Endnotes to  
Dances With Devils

{Original publication dates appear within brackets like these}

1 This article is adapted from working papers and the draft manuscript for Too Close for Comfort, by Chip Berlet & Matthew N. Lyons, forthcoming, Guilford Press. Many of the themes and ideas expressed in this paper are the result of our joint work. Seminars hosted by historian Richard Landes, director of the Center for Millennial Studies (CMS), at Boston University, helped me frame this discussion, as did discussions with Sara Diamond, Fred Clarkson, Philip Lamy, Aaron Katz, and Erin Miller. A number of people, too numerous to list here, graciously made useful comments based on earlier drafts and conference papers, and I thank them for their assistance.

Portions of this article first appeared in:

______,”Mad as Hell: Right—wing Populism, Fascism, and Apocalyptic Millennialism,” paper presented at the 14th World Congress of Sociology (XIVe Congrès Mondial de Sociologie), International Sociological Association, in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, 1998.


2 The analysis of apocalyptic demonization and millenialism in this paper is drawn primarily from the following sources:


For a progressive challenge to apocalyptic thinking: Lee Quinby, Anti—Apocalypse: Exercise
in Geneological Criticism. (Minneapolis: Univ. of MN Press, 1994).


3 Pagels, The Origin of Satan, p. 182.


5 Lamy, Millennium Rage, pp. 86-88.


9 For ongoing detailed coverage of these diverse forms see the quarterly Millennial Prophecy Report, Millennium Watch Institute, POB 34021, Philadelphia, PA 19101-4021.

There are also eclectic apocalyptic sects. Such groups can turn inward such as the Heaven’s Gate group suicides which flowed from a mixture of Biblical prophecy, the ancient predictions of Nostradamus, and science fiction. The Order of the Solar Temple imploded with group suicides in Canada, France and Switzerland. Sometimes groups turn outward, such as the Aum Shinrikyo sect which exploded with a gas attack on the Tokyo subway; see: Thompson, The End Of Time; Jeffrey Kaplan, Radical Religion in America: Millenarian Movements from the Far Right to the Children of Noah, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997).


Discussions at the Center for Millennial Studies in 1998 have focused on the following topics: Authorities in Israel are making plans for dealing with devout Christians expected to flock to Jerusalem and other sites to await (or perhaps encourage) the second coming of Christ. Apocalyptic Christians, Muslims, and Jews covet the Temple Mount. Messianic Jews are looking for the flawless “red heifer” of ancient prophecy.


Conversations with Landes, 1997-98, based on his working papers for the Center for Millennial Studies.


See generally, Cohn, *Cosmos, Chaos and the World to Come*.


Lamy, *Millennium Rage*, p.36.

Ibid., p.37.


Gould, *Questioning the Millennium*. Gould also examines the difference between “millenarian” groups and “millennial” expectation.


Michael Barkun, “Politics and Apocalypticism,” in Stephen J. Stein (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Apocalyptic-


29 Quinby, Anti-Apocalypse, p. 162.


34 Frequently people of faith are described in patronizing caricature or dismissed as ignorant, irrational, or even mentally ill. The almost careless bigotry and stereotyping of many liberal and left commentators is objectionable on both moral and practical grounds.


38 Tim Callahan, Bible Prophecy: Failure or Fulfillment?, (Altadena, CA: Millennium Press, 1997).


43 For an interesting approach linking Jungian psychology to interventions against scapegoating in dysfunctional small organizations and groups, see Arthur D. Coleman, *Up From Scapegoating: Awakening Consciousness in Groups*, (Wilmette, IL: Chiron, 1995).
44 Conversation with Susan M. Fisher, M. D. clinical professor of psychiatry of Univ. of Chicago Medical School and Faculty, Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis, (1997).
49 Although they often disagree with my conclusions, my thinking on conspiracism has been shaped by comments and critiques from S. L. Gardiner, Loretta Ross, Leonard Zeskind, Devin Burghart, and Robert Crawford.
52 O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse*, pp. 20-60.
54 Ibid., 13-14.
56 Conversation with Herman Sinaiko, Professor of Humanities, University of Chicago, (1997).


59 Fuller, Naming the Antichrist, pp. 56-61, 63.
61 Fuller, Naming the Antichrist, pp. 5. 31.
63 Ibid., p. 282.
64 Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, especially pp. 144-147, 163-169.
67 Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, pp. 77-78.
69 Caras, The History of the Devil, pp. 306-307. When some Freemasons constructed a history linking their order to the Knights Templar, they inherited the charges of satanic conspiracy.
73 Oberman, The Roots of Anti-Semitism, pp. 118-122.
76 Johnson, Architects of Fear, pp. 31-84.
77 John Robison, Proofs of a Conspiracy--against All the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati and Reading Societies, fourth edition with postscript, (Boston: Western Islands, 1967 [1798]).
Based on several different translations of the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion under a variety of names, on file at PRA, primarily, Victor E. Marsden, The Protocols of Zion, "Translated from the Russian Text," (Britain: 1934). Republished by Ford's Dearborn Independent, with full inside title: The Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion with Preface and Explanatory Notes.

Walter Laqueur, Russia and Germany, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990 (1965)), chapter 4-6. On how the Protocols went from Russia to Germany, see: Heiden, Der Fuehrer, pp. 18-22.

Cohn, Warrant, pp. 167-168.

Ibid. p. 169.

Laqueur, Black Hundred, pp. 34, 205, 208-209.

Interview with Landes, 1998.


Frank Donner, Age, pp. 47-48.


Mintz, Liberty Lobby, p. 17.

109 *New Dealers in Office*, (Indianapolis: The Fellowship Press, circa 1941); for background on popular anti-Semitism during this period, see Dinnerstein, pp. 105-149.


122 Chip Berlet, "Cardinal Mindszenty: heroic anti-communist or anti-Semite or both?", *The St. Louis Journalism Review*, April, 1988.


129 John Stormer, *The Death of a Nation*, (Florissant, Missouri: Liberty Bell Press, 1964); on religious renewal experience, see “About the Author,” page preceding the table of contents.


For statistical data that refutes claims made by centrist/extremist theory about the social base of the “radical right,” see Rogin, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy*; Fred W. Grupp, Jr., “The Political Perspectives of Birch Society Members;” and James McEvoy, III, “Conservatism or Extremism: Goldwater Supporters in the 1964 Presidential Election;” both in Robert A. Schoenberger, ed., *The American Right Wing: Readings in Po-
None Dare Call it Conspiracy, Gary Allen, 139
Rural Radicals: Righteous Catherine McNicol Stock, 140


Gary Allen, None Dare Call it Conspiracy, p. 125.

Gary Allen, Rockefeller: Campaigning for the New World Order, pamphlet from an article in the JBS magazine, American Opinion, February 1974; a similar theme was promoted by the Lyndon LaRouche network, see: King, Lyndon LaRouche, pp. 38-40, 125.


People can be straight, gay, lesbian, transgender, or bisexual—this is descriptive rather than an ethnic reference; but when referring to an ethnic identity, movement, or specific organization, I will refer to the Gay and Lesbian Rights movement, the Lesbian Avengers group, and the Digital Queers group.

See for example Allen, None Dare Call it Conspiracy, p. 125.


Billig, Fascists, p. 296.


This paragraph reflects the ideas of Matthew N. Lyons in working papers for Too Close for Comfort. For a related argument regarding Britain, see Michael Billig, “Rhetoric of the Conspiracy Theory: Arguments in National Front Propaganda,” Patterns of Prejudice, 22:2, 1988.


155 Diamond, Roads, pp. 127-131, 179-180. On fusionism, see Himmelstein, To The Right, pp. 43-60. His discussion of the practical problems of uniting the three strands into a conservative movement is especially useful and perceptive.

156 Chip Berlet and Margaret Quigley, "Theocracy & White Supremacy: Behind the Culture War to Restore Traditional Values," in Berlet, Eyes Right, pp.15-43.


158 See generally, Diamond, Spiritual Warfare.


162 Boyer, When Time Shall Be No More, pp. 80-112.

163 Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism, pp. 60, 147, 163; Martin, With God on Our Side, pp.14-15.

164 For general background, see Himmelstein, To The Right, Diamond, Roads to Dominion; Martin, With God on Our Side.

165 Fred Clarkson, Eternal Hostility, pp. 77-123.

166 Some analysts use the term "dominionism" solely to refer to forms of Reconstructionism, but others use it as I do here, in the broader sense of exclusionary Christian nationalism.


169 Johnson, Architects of Fear, pp. 169-173; Diamond, Spiritual Warfare, pp. 84-87, 233; Berlet and Quigley, "Theocracy & White Supremacy," in Berlet, Eyes Right!, pp. 32-33.


171 Stormer, None Dare Call It Treason; Stormer, None Dare Call It Treason...25 Years Later, paperback, (Flourissant, MO: Liberty Bell Press, 1992 (hardcover, 1990)).


175 The author purchased curricular materials during a tour of Summit Ministries in 1997. On file at PRA.

176 Documentation, including correspondence between Welch, his aide, and a donor outlining the procedure, at PRA in file: "John Birch Society, Nonprofit Funding Conduits."

177 Pat Robertson, The New World Order, 1992, p. 36.

178 Ibid., pp. 261-62.


180 See generally Camp, Selling Fear.


182 Hal Lindsey, with C. C. Carlson, The Late Great Planet Earth, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970).

183 See the analysis of Lindsey in O'Leary, Arguing the Apocalypse, pp. 134-171.


188 See Boyer, When Time Shall Be No More, pp. 327-331.


190 Lamy, Millennium Rage, p. 155. See also: Boyer, When Time Shall Be No More, pp. 327-331.


192 Paul Boyer, lecture and seminar, Boston University, 11/12/98-11/13/98.

193 Fuller, Naming the Antichrist, p. 5. There are still some Protestant apocalyptics that see the Vatican as controlled by the Devil, see: "Conclusive Proof From The Bible That The Pope Is The Antichrist," <http://www.pacinist.com/antichri.htm>.


196 Author attended the workshop; speakers were Michael Hyatt, author of The Millennium Bug: How to Survive the Coming Chaos and the Day the World Shut Down, and prominent Louisiana Republican Dr. Billy McCormick of the University Baptist Church. Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Larry Burkett, Jack Van Impe, and many other Christian evangelical leaders have added apocalyptic fuel to the Y2K furnace; see: Falwell’s video, “Y2K: A Christian’s Guide to the Millennium Bug,” online, <http://www.otgh.org/otgh_site/offers/y2k.html>. See also: the site maintained by the Inspiration Network, <http://www.insp.org/y2k/>.

197 See Gary North’s web page, URL: <http://www.garynorth.com/y2k/index.htm> (9/16/98). North’s apocalyptic predictions about Y2K and the need for survivalist-style preparations echoes his previous stance on surviving nuclear war during the Reagan years: Robinson & North, Fighting Chance.


200 Catholic Study Bible, commentary on Revelation, p. 399.

201 Vicki Frierson and Ruthanne Garlock, Christian Be Watchful: Hidden Dangers in the New Coalition of Feminism, Humanism, Socialism, Lesbianism, pamphlet, (Dallas: Texas Eagle Forum, 1978); on file at PRA.

202 Quinby, symposium presentation, “The Millennial Cusp: Western Cultures at 1000, 1500, 2000 and Beyond,” sponsored by the Center for Millennial Studies, Boston, October 12, 1996. In the classic sci-fi film Five Million Years to Earth an ancient Martian space ship is unearthed at the aptly-named Hobbes End Underground station in London. When its passenger comes to life it appears as the Devil, complete with little horns. A women falls under its spell, and using superhuman powers supplied by the Devil, attempts to stop the male heroes planning to block the fiery apocalypse using logic and science.


204 Ferrini Productions, “10.4.97 Promise Keepers,” video, (Boston: Center for Millennial Studies, 1997); interviews by author at Promise Keepers Mall rally.


206 Interview with Promise Keepers leader Randy Phillips on “Late Edition,” CNN, 10/5/97; 10 am ET, from transcript, p. 9.


217 Ibid., pp. 154-177.

218 Victor Balaban, "The Virgin and the Millennium: Marian Sightings in the United States," lecture, Center for Millennial Studies and Boston University School of Theology, 1/20/98.


220 Ibid. p. 9.


223 Ibid., Introduction.

224 Ibid., back cover.

225 Ibid., pp. 140-141, 148-149.

226 Ibid., back cover.


233 Not all survivalists are part of white supremacist or anti-Semitic movements, but many are.


237 Quinby, Anti-Apocalypse, pp. 155-162; Thompson, The End Of Time, pp. 278-321; Mark S. Hamm, Apocalypse in Oklahoma: Waco and Ruby Ridge Revenued, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997);


240 Letter from JBS American Opinion Book Services, in promotional catalog of anti-UN materials, August 1998, on file at PRA.


Some commentators do not distinguish between Christian Identity and Christian Patriotism because, on the American far right, most who are Identity adherents are also Christian Patriots.

But it is important to distinguish the two. Identity comes from a 19th century belief called "British Israelism." One can be an Identity adherent in Australia, Canada, et cetera. Christian Patriots, on the other hand, only exist in America, and one can be a Christian Patriot without subscribing to Identity religion. For example, James Nichols, brother of accused Oklahoma City-bomber Terry Nichols, is a Christian Patriot who flirted with, but was talked out of, Identity theology by a Methodist friend.

244 Barkun, Religion and the Racist Right, pp. 47-49, 60-70, 106-107, 116-118, 205.

All major Christian religious institutions denounce Christian Identity.

247 Nord Davis, Jr., Desert Shield and the New World Order, Northpoint Tactical Teams, 1990, appearing as the September-October 1990 issue of On Target, the Northpoint Team Report.


250 Ibid., p. 2.

251 Ibid., p. 3.


253 Author's review of documents admitted into evidence in the Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols trials. The author was subpoenaed and questioned as an expert by the defense in the Nichols trial but never called to testify. McVeigh adopted neo-Nazi beliefs while Terry Nichols, on the other hand, appears more of a generic constitutionalist. See also Hamm, Apocalypse in Oklahoma, and Joel Dyer, Harvest of Rage: Why Oklahoma City is Only the Beginning, revised, (New York: Westview, 1998 [1997]).


255 O'Leary, Arguing the Apocalypse; pp. 221-222.


258 The New American is published by the John Birch Society based in Appleton, WI. The Fatima Crusader is published by the National Committee for the National Pilgrim Virgin of Canada, and distributed in the US by the Servants of Jesus and Mary Fatima Center in Constable, New York.

The author was subpoenaed and questioned as an expert by the defense in the Salvi trial but never called to testify. The discussion is based on conversations with professionals with a direct knowledge of Salvi's mental health status.


Fenn, *The End of Time*, p. 224.

Ibid., pp. 196-227; for a discussion of how this dynamic can enforce oppressive race and gender hierarchies, see Abby L. Ferber, *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).


**Corrections:**

Due to the inadvertent deletion of a paragraph break, the genre of a book by Tim Callahan is misrepresented in the original *Public Eye* "Dances with Devils" article. The following is far more clear and accurate:

Even skeptics can attempt to be respectful of Christianity as is author Tim Callahan who debunks the idea that the Bible can be used as a crystal ball in the 1997 *Bible Prophecy: Failure or Fulfillment?* The danger comes not from Christianity, but from Christians who combine Biblical literalism, apocalyptic timetables, demonization, and oppressive prejudices.