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List of Abbreviations

ANP – American Nazi Party
CDL – Christian Defense League
NCCC – New Christian Crusade Church
NSRP – National States’ Rights Party
NSWPP – National Socialist White People’s Party
The New Christian Crusade Church (NCCC) was a California and Louisiana based ‘Christian Identity’ organisation formed by James K. Warner in 1971. Christian Identity theology holds the Aryan race as the racial descendants of the biblical Israelites, and therefore God’s chosen people.\(^1\) It was an offspring of Anglo-Israelism, a 19th Century British movement which held a similar myth concerning the biblical origins of the white race. Anglo-Israelism began to enter America in the mid to late 19th century, and from the 1930s, the movement took its own American turn in the appropriation of anti-Semitism and racism to the movement, where the Aryans became the only true Israelites. Following the Second World War, the ideology was disseminated by multiple independent preachers and passed into the hands of extreme right and neo-Nazi circles.\(^2\) In this neo-Nazi form, along with its founding myth concerning the origins of the Aryan race, Christian Identity’s most distinctive feature is an aggressive anti-Semitism based on religious and biological grounds.\(^3\) Furthermore, broader racism, anti-communism, and anti-liberalism form the main themes of Christian Identity ideology.\(^4\) The NCCC’s main function in the period of this dissertation was as a distributor of the mail order newspaper *Christian Vanguard*.\(^5\) Warner also took over leadership of the Christian

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Defense League (CDL) in 1973,\(^6\) which was later merged with the NCCC and can be described as the ‘action arm’ of the Church from 1977 onwards.\(^7\) Furthermore, the Church had a publishing arm called The Sons of Liberty which published mainly Christian Identity, and other racist or anti-Semitic texts.\(^8\) This dissertation will be an in-depth study of the NCCC and its associated groups. Both its activities and ideology will be analysed under the conceptual lens of ‘fascism’, to determine whether or not it was a fascist organisation, and to explore the nature of the organisation.

The concept of fascism has always been a contested area of historiography. Due to the wide array of fascist movements and regimes, some historians have highlighted the incoherency of fascist ideology. Robert Paxton for example has argued that fascism is more about mobilising feelings and passions rather than coherent thought-driven politics.\(^9\) Similarly, Juan Linz held that fascism was defined by what it was against rather than it being a constructive ideology, while George Mosse has referred to the phenomenon as a ‘scavenger ideology’, referencing how fascism amalgamated many pre-existing ideologies.\(^10\) While useful, these descriptions do little to differentiate fascism as a distinctive ideology worthy of its own terminology. Another issue in the historiography has been the understandable focus on inter-war Europe. Michael Mann holds that paramilitary violence is a key aspect to fascism, which to a large extent ties the ideology down

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\(^7\) Ibid.

\(^8\) The Anti-Defamation League, ‘The Identity Churches: A Theology of Hate’, <https://archive.org/stream/TheIdentityChurchesATheologyOfHate/Identity#page/n7/mode/2up> [last accessed 19/12/2015].


to an inter-war context.\textsuperscript{11} Also, Paxton holds that fascism must be studied in motion, arguing for five distinct ‘stages’ which are tied to inter-war examples. Four of these stages are about fascism in the political system or fascism in power, yet since 1945 no true fascist regime has existed.\textsuperscript{12} Considering all of this, for Christian Identity and the NCCC to be considered ‘fascist’, the phenomenon has to be seen as a coherent ideology with generic theoretical features which can continue post-1945.

More recently, a ‘new consensus’ over the definitions of fascism has been declared by historians such as Roger Griffin and Roger Eatwell. Both see fascism as an ideologically coherent form of revolutionary extreme nationalism which could and does continue after 1945. Eatwell focuses on the idea of a revolutionary ‘Third Way’ between liberal democracy and capitalism, and communism, where all individual and group or class interests are superseded by a loyalty to the nation.\textsuperscript{13} For Griffin, fascism is a political ideology which boils down to ‘palingenetic, populist ultra-nationalism’.\textsuperscript{14} This means that fascist ideology gravitates around a revolutionary rebirth of the nation based on a mythologized past, cultivated through crude populist politics.\textsuperscript{15} Griffin also includes Stanley Payne in the new consensus, who argues that fascism was, among other things, a form of extreme revolutionary nationalism.\textsuperscript{16} Crucially, these descriptions argue for a theoretical minimum to fascism and do not focus on context dependent aspects, which thus allow for fascism outside of inter-war Europe. For Griffin fascism is naturally marginalised in normal conditions. Only through extreme circumstances can true fascism come to power.\textsuperscript{17} This opens

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} Michael Mann, \textit{Fascists}, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 11 – 17.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Roger Eatwell, \textit{Fascism: A History} (London: Chatto & Windus Ltd, 1995), pp. 11 – 12.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Roger Griffin, \textit{The Nature of Fascism} (London: Routledge, 1993).
\item \textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}
\item \textsuperscript{17} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 39 – 40.
\end{itemize}
up the possibility of the NCCC being considered as fascist, being that the organisation never gained significant popularity.

This dissertation will also draw on work which focuses on illuminating the dynamics of fascist movements. Firstly, multiple historians have highlighted the dynamics between different post-war fascist ‘groupuscules’. Griffin and Jeffrey Bale among others argue that though post-war fascist organisations were often miniscule, they existed in a larger web of other similar organisations which when combined could potentially command relative influence.\(^\text{18}\) Linked into this is the recent historiographical focus on the concept of transnationalism in fascism, led by historians such as Mamonne, Godin, and Jenkins. Multiple publications have highlighted the need to study fascism and the extreme right in the context of links and dynamics between different organisations across national boundaries, which as will be seen is applicable to the NCCC.\(^\text{19}\) Colin Campbell’s notion of a ‘cultic milieu’ will also be drawn upon. He defines this as an oppositional sub-culture of ‘deviance’ defined by access to ‘higher truths’, which united many seemingly disparate cults and cult-prone individuals as part of a broader ideological milieu.\(^\text{20}\) Both Jeffrey Kaplan and Frederick Simonelli have applied this to American neo-Nazism, with the former noting how neo-Nazism and Christian Identity theology


began to interact from the early 1960s through the American Nazi Party, while the latter applies the terminology to the transnational links formed through the World Union of National Socialists.21 Furthermore, Paul Jackson uses the concept of the cultic milieu to explore many different examples of fascistic literature.22 These concepts will be used to discuss the dynamics of the NCCC and explore how the organisation related to other extreme right and neo-Nazi groupuscules.

In regards to historiography on the American extreme right, there is much work to draw on, some of which must be highlighted here. Martin Durham has split the different aspects of the American Right into different categories, arguing for an ‘extreme right’ distinguished from the rest due to their ‘racial framing of the threat to the nation’, of which Christian Identity groups are among.23 Leonard Zeskind’s work on the extreme right places Christian Identity as part of a broader white nationalist movement which began in the 1970s.24 Kathy Marks has also created a similar survey and both have displayed the many interlinks between different groups and individuals of the movement.25

In regards to the extreme-right’s tactics, George Michael has argued that from the early 1980s, there was a move from ‘ultra-patriotism’ to calls for revolution among extreme right groups.26 Another of Michael’s works focuses on the more recent move to a pan-Aryanism rather than

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a traditional nationalism, a concept which will be explored in the rhetoric of *Christian Vanguard*.

In regards to more specific studies, Michael and Chip Berlet have highlighted the millenarian theme that runs through Christian Identity whereby an embattled white race is on the brink of extinction from the Jewish controlled world order. Berlet’s study focuses on Aryan Nations, a later more outwardly radical Christian Identity group, and he argues that the apocalyptic millenarianism can be seen as a form of palingenesis in the way Griffin sees it. For this reason, Berlet and Matthew Lyons have declared Christian Identity as a form of ‘clerical fascism’, in that it is fascism interwoven with established religion. On the other hand, Bale and Kevin Coogan have both argued that Christian Identity is too rooted in American ideologies, such as generic white supremacy and fundamentalism to be considered as fascist. These studies will be important in considering whether the NCCC can be considered a fascist organisation. Finally, Michael Barkun’s in-depth analysis of Christian Identity theology and ideology will be important in placing the rhetoric of this church into the wider context of Christian Identity thought. The NCCC is an organisation which has received no analysis to the level that this dissertation will target. As such it’s ideology will be situated among the above themes to draw out its consistencies and nuances with the historiography.

The source base for this study is limited, in that the NCCC was a miniscule operation, and much of the material comes from parties with interests which must be taken into account. The site ‘metapedia.org’

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will be used for contextual information for example, which is a rightist version of Wikipedia that attempts to create a database for far right history. The information is often factually unreliable, yet it can be used for basic information on particular figures and organisations, and to display how said figures are remembered among the far right. Also, reports from the Anti-Defamation League will be used, but again this is a party with interests other than objective documentation and as such evidence gleaned must be used carefully. The main source base however is the *Christian Vanguard* newspaper between 1974 and 1982. The paper gives an in-depth insight into the world view the NCCC wanted to cultivate in multiple ways. Firstly, there are consistent articles on Christian Identity theology, the Jewish conspiracy, and the failings of communism and liberalism among other things. Also, there are news items, which will display the issues the writers wanted to draw their reader’s attention to, as well as Sons of Liberty book lists, and different forms of interaction with their readers. All of this gives much opportunity to test the rhetoric found in the paper against theories of fascism, while reader content will be used to assess the demographic of the audience. Furthermore, reports on activities of the NCCC and the CDL give insights into the action of the Church and its associated groupings. Once again, when searching for empirical facts *Christian Vanguard* is unreliable. However, it still displays the image and ideology that the writers wanted to disseminate to their readers, and thus provides ample material to determine if the NCCC was a fascist organisation.

The dissertation will be split into two chapters. The first will be an empirical investigation into the NCCC. It will examine its origins, give profiles of the key characters involved, and note how it changed throughout the period. Also it will discuss the relationships between the NCCC and other extreme right groups, and explore the activities of the organisation. The overall point of this chapter will be to provide context for the theoretical discussion to come, to place the NCCC within the current historiography of the American Far Right and Christian Identity, and to highlight how the organisation can be seen
as a groupuscule consistent with Griffin’s and Bale’s application of the term to fascism. The second chapter will use Christian Vanguard to assess whether or not the organisation can be considered fascist. As such the rhetoric will be tested under new consensus theories of fascism, while notions of transnationalism and the cultic milieu will be applied to the organisation as well. It will then be concluded, considering the consistencies with much of the historiography noted above, that the NCCC is a fascist organisation.
Chapter 1: A History of the New Christian Crusade Church

As with the majority of post-war extreme right organisations, the NCCC’s membership remained small and the potential for any notable achievement in the political sphere was miniscule. However, the focus of this chapter will be to demonstrate that when placed among contemporary organisations, the NCCC was a significant operation within the American extreme right of its time. This will be achieved in three ways. Firstly, the chapter will begin with a chronological account of the Church’s origins and formation to show that it arose out of a visibly neo-Nazi background. Secondly, the Church’s membership, audience, and its connections to other similar organisations of the time will be assessed. Finally, the activity of the organisation will be pieced together to form a narrative upon which the discussion of ideology can be built. Throughout all this, it will be demonstrated that the NCCC was a noteworthy group which must be seen as a groupuscule within a movement in which groupuscular dynamics featured heavily. For Griffin, a groupuscule acts as a ‘nodal point in a centreless synchronic and diachronic communications network’ which allows ideologies such as fascism to survive in circumstances which do not favour them.\(^1\) Furthermore, Bale points out that given their small size and secretive structures, fascist groupuscules can more easily develop into compartmentalized terrorist cells.\(^2\) This is significant when considering a Christian Identity organisation as Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma Bomber, was himself inspired by Christian Identity ideology. As such it will be argued that the groupuscular dynamics associated with the NCCC can be seen as a symptom of the NCCC’s fascist ideology, and make the organisation worthy of academic attention.

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James K. Warner and National Socialism

Warner is not generally regarded by historians as a particularly significant individual within the extreme right, and according to Kaplan he was ‘a figure viewed with considerable suspicion among many of the racialist right’.³ Nevertheless, outside of the NCCC, he had a rich and notorious involvement with the white supremacist movement. Firstly, he was a founding member of George Lincoln Rockwell’s American Nazi Party (ANP). He held the position of national secretary until he left in 1961, and during this time was one of Rockwell’s closest advisors.⁴ Simonelli has noted Warner’s importance to the party in these early stages, arguing that his break with Rockwell was a ‘major setback’ for the ANP due to Warner’s administrative and organisational contributions.⁵ The party is significant, in that it was the first neo-Nazi organisation in America to have been well organized and nationally recognised.⁶ The party was noted for displays of open Nazism in the flaunting of uniforms and use of the swastika in an attempt to gain maximum publicity.⁷ Its philosophical cornerstone was consistent with Christian Identity politics, in that it envisaged the destruction of the Jewish controlled American political and social order, and the creation of a pure Aryan state in the mould of Hitler’s Germany in its place.⁸ Furthermore, in the early 1960s Rockwell informally advocated the marrying of religion and National Socialism as a means of cloaking anti-Semitism and racial violence with theological justification.⁹ Later

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on he would also encourage an affiliation with Christian Identity. Though it is not clear how involved Warner was with Rockwell’s leanings towards religion, it is still important to note that the NCCC’s roots, like many other contemporary organisations, can be traced back to the ANP.\(^\text{10}\)

Warner broke with the ANP in 1961 in the midst of a feud between the ANP and the National States’ Rights Party (NSRP). In 1962, he joined the NSRP, and allegedly stole the ANP’s mailing list for the NSRPs use.\(^\text{11}\) Like the ANP, the NSRP was a significant organisation in the marginalised world of the US extreme right. The party’s ideology was a marrying of National Socialism and southern white supremacist politics, neatly summed up in their aim to ‘save Alabama and the nation from Jew Communists and their nigger allies’.\(^\text{12}\) The Nazi Thunderbolt symbol was used on their uniforms, and as the name of their monthly publication.\(^\text{13}\) Between 1962 and 1964, Warner acted as the associate editor of the Thunderbolt magazine.\(^\text{14}\) During his time with the paper, revolutionary or palingenetic overtones were less explicit than what would be seen in Christian Vanguard, yet the links to Nazism were clear. For example, the February 1963 issue was a ‘Communism is Jewish’ special, dedicated to exposing the links between Judaism and communism in America and in the USSR.\(^\text{15}\)

Warner’s departure in 1964 was once again far from amicable, and like before resulted in the theft of the mailing list of the organisation.\(^\text{16}\) The fact that Warner moved on from both the ANP and the NSRP within his first few years of involvement in hostile circumstances evidences Kaplan’s remark on his popularity. However, Warner was still involved with some of the most important members and organisations within

\(^{10}\) Ibid., p. 553.
\(^{13}\) Ibid.
\(^{15}\) Thunderbolt, Issue 49, February 1963.
the movement before the formation of the NCCC. Both organisations also had clearly fascist aspects to their ideologies in their imitations of German National Socialism. As such a direct lineage between the NCCC, and the early neo-Nazi parties and fascism can be drawn.

The Formation of the New Christian Crusade Church

In 1966 Warner moved to Los Angeles and around this time set up his book publishing business, the Sons of Liberty, utilising his acquired mailing lists to build an audience.\(^{17}\) Southern California by this time was at the centre of the Christian Identity movement,\(^ {18}\) but Warner’s commitment to secular neo-Nazism continued initially. In 1967 Rockwell was assassinated, and the ANP was rebranded to the National Socialist White People’s Party (NSWPP). Ralph Forbes had led the California branch of the NSWPP, but his moves towards Christian Identity and the Ku Klux Klan had caused a dissident faction to rally against him. Warner used his heritage within the ANP to join Allen Vincent in forming the new ANP out of this faction in 1968. He lambasted Forbes’s religious forays, referring to Christian Identity as an ‘off beat religious cult’. However, this endeavour ultimately failed for him.\(^ {19}\)

Ironically, at some point between this time and 1971 he became acquainted with Wesley Swift, the man considered responsible for the popularization of Christian Identity theology in the extreme right. As a result of Swift’s influence, Warner converted to the Christian Identity faith and became a prominent member of Swift’s Christian Defense League, serving as the organisation’s second national director. Then in 1971, he set up the NCCC and began publishing *Christian Vanguard*. The CDL at this time was headed by Richard Butler, also one of Wesley

\(^{17}\) *Ibid.*


Swift’s key disciples, but in 1973 he left California and Warner took control of the organisation. As such, by 1973 Warner was leading two prominent Christian Identity organisations based in California, which at this time ran side by side rather than as a single entity. In 1975 Warner moved to Metairie in Louisiana, and so moved the NCCC, the CDL and the Sons of Liberty business with him.

So even before the formation of the NCCC, Warner had moved between different, but ideologically similar groupuscules as part of a broader fascistic network of neo-Nazism. The links between Christian Identity and neo-Nazism had already been established by this point, exampled by both Rockwell’s and Forbes’ ties with the religion. It can thus be said that the formation of the NCCC marked the creation of another groupuscule part of this broader neo-Nazi and fascist network.

**Membership, Organisation and Groupuscular Dynamics**

Concerning the membership of the NCCC, and the readership of *Christian Vanguard*, it is difficult to draw objective conclusions. There were claims in the June 1976 issue that there were ‘thousands’ of subscriptions to *Christian Vanguard*, but without any reliable records this is impossible to substantiate. However, a readership in the thousands is not too farfetched. The use of the mailing lists Warner had acquired would have certainly been useful, while *Stormtrooper* had a subscription base of 15,000 at its height, and this was only five years before the claims of readership in *Christian Vanguard* were made. So there was both a precedent in the popularity of *Stormtrooper*, and a means through the mailing lists. Also, towards the end of 1974 the Church published the initials and the amounts donated by readers for an NCCC building project. There were 77 donations in

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September and 122 in December.\textsuperscript{23} Though these are not substantial numbers it is still relatively significant if one assumes that the majority of readers would not donate, and shows that the newspaper had a core readership at least in the low hundreds who were active in their commitment to the Church. These lists also displayed the states where the donations came from. Donations were received from states across America, though as would be expected the majority were from Southern Bible Belt States, the Mid-West, and California. Of course, in the broader context of the USA as a whole the numbers speculated here are tiny. Yet in the context of extreme right organisations, these numbers display that the NCCC had a ‘respectable’ size of voice and audience. It also fits the profile of a micro-organisation which the term groupuscule describes.

In the history of the American extreme right, an organisation’s significance can perhaps better be measured by its core ideologues. The writers of \textit{Christian Vanguard} stayed consistent throughout the seventies and early eighties, with one major exception as will be seen. Initially, Warner himself was the editor, yet the writing of articles was always relatively well spread out between different members. By October 1975, once the Church had been relocated to Louisiana, Rev. Thomas O’Brien had become the listed editor of the paper and Warner from then on was listed as the founder and publisher.\textsuperscript{24} O’Brien was a newcomer to the organisation, not listed in any issues before the move to Louisiana, but he was already a writer, having written the book \textit{Verboten}, which was a series of Sermons that outlined basic Identity to the ignorant.\textsuperscript{25} There were also many other contributing editors, most of whom were not based in Louisiana. One of them, Rev. Bertrand L. Comparet was already a significant figure in the Christian Identity movement,\textsuperscript{26} and had a daily show on a Christian radio station in the

\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Christian Vanguard}, Issue 46, October 1975, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Christian Vanguard}, Issue 66, June 1977, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{26} Barkun, \textit{Religion and the Racist Right}, p. 179.
Los Angeles area. Another contributing editor, Eustace Mullins, had previously been involved in the neo-Nazi National Renaissance Party, and would go on to have a long career as a prominent writer of anti-Semitic and conspiracy theory literature. Of the other contributing editors, the most significant was Tom Metzger. He was the Grand Dragon of his own Knights of the Ku Klux Klan organisation based in California, and would go on to form White Aryan Resistance and renounce Christianity. Metzger led the ‘Crusaders’, which was the action arm of the NCCC up until 1977 when Metzger left the organisation. His role in the Church, and the Crusaders will both be explored further below.

There were also ordained ministers who acted on behalf of the Church elsewhere. Services were offered in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Georgia, while some of the California based writers carried on running them there following the relocation to Louisiana. As with the US extreme right in general, there were also many connections with other organisations. For one, after he moved to Louisiana, Warner joined David Duke’s Knights of the Ku Klux Klan group. Duke was to go onto become a prominent ‘crypto-fascist’ Republican political candidate with substantial electoral support. In the 1970s however he was leading a revival of the Ku Klux Klan, albeit with a more moderate image than in the past. There were also articles and news updates concerning other prominent members of the extreme right. For example, Christian Vanguard published Identity

29 Marks, Faces of Right Wing Extremism, pp. 47 – 48.
32 ‘Crypto-fascist’ is a term coined by Roger Griffin referring to individuals or groups who outwardly uphold liberal democratic politics but secretly maintain ultra-nationalist and fascist tendencies. See Roger Griffin, The Nature of Fascism (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 166 – 167.
related articles from Pastor Dan Gayman, the leader of the Church of Israel based in Missouri and a leading figure within the Identity movement.\textsuperscript{34} An example outside of Christian Identity was Robert E. Miles, a Grand Dragon in the United Klans of America organisation, and the leader of the Mountain Church based in Michigan. Miles was imprisoned for six years in 1973 for a planned attack on empty school buses.\textsuperscript{35} During this time he wrote an article for \textit{Christian Vanguard}, concerning the building of racially pure political parties,\textsuperscript{36} and there were also calls from other writers for the lobbying for his release.\textsuperscript{37} These connections were also transnational. \textit{Christian Vanguard} offered extreme right publications from Belgium, Italy and South Africa to their readers,\textsuperscript{38} and had foreign correspondents in Rhodesia, South Africa, Canada and Chile.\textsuperscript{39} The exact role of these individuals is unknown, but it nevertheless displays that the NCCC were in contact with groups and individuals outside of America. This theme of transnationalism will be revisited in more detail in the next chapter.

With these interlinks in mind, it is worth considering the term ‘groupuscular’ in greater detail, as the NCCC displays many of the characteristics associated with the term. No clear conclusions can be made on the membership size the NCCC except that it was small, and when compared to the mass membership fascist organisations of inter-war Europe, its membership was miniscule. However, this small size is characteristic of political groupuscules, and they are significant in other ways. Through the interconnections with other Christian Identity organisations, Ku Klux Klan groups, and other significant thinkers within the extreme right, both nationally and internationally, the NCCC can be seen as a significant groupuscule within a larger sub-culture. In

\textsuperscript{34} For example see: Pastor Dan Gayman, ‘Wanted: Jesus Christ’, \textit{Christian Vanguard}, Issue 79, July 1978, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Christian Vanguard}, Issue 54, June 1976, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Christian Vanguard}, Issue 69, September 1977, p. 7.
this sense it can be seen, as Griffin puts it, as a ‘nodal point in a
centreless synchronic and diachronic communications network’ which
allows for the ideological survival of fascism.\(^{40}\) As will be seen, the
NCCC did espouse a radical and revolutionary ideology, which as such
could survive in a web of groupings like that which Griffin and Bale
among others describe.

**Crusader Action!**

Throughout *Christian Vanguard*, many examples of action can be seen.
The action arm of the NCCC from its inception until 1977 was the
‘Crusader’ movement, and through this the NCCC stylised itself as an
action organisation. To become a Crusader, the applicant confirmed
that they wanted to ‘participate in an action organisation’. \(^{41}\) They
claimed to picket churches that did not conform to Christian Identity
theology, and were regularly involved in demonstrations. Also,
pictures were often printed of anti-segregation marches, with
uniformed members waving NCCC flags.\(^ {42}\) In this sense, the Church
was engaged in activity associated with inter-war fascism, in that
these uniformed marches were throw backs to the paramilitaryism
prevailing in the era. There were also other ways that the Church was
active. For example, the Church used the legal system as a means of
action. In one case, Rev. Rick Norton, a writer for *Christian Vanguard*
set up a civil defence fund for a man who had shot and killed a black
thief who had stolen a woman’s purse. For Norton this set a dangerous
precedent, and he argued that minority pressure groups were
attempting to railroad the defendant into prison.\(^ {43}\) They were also
involved in inter-organisational activity. In September 1976 the group
held the National Convention of the New Christian Crusade Church,

\(^{40}\) Roger Griffin, ‘Net Gains and GUD Reactions: Patterns of Prejudice in a
\(^ {41}\) *Christian Vanguard*, Issue 47, November 1975, p. 12.
\(^ {42}\) *Ibid*.
\(^ {43}\) ‘Complaint Follows Inquest Ruling; Fund Started for Accused’, in *Progress
Bulletin*, Pomona, California, 31 August 1972, p. 1,
where many extreme right speakers made speeches to a large congregation. Among the speakers were Warner and Norton from within the Church, Pastor Dan Gayman of the Church of Israel, and speakers from Germany and Canada.\textsuperscript{44}

The specific action of the Crusaders had ground to a halt by the end of 1977 however, which directly tied into Metzger’s departure from the Church. Metzger had always been heavily involved with the Crusaders, with Crusader action generally being reported by him in \textit{Christian Vanguard}, and he also became the national director of the Crusaders in the summer of 1976.\textsuperscript{45} However, from October 1977, Metzger’s name was removed from all subsequent issues, and it was announced that all ministers had to be re-ordained. From around this time, mentions of action in \textit{Christian Vanguard} no longer referred to the Crusaders, and reports on CDL activity became much more frequent. As such, from 1977 the CDL effectively became the direct action section of the NCCC. CDL activity continued in a similar vain to Crusader activity. They spent much effort in 1977 and early 1978 rallying against the ‘Kosher Food Racket’.\textsuperscript{46} This was a common myth among the extreme right, which theorised that all Kosher products had a secret tax which funded the Zionist conspiracy.\textsuperscript{47} The CDL supported a lawsuit filed by Maurice Palmer in the summer of 1977 against the labelling of food products as Kosher, with Warner being present at court. They also demonstrated outside the court, holding signs and apparently preaching to students.\textsuperscript{48} The reporting of CDL activity continued from 1977 and well into 1978, where they appealed for volunteers in lobbying against Hollywood’s ‘anti-Christian’

\textsuperscript{46} For example see: \textit{Christian Vanguard}, Issue 68, August 1977, p. 4.
propaganda,\textsuperscript{49} participated in a Holocaust Denial march,\textsuperscript{50} and defeated a sex education bill in Louisiana.\textsuperscript{51}

Clearly then, the NCCC was an active organisation through the Crusaders and the CDL. However, it is worth asking here whether any of this action can be considered revolutionary, and thus whether it could be considered as fascist. A level of mimicry can be seen in the uniformed marches, while Holocaust Denial is a key aspect of post-war neo-Nazi belief. Still, the action on show was non-violent, small scale and largely irrelevant in the broader political picture, while the actual content of much of this direct action can hardly be separated from the hate politics of non-fascist populist radical right groups. Once again however, it must be reiterated that in the conditions of 1970s America, a revolutionary mass movement in the style of the Nazis was beyond the realms of possibility. As such, revolutionary activity would have to be carried in different ways. The activity which the Church engaged in was still racist and anti-Semitic in its nature, and was a direct attack on the perceived Zionist establishment. In the next chapter it will be demonstrated that underpinning this action was a revolutionary and palingenetic vision, and as such the action noted above can be seen as a fascist endeavour.

From the second half of 1978 mentions of action began to wane. At this time the advertising of Sons of Liberty books increased and more reliance on reprinted material can be noted. As such it can be said that \textit{Christian Vanguard} had entered a state of decline. Sons of Liberty advertising always played a prominent role in \textit{Christian Vanguard}, and there is certainly an argument that the NCCC was more of a business than an organisation with actual political intent. Warner created Sons of Liberty before he created the NCCC, and the theft of the mailing lists of other groups gave him obvious advantages when creating a right


wing book service. Also the manner in which Warner made a U-turn on his reservations about Christian Identity were perhaps because he saw a larger target audience in the incorporation of Christianity to his ideology. Furthermore, Rev. Norton stated in 1972 that he worked with ‘Christian-orientated businesses’.

Clearly, Warner was an opportunist but it is difficult to envisage that he treated the Church solely as a business, due to his long term history in neo-Nazi circles and the activity of the Church up to 1978. *Christian Vanguard’s* content from the late 1970s declined, but that does not undo the significance it held within the movement in the previous six years noted above. It more readily reflects a broader fade into obscurity for Warner and by extension the NCCC and the CDL. Warner’s move to Louisiana was preceded by his fallout of popularity in California due to rumours about his sexuality and his alleged theft of Swift’s mailing list, while Kaplan has noted that he retired from David Duke’s Klan due to the shadow casted by Duke’s media-savvy public appearances.

Also, the mysterious nature of Metzger’s departure seems to point towards a split of some kind here as well. In the end then, the NCCC and its associated organisations faded into obscurity as Warner himself became more and more reclusive.

**Conclusions**

Multiple conclusions can be drawn out from this chapter. Firstly, considering Warner’s heritage in other neo-Nazi parties, it can be said that the NCCC arose out of a neo-Nazi and fascistic groupuscule network. Secondly, it can be concluded that the NCCC fits the profile of a groupuscule in terms of its membership size and relations to other organisations, which for Griffin and Bale is symptomatic of fascist ideology. Here it can also be noted that this interconnection with other


aspects of the right fits the profile which Marks and Zeskind draw out in their surveys of the extreme right.\textsuperscript{54} The NCCC can be seen as another aspect of this, yet simply saying this would underplay its influence to an extent. Their readership was spread across America, while reverends ran services in the Church’s name in multiple states. This was of course still small scale activity, but in the context of marginalised extreme right politics the Church’s reach should not be underestimated. Furthermore, among the members of the NCCC were ideologues that were, or would go on to be significant figures in the American extreme right sub-culture. Warner’s lineage to Rockwell and Swift, the presence of leading rightists such as Metzger and Mullins, and the interconnections with other aspects of Christian Identity and the religious right display an organisation which should not be cast aside. Finally, the Church was engaged in much activity which, although may seem trivial, was racist, anti-Semitic and anti-establishment in its nature, which as will be seen in the next chapter was underpinned by a fascist ideology.

\textsuperscript{54} Leonard Zeskind, \textit{Blood and Politics: The History of the White Nationalist movement from the Margins to the Mainstream} (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009); Marks, \textit{Faces of Right-Wing Extremism}. 
Chapter 2: The Ideology of the New Christian Crusade Church

This chapter will analyse the ideology espoused by *Christian Vanguard* with new consensus theories of fascism in mind. Griffin’s notion of ‘palingenetic populist ultranationalism’, Eatwell’s revolutionary ‘Third Way’, and Stanley Payne’s idea of fascism being a form of revolutionary nationalism will all be drawn out. Furthermore, the recent historiographical trend of studying post-war fascism as a transnational movement, and the millenarian core to Christian Identity will also be discussed. Finally, the NCCC will be shown to have been part of a ‘cultic milieu’, a concept which has been related to the extreme right by Kaplan, Simonelli and Jackson. These different ways of conceptualising fascist ideologies and movements are not mutually exclusive. Instead, in NCCC ideology and in other fascist ideologies they interlink and cross-over to form a political ideology which stands apart from others.

**Palingenetic Mythology**

As noted in the introduction, for Griffin one of the key components of the fascist minimum is a palingenetic myth – a mythologised past which is used as a rallying point and vision to form a revolutionary new order.¹ At the heart of Christian Identity theology is the notion that the Aryan race is the nation of Israel which God speaks to through the Bible. This is explicitly referenced throughout *Christian Vanguard*, for example Comparet asserts that:

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It is impossible to truly understand the Bible – or any part of it – without understanding that the Anglo-Saxon-Germanic and Scandinavian peoples of today are the ISRAEL of the Bible.²

At this most basic level, the Aryan race is biblically mythologised as the direct descendants of the Israelites. As will be demonstrated, this mythologised concept of race is then used as a driving force to bring on a racial and national rebirth through a battle with the Jewish enemy.

A key part of a palingenetic ideology is a mythologised ‘origins story’ of the nation which a fascist organisation or ideologue wants to see reborn. In an article from the October 1975 issue of Christian Vanguard titled ‘God’s Battleaxe’, Comparet traces the Aryan race across time through a great but embattled history.³ In this narrative, following their deportation from Israel the Aryan Israelites became the nomadic Scythian peoples. The article details the exploits of the Scythians, such as the sacking of the Assyrian Empire with the help of the Medes, and a part in the Mede conquering of Babylon. They then migrated to Europe and became the Germanic tribes who played a key role in the downfall of Rome. From there, they became the Angles and Saxons, and then the Anglo-Saxons who made up the contemporary Aryan race. In the modern age the eminence of the Aryans continued, where they developed into ‘great nations which made modern history’, and conquered large swathes of the world.⁴ Of course much of this contains historical truth, yet it is written as a narrative which reinforces the greatness and destiny of the white race. For Comparet, the triumphs of the Aryan race over others are proof of a prophecy foretold by God. Using quotes mainly from the Old Testament, he declares that God prophesised and directly aids the white race in a battle to create a pure, Godly society. He frames the article around the

⁴ Ibid.
notion of the Aryans being ‘God’s battleaxe’ using a quote from Jeremiah:

Thou art My battleaxe weapons of war: for with thee I will break in pieces the nations and with thee I will destroy kingdoms.⁵

He argues that though allowing the Jews to live amongst the nations of Israel has permitted them to set Christendom against itself, God’s prophecy is ‘unconditional’ and as such will be fulfilled.⁶ Thus, the Aryan race is on a mission defined by God to establish His nation, and this mission has been ongoing throughout the narrative Comparet creates. So in this article, Comparet creates a typically fascist palingenetic metanarrative which looks back to a racially and religiously mythologized past and characterises it as a driving force for the creation of a new order.

In other sections of Christian Vanguard, a less overtly religious palingenetic vision can be drawn out. Throughout are pieces titled ‘Heroes of The White Race’, which further create a sense of a mythologised past. One example celebrates General George Patton. It is argued here that he is ‘one of America’s greatest heroes’ for his military achievements, and his opposition to communists and Jews. He apparently concurred with the NCCC that both the Jews and the communists were a sub-human species, the latter due to their Russian and Asiatic race. He was thus assassinated by the Jewish conspiracy, and goes down as a martyr of the white race.⁷ Both of these examples further illustrate the palingenetic current within Christian Vanguard. The heroes of the white race embody the greatness of the Aryan people, and remind readers of the ‘true’ nature of their racial nation and thus its destiny to rise back to greatness.⁸

⁵ Ibid., p. 6; Jeremiah 51:20, King James Bible Online, <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Jeremiah-Chapter-51/#20> [last accessed 20 April 2016].
So throughout *Christian Vanguard* a palingenetic current can be observed which fits directly into Griffin’s notion of the term. These mythologies can be observed in all forms of true fascism. For the Nazis their myth was similarly based on the racial superiority of the Aryan’s, but also celebrated their *Volkish* routes,\(^9\) while for the Italian Fascists Italy’s great pre-liberal past was at the core of their mythologised concept of the Italian nation.\(^10\) Like the NCCC did, the Nazi’s and Fascist’s both looked back to this mythology as a driving force for a ‘return’ to greatness. As such, it can be said that NCCC ideology is united with these other forms of fascism through their palingenetic core.

**Ultranationalism and Transnationalism - White People of the World Unite!**

For Griffin a palingenetic myth alone does not constitute fascism, but rather a combination of ‘palingenetic populist ultranationalism’. This section will focus on the latter of the three terms. He defines ultranationalism as ‘forms of nationalism which “go beyond”, and hence reject, anything compatible with liberal institutions or with the tradition of Enlightenment humanism which underpins them’.\(^11\) Griffin is not alone in seeing nationalism as a core part of fascist ideology however, this sentiment is shared by all historians of fascism. Once again we will focus on the new consensus and Payne similarly argues that fascism is, among other things, a ‘revolutionary form of nationalism’.\(^12\) In *Christian Vanguard*, both Griffin’s and Payne’s ideas can be drawn out, as will be seen below. Furthermore, the NCCC’s proposed route to their new order can be seen as transnationalist, which corroborates the recent historiographical focus of studying

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fascist movements through their transnational links exemplified by Mammonne.

As mentioned, the nation of Israel is the subject of the NCCC’s ideology. This nation is defined by two major characteristics. Firstly, the nation is a biblical entity and their shared religion is a basis for their rebirth into a new world order. However, first and foremost the nation of Israel was an Aryan nation, and to the NCCC the scattered Aryan peoples of the world were still the nation of Israel which God spoke to in the Bible. This idea is most clearly set out in an article by a common writer for Christian Vanguard, Phillip Jones, titled ‘Love within the Bounds of the White Race’. The future society he envisioned was one which totally obeyed God’s laws. Its sovereignty would lie in God, and the Church and the state would work in unison to declare and enforce the laws of God. However, race is a precondition for entrance into the Godly society. A truly Godly society could not be accomplished until the ‘government and nation are cleansed of all the non-Israel peoples who are certainly opposed to obeying God’s laws’. Furthermore, the adherence to God’s law would alleviate all of the problems in the contemporary world, as to live by God’s rules would be to live in a racially pure nation. Certainly this vision can be seen as revolutionary, or as a rejection of liberal and Enlightenment values as Griffin puts it. The importance of the individual in the envisioned society is superseded by a commitment to a ‘higher’ spiritual and racial community, whose laws are defined not by people, but by God. However, rather than a traditional nationalism centred on an existing nation-state, this doctrine can be seen as transnationalist, and Pan-Aryan.

With this in mind, it becomes questionable whether or not a Pan-Aryan, transnational movement can be seen as nationalist, or ultranationalist. Using Benedict Anderson’s idea of a nation being an ‘imagined community’, Durham and Margaret Power have noted that

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14 Ibid., p. 6.
15 Ibid., pp. 6 – 7.
the far right is capable imagining a transnational community, just as they can imagine a national community.\textsuperscript{16} Though this is true, it has to be clarified for the nationalism of the NCCC, where a differentiation has to be made between the envisioned society and the movement for change. The community imagined in \textit{Christian Vanguard} was transnational, in that the white race was spread across many national boundaries of the modern age, yet the society envisioned was a single community united under God’s jurisdiction by their race. For the NCCC the scattered white peoples of the world still remained the nation of Israel, and as such at the most theoretical level they did not recognise modern national boundaries. Thus, they envisioned a single nation-state. If the nation was defined merely by religion, the NCCC could be seen as an anti-nationalist movement, yet its combination with Pan-Aryanism limits what this community could be by creating a sense of an ‘us’ and a ‘them’. Furthermore, in the new world order, the state of Israel could coexist with other nations (a point which will be returned to in the following section), as long as their own racial uniformity was not threatened.\textsuperscript{17} The exact borders of this nation are never clearly defined, but the point nevertheless stands. The NCCC’s envisioned society can be seen as nationalist, and when combined with its revolutionary ambitions their vision fits into Griffin’s sense of ultranationalism, and Payne’s ideas about revolutionary nationalism.

However, Jones’s ideal vision must be contrasted with how other writers dealt with the means of attaining such a society, and here contemporary nation-states are recognised. The method for success is most clearly set out by Warner. In an editorial piece, the perceived success of the Asian People’s Anti-Communist League, which later became the World Anti-Communist League is used as a potential blueprint for the method of challenging the worldwide Jewish

\textsuperscript{17} See references 25 and 26.
conspiracy. The essay argues that the Asian countries saw that communism had to be fought on an international level, and thus formed the World Anti-Communist League. From here, Warner calls for national meetings of the American Right to be organised. The aim of these meetings would be to discuss ‘issues vital to the survival of our nation’, and to unite the different American rightist organisations against the Jewish conspiracy. Once this task was complete, they could go on and join with others throughout the world in the ‘titanic fight against the Jewish World Conspiracy’. In this sense, Warner acknowledges that the fight for Israel was both a national and international struggle, that would start in America, and then join with other similar movements in different nations. Thus it can be said that while the envisioned society of the NCCC was an ultranationalist vision, the proposed movement for change was transnationalist.

When this transnational conception for the process of the revolution is considered with the transnational links to other organisations referred to in the first chapter, it can be concluded that the NCCC was both part of a transnational movement, and ideologically perceived their movement in this way. It is thus consistent with the transnational trends in post-war fascism highlighted by historians such as Mamonne. Furthermore, it can also be concluded that at the heart of the NCCC’s ideology was an idealised ultranationalist vision which can be considered as part of both Griffin’s fascist minimum and as part of Payne’s basic description of fascism. Both of these observations further the idea that the NCCC can be considered as a fascist organisation.

**Oppositional Politics, Populism, and a Revolutionary ‘Third Way’**

As with many fascist publications, perhaps the most immediately noticeable feature of *Christian Vanguard* is its extreme racism and

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oppositional politics. Through *Christian Vanguard’s* racism, anti-Semitism, anti-communism and anti-establishmentarianism, both Griffin’s notion of ‘populism’, and Eatwell’s idea of a ‘Third Way’ can be observed. Moreover, the oppositional politics on show are directly influenced by the Nazi’s, which further builds the case that the NCCC was a fascist organisation. These ideas will now be explored in more detail.

For the NCCC, white people were racially, culturally, and divinely superior to all other races on the planet, while black people, Asians and Jews are commonly referred to as sub-human. However, in *Christian Vanguard* an extreme anti-Semitism stands apart from ideas about other races. It is clear when reading the newspaper that though races apart from Jews cannot coexist with Aryans in the new Israel, they nevertheless could coexist as part of other nations. Warner’s referral and praise of the Asian People’s Anti-Communist League just noted displays such sentiment,20 while the paper commonly expresses support for the Arabs in their conflict with the modern day Israel and the Jews.21 As such in can be said that the NCCC took a line of segregation towards said races. Jews on the other hand are treated as binary enemies. Not only were they a sub-human race, but they were also the literal spawn of Satan. This ‘two-seed’ theory was common in Christian Identity, and in this line of thinking the Jews waged both a racial and religious war as the agents of Satan against the Aryans as the agents of God.22 For example, in an article posthumously published in *Christian Vanguard* written by Wesley Swift, the Jews represented the ‘Luciferian kingdom’ and this kingdom’s goal was the ‘crushing of Christianity’.23 Through their control of governments and media they waged a cultural war against the Aryans to twist their thinking, values and traditions. According to James Combs this control included, TV, TV

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20 Ibid.
21 For example, see the uncredited article ‘World’s Leading Terrorists’ in *Christian Vanguard*, Issue 124, April 1982, pp. 1 – 2.
advertisements, films, music, and publishing. For Combs, this media control lowers white Christians to ‘culturally-degenerate’ depths. With this in mind, the NCCC calls for the white race to take up arms in a millenarian struggle, and ‘begin the cleansing of the land’ in the name of God, and the tradition of their heroic warrior race. So in regards to their racist politics, the NCCC aimed to segregate themselves from other sub-human races, as well as participate in a millenarian battle to cleanse the world of the racially inferior and unholy Jews.

As part of their tactics in the war against the white race, the Jews employed communism as a method for destruction. For the NCCC, communism was set up in the interests of the Jewish race as a veiled means of achieving world domination, as communism turned men into slaves to the state. Much effort is also spent in proving that the US government is in league with Soviet communism. For example, it is argued that President Carter in negotiating a fishing deal with Cuba was actively supporting both Cuba and the USSR. When this racism, anti-Semitism, anti-communism, and anti-establishmentarianism are all considered together, multiple themes of fascism can be drawn out. Firstly, the similarities to Nazi ideology must be noted. The Nazis pursued a similar policy of excluding all other races from their Aryan nation, and of course had a particular obsession with the Jewish race. They also similarly saw bolshevism as a Jewish force, and as Berlet notes shared a concept of a millenarial struggle against these forces.

28 Ibid.
Considering Warner’s roots in neo-Nazism and the consistent direct allusions to Nazism found in *Christian Vanguard*, such as the printing of swastikas,\(^{31}\) it can be said that NCCC ideology was heavily informed by Nazi fascism. Furthermore, in the racism, anti-Semitism, anti-communism, and anti-establishmentarianism of the NCCC one can easily see Griffin’s notion of populism, as these crude anti-politics are designed to illicit mass appeal, even if in the circumstances of 1970s America this could not be attained.\(^{32}\) Finally, Eatwell’s notion of a ‘Third Way’ between Eastern communism and Western liberal capitalism can be seen in their anti-communist and anti-establishment rhetoric. Due to the belief that both the US capitalist establishment, and world socialism are controlled by Jews, the effort to create a new world order based on a mythologised ‘higher’ racial and religious form of politics evokes the sense of finding a third way outside of the liberal capitalist West, and the socialist East.\(^{33}\)

So through the oppositional politics of the NCCC, one can draw out multiple themes of fascism. The direct influence of Nazism is plain to see, as they shared the same enemies, and a millenarian core to their ideology. Furthermore, the idea of a revolutionary ‘Third Way’ can also be drawn out, which is at the basis of Eatwell’s ideas about what constitutes fascism. When this is combined with Griffin’s idea of palingenetic populist ultranationalism, and Payne’s idea of fascism being a revolutionary form of nationalism, both of which have been shown to exist within *Christian Vanguard* doctrine, it can be concluded that the ideology of the NCCC does fit into new consensus definitions of fascism.

**Read and Pass On! – *Christian Vanguard* and the ‘Cultic Milieu’**

This final section will focus on how the NCCC’s ideology, its proposed methodology for attaining their goal, and its organisational structure

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\(^{31}\) For example, see *Christian Vanguard*, Issue 34, Sept 1974, p. 3.


all combined to generate a ‘cultic milieu’. This term was initially conceptualised by Colin Campbell in the 1970s. He hypothesised that small-scale, marginalised, and counter-cultural groups often existed as part of, and contributed to a broader ‘cultic milieu’: a sub-culture defined by ‘deviant’ status, an access to ‘higher truths’, and an ideology of seekership involving many sparsely organised groups. As noted in the introduction, Kaplan, Simonelli, and Jackson have all used this terminology to refer to extreme right and fascist sub-cultures. The notion of a cultic milieu also applies to the NCCC.

The ideology of *Christian Vanguard* immediately elicits cultic themes. As mentioned, the NCCC totally rejected the mainstream due to its Jewish control, and the writers prided themselves in their oppositional status to the establishment. Furthermore, the readers of the newspaper were referred to as the ‘elect watchmen’ due to their knowledge of the higher purpose of the white race, and the secretive Jewish conspiracy. Moreover, their goal of the establishment of a new Israel evokes the notion of seekership which Campbell sees as important to the concept of a cultic milieu. So in the basic ideological tenets of the NCCC, themes of the cultic milieu are present. These themes can also be seen in their proposed methodology for attaining the new Israel. Though calls to ‘rise up’ and ‘fight’ against the Jewish conspiracy were common in *Christian Vanguard*, the NCCC was still very much a marginalised organisation with very little power to effect any real change. Due to a self-awareness of this position, the more immediate doctrine on direct action took the form of spreading the message of Christian Identity to others. This action was to be performed through the Crusaders, whose other activities have already been noted in the previous chapter.

In joining the Crusaders, the applicant undertook four pledges:

1. Spread the Kingdom Identity message.

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2. Advance Aryan Christian culture, socially, politically and racially.

3. Participate in public literature distribution.

4. Support financially THE CRUSADER ACTION PROGRAM.\(^{36}\)

As can be seen, pledges one and three directly demand the spreading of the Christian Identity message. In joining the Crusaders, the participant would pay monthly fees to the Church on top of their subscription fee, and receive extra copies of *Christian Vanguard* and tapes to distribute the message, where they were encouraged to go out in the early hours and leave them on doorsteps for people to wake up to.\(^{37}\) They also offered tapes which explained Christian Identity theology, and a film created by the NCCC called ‘Kingdom Identity’ which served the same function.\(^{38}\) On top of this, members were asked to write letters to editors of their local mainstream newspapers about ‘God’s real chosen people’ and Holocaust Denial among other things.\(^{39}\)

Essentially then, alongside the more traditional action noted in the first chapter, the NCCCs policy on action was to encourage their readers to act of their own accord to spread the message of *Christian Vanguard*. This does not mean that they lost their revolutionary and palingenetic ambitions. On the contrary, in focusing on disseminating a world view, the action of the Church was working to create the conditions for a future revolution by awakening their race, and as such were actively working to bring on the new world order. The notion of palingenesis also applies here, as the task of message distribution was presented as a God given duty. This is evidenced in an article by Norton, which spelled out the different ways a reader could act and asserted that:

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\(^{38}\) *Ibid.*

\(^{39}\) *Ibid.*
There will be a day when each of us will be held accountable - and we will be asked, “what did you do to help bring Christ’s Kingdom here on Earth - and defeat his enemies?”. 40

These revolutionary and palingenetic dimensions to this methodology of action clearly evoke themes of the cultic milieu, in that *Christian Vanguard* provided a sense of higher purpose or mission to its readers, and presents the NCCC as an organisation of seekership.

The idea that the NCCC contributed to, and was part of a broader ‘cultic milieu’ is further evidenced by its sparse organisational structure. Its size was by and large made up of its readership, as noted in the first chapter. As such its members were tied together as part of an ideological milieu rather than by traditional organisational membership. For Campbell, literature played an important role in keeping alive the cultic milieu,41 a point which Jackson in particular has explored in relation to fascist movements,42 and this was certainly true for the NCCC. Furthermore, the fact that Warner used his mailing lists from other secular neo-Nazi organisations meant that the organisation arose out of a fascist cultic milieu in the first place and continued to exist as part of it. Kaplan and Simonelli have both highlighted this national socialist cultic milieu,43 as mentioned in the introduction, and the NCCC can be seen as another organisation within it. The fact that the NCCC was part of a broader cultic milieu which included many fascist organisations, coupled with the notion that the fascist elements to their ideology, such as palingenetic mythology,

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41 Campbell, ‘The Cult, the Cultic Milieu, and Secularization’, p. 15.
predisposed them to an existence as a cultic organisation, further highlights how the NCCC can be seen as a fascist organisation.

Conclusions

To conclude, multiple themes of fascism can be drawn out in the ideology of the NCCC. It has been shown here that NCCC ideology readily fits into Griffin’s notion of ‘palingenetic populist ultranationalism’ and Eatwell’s notion of a revolutionary ‘Third Way’. Stanley Payne’s description of fascism as a revolutionary form of nationalism also clearly applies. It has been demonstrated that instead of merely ‘scavenging’ or simply being reactionary as Mosse and Linz respectively argue, they wanted to create something genuinely new, which according to the new consensus is at the core of fascism. When these ideological components are combined with the fact that the NCCC was part of a fascistic cultic milieu, and saw itself as part of a transnational movement, both of which are considered by historians of fascism as common features of post-war fascism, it can be concluded that the NCCC was a fascist organisation.

Conclusion

This study’s aims were two-fold. Firstly, it endeavoured to shed light on an organisation which has received little in-depth scholarly attention, and secondly it has argued that the NCCC was a fascist organisation. It has been demonstrated that the NCCC arose out of a neo-Nazi background, and though it was small in scale, it still had a reach across America. Furthermore, among its members were some significant figures within the American extreme right. Its significance was also magnified through its groupuscular ties to other organisations and figures. These groupuscular dynamics have been shown to exist in the US extreme right by Marks and Zeskind, but Griffin and Bale both argue that it is also commonly a form which fascist organisations take in the post-war period. This network in general exuded themes of a cultic milieu to which the NCCC can be seen to have contributed to. Furthermore, this network and cultic milieu even before the NCCC was formed already contained fascist groups and ideas in the form of secular neo-Nazism, of which Warner was part of. The network was also transnational, in that the NCCC had links with overseas organisations, and saw their route to victory against the Jewish conspiracy as being fought transnationally. As demonstrated, all these themes have been highlighted by historians as common in post-war fascist dynamics.

On top of this, the ideology of the NCCC clearly fits into new consensus definitions of fascism. Griffin’s notion of ‘palingenetic populist ultranationalism’, Payne’s idea of fascism being a revolutionary form of nationalism, and Eatwell’s notion of a revolutionary ‘Third Way’ are all evident within the NCCC’s ideology. It could be said that in the populist rhetoric of Christian Vanguard, Paxton’s notion of fascism often being about mobilising passions also comes through, as does Linz’s conclusion that fascism is defined by what it is against. Furthermore,
Mosse’s notion of a ‘scavenger ideology’ has also been shown to fit the NCCC’s ideology. However, these ideas disregard the extent that the NCCC’s ideology was set apart from others and did strive for a coherent revolutionary vision. It has been displayed that this vision was actively pursued in the anti-establishmentarian action noted in Chapter One, and in the focus on disseminating the ideology of *Christian Vanguard* to awaken the white race for a future millenarian struggle. As such, it can be said that the NCCC, in its structure, ideology, and action, was a fascist organisation.

It was noted in the introduction that Bale and Coogan argue that Christian Identity was not a form of neo-fascism, due to its close ties with generic white supremacism and fundamentalism. However, the case of the NCCC in particular provides a rich example of why they are mistaken. Not only does it exude the fascist themes noted above, but it was born out of a cultic milieu which already contained neo-Nazi ideologies, and was formed by a man with direct ties to them. The fact that Nazi ideological tenets were plain to see in *Christian Vanguard* rhetoric, along with the consistent allusions to Nazism found throughout the paper further display that the NCCC can be seen as a fascist organisation. Bale and Coogan are right to point out Christian Identity’s ties to fundamentalism, yet in the case of the NCCC its origins in neo-Nazism displays how its roots lay in fascism just as much as they did in religion. Berlet and Lyons recognised this with Christian Identity in general, and as mentioned characterised the religion as a form of ‘clerical fascism’. However, in studying the ideology of the NCCC, this can also be challenged. Clerical fascism normally refers to inter-war examples of fascism which combine fascism with mainstream, generally Catholic religion.¹ For the NCCC however, its fascist ideology was part of the religious doctrine itself. As shown in Chapter Two, the ultranationalist and racist elements to the doctrine were built in parts of the theology of the church and as such they formed a very marginalised fascist religion. Thus, the use of the

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terminology is inaccurate. Certainly it was a form of religious fascism, and the exact terminology for describing Christian Identity is perhaps an area which historians could explore further in future studies. It can certainly be concluded however, that the NCCC was a fascist organisation.
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