the emancipation from slavery and enfranchisement (at least in theory) for African Americans with the ratification of the Thirteenth (1865), Fourteenth (1868), and Fifteenth Amendments (1870). The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a flood of immigrants from non-white and non-Protestant cultures arrive on American shores, while the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 enfranchised women. Finally, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950’s and 1960’s saw major court and legislative victories to bring about an enforced end to segregation of public schools and other


places, workplace discrimination, and the like. In addition to racial equality, the social revolution of the 1960’s spawned new efforts to advance women’s and LGBTQ rights and promotion of international peace and greater tolerance for minority points of view.

The Columbia University political and social historian Richard Hofstadter was a trained specialist whose *Age of Reform* explored the tensions surrounding populists and progressives during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a critical observer of the societal conflicts and changes unfolding in the first decades of the Cold War, Hofstadter’s observations of the cultural, intellectual and behavioral tendencies of the Right Wing of American politics in the 1950’s and 1960’s led him to label a segment of the Republican voting base as “pseudo-conservatives.” Pseudo-conservatism may be seen most manifestly in the political sphere around the events of the Army-McCarthy Hearings of 1954 as Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI) claimed to have evidence of a massive communist conspiracy against the United States government and in the presidential campaign of Senator Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) in 1964. Among the pseudo-conservative coalition that supported Goldwater’s campaign were rank and file fundamentalist and evangelical Christians.

Hofstadter observed noticeable ideological cross-pollination between the conspiratorial frame of mind driving resentments related to social equality advances for racial minorities, women, and immigrants (e.g. the John Birch Society and similar organizations) among the Goldwaterites and the apocalyptic outlook of premillennial dispensationalism. Writing in 1964 Hofstadter states:

> The final spiritual Armageddon of the fundamentalists, their overarching moral melodrama, the dream of millennial crusading and decisive conflict, plainly stirred his (Goldwater) mind, but the hard realities of the current world seemed more remote. He

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could no more recognize that nuclear weaponry had created a new age of diplomacy than he could admit that modern urban industrialism had created a new environment.\textsuperscript{57}

This ideological cross-pollination between Right Wing anti-communism, conspiracism and the apocalyptic vision of premillennial dispensationalism became more evident with the publication of Lindsey’s best-seller, \textit{The Late Great Planet Earth}, in 1970.

The historical associations between fundamentalist-evangelical Christianity and White Nationalist organizations are well-documented if also hard to quantify with exactitude. Historian Matthew Avery Sutton notes that

\begin{quote}
As fundamentalists prepared for the end times, they occasionally had trouble discerning friend from foe. Their failure to take a clear position on the Klan reflected the ambiguity of their primary mission…it was also about reclaiming and then occupying American culture. Fundamentalists’ lack of tolerance for contrary opinions and their commitment to relentless action, \textit{fostered by their apocalyptic sensibilities}, made them attractive allies for the nation’s leading nativist groups. \textit{That fundamentalists and Klansmen and women recognized in each other cobelligerents in the culture wars reveals the exclusivist nature of interwar fundamentalism} (emphases mine)…\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

In order to draw connections between the apocalyptic outlook of premillennial dispensationalism and explain the later development of the White Power movement’s end-times race war apocalyptic narrative found in \textit{The Turner Diaries} (1978), it is necessary to apply the White Nationalist reading explained in the introduction to Lindsey’s text. With these racialized cultural priorities of White Nationalism in view, the next task is to examine the ideas found in Lindsey’s \textit{The Late Great Planet Earth}.

It is hard to overstate the symbolism of modern nation-state Israel in 1948, and its official recognition by US President Harry Truman. As a major prophetic fulfillment for premillennial

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{57} Hofstadter, \textit{The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays}, 129. Kindle.

\textsuperscript{58} Sutton, \textit{American Apocalypse}, 130. Kindle.
\end{footnotes}
dispensationalists, this event filtered through *The Late Great Planet Earth* as a sure indicator of prophecy being fulfilled and as a certain sign that the end of the age was drawing to a close.

Lindsey writes:

> The one event many Bible students in the past overlooked was this paramount prophetic sign: Israel had to be a nation again in the land of its forefathers. Israel a nation—a dream for so many years, made a reality on 14 May 1948 when David Ben-Gurion read the Declaration of Independence announcing the establishment of a Jewish nation to be known as the State of Israel.  

Lindsey, predictably, also makes pro-Israel political statements in the text which are intended to point out God’s favor upon the newly reconstituted Jewish State:

> Then came the war of June 1967—the phenomenal Israeli six-day blitz. I was personally puzzled as to the significance of it all until the third day of fighting when Moshe Dayan, the ingenious Israeli general, marched to the wailing wall, the last remnant of the Old Temple and said, “We have returned to our holiest of holy places, never to leave her again.”  

In these passages Lindsey is obviously a proponent of strong geopolitical support for the modern Israeli state as it pertains to his theological agenda. However, and perhaps without realizing it, he also makes critical comments about the lack of religious understanding on the part of Jews as it pertains to the person of Jesus Christ which some might read as bordering on the anti-Semitic although it must be emphasized that the following of Lindsey’s statements are not patently so.

Concerning the ancient Jewish people who were contemporaries with and witnesses of Jesus Christ in his historical context, Lindsey asserts in the third chapter:

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59 Hal Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970), 43.
60 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 55.
They had degenerated in their own religious convictions to the point that they didn’t believe they were sinful…  

The second reason why the Jewish people rejected the Messiah was one of indifference—an indifference to their spiritual need.

Later in the same chapter, Lindsey comments on Judas Iscariot’s guilty conscience following the betrayal of Jesus to the Jewish authorities and his attempting to return the thirty pieces of silver to the Temple:

The priests took the money and piously said it wasn’t proper to return to the treasury the price of the betrayal, so they decided to give it to the potter to buy a potter’s field (Matthew 27:6-10) (Trying to ease their consciences, no doubt.)

Again, Lindsey’s criticisms of what he views as the religious density and character defects of ancient Jewish people are not overtly racist statements. However, Lindsey’s contention that Jews are nevertheless religiously dense or incorrect and the insinuation that this appears to be a common trait among the Jews as a people suggests that, in his view, Jews as an ethnic group and Judaism as a religion are both lacking qualities which might otherwise make it possible in some way to count Jews as being on a par with White Christians (see the first and second White Nationalist reading criteria above as well footnotes on the work of Melling and Boyer). Further,

61 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 29-30.
62 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 31.
63 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 39.
64 One of the features of dispensational theology is its distinct maintenance of a two-covenant structure: that is, God must maintain and uphold his covenantal promises to the Israelite people in the Old Testament (e.g. Moses and Abraham) which are believed to be in effect towards Jews today and another new covenant promise inaugurated by Jesus Christ to the Gentile Church. This raises the question of how much this theological distinctive informs the “blind antisemitism” that characterizes some dispensational thought. This dispensational hallmark is at direct odds with the statements of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians: “So then, remember that at one time you gentiles by birth, called “the uncircumcision” by those who are called “the circumcision”—a circumcision made in the flesh by human hands—remember that you were at that time without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers to the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world. But now in Christ Jesus you who once were far off have been brought near by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace; in his flesh he has made both into one and has broken down the dividing wall, that is, the hostility between us, abolishing the law
while not overtly stated, it is noteworthy that among many possible criticisms he might level at ancient Jewish people in their response to Jesus Christ’s messianic claims, Lindsey chose to focus on the episode of Judas’ attempt to return money to the Temple authorities and their apparent determination to use the money in some way. Given the well-documented historical record of antisemitic tropes and conspiracy theories about Jewish greed and control of financial markets and institutions, such a comment from Lindsey is difficult to dismiss entirely. Thus, whilst Lindsey does not appear to be overtly or intentionally antisemitic and he might well scoff at the insinuation, his pro-Israel political advocacy appears to be driven more by a desire to further his dispensational theological agenda than out of a sense of religious solidarity with Jews and Judaism.  

In the fifth chapter of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Hal Lindsey engages in an extensive discussion concerning the prophesied figures of ‘Gog’ and ‘Magog’ in the Old Testament passages of Ezekiel 38 and 39. Throughout his book, Lindsey utilizes and quotes from the Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the scriptural text in his exposition of biblical prophecy, including in his discussion of ‘Gog’ and ‘Magog’. Ezekiel 38:15-16 reads:

15 and come from your place out of the uttermost parts of the north, you and many peoples with you, all of them riding on horses, a great host, a mighty army; 16 you will come up against my people Israel, like a cloud covering the land. In the latter days I will bring you against my land, that the nations may know me, when through you, O Gog, I vindicate my holiness before their eyes. (Ezk. 38:15-16, RSV).

As has been a recurrent theme in premillennial dispensationalist speculations concerning the literal fulfillment biblical prophecy during major geopolitical events of the last 150 or so years, with its commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new humanity in place of the two, thus making peace.” (Eph. 2:11-15, NRSV).

the figure of ‘Gog’ as a King of the North has almost uniformly been understood by
dispensationalists to represent imperial Russia and/or its Czar. With the radical internal changes
brought on by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the King of the North was understood by
dispensationalists to represent the communist Soviet Union and its leader during the Cold War.\(^6^6\)

Lindsey begins his argument that Russia/the Soviet Union is surely the prophesied King
of the North in Ezekiel 38 based on a lengthy and dubious etymological history of the terms
“Meshech” and “Tubal.” The specific biblical passage in question comes from Ezekiel 38:1-2
which reads:

\[\text{The word of the Lord came to me: 2 “Son of man, set your face toward Gog, of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him.} \]

(Ezk. 38:1-2, RSV).

Lindsey explains that the Greek philosopher Herodotus (c. 450 BCE) connects Meshech and
Tubal with the Samaritan and Muschovites peoples of Asia Minor and later the Jewish historian
Josephus (c. 80-90 CE) reports that peoples known as the Moschevi and Thoebelites traced their
ancestry to Meshech and Tubal. Additionally, Lindsey claims that Josephus equates Magog with
the Scythians, a people who “lived in the northern regions above the Caucasus mountains.”\(^6^7\)

According to Lindsey, the Roman historian Pliny, “said ‘Hierapolis, taken by the Scythians, was
afterward called Magog.’ In this he shows that the \textit{dreaded barbaric people called the Scythians}
were identified with their ancient tribal name (emphasis mine).”\(^6^8\)

\(^6^7\) Lindsey, \textit{The Late Great Planet Earth}, 64.
\(^6^8\) Lindsey, \textit{The Late Great Planet Earth}, 64.
Lindsey invokes the scholarship of the early nineteenth century German lexicographer and theologian Wilhelm Gesenius to connect the biblical Meshech and Tubal to modern Russia:

The Greek name, ‘Moschi,’ derived from the Hebrew name Meshech is the source of the name for the city of Moscow. In discussing Tubal, he said, ‘Tubal is the son of Rapheth, founder of Tibereni, a people dwelling on the Black Sea to the west of Moschi. Gesenius concludes by saying that these people undoubtedly make up the modern Russian people.69

Lindsey’s interpretation of whom the prophesied ‘Gog’ and ‘Magog’ are directly associates the modern Russian people with a purportedly ancient barbarian race (Scythians). Disturbingly, a similar racialism associating Russian people with sub-human or inferior primitive characteristics was made by German Nazis, categorizing Russians as Untermensch (German trans. ‘subhuman’) amid the German invasion of the USSR during World War II. British historian Alan Clark, who also served as Secretary of State under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in his book

*Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict: 1941-45* notes:

> Every report and photograph from the advancing Nordic armies emphasized the racial inferiority of the enemy- ‘a mixture of low and lowest humanity, truly sub-humans’... ‘degenerate-looking orientals.’ ‘This is how the Soviet soldier looks, Mongol physiognomies from the prisoner-of-war camps.’70

Lindsey’s racialized interpretation of the Russian people in biblical prophecy as ‘Gog’ and ‘Magog’ dovetails with an ardent anticommunism typical of pseudo-conservatives (see White Nationalist reading criteria one and two above) during the Cold War, which we consider next.

In his discussion of evangelical Christianity in the United States in *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* from 1963, Hofstadter makes the following important observation concerning the

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69 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 65.
historical influence of the movement on the intellectual development of American culture. He writes:

It is to certain peculiarities of American religious life—above all to its lack of firm institutional establishments hospitable to intellectuals and to the competitive sectarianism of its evangelical denominations—that American anti-intellectualism owes much of its strength and pervasiveness.71

Hofstadter again points out important linkages between fundamentalist and evangelical Christianity’s premillennial dispensationalist eschatology, anti-communist activism and the general pseudo-conservative tendency towards concocting and proliferating conspiracy theories in hostile response to a racially and religiously diversifying American cultural environment. In a telling self-admission, Lindsey recalls his own tendency to engage in conspiracist speculation prior to his conversion to evangelical Christianity about the end of days as World War II drew to a close:

Even though I wasn’t religious or interested in the Bible, I still spent many hours in bull sessions about this subject with other men who were as irreligious as myself. Little did I realize at the time how definite the Bible is about who the nations will be play major role in the last drama.72

Hofstadter observes that the pseudo-conservative outlook is essentially dualistic, seeing cosmic battles between good and evil manifested in differing political and religious conflicts in American society. Of these interrelated phenomena, Hofstadter contends:

[The pseudo-conservative mind] is not concerned with the realities of power—with the fact, say, that the Soviets have the bomb—but with the spiritual battle with the Communist, preferably the domestic Communist, whose reality does not consist in what he does, or even in the fact that he exists, but who represents, rather, an archetypal opponent in a spiritual wrestling match.73

72 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 60.
According to Hofstadter’s analysis, then, there was a close correlation among pseudo-conservatives of othering and vilifying not only non-Anglo ethnic groups especially those adhering to a contrasting political philosophy such as communism. Engaging in conspiratorial speculation about the alleged intentions of such peoples to undermine American society was thus a widespread trend during the 1960’s among pseudo-conservatives and is readily evident in the prophetic speculations of *The Late Great Planet Earth*.

Lindsey’s tendency towards racialized and anti-communist othering via prophetic speculation was not limited to ethnic Russians and the USSR. In the fifth and sixth chapters of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, he interprets further statements in prophetic biblical passages as pertaining to Slavic peoples in the Soviet satellite countries as well as Persian, Arab and African peoples, all serving more or less as henchmen or lieutenants to the USSR which is predicted to attack nation-state Israel but will suffer great defeat in the unfolding of the events at the end of the age. Concerning Persia’s role, Lindsey writes:

> All authorities agree on who Persia is today. It is modern Iran. This is significant because it is being wooed to join the United Arab Republic in its hostility against Israel. The Russians are at this moment seeking to gain footholds in Iran by various overtures of aid. In order to mount the large-scale invasion predicted by Ezekiel, Russia would need Iran as an ally.74

Lindsey goes on to predict growing geopolitical ties between Iran and Russia as events related to the coming apocalypse proceed.

Lindsey again relies on the etymological conclusions of Wilhelm Gesenius to explain that biblical prophecy concerning the people of Cush are indeed the Black peoples of Africa,

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74 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 67.
understood by Lindsey to be the “King of the South.” The rationale for this interpretation is presented as follows:

Ethiopia is a translation of the Hebrew word, *Cush*. Cush was the first son of Ham, one of the sons of Noah. After examining the authorities on the subject...[Dr.] Gesenius summarized all of the evidence as follows: 1.) The Cushites were black men. 2.) They migrated first to the Arabian peninsula and then across the Red Sea to the area south of Egypt. 3.) All the black people of Africa were descended from Cush. 75

Lindsey reasons from Daniel 11:40-43 that Black peoples of Africa will indeed ally with Russia to invade Israel. The biblical text reads:

40 “At the time of the end the king of the south shall attack him; but the king of the north shall rush upon him like a whirlwind, with chariots and horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall come into countries and shall overflow and pass through. 41 He shall come into the glorious land. And tens of thousands shall fall, but these shall be delivered out of his hand: Edom and Moab and the main part of the Ammonites. 42 He shall stretch out his hand against the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. 43 He shall become ruler of the treasures of gold and of silver, and all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall follow in his train. (Dan. 11:40-43, RSV).

That Lindsey’s interpretation of these prophetic statements is also informed by anti-communist views is evident when he observes that “one of the most active areas of evangelism for the Communist ‘gospel’ is in Africa. As we see further developments in this area in the future, we realize that it will be converted to Communism.” 76

Lindsey goes on to identify the Eastern Bloc Soviet satellite nations with the ‘Togarmah’ peoples of Ezekiel 38:6 which reads:

6 Gomer and all his hordes; Beth-togar’mah from the uttermost parts of the north with all his hordes—many peoples are with you. (Ezk. 38:6, RSV).

75 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 68.
76 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 68.
Concerning the identity of these ‘hordes’, Lindsey surmises that “the conclusion is that Togarmah is part of modern Southern Russia and is probably the origin of the Cossacks and other people of the Eastern part of Russia.” In the sixth chapter of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Lindsey highlights the role that Egypt will play in the end times drama as predicted in biblical prophecy. As part of the Arab-Persian-African coalition which, according to Lindsey’s interpretation is the manifestation of the prophesied ‘King of the South’ mentioned in Daniel 11:36-45, Egypt is a key player in the coming Russian-led invasion of Israel. Lindsey’s interpretation of biblical prophecy concerning Egypt’s role is racialized towards Arabs and strongly influenced by an anti-communist bias, but also reflects additional anti-Muslim views. He writes:

[Gamal Abdel] Nasser has not swerved from his written goal to bring about a kind of *Arab Socialism.* He has repeatedly said that kings, sheiks, sultans and capitalism must all be obliterated. This has appealed to the common Arab who has been oppressed for centuries. Using the ‘Gospel of Materialism,’ plus the common bond of *Arabic race identity, wedded with the Moslem religious ties,* Nasser believes he can unite the Arabs to lead the resurrection of all underprivileged nations into a mighty world force. He envisions himself as one to lead the nations of Africa, black and Arab, to unity. (emphasis mine).78

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77 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 70.
78 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 75.
Lindsey goes on to observe that Nasser committed serious folly when he engaged in the Six Day War of 1967 against Israel and makes much of his visit to the USSR in 1968 as indicative of prophecy’s fulfillment. These culturalized and racialized interpretations of biblical prophecy from Lindsey in the 1960’s provide a validating rationale for the fears and resentments White pseudo-conservative American Protestants harbored about the advance and threat of evil, atheistic communism and its imagined manifestation among politically left-leaning social equality movements like the Civil Rights (e.g. the work of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Thurgood Marshall) and the Black Power (e.g. Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam) movements. “Communism” and “anticommunism” became opposing catchall dog whistles (“Communism” for the foreign or Leftist enemy and “anticommunism” for the heroic, White Christian patriot) for pseudo-conservatives fighting an imagined culture war.79 The troubling and rudderless military struggle in Vietnam and the US government’s deception regarding the war’s progress during the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson, subsequent decline in public support for the war effort, progressive resistance to military conscription and the government’s waning resolve to finish the fight all served to disaffect Whites who had served in the war during the 1960’s and 1970’s.

Lindsey’s racial baggage was hardly unique. Hofstadter, writing around 1964-1965, observed the following of the pseudo-conservative who essentially mirrors those individuals harboring racial prejudice:

I believe that the typical prejudiced person and the typical pseudo-conservative dissenter are usually the same person, that the mechanisms at work in both complexes are quite the same, and that it is merely the expediencies and the strategy of the situation today that cause groups that once stressed racial discrimination to find other scapegoats.80

Hal Lindsey, in his literal and racialized interpretation of biblical prophecy thus represents an example of this characteristic mirroring between pseudo-conservatives and those holding racially prejudiced views.

In the seventh chapter of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, which is entitled “The Yellow Peril”, Lindsey discusses the rise of the ‘King(s) of the East,’ the leader of a massive army which will fight in the final battle of Armageddon. Reference to the ‘King(s) of the East’ is made in Revelation 16:12 which reads:

12 The sixth angel poured his bowl on the great river Euphrates, and its water was dried up, to prepare the way for the kings from the east. (Rev. 16:12, RSV).

Hal Lindsey proceeds to identify this ‘King(s) of the East’ with an East Asian coalition led chiefly by China. Lindsey’s racialized reading of biblical prophecy is evident in his views of Asian peoples. He comments regarding their potential as follows:

For centuries Asia has had a tradition of backwardness. Though the peoples of Asia have been numerous in population, they lagged behind the West in education, science, and technology. For hundreds of years Asia chose to remain isolated from the world; then that isolation was broken (emphasis mine).81

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81 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 83.
Lindsey’s sense of history reflects the prevailing assumptions about historical European and Anglo-American exceptionalism of the era, which includes failing to recognize China’s essential role in the rise of the West through technology (particularly gunpowder), its enormous economic output, and the access to its market for Europeans. According to Lindsey, since the Communist Revolution of 1949, China has been advancing towards an important role in the fulfillment of events predicted in biblical prophecies and Lindsey speculates this may also include the possibility of nuclear war. Indeed:

Dr. David Ingalls wrote in the February 1965 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* regarding this [Chinese nuclear] threat, ‘Our concern should anticipate at least two decades ahead. In such a time the large human and material potential of an upsurging China constitutes a nuclear threat so vast that no effort should be spared to anticipate this threat.’ This was written before China’s successful testing of the H-Bomb.\(^8\)

As part of this end-times schema, Lindsey also notes that it is not impossible to think that China and the East Asian coalition presented as the ‘King of the East’ in Revelation could consist of an army of more than 200 million soldiers. Lindsey’s interpretations of biblical prophecy pertaining to the peoples of East Asia reflect the same racialized and anti-communist themes of his interpretations regarding the alleged roles of Russia/USSR, Eastern Bloc satellites nations, and those of the African/Arab/Persian nations in the unfolding of apocalyptic events.

In chapter eight of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Lindsey interprets an apocalyptic passage from Daniel 7 as foretelling the reestablishment of the ancient Roman Empire in modern Europe. The key verse Lindsey emphasizes comes from Daniel 7:24 which reads:

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\(^8\) Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 86.
As for the ten horns, out of this kingdom, ten kings shall arise, and another shall arise after them; he shall be different from the former ones, and shall put down three kings. (Dan. 7:24, RSV).

Lindsey interprets the significance of this passage as indicating the rise of the Antichrist. He explains as follows:

When the Scripture says ‘out of’ it means the ten nations (ten kings) which will come out out of Rome, since Rome was the fourth kingdom (symbolized by the four beasts in Daniel 7). But who is ‘another?’ This is the beast, the Antichrist…He will be not only a political leader but a religious leader. 83

Keeping with the premillennial dispensational interpretation of the Antichrist as arising out of Europe, Lindsey further speculates that the development of the European Common Market “may well be the beginning of the ten-nation confederacy predicted by Daniel and the Book of Revelation.” 84 Lindsey further outlines five potential contributing factors in the events of the 1960’s which suggest the emergence of this ten-nation confederacy. These include 1.) The threat posed by the Communist USSR to European economic development, 2.) Europe’s inability to compete economically with the US unless it unifies, 3.) American complacency and its unwillingness to deal decisively with the threat of Soviet communism, 4.) the US’s political and military decline due to its moral weakness and 5.), the economic, military and political power of a unified Europe as posed by economic and political leaders such as former US Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

83 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 93.
84 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 94.
Lindsey further explores the apparent rise of the Antichrist in chapter nine of *The Late Great Planet Earth*. Remaining consistent with premillennial dispensationalism’s pessimistic view of the human condition and its increasing depravity as the end of days nears, Lindsey asserts that the rise of the Antichrist will be precipitated by the further deteriorating morality and living conditions. He forecasts these events as follows:

We see anarchy growing in every country. We see established standards of morality thrown aside for a hedonistic brand which is attractively labeled the ‘New Morality.’ We see the super-weapons and the threats of atheistic leaders in world powers who would not hesitate to use those weapons if they would further their drive for conquest.  

Referencing Revelation 17:15, Lindsey also predicts an increasing adherence to what he terms ‘harlot religion.’ He explains that “the ‘harlot’ refers to the religious system which will be tied in with this dictator [Antichrist].” Lindsey also predicts that this dictator “will be given a throne. *This means a one-world government.*” (emphasis mine). Lindsey then explains that the Christian Church will be ‘raptured’ (or removed) from the earth before the dictator is given a period of three and a half years to rule before Christ’s return. According to Lindsey, the sheer awfulness of this period of the dictator’s rule “will make the regimes of Hitler, Mao and Stalin look like the Girl Scouts weaving a daisy chain by comparison. The Antichrist is going to be given absolute authority to act with the power of Satan.”

In the fourteenth and final chapter of *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Lindsey offers an analysis of the present conditions in the United States (c. 1960’s) which, in his view, suggest the

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85 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 102.
87 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 104.
89 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 106.
90 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 110.
unfolding of the events predicted in biblical prophecy concerning the end of days is at hand. Lindsey decries the decline in the biblical faithfulness and subsequent lack of a Gospel witness among the Mainline Protestant denominations which he says now have to “resort to ‘social action gimmicks,’ super-organization, and elaborate programs as a substitute.”

Lindsey also opines that the youth of 1960’s America “want a simple, personal, and relevant answer to life that isn’t based upon self-centered materialism…[and] cannot be achieved by various shades of welfarism, socialism and drugs.”

Lindsey also predicts that evangelical Christians will come under intense persecution for their faithfulness to God and that the “papacy [will] become even more involved in world politics, especially proposals for bringing world peace and world-wide economic prosperity.”

Lindsey triumphantly concludes that, in spite of the terrible events predicted to unfold in the apocalypse, Jesus Christ and the Church will emerge victorious over their enemies in the end. He urges believing Christians to be vigilant in their preparedness for the end of days and to evangelize to those in their personal spheres who do not believe in Jesus.

This study of popular and widespread understandings of the literal interpretations of biblical prophecies characteristic of premillennial dispensationalism during the Cold War era has confirmed that a racialized (or White Nationalist) and heavily anticommunist cultural outlook among fundamentalist and evangelical Christians was decisive in their reading and application of the Bible’s statements on the apocalyptic events at the end of days. Further, the perspectives and self-understanding of fundamentalist-evangelicals as a community of faithful Christians living in the end of days under siege from evil, satanically inspired and empowered forces active in world

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91 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 182.
92 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 183.
93 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 185.
governments and geopolitical events during the height of the Cold War is strongly reflected in Hal Lindsey’s apocalyptic interpretations. This fundamentalist-evangelical self-understanding of being persecuted by dark, evil forces aligns significantly with those of Hofstadter’s archetype of the pseudo-conservative political actor.

Throughout the 1970’s, premillennial dispensationalism experienced renewed fervor amid the runaway success of Lindsey’s *The Late Great Planet Earth* as the text offered an accessible yet potent biblical, apocalyptic explanation for the global social, political, cultural, and economic turmoil of the era. In concluding this chapter, it is appropriate to introduce the recollections of Tim LaHaye, a major popularizer of premillennial dispensationalism and activist of the Religious Right during the late twentieth century. Tim LaHaye and his wife, Beverly, were graduates of Bob Jones University, a fundamentalist and for much of its history, ardently segregationist, Christian college in South Carolina. LaHaye, along with Jerry B. Jenkins, published the phenomenally successful *Left Behind* apocalyptic fiction series in the 1990’s and 2000’s. To date, the series has sold nearly 80 million copies. In his book *Rapture! [Under Attack]: Will You Survive the Great Tribulation?* (1992, 1998), LaHaye aims to rebut the claims of one Robert L. Pierce, a member of the John Birch Society who was converted to evangelical Christianity but subsequently found in premillennial dispensationalism’s interpretation of biblical prophecies a conspiracy tactic to prevent or distract White conservative Americans from engaging in their patriotic duty to fight against communism. Pierce alleges that this global conspiracy was being orchestrated by shadowy figures in positions of power.94

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94 The limited amount of inquiry that was possible into the potential family linkages of Robert L. Pierce, the member of the John Birch Society whom Tim LaHaye was in dispute with in the 1960’s, with William L. Pierce, the founder of the National Alliance Neo-Nazi organization (who, as it happens, also spent a short period in the John Birch Society), revealed no apparent familial connections between the two Pierces.
In response, Pierce published the book *The Rapture Cult: Zeal and Political Conspiracy* in 1976 in which he offers conspiracy theory explanations for his view of premillennial dispensationalism. LaHaye recalls his involvement in the John Birch Society during the 1960’s as follows:

In those days many of the [John Birch] society’s San Diego County leaders came to our church, and I had the joy of seeing many members accept Christ and follow Him in believer’s baptism. *I often spoke at society training seminars, knew Mr. Welsh and shared Christ personally with him one morning at breakfast before he died.* My friend, Dr. Larry McDonald who, until tragically killed by Soviet Communists in the bombing of Korean Airlines 007, was scheduled to become the next JBS leader. (emphasis mine)

LaHaye’s work as a prominent evangelical pastor in San Diego, California who ardently preached and interpreted the Bible from a premillennial dispensationalist point of view; his status as an alumnus of a fundamentalist Christian segregationist university, his deep ties with the local JBS chapter and national leadership in the early to mid-1960’s thus provide a significant historical case illustrating the intra-white cultural exchange of racialized interpretations of biblical prophecy between fundamentalist and evangelical Christians and radical anticommunist conspiracy theorists when conservative White Protestant fears were at their height during the Cold War. The next chapter will examine the apocalyptic narrative of an end-times race war found in *The Turner Diaries.*

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CHAPTER THREE

“VISIONS OF GENOCIDE AND EFFORTS TO MAKE WAR: THE APOCALYPTIC NARRATIVE OF END-TIMES RACIAL CONFLICT IN WILLIAM L. PIERCE’S THE TURNER DIARIES.

“Peace can only result from a natural order. The condition of this order is that there is a hierarchy amongst nations…It is Jewry that always destroys this order. It constantly provokes the revolt of the weak against the strong, of bestiality against intelligence, of quantity against quality…The more we render the Jew incapable of harming us, the more we shall protect ourselves from this danger. The Jew plays in nature the role of a catalyzing element. A people that is rid of the Jews returns spontaneously to the natural order.”

-Adolf Hitler, 1942

The racially motivated, genocidal aims of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime enacted in the Final Solution against Jews, Slavs, Pols, the mentally and physically disabled, homosexuals and other groups deemed unworthy of life were grounded in thoroughly conspiracist and apocalyptic views of the world, drawing on both religious and secular themes. As political scientist Michael Barkun observes,

Religious and secular millennialism are, to be sure, never absolutely pure types, emerging solely from within a single tradition with no outside influences…many in the Nazi inner circles combined racial pseudoscience with occultism. Nonetheless, neither participants nor observers have much difficulty in assigning most millenarian movements to some single, dominant category. A movement is religious or secular. If the former, it may be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Islamic, or some such; if the latter, racist, socialist, and so on. Classification problems can sometimes emerge concerning particular cases…

Nazism drew upon a combination of pagan Teutonic occultism and historic European antisemitism, especially the works of the Protestant Reformer Martin Luther, in order to develop the myth of the

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96 Borman, Hitler’s Table Talk, 124.
97 Barkun, A Culture of Conspiracy, 22. Kindle.
Master Aryan Race that was a centerpiece of its racialized ideology. The ideology of the post-Vietnam White Power movement that coalesced from the late 1970’s discussed in this chapter also makes us of this sort of conspiratorial and apocalyptic rhetoric to articulate their predictions of a coming genocidal war between, in their view, righteous Whites and evil Jews, people of color, political Leftists and other perceived enemies. The focus of this chapter will be to draw on material William B. Pierce’s (nom de plume Andrew MacDonald) future-fictive journal entries of the character Earl Turner found in *The Turner Diaries* (1978) to construct an apocalyptic narrative framework of the post-Vietnam White Power movement’s belief in a coming end times race war.

**The White Power Movement’s Racist Armageddon and Conspiracy Beliefs in the Post-Vietnam Era**

In the decades preceding the 1970’s, White Nationalist organizations in the United States remained widely separate from one another due to differences in ideology and organizational objectives. As historian Kathleen Belew has chronicled in her important book, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*, White Nationalist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, Neo Nazi Party, Christian Identity groups and others began networking with one another and working towards shared goals following the end of the Vietnam

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98 Fredric Cople Jaher, *A Scapegoat in the New Wilderness*, 77. Jaher notes that in the sixteenth century “German and Scandinavian Lutheranism fomented Jew hatred, partly prompted by the dislike for Jews that their founder evinced late in life. Like many Catholic anti-Semites, Martin Luther believed in the Antichrist and Gog and Magog and lumped together Jews, Turks and false Christians. Luther’s notorious pamphlet, *On Jews and Their Lies*, and his last sermons pilloried ‘those miserable and wicked people’ for idolatry, blasphemy, deicide well-poisoning, enslavement, child murder, collaborating with the devil, usury and greed. He called Jews ‘blood-thirsty enemies of our Christian and human name’ who brought ‘plague, pestilence and all misfortune.’ Luther advocated segregation of Jews, avoidance of synagogues and Jewish schools…curtailment of Jewish travel, and he suggested banishment as the best solution to Jewish criminality and sinfulness.” Luther’s speculation regarding the identity of the Antichrist and the shadowy, malevolent figures of Gog and Magog in biblical prophecy and his subsequent conflation of them with Jews, Turks, and false Christian prophets, political and religious enemies of European Christendom, is analogous to the later conflating by Hal Lindsey and other dispensationalists of the Antichrist, Gog and Magog with enemies of Western, Democratic, Capitalist and Christian Europe and the United States: e.g. Russia, the Soviet satellite states, etc.
War in 1975.\textsuperscript{100} Among those who gravitated towards membership in these organizations were White Vietnam War veterans who were disillusioned both by the US military failure to secure victory in Southeast Asia against communist expansion and by a diversifying and, in their view, morally declining American cultural landscape following legal victories for social-equality movements such as the dismantling of segregation under \textit{Brown v. Board of Education} and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Within this developing network of White Nationalist organizations, numerous publications with varying emphases appealed to the sense of embattlement characteristic of the racially-driven, conspiracy-laden in-group/out-group mentality of separatist communities. As social psychologists Jan Willem van-Prooijen and Karen M. Douglass note, “conspiracy theories are usually conceived of as intergroup beliefs that assume a powerful or hostile outgroup is conspiring against a perceiver's ingroup.”\textsuperscript{101} From the late 1970’s onward, independent White Nationalist newspapers, survivalist and outdoorsmen magazines such as \textit{Soldier of Fortune}, and fringe radio programs such as \textit{American Dissident Voices} hosted by William L. Pierce proliferated a range of fear-driven, conspiracy-laden messaging featuring blatant racism and bigotry towards non-Whites, Roman Catholics, Jewish people, LGBTQ people, and the Political Left. Another common refrain in the messaging of these White Nationalist media organs were calls to prepare for war against a corrupt and overpowerful US Government or even One-World Government by stockpiling firearms, ammunition and other essential supplies. Such calls also came through the efforts of the National Rifle Association to promote broad and unrestricted legal definitions of the Second Amendment in response to the passage of the Firearm Owners’ Protection Act of 1986, particularly the legislation’s ban on civilian ownership or transfer of

\textsuperscript{100} Belew, \textit{Bring the War Home}, 2.
\textsuperscript{101} Douglass and van Prooijen, “Belief in Conspiracy Theories.”
ownership of machine guns.

Further reinforcing the narratives of racial and cultural besiegement for White Nationalists was the widespread circulation of what may be termed ‘Lone or Brotherhood of Warrior(s)’ entertainment. The most prominent examples of ‘Warrior’ entertainment came in the form of highly violent cinematic releases such as the John Rambo series starring action megastar Sylvester Stallone or the series of Missing in Action films by Chuck Norris—both series of films work through the government betrayal of soldiers in Vietnam. Also extraordinarily popular in the 1980’s were the inexpensive and graphically violent mercenary warrior paperback novels that enjoyed wide circulation. These novels often depicted the archetypal tragic ‘lone warrior’ or ‘brotherhood of warriors’ who operate within the normative protection and fighting organizations within society such as the military or police forces or who operate at the fringe or outside of societal norms as independent mercenaries. These warrior figures are nearly always pitted as fighting what James William Gibson terms a New War against the corruptions of a bloated and soft US Government or against exotic stock villains, who are nearly always communists or non-white criminals engaged in narcotics sales, differing forms of terrorism, or other awful crimes. These warriors’ fateful destiny is nearly always cast in self-

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103 Gibson, *Warrior Dreams*, 84-85. The 1980’s warrior-centered action movie scene created a veritable cottage industry for would-be firearms and weapons consultants, eager to offer their services to directors and producers seeking to outfit their stars with the right visual package, including formidable and sometimes over-the-top arsenal. Reproductions of iconic action film weapons, like Clint Eastwood’s .44 Magnum pistol in *Dirty Harry* and Sylvester Stallone’s oversized knife in the *Rambo* franchise became big sellers among fans and enthusiasts. Gibson notes that “Stallone subsequently formed special licensing agreements to produce knives and bows used in his films.”

104 Gibson, *Warrior Dreams*, 71-72. Gibson’s observations about warrior literature merit full citation here. “Given that so many of the enemies in the New War are not white, one must ask to what extent the New War is about racism. The notion that all nonwhites are the enemy finds its strongest expression in the right-wing fundamentalism of Christian Identity theology, which claims that the Anglo-Saxons and the Teutons (Germanic peoples) are the lost tribes of Israel and true heirs of Abel, the child of Adam and Eve…In 1978, William L. Pierce published a novel informed by this racist philosophy (*The Turner Diaries*). The open contempt for nonwhites, particularly blacks, expressed in *The Turner Diaries*, can be found in some pulp novels as well. But in general, such
sacrificing terms, that is, they must risk or give their lives for an immoral society that does not appreciate them or to avenge lost loved ones.

The Turner Diaries first appeared in the late 1970s, before the popularization of these paramilitary anti-government views in the 1980s. The book “was originally serialized in a tabloid newspaper…[and] republished…as a book in 1978.”105 William L. Pierce, a longtime leader of the National Alliance, a Neo-Nazi organization, editor of its publications and broadcaster of its views via radio, published the work under the pseudonym Andrew MacDonald.106 The Turner Diaries is a fictional-future series of diary entries of one Earl Turner recounting events which took place historically from the early to late 1990’s. The fictional preface to the text indicates Earl Turner’s diary entries were being commemorated in the year 2099 AD (or the year 100 of the New Era in the fictional new dating system adopted following the Great Revolution) on the one-hundredth anniversary of the Great Revolution that occurred in 1999 AD.107

blatant racism is rare. Instead, the New War uses several different rhetorical mechanisms to shift attention away from the important fact that the evil ones who cannot control their desires are predominantly nonwhite. A [particular] rhetorical technique that diffuses the racism of the New War involves the avoidance of race as an explicit theme; it appears only as a secondary detail. Movies and novels stress the crimes in question. They give names like terrorist, Communist, and drug dealer to the people who commit these crimes. Few New War stories openly address the racial composition of the enemy, but in the telling of the tale, it emerges that most of the enemies are not white. Hence the heroes fight drug dealers who just happen to be black.”


107 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, iii, 34. In Pierce’s novel, the “Great Revolution” refers to the decisive apocalyptic, era-changing event in which the United States government and one-world government run by powerful Jewish people is overthrown by the Organization. Jews, people of color, political liberals, interracial marriers, LGBTQ people and others deemed undesirable are exterminated by race-conscious, righteous Whites in a nuclear apocalyptic showdown.
The diary entries report the fictional experiences of Earl Turner as he and like-minded White separatists are persecuted by the US Government for their ownership of firearms and ‘racist’ views. Turner and his comrades are members of the Organization, a type of covenant community. The community is an underground White paramilitary movement waging war against the System. Within The Turner Diaries, the militant actions and objectives of the Organization rise to the level of religious fanaticism. Earl Turner reports as much in his diary entry for September 18, 1991:

Henry (a comrade of Turner’s) looks at everything in terms of our ideology. If something doesn’t fit, he’ll have nothing to do with it. In a way this may seem impractical, but I think maybe he’s right. Only by making our beliefs into a living faith which guides us from day to day can we maintain the moral strength to overcome the obstacles and hardships which lie ahead (emphasis mine).

Earl Turner further reiterates the necessity of a kind of extreme religious devotion to the Organization’s cause to assure victory in the war against the System in his entry for October 28, 1991, “There has not been sufficient time to develop in all our people the essentially religious attitude toward our purpose and our doctrines…” Turner’s and his comrades’ quasi-religious zealotry for the Organization’s war against the System is thoroughly apocalyptic in scope with its mission to destroy the present evil and racially corrupted world order and remake the world and human society in a new, White ideal image. We turn next to construct and analyze the (non)-

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108 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 34. Understood through the lens of Christian religious apocalypticism, the Organization functions as the Church, God’s elect or Righteous Community in Pierce’s narrative. Members of the Organization and its elite and esoteric inner circle known as The Order must fight during The Great Revolution.

109 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 1, 4. In The Turner Diaries, “the System” is a conspiratorial catchall term for the highly corrupt, extremely powerful and intrusive US government political, military, legal and security apparatus which is ultimately controlled by Jewish one-world government conspiracy masterminds operating from Tel Aviv, Israel.


111 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 52.
Within *The Turner Diaries*, author William L. Pierce creates a fictional historical narrative that reads like an apocalyptic, dystopian alternate reality with a chronology that ranges from 1889 CE to 2099 CE. Most of Pierce’s narrative is set in the 1990’s, an era in which the Organization is fighting, in the estimation of White Power movement adherents, in a Great Tribulation-style struggle that climaxes with an Armageddon-like nuclear, biogenic and chemical war. Pierce assumes future the narrative voice in the Preface and Epilogue sections of the text, as well as in a handful of “Note to the Reader” insertions within Earl Turner’s diary entries and gives historical commentary on the outcomes of the Great Revolution, the life of Earl Turner and those like him. The earliest date in Pierce’s fictive chronology is April 20, 1889 of the Old Era, the birthdate of Adolf Hitler, is found in the Epilogue section of the novel in which he connects the Organization’s victory over the System in 1999 as having occurred “just 110 years after the birth of the Great One—that dream of a White world finally became a certainty.” Adolf Hitler here is afforded quasi-messianic status within the thought of the White Power movement. The German Fuhrer’s exalted status is further hinted at in Earl Turner’s reflections in the diary entry dated April 20, 1993. Turner and his lover, a woman named Katherine, have spent a rare day of recreation in scenic mountainous country and as they travel back to town, hear a news report on the radio that causes Turner to gush: “We heard the news on the radio which capped a perfect

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112 The Great Tribulation is a key period in the apocalyptic narrative of premillennial dispensational eschatology in which great evil dominates the earth during the temporary reign of the Antichrist and those people who become Christians following the Rapture must suffer greatly through persecution. See below on what Pierce terms the “Dark Years” in the Epilogue of the text for a narrative corollary in *Turner* with the dispensational schema. Armageddon, from the Hebrew *Har-Megiddo*, refers in premillennial dispensational thought to a great and final cataclysmic battle on the plains of Megiddo in Palestine between the earthly armed forces led by the Antichrist and the returning Jesus Christ who defeats the Antichrist and his forces.

day: the Organization hit the Israeli embassy in Washington this afternoon. *No better date in the year could have been chosen for such an action* (emphasis mine).”

Turner’s unambiguously antisemitic reveling at the bombing of the Israeli Embassy on the birthdate of Adolf Hitler strongly suggests a special historical and ideological reverence for the Nazi dictator.  

In the Preface section of the text, dated April, 100 New Era (the year 2099 in real-world dating), Pierce-as-narrator provides the reader with biographical information on Earl Turner and through his brief explanations of Turner’s background, the reader can gain a sense of the fictional, alternate system of historical dating adopted by the Organization for a new and remade White world following the Great Revolution. On Turner’s background he notes,

Earl Turner, who wrote these diaries, was born in 43 BNE (“Before New Era”, 1956 CE) in Los Angeles, which was the name of a vast metropolitan area on the west coast of the North American continent in the Old Era, encompassing the present communities of Eckartsville and Wesselton as well as a great deal of the surrounding countryside. He grew up in the Los Angeles area and was trained as an electrical engineer. He first became active in the Organization in 12 BNE (1987 CE). When this record begins, in 8 BNE (1991 according to the old chronology), Turner was 35 years old and had no mate.

Pierce’s commentary here is, again, thoroughly apocalyptic in nature as it offers a clear historical division between the old world and a present human condition within it deemed so corrupted and evil that the (White) human race’s only hope for a new and better society is for the old world and its villains—White Power’s enemies—to be destroyed.

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It is important to note that the White Power movement’s vision combines reactionary secular political imagery using the language of revolution with religious concepts. White Power’s ideological location is found at the extreme Right of modern political thought and its adoption of extreme secular political rhetoric resembles that of one its greatest ideological foes: Karl Marx. For instance, in *The Communist Manifesto* Marx declares:

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, *up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat* (emphasis mine).  

And again Marx writes at the conclusion of *The Communist Manifesto*:

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. *They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win* (emphases mine).  

The above-emphasized passages in Marx bear a striking similarity in their apocalyptic outlook to Pierce’s rhetoric in *The Turner Diaries*. The Marxist vision for revolutionary apocalypse calls for the violent overthrow and destruction of the corrupt political, business, and religious institutions of bourgeoisie society and the reconstruction of a new world society based on the communistic values of economic equality and the elimination of social classes.

In traditional Christian theology, the Bible as a collection of sacred texts in the Old and New Testaments serves as God’s divine revelation of himself to humanity. These texts provide origin and communal narratives as well as prophetic oracles, moral instruction for the individual and community, salvific proclamations, summons to faith in and obedience to the deity and more which are fundamental to establishing Jewish and Christian groups’ identities as God’s people. By extension, for Christians in particular, the texts are believed to contain divine imperatives for

to carry out the mission to proclaim Christ’s gospel of the Kingdom of God and salvation throughout the world.\textsuperscript{119} The source for this religious sense of mission and divine sanction or imperative for the Organization’s war against the System within the narrative of \textit{The Turner Diaries} comes from a sacred text referred to simply as “The Book.” Earl Turner reports having what may only be termed a kind of ecstatic religious or spiritual out-of-body experience while reading the sacred text in his diary entry for November 27, 1991. Importantly, Pierce’s \textit{Note to the Reader} commentary embedded within Turner’s entry relating this experience not only furnishes yet another ideologically (or theologically?) significant date in the apocalyptic narrative we are constructing, but also alludes to another sacred text of the Organization, the Record of Martyrs. Earl Turner reports of his encounter with The Book:

What I had read— it amounted to a book of about 400 typed pages—had lifted me out of this world, out of my day-to-day existence as an underground fighter for the Organization, and it had taken me to the top of a high mountain from which I could see the whole world, with all its nations and tribes and races, spread out before me. And I could see the ages spread out before me too, from the steaming, primordial swamps of a hundred million years ago to the unlimited possibilities which the centuries and millennia ahead hold for us. The book placed our present struggle—the Organization and its goals and what is at stake—in a much larger context than I have ever considered before. That is, I had thought about many of the things in the book before, but I had never put them in a single, coherent pattern.\textsuperscript{120}

Turner’s revelatory remarks about the contents of the Book providing a primordial origin and eschatological metanarrative for the Organization and its mission thus mirror the function of the Bible in Christian religious belief and mission.

\textsuperscript{119} In St. Matthew’s Gospel, in a passage frequently dubbed “The Great Commission,” the Risen Christ commands his disciples to “\textbf{19} Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit \textsuperscript{20} and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And remember, I am with you always, to the end of the age.” (Matt. 28:19-20, NRSV).

\textsuperscript{120} Pierce, \textit{The Turner Diaries}, 71.
We look next to Pierce’s *Note to the Reader* commentary pertaining to the dating of the Book’s composition as well as that of the Record of Martyrs in this same passage:

*(Note to the Reader: It is obvious that Turner is referring to the Book. We know from other evidence that it was written approximately ten years before the Record of Martyrs, in which it is mentioned—i.e., probably sometime in 9 BNE, or 1990 according to the old chronology…we may have here the only extant reference to the original copy of the Book!)*

In the fictional chronology developed by Pierce in *The Turner Diaries*, Earl Turner was granted access to the sacred text of the Book shortly after its composition. Also referenced in Turner’s diary entry is the Record of Martyrs, a hagiography of Organization members who heroically sacrificed all for their shared, divinely inspired cause. In Pierce’s narrative commentary in the Preface, he describes the significance of the Record of Martyrs as follows:

> These diaries span barely two years in Earl Turner’s life, yet they give us an intimate acquaintance with one of those whose name is inscribed in the Record of Martyrs. For that reason alone his words should have a special significance for all of us, who in our school days were given the task of memorizing the names of all the Martyrs in that sacred Record handed to us by our ancestors.

Pierce’s conceptualization the Record of Martyrs takes its cues from older Christian texts. Within the Bible, Christian martyrs are treated with exalted reverence. In Roman Catholicism, supplemental texts such as Father Alban Butler’s classic work *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Other Principal Saints*, originally published between 1756 and 1759 is a definitive model of the sort of hagiography Pierce is mimicking in his references to the Record of the Martyrs.

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123 The Acts of the Apostles recounts the martyrdom of St. Stephen (traditionally seen as the first Christian martyr) at the hands of his religious opponents. In response to his violent death, “Devout men buried Stephen and made loud lamentation over him.” (Acts 8:2 NRSV). In Revelation, St. John reports in his vision that “When he broke the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slaughtered for the word of God and for the testimony they had given; they cried out with a loud voice, “Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long will it be before you judge and avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?” They were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number would be complete both of their fellow servants and of their brothers and sisters who were soon to be killed as they themselves had been killed.” (Rev. 6:9-11, NRSV).
Earl Turner’s diary entry recounting his revelatory experience reading the Book also indicates an apocalyptic, divine sanction and mandate for the Organization’s mission. He recalls what he came to realize about the divine origin of the Organization and its work:

For the first time I understand the deepest meaning of what we are doing. I understand now why we cannot fail, no matter what we must do to win and no matter how many of us must perish in doing it. Everything that has been and everything that is yet to be depend on us. We are truly the instruments of God in the fulfillment of His Grand Design. These may seem like strange words coming from me, who has never been religious, but they are utterly sincere words (emphasis original).  

Here, then, we see that although Turner claims not to have ever been a religious believer, he nevertheless understands and elevates the Organization’s war against the System as a struggle which is cosmic in scale. As political scientist Michael Barkun notes in his study on the relationship between apocalyptic and conspiratorial thought, “such worldviews may be characterized as Manichaean, in the sense that they cast the world in terms of a struggle between light and darkness, good and evil, and hold that this polarization will persist until the end of history, when evil is finally, definitively defeated.” For Turner, this struggle has eternal consequences: not only is the fate of White humanity in the present he inhabits at stake but the very fate of God’s plans for eternity hang in the balance.

The next phase of the Pierce’s apocalyptic narrative in The Turner Diaries features horrific, cataclysmic acts of genocidal violence carried out by the Organization against the System and its Jewish overlords, people of color, ideological opponents, and Whites who are deemed to have betrayed their racial identity. Earl Turner’s diary entries record that several of these acts occurred in the Summer and Fall of 1993. In his entry dated July 1, 1993, Turner relays that “a simultaneous assault on more than 600 military and civilian targets all over the

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country has been scheduled for next Monday morning, July 4.”126 In a subsequent entry dated July 7, 1993, Turner reports four days after the Organization’s attack on Los Angeles, California and the ensuing chaos:

For the last four days one has heard the practically continuous scream of sirens from police and emergency vehicles mixed with the sound of gunfire and explosions and the whirring clatter of helicopters…At two o’clock Monday morning more than 60 of our combat units struck simultaneously throughout the Los Angeles area, while hundreds of other units hit targets all across the country, from Canada to Mexico, coast to coast.127 Turner goes on to discuss the success of the Organization infiltrating military and police structures in order to undermine cohesion amongst soldiers and law enforcement in California which has spawned a racially based civil war within these national security organizations.

Indeed:

Military units commanded by Pro-Organization officers began disarming all Black military personnel as soon as we launched our Monday morning attack. The excuse they used was that Black militants had launched a mutiny in other units and that their orders from higher up were to disarm all Blacks to prevent the spread of mutiny. Generally the White servicemen were ready and willing to believe the story and did not need to be told twice to turn their guns against the Blacks in their units. Those few whose liberal predispositions made them hesitate were shot on the spot (emphasis original).128

The attack on Los Angeles, California; a city well-known for its cultural diversity and political liberalism may be viewed from the apocalyptic perspective of the Organization as a righteous assault on a city of iniquity. This echoes of themes of divine judgment upon sinful and iniquitous locales found throughout Christian scripture.129 The theme of judgment is also seen as the

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126 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 133.
128 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 140-141.
129 For instance, see in Genesis 19:24-25, God’s wrath is executed against iniquitous Sodom and Gomorrah: “Then the Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah sulfur and fire from the Lord out of heaven, 25 and he overthrew those cities and all the plain and all the inhabitants of the cities and what grew on the ground.” (Gen. 19:24-25, NRSV).
righteous of the Organization carry out acts of wrath against specific groups deemed evil on the basis of their race or ideological outlook.

At this juncture it is appropriate to note another important apocalyptic motif found within the narrative of *The Turner Diaries*. Biblical imagery of a Promised Land and prophetic visions of God’s creating a New Heaven, Earth and Jerusalem in the eschaton typically follow cataclysmic events, especially wars and the outpouring of divine wrath in biblical narratives and oracles.\(^{130}\) The Promised Land and New Heaven, Earth, and Jerusalem are typically depicted as a Paradise in which humanity enjoys direct fellowship again with the deity, an eternal return to Edenic conditions free of the pain, sorrow, suffering, conflict and death of the earth corrupted by sin and its byproducts. In *The Turner Diaries*, as has been noted, the Organization seeks to fulfill the Great One’s apocalyptic vision of establishing a new White world, presumably free of the racially and ideologically based sin and evil associated with Jews, people of color, liberal and godless philosophies, and those deemed to be sexual deviants.

Whilst Organization’s mission in *The Turner Diaries* is global in scope, the geographic region of California serves as a particularly vivid embodiment of the New White Paradise the Organization seeks to establish. As was noted earlier, the character of Earl Turner was born and raised in Los Angeles. Turner discusses the importance the Organization places on making California a strategic center in his diary entry of July 11, 1993:

> Under direct organization control at this moment is a strip of California which runs from the Mexican border to about 150 miles northwest of Los Angeles and from the coast inland for a distance varying from 50-100 miles. Included in this strip are San Diego, Los

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\(^{130}\) For instance, in Isaiah 65, God declares his establishment of a New Creation: “17 For I am about to create new heavens and a new earth the former things shall not be remembered or come to mind… 21They shall build houses and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and eat their fruit… The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like the ox, but the serpent—its food shall be dust! They shall not hurt or destroy on all my holy mountain, says the Lord.” (Isa. 65:17, 21, 25).
Angeles, and all-important Vandenberg AFB. The Sierras and the Mojave Desert form a natural eastern boundary to our territory.\textsuperscript{131}

In the same entry, Turner gives further indication about the special significance of California as a new White homeland free of the sin and evil associated with Jews and people of color. He notes the Organization’s systematic efforts to evacuate or eliminate Blacks in California:

The job of the troops is to separate the Blacks from the rest of the population and confine them in controlled-access areas until they can be convoyed out of our enclave…A Black holding area is designated, having been chosen for its proximity to a freeway heading east and for the ease with which all exits from the area can be blocked. Tanks and machine gun crews then take up positions at these exits.\textsuperscript{132}

In a lengthy, later entry dated July 24, 1993 Turner, on an errand in California recounts the following scene while riding in a vehicle:

Coming through the mountains just north of Los Angeles we encountered a long column of marchers, heavily guarded by GI’s and Organization personnel. As we drove slowly past, I observed the prisoners closely, trying to decide what they were. They didn’t seem to be Blacks or Chicanos, and yet only a few of them appeared to be Whites. Many of the faces were distinctly Jewish, while others had features or hair suggesting a Negroid taint. The head of the column turned off the main roadway into a little-used ranger trail which disappeared into a boulder-strewn canyon for several miles back toward the city. There may have been as many as 50,000 marchers, representing all ages and both sexes…And I think I now understand. The clearly distinguishable non-Whites are the ones we want to increase the racial pressure on Whites outside of California. The presence of more almost White mongrels would merely confuse the issue—and there is always the danger that they will later ‘pass’ as White. Better to deal with them now, as soon as we get our hands on them. I have a suspicion their trip into that canyon north of here will be a one-way affair!\textsuperscript{133}

Tellingly, in the same diary entry just before describing the genocidal act in the mountains near Los Angeles mentioned above, Turner portrays an idyllic Edenic pastoral scene characteristic of visions of Heavenly Paradise:

In the countryside I passed literally hundreds of organized groups of White youngsters, some working in the orchards and fruit groves, others marching along the road singing

\textsuperscript{131} Pierce, \textit{The Turner Diaries}, 147.
\textsuperscript{132} Pierce, \textit{The Turner Diaries}, 149.
\textsuperscript{133} Pierce, \textit{The Turner Diaries}, 157-158.
with fruit baskets slung on their shoulders. They all looked tanned and happy and healthy. Quite a difference from the hunger and the rioting of in the cities.\textsuperscript{134}

The actions of the Organization either evacuating or exterminating racially undesirable peoples and their enablers from California and the association of the presence of these groups with sin and evil echoes biblical themes of eschatological judgment, such as in Christ’s pronouncement of judgment on the nations during the Olivet Discourse, using imagery of separating of the sheep (the righteous) and goats (the wicked).\textsuperscript{135} Further, in biblical scenes of final judgment, the sinful, evildoer, murderer, sexually immoral, liar and others are excluded from the presence of God in the Heavenly Kingdom and recipients of his wrath.\textsuperscript{136} The premillennial dispensationalist interpretation of eschatological events in the Bible, and fundamentalist-evangelical views of Scripture in general, interpret such imagery literally. It would appear, then, that in the White Power movement’s apocalyptic vision, a literal approach is also in view. As for those judged to be righteous and faithful in God’s sight, they are granted the gift of eternal life in a beautiful eschaton free of earthly sufferings and death and pain whilst still having a vocation to fulfill in an Edenic Paradise.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{134} Pierce, \textit{The Turner Diaries}, 156.
\textsuperscript{135} From the Gospel of St. Matthew: “31 When the Son of Man comes in his glory and all the angels with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. 32 All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, 33 and he will put the sheep at his right hand and the goats at the left…46 And these will go away into eternal punishment but the righteous into eternal life.” (NRSV, Matt. 25:31-33, 46).
\textsuperscript{136} From Revelation: “8 But as for the cowardly, the faithless, the polluted, the murderers, the sexually immoral, the sorcerers, the idolaters, and all liars, their place will be in the lake that burns with fire and sulfur, which is the second death.” (NRSV, Rev. 21:8).
\textsuperscript{137} From Revelation: Then the angel allowed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb 2 through the middle of the street of the city. On either side of the river is the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, producing its fruit each month, and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations. 3 Nothing accursed will be found there anymore. But the throne of God and of the Lamb will be in it, and his servants will worship him; 4 they will see his face, and his name will be on their foreheads. 5 And there will be no more night; they need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light, and they will reign forever and ever. (NRSV, Rev. 22:1-5). Turner’s details of numerous White youth working in an idyllic countryside, picking fruits, marching along the road singing songs and looking prosperous and joyful has parallels with the vision of the New Heaven and New Earth described in this passage from Revelation 22.
The next atrocities relayed in the apocalyptic chronology of *The Turner Diaries* come in the late Summer and early Fall of 1993. In Los Angeles, the Organization carries out a mass-lynching August 1, 1993 known as the Day of the Rope. Earl Turner reports in his diary entry for that day that the Organization hanged, in his estimate, some 60,000 people. The Organization’s justification for this hideous act is explained as the need to punish what Turner dubs “race criminals.” Race criminals are Whites who have engaged in actions or promoted ideas deemed criminal according to White Nationalist ideology. Such offenses include Whites engaging in sexual activity with non-Whites and supporting liberal ideologies promulgated by the ruling Jewish conspirators the Organization is waging war against. Turner describes how the Organization knew who to arrest in their mass-lynching operation:

For several years the Organization members here, just as in other parts of the country, have been building their dossiers of System toadies, Jew-fawners, equalitarian theorists, and other White race-criminals, along with their street directories of all non-Whites residing in predominantly White areas.¹³⁸

Those deemed to be traitorous race-criminals by the Organization:

were, nearly in all cases, hanged on the spot. One of the two types of pre-printed placards (reading “I betrayed my race”) was hung on the victim’s chest, his hands were quickly taped behind his back, a rope was thrown over a convenient limb or signpost with the other end knotted around his neck, and he was then hauled clear of the ground without further ado and left dancing on air while the soldiers went to the next name on their list.¹³⁹

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¹³⁹ Pierce, *The Turner Diaries*, 162. Earl Turner’s discussion of the Organization’s targeting and lynching of “race-criminals” includes not only Whites who engage in sexual relations with non-Whites but ideological opponents deemed a threat to the White Power movement’s cultural vision. These include political liberals, feminists, university professors, judges and other government officials seen as reinforcing progressive cultural values, and Hollywood celebrities.
The Day of the Rope in the apocalyptic narrative of *The Turner Diaries* thus functions as another act of wrathful yet righteous judgment carried out by the Organization against a class of particularly grievous and treacherous sinners.\(^{140}\)

In a diary entry dated July 11, 1993, Earl Turner reports that the Organization has taken control of nuclear weapons at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California and has delivered an ultimatum to the System concerning their use. He declares that “any military move against us (by the System) would result in our launching nuclear missiles targeted on New York City and Tel Aviv. And that’s why things have been so quiet for the last few days!”\(^{141}\) In Pierce’s narrative, Jewish people are the all-powerful, evil masterminds running a One-World government and New York City and Tel Aviv are understood to be hubs of Jewish power, thus making the System fearful of moving further against the Organization. The advent of nuclear weapons technology with the development and use of atomic bombs at the end of World War II and the subsequent nuclear arms race chiefly between the United States and Soviet Union established nuclear war-as-end of the world scenario as a fixture in the thinking of many Americans. As anthropologist Joseph Masco observes, “in early Cold War America it became a civic obligation to collectively imagine, and at times theatrically enact through ‘civil defense,’ the physical destruction of the nation-state.”\(^{142}\)

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\(^{140}\) As a secondary and perhaps related theme, Earl Turner criticizes what may be termed false conservatives. Those who claim to champion racial purity, the Right to Bear Arms, small government, the rights of the individual and traditional cultural values but who ultimately acquiesce out of fear to the System’s legal enforcement of its oppressive, liberal socio-cultural program. This group of false conservatives could possibly considered a kind of ‘false faithful’ in the view of the White Power movement. Eschatologically, the analogue in the New Testament for this concept is found, for instance, in Matthew 7 near the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount where Christ pronounces condemnation in the Final Judgment on those who claimed to know him, follow his ways, and do as he commands but did not in reality.

\(^{141}\) Pierce, *The Turner Diaries*, 146.

In his diary entry dated September 18, 1993 Earl Turner reports that the Organization has strategically launched nuclear strikes pre-emptively against selected American and overseas targets so as to maximally disadvantage the System’s and other threat source’s ability to respond. He writes:

Unfortunately for the people in other parts of the country there was no advance warning, and the total death toll-including those who have died of burns, other wounds, and radiation in the last 10 days-is approximately 60 million. The missiles which caused these deaths, however, were not ours-except in the case of New York City, which received a barrage first from Vandenberg and then from the Soviet Union. Baltimore, Detroit, and other American cities which were hit—even Los Angeles were all the victims of Soviet missiles. Vandenberg AFB was the only domestic target hit by the US government.

We struck first, but not at the government’s forces. We fired all our missiles from Vandenberg (except for half-a-dozen target on New York) at two targets: Israel and the Soviet Union. As soon as our missiles had been launched, RC (Revolutionary Command) announced the news to the Pentagon via a direct telephone link. The Pentagon of course, had immediate confirmation from its own radar systems, and it had no choice but to follow up our salvo with an immediate and full-scale nuclear attack of its own against the Soviet Union, in attempt to knock out as much of the Soviet retaliatory potential as possible.¹⁴³

These nuclear strikes against both domestic American targets as well as against the other great nuclear power of the age, the Soviet Union, represent a kind of first-phase or penultimate Armageddon within the apocalyptic narrative of The Turner Diaries. Further, by targeting Israel with nuclear strikes, the Organization vanquishes a huge segment of their greatest and most evil foe, Jewish people. In the dispensational reading of Revelation, Armageddon sees the armies of the nations under the sway of the Antichrist preparing for a final battle against Israel and linked directly with the second coming of Jesus Christ who defeats the Antichrist, the Beast and the nations under their command.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 190-191.
¹⁴⁴ Revelation 16:12-16 reads: “12 The sixth angel poured his bowl on the great River Euphrates, and its water was dried up in order to prepare the way for the kings from the east. 13 And I saw three foul spirits like frogs
For Turner and the Organization, extermination of Jewish people and the threat they pose to racial purity is of paramount importance. In a diary entry dated October 28, 1993 Turner reflects on the global Jewish menace at length. He begins by noting:

Men of wisdom, integrity, and courage have warned us over and over again of the consequences of our folly. And even after we were well down the Jewish primrose path, we had chance after chance to save ourselves-most recently 52 years ago, when the Germans and the Jews were locked in a struggle for the mastery of central and eastern Europe. Turner here places blame on the White race as a whole for allowing Jewish power and influence to corrupt their race and the world around them. Later, he triumphantly reports:

Within 24 hours after we hit Tel Aviv and half-a-dozen other Israeli targets last month, hundreds of thousands of Arabs were swarming across the borders of occupied Palestine. Most of them were civilians, armed only with knives or clubs, and Jewish border guards mowed down thousands of them, until their ammunition was exhausted…The Arabs’ hatred, pent up for 45 years, drove them on…Within a week the throat of the last Jewish survivor…had been cut…Reports are that Russian survivors have dealt with Jews there in much the same way…And anti-Jewish riots have broken out in London, Paris, Brussels, Rotterdam, Bucharest, Buenos Aires, Johannesburg and Sydney…If the Organization survives this contest, no Jew will-anywhere. We’ll go to the uttermost ends of the earth to hunt down the last of Satan’s spawn.

Turner’s commentary here again reflects themes of judgment involving the destruction and exclusion of those deemed to be wicked and evil, and in the view of the White Power movement, this determination is made on the basis of ethnicity and race as opposed to the basis of faith or moral-ethical conduct.

Earl Turner’s final diary entry is dated November 9, 1993 and in this last writing, Turner conveys his feelings at being selected by members of the Order, the inner elite of the

coming from the mouth of the dragon, from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet. 14 These are demonic spirits, performing signs, who go abroad to the kings of the whole world, to assemble them for battle on the great day of God the Almighty. 15 (“See, I am coming like a thief! Blessed is the one who stays awake and is clothed, not going about naked and exposed to shame.”) 16 And the demonic spirits assembled the kings at the place that in Hebrew is called Harmagedon.” (Rev. 16:12-16).

145 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 196.
146 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 199.
Organization, to receive the Rite of Union. Previously, after having been initiated into the Order on a probationary basis, Turner had faltered in his oath to keep the cause of the Organization unto death when, under torture by a Jewish interrogator, he shared intelligence on Organization activities. The highest ruling body of the Order determined that Turner could remain in the group and remain eligible for the Rite of Union but should expect his receiving of the Rite to coincide with a mission from which he would not return. In Turner’s view, the Order was made up of men of the truest and best character. Compared with other supposed champions of conservative and White racial priorities, Turner castigates other such groups:

Knowing fully what was demanded in character and commitment of each man who stood before me, my chest swelled with pride. These were no soft-bellied, conservative businessmen assembled for some Masonic mumbo-jumbo; no loudmouthed beery rednecks letting off a little ritualized steam about ‘the goddamn niggers’; no pious, frightened churchgoers whining for the guidance or protection of an anthropomorphic deity. These were real men, White men, men who were now one with me in spirit and consciousness as well as blood (emphasis original).”

Turner’s comments here reinforce the sense of the White Power movement’s moral, intellectual and racial righteousness as an exceptional people compared with all others. Again, the movement views many other alleged champions of White supremacy as false conservatives, echoing the biblical notion of false Christian believers. Further confirming this belief, in an earlier entry, Turner comments that “the accursed goyim (Jewish people) have raised their hands against the Chosen people and must be destroyed at any cost (emphasis mine).” At the conclusion of the Rite of Union ceremony, Turner makes a declaration:

Brothers! Two years ago, when I entered your ranks for the first time, I consecrated my life to our Order and the purpose for which it exists. But then I faltered in the fulfillment of my obligation to you. Now I am ready to meet my obligation fully. I offer you my life. Do you accept it? In a rumbling unison their reply came back: ‘Brother! We accept your

147 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 203.
148 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 182.
life. In return, we offer you everlasting life in us. Your deed shall not be in vain, nor shall it be forgotten, until the end of time. To this commitment we pledge our lives.149

These affirmations from Turner and the Order membership bear a striking resemblance to the biblical concept of a chosen, covenantal people. In the Old Testament, the ancient Israelites understood themselves as God’s special possession and in the New Testament, Christian theology builds upon ancient religious concepts to redefine a chosen, covenant people inclusive of Jew and Gentile alike within the Church body.150 In biblical apocalyptic thought, the faithful members of the covenant people are portrayed as favored in God’s eyes and being granted a heavenly citizenship in the reconstituted New Heaven and New Earth. In The Turner Diaries, the Organization as covenant community carries out atrocities against Jews, people of color and others deemed unworthy of life in order to establish their own New Heaven and New Earth via nuclear holocaust.

Following Earl Turner’s final entry in The Turner Diaries, William L. Pierce again takes up the voice of fictional historical narrator in the book’s Epilogue section. Pierce describes 1994 to 1999 as “the five Dark Years preceding the New Era. At one time there were nearly 2,000 separate Organization enclaves in North America. Outside these zones of order and security, the anarchy and savagery grew steadily worse, with the only real authority wielded by marauding bands which preyed on one another and on the unorganized and defenseless masses.”151 Pierce’s description of this period of intense darkness, suffering, conflict and disaster the world over is highly resemblant of the premillennial dispensationalist concept known as the Great Tribulation.

149 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 204.
150 See 1 Corinthians 12:12-13 for this concept of covenant community: “12 For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. 13 For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit.” (1 Cor. 12:12-13).
151 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 207.
The Great Tribulation, as noted above, is a kind of interim period of tremendous suffering, hardship, conflict and disaster following the Rapture of the Church to Heaven (the chosen Christian people escape the great sufferings). During this interim period, a great evangelistic effort led by Jewish people who newly follow Jesus Christ in faith and many people, Jews and Gentiles alike, become Christians. Meanwhile, the Antichrist continues to carry out their satanic plot to destroy the world.

Pierce continues to narrate the conclusion of the Great Revolution, relaying that “on January 30, 1999, in the momentous Truce of Omaha, the last group of System generals surrendered their commands to the Organization, in return for a pledge that they and their families would be allowed to live out the remainders of their lives unmolested.” Pierce follows this statement about decisive Organization victory against the System with a description of what he terms “the mopping-up period, when the last of the non-White bands were hunted down and exterminated, following the final purge of undesirable racial elements among the remaining White population.” The above-described mopping-up operations were focused in North America and from here Pierce recounts the retaking of Europe, a geographic region perhaps even more corrupted by Jewish influence than North America in the view of the Organization. Indeed, Europe received:

A cleansing hurricane of change swept over the continent, clearing away in months the refuse of a millennium or more of alien ideology and a century or more of profound moral and material decadence. The blood flowed ankle-deep in the streets of many of Europe’s great cities momentarily, as the race traitors, the offspring of generations of dysgenic breeding, and hordes of Gastarbeiter met a common fate. The great dawn of the New Era broke over the Western world.

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152 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 209.
154 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 209.
From here, Pierce goes onto narrate the extermination of Asiatic peoples, claiming China as the last great source of resistance to the Organization’s global conquest. In what is the largest episode of mass-genocide in the entire text, Pierce declares:

The Organization resorted to a combination of biological, chemical and radiological means, on an enormous scale, to deal with the (Asian) problem. Over a period of four years some 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, were effectively sterilized. Thus the Great Eastern Waste was created…Only in the last decade have certain areas of the Waste been declared safe for colonization…As everyone is aware, the bands of mutants which roam the Waste remain a real threat, and it may be another century before the last of them has been eliminated and White colonization has once again established a human presence throughout this vast area.¹⁵⁵

The Organization’s elimination of what may be reasonably said to be half the world’s population on the Asian continent on the basis of their race is a singularly horrendous scene in a text filled with graphic atrocity fantasies and functions as the final Armageddon-like act against non-Whites. Pierce’s closing narration in the text reads like the conclusion of a religious revelatory text:

And in so doing he (Earl Turner) helped greatly to assure that his race would survive and prosper, that the Organization would achieve its worldwide political and military goals, and that the Order would spread its wise and benevolent rule over the earth for all time to come.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 211.
The White Power movement’s apocalyptic vision is of a genocidal, end times race war between righteous Whites faithful to the movement’s racist gospel and their evil opponents consisting chiefly of Jews but also including people of color, political Leftists, and Whites who have betrayed their race philosophically, sexually, or otherwise. The character of Earl Turner describes the endgame of the Organization’s campaign against the System in his diary entry of August 23, 1993 as “laying the foundations here for the new social order which will serve our race for the next thousand years.” Given William L. Pierce and the National Alliance’s exaltation of Adolf Hitler and the German Nazi regime’s program of efficient, professionalized conquest and genocidal revolution to establish the Third Reich, it is reasonable to propose here that the ultimate telos of the apocalyptic Great Revolution carried out by the Organization in *The Turner Diaries* is the establishment of an eternal Fourth Reich under the rule of the Order. Under this Fourth Reich, earth is free of the evil, corrupting influence of Jews, non-White racial and ethnic groups, and their politically Leftist allies; civilized Western society is restored, and human morality is enlightened once again with the cessation of corrupting Jewish cultural influence. Next a comparative analysis will be conducted of features of the premillennial dispensational apocalyptic narrative described in Hal Lindsey’s *The Late Great Planet Earth* and the White Power movement’s race war apocalyptic narrative that has been constructed from material in *The Turner Diaries* by William L. Pierce.

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The historical intersection of theological/ideological narratives, political and economic affinities, cultural values, and group missional telos/endgame between fundamentalist-evangelical Christians and White supremacist groups in the United States is well-documented. This is not to suggest, however, that the two sub-cultures are exact mirror images of one another or agree on every worldview question. First, a comparative examination of the similarities in the theological-ideological apocalyptic narratives of the two movements will be conducted. Applying a White Nationalist reading of Hal Lindsey’s dispensational apocalyptic schema in *The Late Great Planet Earth* reveals fascinating theological-ideological narrative analogues with concepts, characters, and events in *The Turner Diaries*. To reiterate, in their broadest sense, be it religious or secular or a combination of these in its makeup, apocalyptic narratives depict the world and the human condition in its present state as sinful, morally bankrupt, institutionally corrupt and under the influence of great evil. The posited solution in apocalyptic narratives to ridding the earth and humanity of these collective evils is cataclysmic, revolutionary action by holy and righteous human actors either commissioned by, in service to and reliant upon a divine power (e.g. traditional Christian theology as religious apocalypse) or morally upright, self-empowered, skillful humans organizing and acting of their own accord out of a sense of collective solidarity in adherence to shared ideology (e.g. Marxist revolutions as secular, proletarian apocalypse).

The telos of any apocalyptic narrative or endeavor is the establishment of a better, righteous and eternal world free of the evils that once plagued and corrupted creation and humanity within it. This goal of establishing such utopian realms is clearly visible in the

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158 For the historical interactions of Protestant fundamentalist-evangelical Christians with White Supremacist organizations see *Fundamentalism in American Culture: New Edition* by George Marsden; *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism* by Matthew Avery Sutton; and *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK’s Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930*.
Heavenly Kingdom-Paradise of Abrahamic faiths or the politically and economically equal society free of social class distinctions and other bourgeois-capitalist corruptions of Marxism. Also important to note is the prescribed theologically or ideologically driven methods for achieving the these apocalyptic end-goals varies considerably, including non-violent evangelistic persuasion and preaching or missional humanitarian assistance efforts as well as through mass violence in the form of terrorism and warfare.

**Apocalyptic Narrative Points of Convergence: Theology and Ideology**

In *The Late Great Planet Earth*, the general dispensational concept of an end-times apocalypse fits within the mainstream of historic, orthodox Christian eschatology whilst the biblical literalist interpretive particulars of the dispensational system differ markedly from other eschatological schools of thought within Christianity. *The Late Great Planet Earth* and *The Turner Diaries* share achievement of the goals of their respective apocalyptic narratives as matters of central concern and depicts all of life and history as inexorably pointing towards the inevitable fulfillment of the foretold events in question. In *The Turner Diaries*, the apocalyptic endeavor is referred to as the Great Revolution and consists of both political and quasi-religious elements. In the dispensational as well as broadly Christian eschatological schema, God’s establishment of the eternal New Heaven, Earth and Jerusalem as the home of the faithful free of sinful evils, disasters, suffering, death and disease is the theological telos of God’s plan for the ages. This occurs after the second coming of Jesus Christ and the rending of God’s judgment upon sin and evil and is the final act of God’s divine plan for the ages, having restored humanity back to a state of direct contact with the deity as they enjoyed in the early days of creation but
which had been lost due to humanity’s sinful choices.\textsuperscript{159} In Christian theological terms, the chronological dating or recording of history ceases to be necessary in the post-eschaton heavenly realm.

In \textit{The Turner Diaries}, Pierce creates an alternate dating system to divide the eras of his apocalyptic metanarrative into the Old Era, the period in which earth and humanity are hopelessly mired in a dark state of racially-based evil and corruption due to nefarious Jewish cultural influence and the New Era, the time of a restored earth and humanity free not only of Jewish corruptions but also free of any non-White racial presence. The State of California is especially depicted as a paradisical new White homeland in which Jews, people of color, political Leftists and race traitors (Whites who sympathized with or supported Jewish-driven diversity initiatives or who defiled themselves sexually with people of color) as the Organization combats the System even before their final and decisive victory.\textsuperscript{160}

Next for consideration is the role of sacred texts in the apocalyptic narratives of \textit{The Late Great Planet Earth} and \textit{The Turner Diaries}. Lindsey champions the literal, futurist interpretation of prophetic and apocalyptic biblical texts that is central to the process dispensational theological construction. Typical of low-church populist evangelical Protestants, Lindsey does not promote extra-biblical hagiographic records of those Christians who suffered or died for the faith. Curiously, in \textit{The Turner Diaries}, Pierce, ever the ideologically committed Nazi critical of Christianity, creates two sacred texts with religious levels of importance for the Organization’s

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{159} See Genesis 3:22-24: “\textsuperscript{22} Then the Lord God said, “See, the humans have become like one of us, knowing good and evil, and now they might reach out their hands and take also from the tree of life and eat and live forever”—\textsuperscript{23} therefore the Lord God sent them forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which they were taken. \textsuperscript{24} He drove out the humans, and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life.” (Gen. 3:22-24, NRSV).
\item \textsuperscript{160} See Figures Section for visualizations of the constructed apocalyptic narrative timeline for \textit{The Turner Diaries} as well as typical examples of dispensational apocalyptic ‘prophecy charts’ for comparison.
\end{itemize}
communal self-understanding and mission. One text, simply dubbed “The Book,” a 400 page document bound in a simple black office binder transports the character of Earl Turner on a cosmic vision journey from which he gains eternal perspective in to the Organization’s goals and purposes which he then understands afresh as divinely ordered. Turner’s characterization the source of divinity commissioning the Organization and its activities is generically referred to as “God” but this nevertheless indicates the group is sanctioned a powerful cosmic authority.\textsuperscript{161} The second sacred text referred to in \textit{The Turner Diaries} is the “Record of Martyrs.” In one of his narrations voicing the role of fictional future historian, Pierce indicates that “for that reason alone his (Earl Turner’s) words should have special significance for all of us, who in our school days were given the task of memorizing the names of all the Martyrs in that sacred record handed down by our ancestors.”\textsuperscript{162} The “Record of Martyrs” strongly resembles hagiographical texts such as the widely referenced eighteenth century \textit{Lives of the Saints} by Father Alban Butler but finds only indirect correlations within evangelical dispensationalism.\textsuperscript{163}

In Jewish and Christian apocalyptic narratives, a significant figure may function as an archetype of the messenger of divine disclosures in prophecies and oracles. In the Old Testament

\textsuperscript{161} Pierce, \textit{The Turner Diaries}, 71.
\textsuperscript{162} Pierce, \textit{The Turner Diaries}, iv.
\textsuperscript{163} Christian martyrdom has long been seen the ultimate act of the faithful’s unswerving devotion to Jesus Christ and his teachings. For evangelical Protestants like Hal Lindsey, saintly hagiographies like Alban Butler’s \textit{Lives of the Saints} represent a troubling Roman Catholic emphasis on cultic saint devotion resembling worship when, in the Protestant view, only the Godhead is worthy of receiving such praise and adoration. Nevertheless, Protestant Christians universally hold martyrs in the highest reverence and honor their self-sacrifice contending courageously for the faith in missionary and other efforts. Prominent contemporary examples include Dietrich Bonhoeffer, the German Lutheran pastor and theologian who conspired against the Nazi regime in the 20 July plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler; and was executed in 1945 and Jim Elliot, the American missionary killed by indigenous people in Ecuador in 1956. The New Testament itself provides early and significant examples of martyrdom and the reverence accorded to them: e.g. John the Baptist in the Gospels, Stephen and James the Greater in Acts of the Apostles. Consider also God’s privileging and special care for the martyrs in Revelation: “\textsuperscript{9} When he broke the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who had been slaughtered for the word of God and for the testimony they had given; 10 they cried out with a loud voice, “Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long will it be before you judge and avenge our blood on the inhabitants of the earth?” 11 They were each given a white robe and told to rest a little longer, until the number would be complete both of their fellow servants and of their brothers and sisters who were soon to be killed as they themselves had been killed.” (Rev. 6:9-11, NRSV).
book of the prophet Daniel, a thoroughly apocalyptic text, both the character of Daniel and the
angelic messenger Gabriel disclose revelations in narrative style pertaining to future events or
God’s divine plan.\footnote{164} A further example from Old Testament literature is found in the book of the
prophet Ezekiel, who delivers extensive, esoteric oracles of coming future apocalyptic events,
including those predicting Israel’s conflict with Gog and Magog which are prominent in the
dispensational interpretation of end-times events.\footnote{165} In the New Testament, some scholars note
that selected passages of Christ’s sermons in the gospels, most notably the Olivet Discourse of
Matthew 24-25, are thoroughly apocalyptic in tone as he makes pronouncements of coming
persecution of the faithful and judgment, the outpouring of divine wrath and the establishment of
the Heavenly Kingdom.\footnote{166} At the end of the New Testament in the book of Revelation, John the
Elder is shown extensive future and highly symbolic coming actions of God and narrates these
disclosures, seemingly as they happen, to his literary audience. Within the apocalyptic narrative

\footnote{164} Here in Daniel 9:20-24, the prophet sees a vision and also receives messages directly from Gabriel,
God’s angelic messenger. \footnote{165} While I was speaking and was praying and confessing my sin and the sin of my people
Israel and presenting my supplication before the Lord my God on behalf of the holy mountain of my God, \footnote{166} while I
was speaking in prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen before in a vision, came to me in swift flight at the time
of the evening sacrifice. \footnote{166} He came and said to me, “Daniel, I have now come out to give you wisdom and
understanding. \footnote{166} At the beginning of your supplications a word went out, and I have come to declare it, for you are
greatly beloved. So consider the word and understand the vision: \footnote{166} Seventy weeks are decreed for your people and
your holy city: to finish the transgression, to put an end to sin, and to atone for iniquity, to bring in everlasting
righteousness, to seal both vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place.” (Dan. 9:20-24, NRSV).

\footnote{165} For instance, the prophet Ezekiel here utters an oracle of future judgment by God against the mysterious
enemies of Israel, Gog and Magog: “The word of the Lord came to me: \footnote{165} Mortal, set your face toward Gog, of the
land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. Prophesy against him \footnote{165} and say: Thus says the Lord God: I
am against you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal; \footnote{165} I will turn you around and put hooks into your jaws,
and I will lead you out with all your army, horses and horsemen, all of them clothed in full armor, a great company,
all of them with shield and buckler, wielding swords.” (Ezk. 38:1-4).

\footnote{166} Christ’s words in this passage from the Olivet Discourse are characteristic of apocalyptic
pronouncements: \footnote{166} Jesus answered them, “Beware that no one leads you astray. \footnote{166} For many will come in my name,
saying, ‘I am the Messiah!’ and they will lead many astray. \footnote{166} And you will hear of wars and rumors of wars; see that
you are not alarmed, for this must take place, but the end is not yet. \footnote{166} For nation will rise against nation and kingdom
against kingdom, and there will be famines and earthquakes in various places: \footnote{166} all this is but the beginning of the
birth pangs. \footnote{166} Then they will hand you over to be tortured and will put you to death, and you will be hated by all
nations because of my name. \footnote{166} Then many will fall away,\footnote{166} and they will betray one another and hate one
another. \footnote{166} And many false prophets will arise and lead many astray.” (Matt. 24:4-10 NRSV).
of *The Turner Diaries*, the character of Earl Turner and William L. Pierce playing the role of fictional future historian assume similar roles as mythic narrators of a glorified and triumphal past series of events as *The Turner Diaries* are presented as a fictional future historical record as opposed to a revelatory text. In essence, Earl Turner as heroic soldier of the Organization narrates the fulfilling of the apocalyptic mission in the present as events unfold and Pierce, as fictional future historian, exalts the achievements of Turner and other soldiers of the Great Revolution as completed victory.

Yet another shared feature within the apocalyptic narratives of *The Late Great Planet Earth* and *The Turner Diaries* are the very clear boundaries and distinctions drawn between what may be termed covenant communities. These communities are made up of those faithful to the gospel and teachings of Jesus Christ (the Christian Church and Israel in dispensationalism) or faithful to the gospel and teachings of Nazi White supremacy (the Organization and the Order), and those unfaithful people(s) classified as evil, sinful, immoral, as liars and others on the basis of religious (dispensationalism) or racial (White Nationalism) infidelity or impurity are subject to or deserving some form of wrathful judgment. As has been noted in scholarship examining the nature of conspiracy and apocalyptic belief, a powerful sense of tribalist ingroup identity characterizes the views of insular communities. Some evangelicals and White Power communities are deeply suspicious of elite institutions like government, organized religious bodies, large corporations, and mainstream academia as well as harboring suspicions about other people groups or communities whose cultures, beliefs, et al are different from those of the given ingroup. These larger cultural entities are frequently viewed as being hostile and sinister in their intentions toward the evangelical or White Nationalist ingroup as well as representing sources of great cultural, moral, political, economic, racial or religious corruption. The hostility and
suspicion held by the sectarian ingroup towards outsiders acts as a strong reinforcing mechanism of the ingroup’s controlling narrative of their own self-understanding as the persecuted righteous and faithful community.

For dispensational evangelical Christians as well as White Nationalists operating with mutually reinforcing negative conspiratorial and apocalyptic outlooks on human society, even seemingly like-minded coreligionists or other White Supremacist groups may be suspect. This may be due to other Christian church denominations’ or White supremacist groups’ insufficient level of commitment to those doctrines deemed essential by a particular ingroup to be counted faithful. In *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Lindsey directs blistering commentary towards Mainline Protestant denominations for their liberal theology and bureaucratism as well as more indirectly expressing anti-Roman Catholic sentiments. For Lindsey and other low-church populist evangelicals, Mainline Protestant denominations and Roman Catholics constitute a false Christianity because they do not adhere to the inerrancy and literal interpretation of the Bible nor do they focus sufficiently on the unfolding of apocalyptic events but rather give greater attention to social action and ecumenical cooperation between denominations.

Indeed, Lindsey declares as the end of days draws near “the institutional church, composed of professing Christians who are in many cases not Christian, look for many things to happen…with increasing frequency the leadership of the denominations will be captured by those who completely reject historic truths of the Bible…in some large Protestant denominations this has already taken place.”\(^{167}\) Lindsey also predicts a role for Roman Catholicism in the program of the Antichrist to usher in what deceptively appears to be a new era in human history:

\(^{167}\) Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 182.
“Look for the papacy to become even more involved in world politics, especially in proposals for bringing world peace and world-wide economic prosperity.”¹⁶⁸ Lindsey’s suspicions about the ecumenical movement are also connected to his speculations about the rise of the Antichrist and the rise of a One-World Government and false religion (see below).

For William L. Pierce and perhaps by extension the Neo-Nazi National Alliance he led, a similar suspicion and disrespect for traditional American political and cultural conservatives as well as other White Supremacists is discernible in *The Turner Diaries*. Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party of Germany represent a brilliant, highly disciplined, well-organized, efficient and wholly committed movement working towards the establishment of a White world in Pierce’s eyes. By contrast, in Pierce’s view, other White Supremacist groups are anti-intellectual, undisciplined, lazy, disorganized, and even cowardly. The character of Earl Turner expresses outright disgust for traditional conservatives like Republicans, Second Amendment activists, and Rotarians as pretenders. Further, Pierce does not level criticism by name of the Ku Klux Klan or Christian Identity groups in *The Turner Diaries* but his disdain for them and other groups with a history of racial prejudice is nevertheless evident. Indeed, Earl Turner notes of those who made up his comrades in the Order in contrast other counterfeit conservatives and White Supremacists:

These were no soft-bellied, conservative businessmen assembled for some Masonic mumbo-jumbo; no loud-mouthed beery red-necks letting off a little ritualized steam about “the goddam niggers”; no pious, frightened churchgoers whining for the protection of anthropomorphic deity. These were real men, White men, men who were now one with me in spirit and consciousness as well as in blood.¹⁶⁹

Pierce’s veiled criticism of these counterfeit conservatives and insufficiently committed White supremacists thus illustrates well the strong sense of righteous and faithful ingroup

¹⁶⁸ Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 185.
fighting against evil and dangerous false representatives of the ingroup’s ideals as well as against groups who are outright ideological or racial opponents.

A key aspect of apocalyptic narratives is the identification of a great source of evil that must be vanquished in order to establish the utopian paradise free of the suffering, death, pain and sorrow characteristic of the present world environment. In evangelical dispensationalism, conspiratorial speculation about the identity and rise of the shadowy, satanic figure known as the Antichrist is a chief preoccupation. According to Lindsey, the Antichrist is “the beast (the Roman dictator, the Future Fuehrer, or the Antichrist) [and] will be like a leopard, bear and lion.”

According to Lindsey, the satanically enabled Antichrist will exercise dictatorial rule over a one-world government and seek to wage war against Christians and nation-state Israel. Further, the Antichrist will deceive the nations into engaging in blasphemy and idolatrous worship of himself as God. Christ, in his second coming, will defeat and destroy the Antichrist as well as his servants. From an economic standpoint, Lindsey conjectures about the Mark of the Beast, the number 666, of Revelation 13:16-18 and attempts by the rising Antichrist to control global markets and restrict trade and commerce to those who have the mark and target those without it for persecution.

Similar to the role of the Antichrist in evangelical dispensationalism, evil and conspiratorial Jews in control of a one-world government known as the System take on an Antichrist-like role in The Turner Diaries. For Pierce and other White Supremacists, Jews are

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170 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 105.
171 In Revelation, those bearing the mark of the satanic beast may satisfy their economic needs and wants while those without it are excluded from doing so: “Also, it causes all, both small and great, both rich and poor, both free and slave, to be given a brand on the right hand or the forehead, so that no one can buy or sell who does not have the brand, that is, the name of the beast or the number for its name. This calls for wisdom: let anyone with understanding calculate the number of the beast, for it is the number for a person. Its number is six hundred sixty-six.” (Rev. 13:16-18). The number 666 transliterated from Greek to Hebrew spells the name ‘Nero’, a clear reference to the depraved first century Roman emperor and persecutor of Christians as Antichrist.
responsible for the rise of an intrusive and oppressive world government to which individual world nations, especially the Western Democracies and European communist states are subject, global manipulation of the financial system for their own benefit, and are the source of liberal, Leftist philosophies of multiculturalism, feminism, and racial equality that are blasphemous in the eyes of White Nationalist racial orthodoxy. Economically, the Jew-as-Antichrist in *The Turner Diaries* controls the global financial system within capitalist nations including the United States whose government requires the distribution of gasoline ration cards and ID’s which must be presented by all citizens when carrying out any financial transactions which are in turn tracked by the System’s government and the data stored in a massive computer system at the FBI’s headquarters. This enables them to track the members of the Organization. Jews then, are an ethnic Antichrist, the greatest evil which must be purged from human society in Pierce’s Neo-Nazi apocalyptic vision. Speaking through the voice of Earl Turner, Pierce expresses this as an imperative: “If the Organization survives this contest [of good and evil], no Jew will-anywhere. We’ll go to the uttermost ends of the earth to hunt down the last of Satan’s spawn.”

The apocalyptic narratives in *The Late Great Planet Earth* and *The Turner Diaries* also depict similar, protracted but temporary periods of great darkness and suffering for the righteous and faithful. In evangelical dispensationalism, this period of suffering is known as the Great Tribulation which begins following the Rapture of the Church as the Antichrist is being revealed and rising to power. Lindsey describes the Great Tribulation as being “three and one-half years [in length] prior to Christ’s personal, visible return to earth…this period of time will make the regimes of Hitler, Mao and Stalin look like the Girl Scouts weaving a daisy chain.” During this period of suffering and hardship, however, Lindsey and dispensationalists understand it to

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173 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 110.
also be a time of great evangelistic success. Indeed, “After the Christians are gone (raptured to Heaven) God is going to reveal Himself in a special way to 144,000 physical, literal Jews who are going to believe with a vengeance that Jesus is the Messiah. They are going to be 144,000 Jewish Billy Grahams.”

Similarly, William L. Pierce as future fictional historian describes a five year period known as the Dark Years. Despite victories by the Organization and the establishment of new racially pure and righteous enclaves, “outside these zones of order and security, the anarchy and savagery grew steadily worse…throughout the Dark Years neither the Organization nor the System could hope for a completely decisive advantage over the other.”

A final and significant apocalyptic narrative analogue shared between Hal Lindsey’s *The Late Great Planet Earth* and *The Turner Diaries* is the occurrence of a climactic and cataclysmic battle between the communities of the religious or racial good, faithful, and righteous against the forces of religious or racial evil, sin, and depravity. In the dispensational narrative, this massive end-times battle between the Antichrist and his nation-state forces and the Jews (Israel) and Christians he intends to destroy is the well-known Armageddon event, depicted as taking place on plains of Megiddo near Jezreel in modern Israel. Lindsey claims of Armageddon that “the conflict will not be limited to the Middle East. The apostle John warns that when these two great forces meet in battle, the greatest shock wave ever to hit the earth will occur. Whether by natural force of an earthquake or a super weapon isn’t clear. John says all the cities of the nations will be destroyed.”

Characteristic of Cold War thinking, Lindsey’s mention of a super-weapon indicates his speculations involve the possibility of nuclear war as an aspect or means of fulfilling biblical predictions about the Armageddon event. In a passage where he discusses

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174 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 111.
176 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 166.
warfare occurring prior to the decisive Armageddon battle, he wonders aloud: “God could allow various countries to launch a nuclear exchange of ballistic missiles upon each other.”

Within *The Turner Diaries*, the Armageddon-equivalent event is a series of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons strikes carried out by the Organization against the US government and its cities and against nation-state Israel and other Jewish targets in 1993, and against the population of the entire Asian continent several years later. The Organization also strikes the Soviet Union for strategic but not racial reasons: forcing the US government to launch its nuclear arsenal at the USSR to remove the Soviet threat to the Organization’s endeavors. Nevertheless, Earl Turner expresses regret at the deaths of many White Russians but glories in the Russian population’s rounding up of Jewish manipulators to eliminate them following the nuclear strikes. Not only are these nuclear strikes an Armageddon-like battle, they also constitute acts of racial justice and judgment against Jews, people of color, and their supporters. On a smaller, secondary level, the Organization also carries out acts of judgment against racial sinners in the form of mass lynchings, like the Day of the Rope discussed above, in which 60,000 or more people are lynched across the Los Angeles metropolitan area in the Summer of 1993. We turn next to discuss apocalyptic narrative points of convergence between evangelical dispensationalism and White Power eschatology in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

**Apocalyptic Narrative Points of Convergence: Politics, Economics, and Culture**

Politically and perhaps somewhat surprisingly, Hal Lindsey does not posit a special role or destiny for the United States in his dispensational apocalyptic scenario in *The Late Great Planet Earth*, contradicting a major staple of Christian Nationalist ideology. Indeed, when

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177 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 161.
discussing the rise of the Antichrist as leader of a reborn Roman Empire in Europe, Lindsey comments that “Europeans sense the basic weakness of the United States in its will to resist Communism…[according to biblical prophecy], the leadership of the West must shift to Rome, in its revived form, and if the U.S. is still around at that time, it will not be the power it is now.” \(^{178}\) Similarly, in *The Turner Diaries*, the United States, for all its economic and military strength and might, is viewed as a political pawn of the global Jewish regime centered in Israel. Indeed, Earl Turner’s remarks like these about the relationship between Jews and Gentile public figures in the US are telling: “our retribution against the sheriff here should serve as a warning to the Jew’s Gentile henchmen…” \(^{179}\) Later, discussing the Organization’s ultimatum to the System/US Government following the former’s seizure of nuclear weapons at Vandenberg Air Force Base, Turner notes the US Government’s temporary acquiescence to their demands due to their apparent subordination to Israel. He writes, “any military move against us would result in our launching nuclear missiles targeted on New York City and Tel Aviv. And that’s why things have been so quiet for a few the last few days!” \(^{180}\)

Evangelical dispensationalists and White Nationalists within the United States also share a pessimistic view of what they perceive as the spiritual and moral-ethical decline of Western civilization within American society. For Lindsey and the dispensationalists, this moral-ethical and Christian religious decline is attributed to satanic influence evident in the spread of liberal and secular or other non-Christian philosophical perspectives in American culture. In a prediction typical of dispensationalism’s pessimistic view of modern American society’s worsening trajectory, Lindsey warns his readers to “look for the present sociological problems of

\(^{178}\) Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 95-96.
\(^{179}\) Pierce, *The Turner Diaries*, 130.
\(^{180}\) Pierce, *The Turner Diaries*, 146.
crime, riots, lack of employment, poverty, illiteracy, mental illness, illegitimacy, etc. as the population explosion begins to expand geometrically in the late 70’s…look for drug addiction to further permeate the U.S…”181 For White Nationalists, the spiritual and moral-ethical decline of American society is directly attributable to the corrupting and powerful influence of malevolent Jewish conspirators. Earl Turner asks rhetorically,

> Is that not the key to the whole problem? The corruption of our people by the Jewish-liberal-equalitarian plague which afflicts us is more clearly manifested in our soft-mindedness, our unwillingness to recognize the harder realities of life, than anything else. Liberalism is an essentially feminine, submissive world view. Perhaps a better adjective than feminine is infantile. It is the world view of men who do not have the moral toughness, the spiritual strength to stand up and do single combat with life, who cannot adjust to the reality that the world is not a huge, pink-and-blue, padded nursery in which the lions lie down with the lambs and everyone lives happily ever after. Nor should spiritually healthy men of our race want the world to be like that, if it could be so. That is an alien, essentially Oriental approach to life, the world view of slaves rather than of free men of the West.182

Evangelical dispensationalists and White Nationalists, then, share a common view of the moral-ethical and spiritual state of the United States as one of increasing depravity.

In the global geopolitical arena, Lindsey and Pierce both express fear of and antipathy for communism and take up strong anticommunist stances within their apocalyptic narratives. The accusation of being a communist or Marxist was used during the early Cold War era in the United States as a sort of catchall dog whistle for any kind of philosophy or activity that could be deemed politically Leftist or progressive, secularizing or as advancing social equality for marginalized groups and thus compromising the political and cultural dominance of White, native-born Protestants. Anticommunist paranoia typical of the early Cold War can be seen in Lindsey’s prediction of worsening conditions in the United States as the end of days draws nigh:

181 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 185.
“Internal political chaos caused by student rebellions and Communist subversion will begin to erode the economy of our nation.” As has been discussed previously, for Pierce and Neo-Nazis, communism has become established in many nations as a result of a Jewish-led Bolshevik conspiracy. Earl Turner opines on the net effects of this Jewish effort to control the masses of society: “[White American men have] become, in short, just what the System has been trying to make him these past 50 years or so: a mass-man; a member of the great brainwashed proletariat, a herd animal, a true democrat… [a formerly] heroic spirit of idealism… has been washed right out of 99 per cent of our people by the flood of Jewish-materialist propaganda.” Whilst the source of the communist threat to American society differs for the evangelical dispensational Christian and the White Nationalist, the threat to White Western civilization is the same. Anticommunism for dispensational evangelicals is thus construed as a godly Christian posture standing against the creeping threats of secularism, New Age religion, cultural diversification, and social equality initiatives and for Neo-Nazis, anticommunism means standing for pureblooded fascism and its ideological principles over against its arch-nemesis communism.

Lindsey’s and Pierce’s pejorative political and cultural views of non-European and non-Anglo-American modern nation-states and their inhabitants at the mid-point of the Cold War also bear resemblances to one another if varying in the severity of their racism. In The Late Great Planet Earth, the USSR-Russia is presented by Lindsey as the prophesied King of the North (Gog and Magog) with Black African and Arab peoples serving as secondary henchmen to the USSR in the role of the King of the South. Lindsey presumes that Black African and Arab peoples are especially susceptible to the allures of communism due to their status as largely poor

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183 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 184.
populations languishing economically in still developing post-colonial regions. He warns that Egypt’s Gamal Abdel Nasser could be the biblically predicted King of the South. Indeed, Lindsey claims that Nasser’s political program, which he labels “Arab Socialism,” is driven by his (Nasser’s) supposed belief that by “using the common bond of Arab race identity, wedded with Moslem religious ties, Nasser believes he can unite the Arabs to lead the resurrection of all the underprivileged nations into a mighty third world force…[envisioning] himself as the one to lead nations of Africa, black and Arab, to unity.”\footnote{Lindsey, \textit{The Late Great Planet Earth}, 75.} Lindsey finds further validity for his claim that Nasser may be the King of the South in biblical prophecy. Citing a news headline of 1968, Lindsey relays “the recent visit of Egypt’s Nasser to the Soviet Union—the country that arms him against Israel—turned attention to an area that never seems far from the explosion point.”\footnote{Lindsey, \textit{The Late Great Planet Earth}, 76.} Lindsey’s racially and culturally prejudicial views of Arabs and Black Africans placed alongside his anticommunism, then, is analogous to White Nationalism’s juxtaposition of anticommunism with antisemitism.

Concerning the White Power movement’s views of Blacks, the pages of \textit{The Turner Diaries} overflow with extremely racist references. Rather than referring to Black Africans or Arabs, however, Earl Turner primarily discusses the domestic African American population of the United States with a tone of hateful repugnance. In one passage which is illustrative, Turner depicts African Americans as savage cannibals following the Organization’s attack on Los Angeles. He notes “we also found gruesome evidence of one way in which the Blacks have solved their food shortage: cannibalism. They began by setting up barricades in one main street to stop cars driven by Whites…[who] were dragged from their cars, taken into a nearby Black
restaurant, butchered, cooked and eaten.” Earl Turner also makes several racist observations on the pitiful reliance of African Americans upon the System’s welfarism for survival.

Politically and culturally, Lindsey’s and Pierce’s apocalyptic narratives also recognize Europe as having special geographic and ethno-cultural prominence. For Lindsey, as discussed above, Europe will be the most likely geographic location for the predicted rise of the Antichrist due to the associated idea that a renewed Roman Empire will be established under the Antichrist’s rule. By extension, Europe will eventually displace and exceed the United States in global economic prominence in the unfolding of the last days. The assumption of a White European origin of the Antichrist by dispensationalists subtly suggests the presence of racialization within the theological system as discussed in Chapter Two. A skilled, brilliant, cunning and charismatic global dictator could not possibly be a person of color when considering the racially prejudicial views Lindsey weaves into his dispensational schematic. Similarly for White Nationalists, Europe is the ancient geographic home of their race and has been deeply corrupted by Jewish and multicultural influence for millennia. For Neo-Nazis, Europe is the home of Germany, the Master Aryan race, and the birthplace of the Great One, Adolf Hitler. Again, Pierce as future fictional historian reports of the retaking of Europe by the Organization that “a cleansing hurricane of change swept over the continent, sweeping away in a few months the refuse of a millennium or more of alien ideology and a century or more of profound moral and material decadence.”

Concerning Asiatic nations and peoples, Lindsey and Pierce share racially and culturally prejudicial views of them as well. In Lindsey’s apocalyptic narrative, China leads an Asian

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188 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 209.
coalition as the prophesied King of the East who will wage war against Israel and Christians at Armageddon. As was noted in Chapter Two, Lindsey holds historically uninformed and racist views of Chinese and other Asian peoples as being backward and reliant upon European uplift. Lindsey also speculates about the dangers posed by a nuclear-armed communist China in *The Late Great Planet Earth* and the implications of this for the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Quoting Dr. David Inglis who wrote in a 1965 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Lindsey emphasizes “our concern should anticipate at least two decades ahead. In such a time the large human and material potential of an upsurging China constitutes a nuclear threat so vast that no effort should be spared to anticipate this threat.” As was highlighted in Chapter Three, in *The Turner Diaries*, China and Asiatic peoples are presented as the last, great threat to the Organization’s conquest of earth and establishing of a new White world and are targeted by the largest single genocidal action in the novel using nuclear, biological and chemical weapons.

Having reviewed these points of theological-ideological, political, cultural and economic convergence in the apocalyptic narratives of *The Late Great Planet Earth* and *The Turner Diaries*, the next task is to survey where the narratives diverge from one another.

**Apocalyptic Narrative Points of Divergence**

At this juncture, it is evident that the points of convergence between the evangelical dispensational and White Nationalist apocalyptic narratives examined in this study are numerous and diverse in form. However, our examination indicates that the emphases, methods and views of evangelical dispensationalism and the White Nationalism differ significantly from one another in several areas and therefore warrant further elaboration. In terms of the theological or

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189 Lindsey, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, 86.
ideological telos of each movement’s apocalyptic narrative, one similarity noted above is the establishment of a better or utopian sort of paradise, free of the respective evils, enemies and suffering particular to each group’s dualistic outlook. In dispensational eschatology, triumph comes with the establishment of Christ’s millennial reign for one thousand years on earth. Lindsey describes the arrival of the millennial reign of Christ as “the kingdom will begin in time with mortal subjects, last 1000 years, and at the end of that time some of the children of the believers who started the kingdom will apparently prove to be unbelievers and start a rebellion against Christ and His rule. Christ will bring swift judgment upon them before the rebellion reaches the actual fighting stage.” Following this event, Lindsey explains, final judgment will be carried out against sinful humanity as well as against Satan, the adversary of God and the Christian faithful will receive their heavenly reward of eternal life in paradise in the presence of God. Important to note is that it is the Godhead’s divine prerogative and agency that brings about judgments against theological and moral-ethical sources of sin, evil, and injustice, not an act of human volition or decision.

By contrast, in The Turner Diaries, the vision of a new and better White world free Jewish evils and racial impurity is a reality achieved not through divine prerogative or agency. Earl Turner describes this new world, a kind of Fourth-Reich-as-millennial-kingdom as follows:

We are forging the nucleus of a new society, a whole new civilization, which will rise from the ashes of the old. And it is because our new civilization will be based on an entirely different world view than the present one that it can only replace the other in a revolutionary manner. There is no way a society based on Aryan values and an Aryan outlook can evolve peacefully from a society which has succumbed to Jewish spiritual corruption.  

190 Lindsey, The Late Great Planet Earth, 177.
191 Pierce, The Turner Diaries, 111.
In the White Nationalist apocalyptic narrative, judgment comes in the form of extreme and massive violence directed towards those peoples deemed to be racially evil, subhuman, or racially treacherous as the means of establishing the better new, White world free of non-White racial contamination William L. Pierce envisions. Massive, genocidal violence towards Jews, non-Whites and their race criminal allies among White political Leftists then, is the method triumphally and gleefully adopted by the Organization for achieving the goal of the White Power movement’s apocalyptic narrative as it is presented in *The Turner Diaries*.

An absolutely critical methodological distinction, therefore, must be drawn between what evangelical dispensationalists in particular, along with modern global Christianity generally on the one hand, and the modern White Power movement on the other, understand to be the means of achieving the end-goal of their apocalyptic narratives. Human history is filled with tragic and oppressive episodes in which Christians coerced the conversion of conquered or subjugated peoples. In the period since the end of the American Civil War, however, neither American evangelical dispensationalists nor other American Christian groups has sought to mass-convert or achieve theological victory over perceived human enemies using coercion or mass violence. Rather, modern evangelical Christian missionary and evangelistic efforts, even if approached wrongheadedly with a paternalistic or ethno-culturally prejudicial outlook, have relied upon a combination of preaching, cultural and linguistic integration and adoption, and offering humanitarian assistance in their attempts to persuade non-Christians to convert.

The single most prominent question distinguishing the end-goals of the evangelical dispensational apocalyptic narrative from that of the White Power movement’s is that of antisemitism. As discussed throughout this study, Neo-Nazis and other White Supremacists are extreme antisemites desiring the wholesale extermination of Jewish people from the planet.
because they view them as the definitive source of racialized evil and corruption in the world. That the apocalyptic narrative found in *The Turner Diaries* concludes with the Organization’s revolutionary triumph over a global Jewish conspiracy is entirely expected and characteristic of antisemitism. Evangelical dispensationalists like Lindsey, however, hold Jewish people and nation-state Israel in the highest possible regard due to their belief that this people and their nation-state are essential elements for the fulfillment of biblical prophecies pertaining to the nearing end-times. Further, other famous evangelical dispensationalists like Jerry Falwell Sr., Pat Robertson, John Hagee and others have consistently and vociferously advocated for strong U.S. military and diplomatic support for Israel. Observations shared in Chapter Two about Lindsey’s and dispensationalism’s blind antisemitism notwithstanding, evangelicals generally see themselves as friends of Jewish people and nation-state Israel and would, unsurprisingly, express shock and anger at being labeled antisemitic.

Beyond questions of theological and ideological divergence, brief discussion must be lent to political and economic points of departure between evangelical dispensationalists and White Nationalists. Politically, although Lindsey and dispensationalists are utterly fixated on the fulfillment of biblical prophecies and the unfolding of the end-times in the present-day, Lindsey nevertheless appears to maintain at least tacit support for the Western Democratic-Capitalist model of governance and trade. This support is reasonably attributable to Lindsey’s sense of Cold War patriotism, strident anticommunism, and view of Sino-Soviet communism as an atheistic ideology. Pierce, in contrast is an ardent supporter of fascist national socialism as an authoritarian governance and economic planning model, reflected in his exalted view of Adolf Hitler and the German Nazi regime of the 1930’s-1940’s.
CONCLUSION

As this study has demonstrated, evangelical dispensationalism and White Nationalism share extensive and troubling cultural tendencies and affinities with one another. This includes chiefly operating with a White tribalist, identitarian ethos animated by reactionary conspiracist and apocalyptic thinking. Further characterizing the identitarian self-understanding of some evangelical dispensational and most White Nationalist communities is an intense, religiously or racialized in-group/out-group mentality in which the in-group views itself as righteous and faithful to its prescribed beliefs and views out-groups with suspicion and hostility. These out-groups, frequently understood to be made up of or controlled by powerful governmental, political, religious, corporate, technological, educational and cultural elites or a combination of them are suspected of malevolently plotting against the in-group community and broader human society alike. Beyond operating with a conspiratorial and apocalyptic frame of mind, evangelical dispensationalists and White Nationalists also share a tendency toward maintaining racially prejudicial views of non-Whites ranging in intensity from the off-putting, if mild, politically incorrect and ignorant to the genocidal extreme.

A pressing question that emerges from this comparative study of apocalyptic narratives is: despite deeply troubling rhetoric, attempts at legal action to prevent social equality for marginalized groups and shared cultural history with White Nationalism, why haven’t far more White evangelical dispensationalists engaged in acts of violence to prevent the advance of social equality legislation, racial and cultural diversification? Historically, Lindsey and other evangelicals maintained racially prejudiced views in the 1960’s and 1970’s Cold War era (e.g. Lindsey’s racist stereotypes of Asian, Black, Arab, Slavic and other peoples in The Late Great Planet Earth; Jerry Falwell Sr.’s sermonizing and establishment of Liberty Christian Academy, a
K12 school in 1967 and Liberty University in 1971 to resist racial integration of public schools, Bob Jones University’s Supreme Court case of 1983 challenging the IRS’ ability to revoke its tax exempt status over segregationist policies), however whilst many White conservative fundamentalist-evangelical Protestants of the mid-twentieth century were disturbed and angered by advancing social equality for non-white groups, women, gays and others, very few used overtly racist rhetoric or slurs or acted with violence directly against Jews, people of color, LGBTQ people or used violence to prevent social equality for historically marginalized groups from advancing.

In contrast, Pierce’s desires and aims in The Turner Diaries are patently genocidal, reflecting squarely the views of Adolf Hitler and Nazi ideology. Neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan, Christian Identity and other racist paramilitary groups have not only fantasized and spoken provocatively about genocidal desires but have actively carried out acts of violence and domestic terrorism against the US government, Jews, people of color, LGBTQ people and others considered to be their racial enemies. Examples abound and include the Ku Klux Klan bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham Alabama in 1963 by Klansman Bobby Frank Cherry and others, the Greensboro Massacre of 1979 when Klansmen and American Nazis opened fire on members of the Communist Workers Party who were holding anti-Klan rally/parade at the time (all of whom were acquitted of State and Federal Charges). Further examples include the lynching of Michael Donald in 1981 in Mobile Alabama by Klansmen James Knowles and Henry Hays, the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995 by White militiamen Terry Nichols and Timothy McVeigh, and the bombing of Olympic Park in Atlanta, Georgia (1996), a lesbian bar in Atlanta, Georgia (1997), and abortion clinics in Georgia

In more recent years, White supremacist Wade Michael Page carried out a mass shooting attack on a Sikh temple in Wisconsin in August of 2012 out of antimuslim sentiment and the antisemite Robert Gregory Bowers is alleged to have shot seventeen people, eleven of whom died, at a Jewish synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in October of 2018. An Alt-Right protest rally in Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017 which drew hundreds of protestors and counter-protestors turned deadly when White supremacist drove his vehicle into a large crowd of counter-protestors killing one and injuring numerous others. In 2020, law enforcement foiled the attempted kidnapping and possible execution of Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer (Democrat) by members of the Wolverine Watchmen militia group, subscribers to the Boogaloo Movement’s values in 2020. The goal of this action was to overthrow state government and possibly foment civil war.

Finally, there was the attempted plot by members of the Oath Keepers, Three Percenters, Proud Boys, QAnon and other individuals invited and provoked by former President Donald J. Trump to prevent Congressional certification of the 2020 presidential election which resulted in the riotous insurrection of January 6, 2021 at the US Capitol. Examining photos and video footage of the attack on the US Capitol January 6, 2021, one notices a diverse array of otherwise disparate constituents of the American Right-Wing including paramilitary groups, self-declared followers of the Confederate States, believers in the QAnon cult-conspiracy, evangelical Christians brandishing crosses, Ichthus (Jesus Fish) symbols, and banners declaring “Jesus Saves” or referencing “John 3:16.” A key takeaway concerning all of the above instances of White Nationalist violence is that evangelical dispensational Christians, despite a potential
propensity to use troubling racially charged rhetoric, to champion anti-intellectual or ignorant perspectives such as belief in conspiracy theories, to promote Second Amendment protections, or subscribe to Christian Nationalist ideas, have not historically engaged in nor do they appear to consider the use of violence to achieve their aims a permissible or desirable method for advancing their missional aims. If they had, the historical record would be filled with such instances and at the time of this writing, such evidence has not been located.

Taking into account their presence during the January 6, 2021 insurrection at the US Capitol, evangelical dispensationalists appear to have engaged in apocalyptically fueled violence when situationally in direct proximity to White Nationalists for whom such violence is an ideological imperative. One further historical instance which illustrates this phenomenon is the infamous bank robbery carried out by armed, apocalyptically minded militants in Norco, California on May 9, 1980. The five bank robbers, Bellisario and Manuel Delgado, Christopher and Russell Harven, and George Wayne Smith plotted to rob the Norco branch of Pacific Security Bank in order to fund their survivalist plans of purchasing a home in the mountains of San Bernardino County where they could seek refuge from the impending end of the world.

Some of the men involved in the robbery had also been attending Bible studies at a Calvary Chapel congregation prior to the crime. Calvary Chapel, an evangelical denomination founded by Chuck Smith in Costa Mesa, California, heavily emphasizes dispensational eschatology in its theological outlook. How motivated the bank robbers were by their belief in dispensational eschatology is unknown. The point here, rather, is to illustrate that it is chiefly and only in rare and bizarre cases such as the January 6, 2021 attack on the US Capitol and the Norco, California bank robbery of 1980 that evangelical dispensationalists have engaged in violence against the government or other targets. Further, whether these evangelical dispensationalists were directly
motivated to engage in violence in these two historical episodes is highly debatable to say the least.

A final question then is: what has prevented or restrained evangelical dispensationalists from engaging in mass violence in the furtherance of their apocalyptic goals? Perhaps evangelical efforts to be accepted by or to mimic mainstream American culture through institutional development, political organizing and activism, business activity, media messaging, etc. preclude use of violence if public acceptance is the goal. The evangelical emphasis on conversion to the Christian faith and the accompanying obligation to preach, evangelize others and demonstrate an ethic of loving God and loving neighbor precludes a violent action against them. Related to this, adherence to biblical ethics in Christian communities may serve as a restraining, controlling narrative or imperative that leads to a refusal of violence as a means to achieve missional objectives.
Timeline of Pierce’s Apocalyptic Narrative of the Great Revolution in *The Turner Diaries*

**OLD ERA:**
- **April 20, 1899**
  - Birth of the Great One (Adolf Hitler)
- **1956 CE**
  - 41 BNE
- **1987 CE**
  - 12 BNE
- **1990 CE**
  - 9 BNE
- **1991 CE**
  - 8 BNE
- **July 1993**
  - Turner’s Rites Begin
- **Aug 7 1993**
  - California Invaded, LA Attacked by Organization
- **Sept/Oct 1993**
  - Day of the Rope in California Mass Lynching of 60,000
- **November 1993**
  - The Organization uses nuclear weapons on US cities, USSR, and Israel as means of provoking Armageddon
- **1993 – 1998**
  - The Final Years: Protocols mass warfare and famine, nuclear chemical and biogenic mass extermination of Asian peoples.

**Anti-Christian Villains:**
- US Government
- Jewish Authorities in Israel

**Societal Sins:**
- Race Mixing
- Sexual Degeneracy
- Materialistic Excess
- False Conservative Beliefs

**False Teachings:**
- Liberalism
- Brothelhood
- Racial and Gender Equality
- Feminism
- Materialism

**False Prophets:**
- Jewish-Controlled Institutions
- Mass-media
- United Nations
- United Nations Organization

**NEW ERA:**
- **January 1999**
  - New Era Begins, Trans of Omaha signified
- **2099 CE**
  - 100 NE

**Life in the New Era:**
- Jews/Christian Racing in Europe to world
- The Empire headless
- The Order spreads its vision/terroristic rule over the world
- New era of the White World achieved.
Figure 2: “The Church Versus the Kingdom” (Drawing of a dispensational prophecy chart by Clarence Larkin in *Dispensational Truth or God’s Plan and Purpose for the Ages*, [1918] 85).
Figure 3: “The First and the Second Resurrections” (Drawing of a dispensational prophecy chart by Clarence Larkin in Dispensational Truth or God’s Plan and Purpose for the Ages, [1918] 106).
Figure 4: “The Resurrections and Judgments” (Drawing of a dispensational prophecy chart by Clarence Larkin in Dispensational Truth or God’s Plan and Purpose for the Ages, [1918] 107-108).
Figure 5: “The Book of Revelation” (Drawing of a dispensational prophecy chart by Clarence Larkin in Dispensational Truth or God’s Plan and Purpose for the Ages, [1918] 127-128).
Figure 6: “The Church” (Drawing of a dispensational prophecy chart by Clarence Larkin in *Dispensational Truth or God’s Plan and Purpose for the Ages*, [1918] 74-75).
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