

## Soldiers for Christ

Even before the horrific attacks on September 11, 2001, in New York City and Washington, D.C., Americans—like residents of Belfast and London—were beginning to learn to live with shocking, disturbing incidents of violence laced with the passion of religion. In these cases, however, the religion associated with terrorism was Christianity. In addition to the terrorism associated with both Catholic and Protestant sides in Northern Ireland, recent incidents of Christian terrorism include the shootings at a Jewish day care center in California on August 10, 1999, the 1996 bombing of the Atlanta Olympic Games, the 1995 devastation of the Oklahoma City federal building, and a rash of abortion clinic attacks throughout the 1990s.

My attempt to understand contemporary religious violence around the world begins with these Christian examples. Although much of the world's attention has been riveted to incidents in the Middle East, I have chosen to initiate my search with a phenomenon that most American readers will find both familiar and strange: Christian militancy in the West. What is familiar is the setting. What is strange is the idea that religious warfare exists in some of the most modern of twentieth-century societies. Also surprising, at least to some, is that terrorist acts have been justified by Christian principles.

It is good to remember, however, that despite its central tenets of love and peace, Christianity—like most traditions—has always had a violent side. The bloody history of the tradition has provided images as dis-

turbing as those provided by Islam or Sikhism, and violent conflict is vividly portrayed in both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. This history and these biblical images have provided the raw material for theologically justifying the violence of contemporary Christian groups. Attacks on abortion clinics, for instance, have been viewed not only as assaults on a practice that some Christians regard as immoral, but also as skirmishes in a grand confrontation between forces of evil and good that has social and political implications.

The theological justifications for these acts are varied. In the United States, at least two major schools of thought lie behind Christian abortion clinic bombings, one based on Reconstruction Theology and the other on ideas associated with the Christian Identity movement. The latter also provides the ideological support for many of America's militia movements. The violence in Northern Ireland is justified by still other theological positions, Catholic and Protestant.

Why would a Christian support violent acts of terror? This is the question that brought me to an American clergyman, Rev. Michael Bray of Bowie, Maryland, who was convicted of a series of abortion clinic attacks and defends the use of lethal weapons against clinic staff. This is my attempt to understand his troubled view of the world.

### Mike Bray and Abortion Clinic Bombings

It was "a cold February night" when Rev. Michael Bray and a friend drove a yellow Honda from his home in Bowie to nearby Dover, Delaware. The trunk of the car held a cargo of ominous supplies: a cinder block to break a window, cans of gasoline to pour in and around a building, and rags and matches to ignite the flames. The road to Delaware was foggy and the bridge across the Chesapeake Bay was icy. The car skidded and a minor accident occurred, but the pair were determined to forge ahead. "Before daybreak," Bray said, "the only abortion chamber in Dover was gutted by fire and put out of the business of butchering babies."<sup>1</sup> The following year in 1985, Bray and two other defendants stood trial for destroying seven abortion facilities in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, with a total of over one million dollars in damages. He was convicted of these charges and served prison time until May 15, 1989.

When I talked with Rev. Bray in his suburban home in Bowie many years later, I found nothing sinister or intensely fanatical about him. He was a cheerful, charming, handsome man in his early 40s who liked to

be called Mike. Hardly the image of an ignorant, narrow-minded fundamentalist, Mike Bray enjoyed a glass of wine before dinner and talked knowledgeably about theology and political ideas.<sup>2</sup>

It was a demeanor quite different from his public posture. Prior to one of my interviews with Bray he had just appeared on the American television show, *Nightline*, in a program focusing on anti-abortion acts of terrorism.<sup>3</sup> The host of the program had accused Bray of being the author of the underground manual *Army of God*, which provides detailed instructions for various forms of destruction and sabotage aimed at abortion facilities. Bray did not deny the accusation, but he did not admit to it either. When I talked with Bray a few days later and asked him about the authorship of the document, he repeated his noncommittal stance but was able to show me a copy of the manual he happened to have on file. It was written in his own characteristically jaunty and satirical style, and I suspected that the television moderator's suggestion was correct. Bray's identification with the Army of God movement was established in his trial some years ago when the initials AOG were found on abortion buildings that he was accused of having torched. When I asked Bray why, if he had not written it, he would hesitate to deny his authorship of the booklet, he said that "it was good to show solidarity with anyone who is being maligned for writing such a book."<sup>4</sup>

Whether or not he was the author, Bray clearly sympathized with the ideas in the manual. As a leader in the Defensive Action movement, Mike Bray has justified the use of violence in anti-abortion activities, although his attacks on abortion clinics have been considered extreme even by members of the pro-life movement. The same has been said of his acknowledged writings. Bray publishes one of the country's most militant Christian newsletters, *Capitol Area Christian News*, which has focused on abortion, homosexuality, and what Bray regards as the Clinton administration's pathological abuse of government power.

Bray was the spokesman for two activists who were convicted of murderous assaults on abortion clinic staffs. Bray's friend, Rev. Paul Hill, killed Dr. John Britton and his volunteer escort James Barrett as they drove up to The Ladies Center, an abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida in 1994. Several years earlier another member of Bray's network of associates, Rachele ("Shelly") Shannon, a housewife from rural Oregon, also confessed to a string of abortion clinic bombings. She was convicted of attempted murder for shooting and wounding Dr. George Tiller as he drove away from his clinic in Wichita, Kansas. Bray wrote

the definitive book on the ethical justification for anti-abortion violence, *A Time to Kill*, which defended his own acts of terrorism, the murders of abortion clinic doctors, and the attempted murder by Shannon.<sup>5</sup> And yet in person Rev. Michael Bray is in many ways an affable and interesting man.

Mike Bray had always been active, he told me, having been raised in a family focused around sports, church activities, and military life. His father was a naval officer who served at nearby Annapolis, and Mike grew up expecting to follow in his father's military footsteps. An athletic hero in high school, he took the most popular girl in class to the senior prom. Her name was Kathie Epstein—who Americans would later know as the Kathie Lee who became a nationally-known singer and television talk show figure, hosting a morning television program with Regis Philbin. Mike's own career was marked by less obvious attributes of success. He attended Annapolis for a year and then dropped out, living what he described as a "prodigal" life. He searched for religion as a solution to his malaise and was for a time tempted by the Mormons. Then the mother of his old girlfriend, Kathie Lee, steered him toward Billy Graham and the born-again experience of evangelical Christianity. Mike was converted and went to Colorado to study in a Baptist Bible college and seminary.

Yet Bray never quite rejected the Lutheranism of his upbringing. So when he returned to Bowie, he rejoined his childhood church and became the assistant pastor. When the national Lutheran churches merged, Bray led a faction of the local church that objected to what it regarded as the national church's abandonment of the principle of scriptural literalism. Seeing himself as a crusader, Mike and his group of ten families split off and in 1984 formed the Reformation Lutheran Church, an independent group affiliated with the national Association of Free Lutheran Congregations. Over ten years later, Bray's church remained a circle of about fifty people without its own building. The church operated out of Bray's suburban home: Bray remodeled the garage into a classroom for a Christian elementary school, where he and his wife taught a small group of students.

Increasingly, Mike Bray's real occupation became social activism. Supported by his wife, members of the church, and his volunteer associate pastor, Michael Colvin—who held a Ph.D. in classics from the University of Indiana and worked in the federal health care administration—Mike and his followers launched anti-abortion crusades and tapped into a growing national network of like-minded Christian ac-

tivists. They became concerned that the federal government—particularly the attorney general in the Clinton administration, whom Mike, referring to the US government standoff against a religious cult in Waco, Texas, called “Janet Waco Reno”—was undermining individual freedoms and moral values. He saw American society in a state of utter depravity, over which its elected officials presided with an almost satanic disregard for truth and human life. He viewed President Bill Clinton and other politicians as “neo-pagans,” sometimes comparing them to Hitler. The Nazi image pervaded Bray’s understanding of how ethically minded people should respond to such a threat. Regarding the activities that led to his prison conviction, Bray has “no regrets.” “Whatever I did,” he said, “it was worth it.”

According to Bray, Americans live in a situation “comparable to Nazi Germany,” a state of hidden warfare, and the comforts of modern society have lulled the populace into a lack of awareness of the situation. Bray was convinced that if there were some dramatic event, such as economic collapse or social chaos, the demonic role of the government would be revealed, and people would have “the strength and the zeal to take up arms” in a revolutionary struggle. What he envisioned as the outcome of that struggle was the establishment of a new moral order in America, one based on biblical law and a spiritual, rather than a secular, social compact.

Until this new moral order is established, Bray said, he and others like him who are aware of what is going on and have the moral courage to resist it are compelled to take action. According to Bray, Christianity gave him the right to defend innocent “unborn children,” even by use of force, whether it involves “destroying the facilities that they are regularly killed in, or taking the life of one who is murdering them.” By the latter, Bray meant killing doctors and other clinical staff involved in performing abortions.

Bray defended the 1994 actions of his friend, Rev. Paul Hill, in killing Dr. John Britton and his escort. Bray’s theological justifications were echoed by Hill himself. “You may wonder what it is like to have killed an abortionist and his escort,” Hill wrote to Bray and his other supporters after the killings.<sup>6</sup> “My eyes were opened to the enormous impact” such an event would have, he wrote, adding that “the effect would be incalculable.” Hill said that he opened his Bible and found sustenance in Psalms 91: “You will not be afraid of the terror by night, or of the arrow that flies by day.” Hill interpreted this as an affirmation that his act was biblically approved.

When I suggested to Bray that carrying out such violent actions is tantamount to acting as both judge and executioner, Bray demurred. Although he did not deny that a religious authority has the right to pronounce judgment over those who broke the moral law, he explained that attacks on abortion clinics and the killing of abortion doctors were essentially defensive rather than punitive acts. According to Bray, "there is a difference between taking a retired abortionist and executing him, and killing a practicing abortionist who is regularly killing babies." The first act is in Bray's view retributive, the second defensive. According to Bray, the attacks were aimed not so much at punishing clinics and abortionists for their actions as at preventing them from "killing babies," as Bray put it. He was careful to say that he did not advocate the use of violence, but morally approved of it in some instances. He was "pro-choice," as he put it, regarding its use.

### Theological Justifications

Bray found support for his position in actions undertaken during the Nazi regime in Europe. His moral exemplar in this regard was the German theologian and Lutheran pastor, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who abruptly terminated his privileged research position at Union Theological Seminary in New York City to return to Germany and clandestinely join a plot to assassinate Hitler. The plot was uncovered before it could be carried out, and Bonhoeffer, the brilliant young ethical theorist, was hanged by the Nazis. His image of martyrdom and his theological writings lived on, however, and Bonhoeffer has often been cited by moral theorists as an example of how Christians could undertake violent actions for a just cause and how occasionally they are constrained to break laws for a higher purpose.

These were positions also held by one of Bonhoeffer's colleagues at Union Theological Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr, whom Bray also cited. Often touted as one of the greatest Protestant theologians of the twentieth century, Niebuhr wrestled with one of Christianity's oldest ethical problems: when it is permissible to use force—even violence—in behalf of a righteous cause. Niebuhr began his career as a pacifist, but in time he grudgingly began to accept the position that a Christian, acting for the sake of justice, could use a limited amount of violence.<sup>7</sup>

Niebuhr was drawing on a strain of religious activism that went back to Christianity's origins. The tradition emerged in the context of revolutionary struggles against the Roman occupation of Israel. The New

Testament indicates that at least two of Jesus' disciples were members of the rebellious Jewish party, the Zealots. Scholars dispute whether or not the Jesus movement was considered antigovernment at the time, but the New Testament clearly records that the Roman colonial government charged Jesus with sedition, found him guilty, and executed him for the crime.<sup>8</sup>

Did Jesus in fact support the violent overthrow of the Roman occupation? The answer to that question is unclear, and the controversy over whether Christianity sanctions violence has hounded the Church from its earliest days. It can be argued that Christians were expected to follow Jesus' example of selfless love, to "love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you" (Mt 5:44). Evidence for the other side comes from such incidents as Jesus driving the moneychangers from the Temple and such enigmatic statements as Jesus' dark prophecy "Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have come not to bring peace but a sword" (Mt 10:34; see also Lk 12:51-52). The early Church fathers, including Tertullian and Origen, asserted that Christians were constrained from taking human life, a principle that prevented Christians from serving in the Roman army. Thus the early Christians were essentially pacifists.

When Christianity vaulted into the status of state religion in the fourth century C.E., Church leaders began to reject pacifism and accept the doctrine of just war, an idea first stated by Cicero and later developed by Ambrose and Augustine.<sup>9</sup> This idea justified the use of military force under certain conditions, including proportionality—the expectation that more lives would be saved by the use of force than would be lost—and legitimacy, the notion that the undertaking must be approved by an established authority. The abuse of the concept in justifying military adventures and violent persecutions of heretical and minority groups led Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century to reaffirm that war was always sinful, even if it was occasionally waged for a just cause. Remarkably, the just-war theory still stands today as the centerpiece of Christian understanding concerning the moral use of violence.<sup>10</sup> Some modern Christian theologians have adapted the theory of just war to liberation theology, arguing that the Church can embrace a "just revolution."<sup>11</sup>

Reinhold Niebuhr showed the relevance of just-war theory to social struggles in the twentieth century by relating the idea to what he regarded as the Christian requirement to fulfill social justice. Viewing the world through the lens of what he called "realism," Niebuhr concluded that moral suasion is not sufficient to combat social injustices, espe-

cially when they are buttressed by corporate and state power. For this reason, he explained in a seminal essay, "Why the Christian Church Is Not Pacifist," that it is at times necessary to abandon nonviolence in favor of a more forceful solution.<sup>12</sup> Building his case on Augustine's understanding of original sin, Niebuhr argued that righteous force is sometimes necessary to extirpate injustice and subdue evil within a sinful world, and that small strategic acts of violence are occasionally necessary to deter large acts of violence and injustice. If violence is to be used in such situations, Niebuhr explained, it must be used sparingly and as swiftly and skillfully as a surgeon's knife.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to the "just war," however, there are other, less legitimate examples of religious violence from Christianity's heritage, including the Inquisitions and the Crusades. The thirteenth-century Inquisitions were the medieval Church's attempt to root out heresy, involving torture of the accused and sentences that included burning at the stake. The Spanish Inquisition in the fifteenth century was aimed largely at Jews and Muslims who had converted to Christianity but were investigated to see if the conversions were sincere; again, torture and death were standard features of these spurious trials. The nine Crusades—which began in 1095 with Pope Urban II's plea for Christians to rise up and retake the Shrine of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, which had fallen into Muslim hands, and ended some three centuries later—were punctuated with the Christian battle cry *Deus volt* ("God wills it"). As the armies moved through Europe on their way to the Holy Land, they gathered the poor and desperate for quixotic ventures that led to virtually no military conquests of lasting value. They did, however, lead to the deaths of thousands of innocent Muslims and Jews. Today the memory of this tragic period in Christian history is evoked in the epithet "crusader," applied to anyone committed to a cause with excessive zeal.

One might think of the Crusades when one considers the religious commitment of anti-abortion activists such as Rev. Michael Bray who turn to violence in their war with abortion clinic staff and their defenders, the secular state. Bray, however, found refuge not in the historical example of the Crusades but in the ethical justification offered by Niebuhr, along with the example of Christian sacrifice in the assassination attempt by Bonhoeffer. These modern liberal Christian defenders of the just role of violence gave Bray the impression that Christian theology has supported his own efforts to bring about social change through violent acts.



But Bray radically differs from Niebuhr and Bonhoeffer theologically and in his interpretation of the contemporary situation—comparing America’s democratic state to Nazism and advocating a biblically based religious politics to replace the secular government. It is unlikely that Bray’s positions would be accepted by these or any other theologian within mainstream Protestant thought. Bonhoeffer and Niebuhr, like most modern theologians, accepted the principle of the separation of church and state; they felt that separation is necessary to the integrity of both institutions. Niebuhr was especially wary of what he called “moralism”—the intrusion of religious or other ideological values into the political calculations of statecraft.

To support his ideas about religious politics, therefore, Bray had to look beyond mainstream Protestant thought. Rejecting Bonhoeffer’s and Niebuhr’s “affliction” with moderate neo-orthodox theology, Bray found intellectual company in a group of writers associated with the more conservative Dominion Theology, the position that Christianity must reassert the dominion of God over all things, including secular politics and society. This point of view—articulated by such right-wing Protestant spokespersons as Rev. Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson—led to a burst of social and political activism in the Christian right in the 1980s and 1990s.

The Christian anti-abortion movement is permeated with ideas from Dominion Theology. Randall Terry, founder of the militant anti-abortion organization Operation Rescue and a writer for the Dominion magazine *Crosswinds*, signed the magazine’s “Manifesto for the Christian Church.” The manifesto asserted that America should “function as a Christian nation” and opposed such “social moral evils” of secular society as “abortion on demand, fornication, homosexuality, sexual entertainment, state usurpation of parental rights and God-given liberties, statist-collectivist theft from citizens through devaluation of their money and redistribution of their wealth, and evolutionism taught as a monopoly viewpoint in the public schools.”<sup>14</sup>

At the extreme right wing of Dominion Theology is a relatively obscure theological movement that Mike Bray found particularly appealing: Reconstruction Theology, whose exponents long to create a Christian theocratic state. Bray had studied their writings extensively and possesses a shelf of books written by Reconstruction authors. The convicted anti-abortion killer Paul Hill cited Reconstruction theologians in his own writings and once studied with a founder of the move-

ment, Greg Bahnsen, at Reformed Theological Seminary in Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>15</sup>

Leaders of the Reconstruction movement trace their ideas, which they sometimes called "theonomy," to Cornelius Van Til, a twentieth-century Presbyterian professor of theology at Princeton Seminary who took seriously the sixteenth-century ideas of the Reformation theologian John Calvin regarding the necessity for presupposing the authority of God in all worldly matters. Followers of Van Til, including his former students Bahnsen and Rousas John Rushdoony, and Rushdoony's son-in-law, Gary North, adopted this "presuppositionalism" as a doctrine, with all its implications for the role of religion in political life.

Reconstruction writers regard the history of Protestant politics since the early years of the Reformation as having taken a bad turn, and they are especially unhappy with the Enlightenment formulation of church-state separation. They feel it necessary to "reconstruct" Christian society by turning to the Bible as the basis for a nation's law and social order. To propagate these views, the Reconstructionists established the Institute for Christian Economics in Tyler, Texas, and the Chalcedon Foundation in Vallecito, California. They publish a journal and a steady stream of books and booklets on the theological justification for interjecting Christian ideas into economic, legal, and political life.<sup>16</sup>

According to the most prolific Reconstruction writer, Gary North, it is "the moral obligation of Christians to recapture every institution for Jesus Christ."<sup>17</sup> He feels this to be especially so in the United States, where secular law as construed by the Supreme Court and defended by liberal politicians is moving in what Rushdoony and others regard as a decidedly un-Christian direction, particularly in matters regarding abortion and homosexuality. What the Reconstructionists ultimately want, however, is more than the rejection of secularism. Like other theologians who utilize the biblical concept of "dominion," they reason that Christians, as the new chosen people of God, are destined to dominate the world.

The Reconstructionists possess a "postmillennial" view of history. That is, they believe that Christ will return to earth only after the thousand years of religious rule that characterizes the Christian idea of the millennium, and therefore Christians have an obligation to provide the political and social conditions that will make Christ's return possible. "Premillennialists," on the other hand, hold the view that the thousand years of Christendom will come only after Christ returns, an event that will occur in a cataclysmic moment of world history. Therefore they

tend to be much less active politically. Followers of Reconstruction Theology such as Mike Bray, Dominion theologians such as the American politician and television host, Pat Robertson, and many leaders of the politically active Christian Coalition are postmillennialists and hence believe that a Christian kingdom must be established on earth before Christ's return. They take seriously the idea of a Christian society and a form of religious politics that will make biblical code the law of the United States.

In my conversations with Mike Bray, he insisted that the idea of a society based on Christian morality was not a new one, and he emphasized the "re-" in "reconstruction." Although Bray rejected the idea of a pope, he appreciated much of the Roman Catholic Church's social teachings and greatly admired the tradition of canon law. Only recently in history, he observed, has the political order in the West not been based on biblical concepts. Since he is opposed to this disestablishment of the political role of the Church, Bray labels himself an "antidisestablishmentarian."

Bray was serious about bringing Christian politics into power. He said that it is possible, under the right conditions, for a Christian revolution to sweep across the United States and bring in its wake constitutional changes that would allow for biblical law to be the basis of social legislation. Failing that, Bray envisaged a new federalism that would allow individual states to experiment with religious politics on their own. When I asked Bray what state might be ready for such an experiment, he hesitated and then suggested Louisiana and Mississippi, or, he added, "maybe one of the Dakotas."

Not all Reconstruction thinkers have endorsed the use of violence, especially the kind that Bray and Hill have justified. As Reconstruction author Gary North admitted, "there is a division in the theonomic camp" over violence, especially with regard to anti-abortion activities. Some months before Paul Hill killed Dr. Britton and his escort, Hill—apparently hoping for Gary North's approval in advance—sent a letter to North along with a draft of an essay he had written justifying the possibility of such killings in part on theonomic grounds. North ultimately responded, but only after the murders had been committed. North regretted that he was too late to deter Hill from his "terrible direction" and chastised Hill in an open letter, published as a booklet, denouncing Hill's views as "vigilante theology."<sup>18</sup> According to North, biblical law provides exceptions to the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" (Ex 20:13), but in terms similar to just-war doctrine: when one is

authorized to do so by “a covenantal agent” in wartime, to defend one’s household, to execute a convicted criminal, to avenge the death of one’s kin, to save an entire nation, or to stop moral transgressors from bringing bloodguilt on an entire community.<sup>19</sup>

Hill—joined by Bray—responded to North’s letter. They argued that many of those conditions applied to the abortion situation in the United States. Writing from his prison cell in Starke, Florida, Paul Hill said that the biblical commandment against murder also “requires using the means necessary to defend against murder—including lethal force.”<sup>20</sup> He went on to say that he regarded “the cutting edge of Satan’s current attack” to be “the abortionist’s knife,” and therefore his actions had ultimate theological significance.<sup>21</sup> Bray, in his book, *A Time to Kill*, spoke to North’s concern about the authorization of violence by a legitimate authority or “a covenantal agent,” as North put it. Bray raised the possibility of a “righteous rebellion.”<sup>22</sup> Just as liberation theologians justify the use of unauthorized force for the sake of their vision of a moral order, Bray sees the legitimacy of using violence not only to resist what he regards as murder—abortion—but also to help bring about the Christian political order envisioned by Reconstruction thinkers such as Gary North. In Bray’s mind, a little violence is a small price to pay for the possibility of fulfilling God’s law and establishing His kingdom on earth.

## Chapter 2. Soldiers for Christ

1. Michael Bray, *A Time to Kill: A Study Concerning the Use of Force and Abortion* (Portland, OR: Advocates for Life Publications, 1994), 9.

2. Interview with Rev. Michael Bray, Reformation Lutheran Church, Bowie, Maryland, April 25, 1996, and March 20, 1998. The quotations from Bray in this section, unless otherwise cited, are from these interviews.

3. *Nightline*, March 9, 1998.

4. Interview with Bray, March 20, 1998. Bray clarified his position in correspondence to me on March 9, 1999, from which this quotation is taken.

5. Bray, *A Time to Kill*. The book was written before Hill's murder of Britton and Barrett. It defended Michael Griffin's slaying of Dr. David Gunn, also in Florida (p. 124). Articles written by Bray after Hill's action indicate that the argument in his book extended to Hill and may indeed have been a justification in advance for Hill's act.

6. Paul Hill, "Why I Shot an Abortionist," December 22, 1997, open letter to Rev. Michael Bray and the attendees of the White Rose Banquet, circulated by Bray.

7. See Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (New York: Scribner's, 1932), and *Why the Christian Church Is Not Pacifist* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1940).

8. For a somewhat controversial statement of the position that early Christianity was perceived during its own time as a political movement, see S. F. G. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967).

9. See Albert Marrin, ed., *War and the Christian Conscience: From Augustine to Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1971); James Turner Johnson, *Ideology, Reason, and the Limitation of War: Religious and Secular Concepts, 1200-1740* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975); Hal Drake, *Constantine and the Bishops: Tolerance and Coercion in the Early Church* (forthcoming). See also my article "Nonviolence," in Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 10 (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 463-67.

10. See Ralph Potter, *War and Moral Discourse* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1969); Paul Ramsey, *The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968); Thomas Merton, *Faith and Violence: Christian Teaching and Christian Practice* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968).

11. See Robert McAfee Brown, *Religion and Violence*, 2nd ed., (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), esp. 56-61; Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*, rev. ed. (Maryknoll,

NY: Orbis Books, 1988); Teofilo Cabastrero, *Revolutionaries for the Gospel: Testimonies of Fifteen Christians in the Nicaraguan Government* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1986).

12. Niebuhr, *Why the Christian Church Is Not Pacifist*.

13. See Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*.

14. "Manifesto for the Christian Church," *Crosswinds*. Quoted in Chip Berlet, *John Salvi, Abortion Clinic Violence, and Catholic Right Conspiracism* (Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates, 1996), 8.

15. Gary North, *Lone Gunners for Jesus: Letters to Paul J. Hill* (Tyler, TX: Institute for Christian Economics, 1994), 2.

16. The book that established Reconstruction Theology as a movement is Rousas John Rushdoony's two-volume *Institutes of Biblical Law* (Nutley, NJ: Craig Press, 1973). Introductions to Cornelius Van Til's thought are found in R. J. Rushdoony, *By What Standard?* (Tyler, TX: Thoburn Press, 1978) and Richard Pratt, *Every Thought Captive* (Phillipsburg, NJ: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1982). The journal of Reconstruction thought, *Chalcedon Report*, is published in Vallecito, California.

17. Gary North, *Backward, Christian Soldiers? An Action Manual for Christian Reconstruction* (Tyler, TX: Institute for Christian Economics, 1984), 267. According to North, the four main tenets of Christian Reconstruction are biblical law, optimistic eschatology, predestination, and "presuppositional apologetics," which North defines as a "philosophical defense of the faith" (267). North has authored or edited over twenty books, including *An Introduction to Christian Economics* (Tyler, TX: Institute for Christian Economics, 1973), *Millennialism and Social Theory* (Tyler, TX: Institute for Christian Economics, 1990), and *Unconditional Surrender: God's Program for Victory* (Tyler, TX: Institute for Christian Economics, 1988).

18. North, *Lone Gunners for Jesus*, 25.

19. North, *Lone Gunners for Jesus*, 6-8.

20. Paul Hill, *Paul Hill Speaks* (pamphlet published by Reformation Press, Bowie, Maryland, June 1997), 1.

21. Hill, *Paul Hill Speaks*, 2.

22. Bray, *A Time to Kill*, 158.

23. Michael Bray, "Running with Rudolph," *Capitol Area Christian News*, 28, Winter 1998-1999, 2.

24. Bray, "Running with Rudolph," 2.

25. Morris Dees, *Gathering Storm: America's Militia Threat* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 165. Reports of McVeigh visiting Elohim City are made in David Hoffman, *The Oklahoma City Bombing and the Politics of Terror* (Venice, CA: Feral House, 1998), 83-84.

26. Andrew Macdonald [William Pierce], *The Turner Diaries* (New York: Barricade Books, 1996) (orig. published by National Alliance Vanguard Books, Arlington, VA, in 1978).

27. Dees, *Gathering Storm*, 154.

28. Dees, *Gathering Storm*, 158.

29. Although Pierce, the author of *The Turner Diaries*, denies knowing McVeigh or talking to him, two separate law enforcement sources claim to have

telephone records proving that McVeigh placed a lengthy call to Pierce's unlisted number in West Virginia in the weeks before the bombing. This information was first reported by CNN and is mentioned in Dees, *Gathering Storm*, 165.

30. Amy C. Solnin, *William L. Pierce: Novelist of Hate*, research report of the Anti-Defamation League (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1995), 8.

31. Macdonald [Pierce], *Turner Diaries*, 64.

32. Michael Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

33. Barkun, *Religion and the Racist Right*, 7.

34. Leonard Zeskind, *The "Christian Identity" Movement: Analyzing Its Theological Rationalization for Racist and Anti-Semitic Violence* (New York: Division of Church and Society of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1986), 12.

35. Zeskind, "Christian Identity" Movement, 14.

36. Jeffrey Kaplan, *Radical Religion in America: Millenarian Movements from the Far Right to the Children of Noah* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 175.

37. Zeskind, "Christian Identity" Movement, 45.

38. Gerald Baumgarten, *Paranoia as Patriotism: Far-Right Influences on the Militia Movement* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1995), 17.

39. Gordon "Jack" Mohr (founder of the Christian Patriot Defense League), *Know Your Enemies*, 1982 pamphlet. Quoted in James Aho, *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 96.

40. Aho, *Politics of Righteousness*, 91.

41. Kim Murphy, "Last Stand of an Aging Aryan," *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1999, A1.

42. Kim Murphy, "Hate's Affluent New Godfathers," *Los Angeles Times*, January 10, 1999, A14.

43. Aho, *Politics of Righteousness*, 85.

44. See Gerry Adams, *Before the Dawn: An Autobiography* (London: Mandarin Paperbacks, 1996), 246, 274-75.

45. Interview with Tom Hartley, councillor and leader of the Sinn Féin party in the Belfast City Council, Belfast, July 31, 1998.

46. Dennis Cooke, *Persecuting Zeal: A Portrait of Ian Paisley* (Kerry, Ireland: Brandon Book Publishers, 1996), 23.

47. Ian Paisley, *The Preaching of Ian Paisley* (Belfast: Martyrs' Memorial Recordings, 17 November 1985). Cited in Cooke, *Persecuting Zeal*, 1.

48. Notice in *The Battle Standard: The Journal of the European Institute of Protestant Studies* 1:1, October 1997, 8.

49. *The Battle Standard*, 1:1, October 1997, 8.

50. Ian Paisley, quoted in Marjorie Miller, "Two Northern Ireland Leaders Share Nobel Peace Prize," *Los Angeles Times*, October 17, 1998, A1.

51. Interview with Stuart Dignan, staff member, Belfast office of the Democratic Unionist Party, Belfast, July 30, 1998.

52. Ian Paisley, sermon reprinted in *The Revivalist*, September 1983. Cited in Cooke, *Persecuting Zeal*, 42. Cooke persuasively argues that Paisley is even less tolerant of Catholics than the Protestant reformers he quotes. Unlike Paisley, he notes, Calvin accepted Catholics as Christians, and although John Wesley rejected the authority of the pope, he accepted Catholics into the wider, hidden fellowship of Christians (47-53).

53. Ian Paisley, "Swearing Allegiance to King Jesus," sermon of March 24, 1991, Belfast. Reprinted in Ian Paisley, *Sermons on Special Occasions* (Belfast: Ambassador Productions, 1996), 114.

54. Martin Dillon, *God and the Gun: The Church and Irish Terrorism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 73.

55. Dillon, *God and the Gun*, 64-65.

56. Interview with Hartley, July 31, 1998.

57. Dillon, *God and the Gun*, 89-90.

58. Dillon, *God and the Gun*, 93.

59. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices: Religion and Nationalism in Ireland* (Dublin: Poolbeg Press, 1994), 3-4.

60. O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices*, 4.

61. Ian Paisley, editorial, *Protestant Telegraph*, August 12, 1972, 5. Cited in Cooke, *Persecuting Zeal*, 57.

62. Interview with Hartley, July 31, 1998.

63. Dillon, *God and the Gun*, 93.