

# Globalism's 'siren song': the United Nations and international law in Christian Right thought and prophecy<sup>1</sup>

*Didi Herman*

---

## Abstract

The role of the American Christian Right (CR) as an international social movement has perhaps received less attention than it is due. In this article, I explore the underlying global vision of the CR, and the ways in which this vision shapes the CR's international political activism. I focus on the CR's construction of the United Nations, examining various CR genres including movement publications, fiction, and prophecy writing. I also attempt to analyse the CR's ideological stance in light of the literature on 'religion and globalisation'.

Imperatives for the future include:

To take energetic action within the NGO process to blunt or prevent new assaults on family integrity; to identify, protect, and help advance existing 'friends of the family' within the U.N. Secretariat; to 'place' such friends in positions of current or potential influence within the U.N. Secretariat; And to build an international movement of 'religiously grounded family morality systems' that can influence and eventually shape social policy at the United Nations (Carlson, 2000).

## 1. Introduction

In the final days of the 20th century, a remarkable conference took place in Geneva, Switzerland. The opening event, a plenary gathering held in the imposing United Nations Palais, was addressed by, amongst others, the United Nations Head of NGO Relations, the wife of assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and the American Ambassador to Gambia. The remainder of the conference, continuing for three further days at a five star hotel in the centre of Geneva, included sessions on 'A Life-long Covenant of Marriage', 'The Needs of Children', and 'The Family at the UN'. The conference, World Congress of

Families II (WCFII), brought together conservative religious activists, representing the three monotheistic faiths, from around the world.

This event was not unprecedented. In 1997, the first WCF was held in Prague, where a narrower range of actors issued a Declaration in defence of the 'natural family', explained as 'the fundamental unit, inscribed in human nature, and centred around the voluntary union of a man and a woman in a lifelong covenant of marriage'.<sup>2</sup>

Then, in 1998, from a WCFII planning meeting in Rome, where activists were meeting to lobby against the creation of an international criminal court, came 'A Call From the Families of the World' – a statement intended to form the basis of consensus for the WCFII in Geneva. This 'Call' primarily concerned the need to defend the 'natural family' from 'certain social, political and economic forces' that 'under slogans such as "modernity", "globalization", and "progress", and in the name of "Civil Society" ... have weakened the bonds between husband and wife, parent and child, and the generations'.<sup>3</sup>

Ironically, although perhaps not surprising, was the omission from these statements of any mention of religion itself. However, this was rectified in Geneva, where a clear statement that 'the natural human family is established by the Creator and essential to a good society' was affirmed in November, 1999.<sup>4</sup>

The religious actors adopting this platform represented faiths that are, undoubtedly, opposed theologically. As competing monotheisms, each belief-system has a long history of mutual antagonism and persecution. Nevertheless, the WCFII is an example of the curious global alliance, arguably pragmatic, expedient, temporary, and inherently unstable, between conservative Christians, Jews, and Muslims, emerging around a 'pro-family' agenda at the end of the 20th century.

Although the WCFII event reflected a more diverse range of participants than its precursor, American conservative Christians predominated amongst delegates, speakers, and organizers. Indeed, the WCFII represented a new sophistication on the part of American activists: the recognition that conservative social change, at the global level, requires a networked alliance of orthodoxies. Indeed, this recognition is explicit; in the words of the US organization The Howard Centre, a leading conservative Christian organization:

The World Congress of Families coalition model represents the final option for an effective pro-family movement worldwide. All coalition members, usually orthodox religious believers, are asked to set aside their own personal theological and cultural differences and agree on one simple, unifying concept: the natural family is the fundamental unit of society. If coalition members can agree on this concept, then all of their other disagreements take a back seat.<sup>5</sup>

In this article, I examine the American ideological foundations to this upsurge in conservative religious activism in international fora.

My analysis is situated in the space between the sociology of religion, and socio-legal accounts of rights-related activism. I attempt to bring these two fields together through exploring the international vision of a religious movement – the American Christian Right (CR). However, in contrast to much previous scholarship on the CR, I am here concerned with the CR's global politics, and its ideological stance on the stage of international legal fora.

Within the sociology of religion, work on conservative religious forces has tended to focus on domestic activities and cultural life, which are now relatively well known.<sup>7</sup> In the United States, CR organizations, such as The Christian Coalition and Concerned Women for America, are now household names. Gary Bauer, for example, president of the Family Research Council, one of the CR's premiere think-tanks, mounted a strong campaign for the Republican presidential nomination in 1999/2000. Even outside America, academics and others are fairly well versed about the CR's socio-political agenda, particularly its 'pro-family' elements.

What is perhaps less well known is that action on these domestic issues is just a part of the CR's orthodox vision. In addition to intensive international missionary work (see also Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, 1996), the CR is active on the global stage in a range of ways, many of these in relation to international legal fora. CR international activity has encompassed such things as: participation in UN-sponsored conferences; lobbying the UN and other international bodies; providing significant leadership to the anti-UN movement in the USA; monitoring the activities of international organizations such as UNESCO and WHO; and providing an extensive critique of what the CR perceives to be the 'global liberal agenda'. CR organizations take credit for, amongst other things, influencing final statements issued by Habitat II in 1996, the Commission on Social Development in 1997 and 1998, the Conference on establishing an International Criminal Court in 1998, and 'Cairo +5' in 1999.<sup>8</sup>

In considering the CR, few sociologists of religion have sought to explain and analyse the CR's international law and policy (as opposed to domestic or missionary) agenda. Peter Beyer, for example, author of the influential *Religion and Globalisation* (1994), highlights religion as an important social factor, yet tends to underplay the international significance of a CR he describes as 'waning' (1994, 132). Flanagan and Jupp's collection, *Postmodernity, Sociology, and Religion* (1996), does not contain a contribution that attempts to analyse the CR's global perspective. And, while Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose (1996) have provided a fascinating account of the exportation of American conservative Christianity to other national contexts, their book does not address the issue of CR political activism and ideology in 'the global space'. Although, in addition to the work noted above, there have been important theoretical developments in the field of 'religion in a global context' (Lechner, 1993; Robertson, 1985, 1989, 1992), the specific global dimensions to CR politics have been significantly overlooked in the sociology of religion literature.

Equally, other accounts, for example of law reform and social movement struggle, have tended to neglect religious actors. Although critical work on women's and lesbian and gay movements in international human rights law has emerged in recent years, conflict on the international stage tends to be posed as being between 'radicals' and 'liberals', with radicals defined as feminists, queer activists, and environmentalists, for example. Few scholars have turned their attention to the considerable inroads being made in international law and policy formation by conservative religious alliances (but see Buss, 1997). For example, Keck and Sikkink (1998), in their important analysis of international advocacy networks, gives the CR virtually no attention at all.

This article about the CR constitutes a contribution to filling this gap in the literature. In what follows, I attempt to expose some of the roots of CR global ideology. Indeed, I argue that it is partly through understanding the international dimensions to CR orthodoxy that some of their domestic activities become more meaningful. I do not focus here on the details of the CR's actual international activism; rather, I explore the underlying ideological vision animating the CR's international political participation.

An understanding of the CR's international vision is important for several reasons. First, the CR is a powerful movement with the ability and talent to influence international policy-making; indeed, it has already done so. Some examples of successful CR impact include: curbing US contributions to the United Nations; injecting an anti-abortion ethos into international population policy and aid; maintaining pressure on the US government to remain non-signatories to international human rights conventions; and influencing the content of final drafts of documents, such as the Platform for Action of the Beijing Women's Conference. Second, a comprehensive analysis of the CR's domestic agenda is not possible without understanding how that agenda is intimately locked into a global program of action. The American CR is not simply interested in combating 'secular liberalism' on American soil; rather, the CR is intent on both internationalising its domestic concerns and shaping its domestic activism in light of CR global understandings. Third, international orthodox alliances, for example between conservative Christianity and conservative Islamicism, are significant forces in global politics. This proved true, for example, at both the 1994 Population Conference in Cairo, and the 1995 Beijing Women's Conference, where a relatively united religious orthodoxy proved a formidable opponent to feminist activists (Buss, 1997).

I focus on one of the CR's primary international targets – the United Nations. I do not explore here CR activism in UN forums – that is a different project (ie: Buss and Herman, 2001) – but, rather, I consider, at an ideological and epistemological level, how the CR comprehends and interprets the UN and its activities.<sup>9</sup> The following section explores CR constructions of the UN and its work. I consider how the CR understands the UN's agenda and philosophy.

In the final section of the article, I examine the significance of the UN in CR endtimes scenarios.

## 2. CR constructions of the United Nations

### (i) *Animating philosophy: Globalism*

The American Christian Right's international concerns are, first and foremost, focused on what they perceive to be the construction of a 'new world order' (NWO). This new world order is comprised of several characteristics. According to the CR perspective, the NWO is animated by a small number of overlapping philosophies, including, for example, socialism, feminism, and environmentalism. The CR uses the term 'globalism' as a catch-phrase to encompass all of these elements. From the CR perspective, leading the drive to extend the NWO are several key organizations, including the United Nations, the European Union, and the World Trade Organization. Finally, this NWO has been established by globalists for a specific reason: to engage in battle with Christ's forces in an (ultimately unsuccessful) attempt to thwart the inevitable reign of Christ on earth. In this sense, the NWO is both an enemy to the CR but, at the same time, a necessary one, in so much as the NWO fulfils prophetic scripture. For this reason, the CR is both fascinated and repelled by the NWO and its component parts.

According to the Christian Right, the United Nations is a kind of 'think-tank' for the dreams and aspirations of globalists. Globalism, for the CR, is, above all, a secular worldview, requiring 'an international system to govern and unite "nation states"'.<sup>10</sup> It is clear that, for the CR, globalism occurs on two levels. On the surface exists a rhetoric of world peace, harmony, and prosperity. Concepts such as the 'global village' or 'one world' epitomise the utopian aspirations of globalists. Beneath this rhetoric, the CR argues, lies a sinister agenda that includes economic and military centralisation, the emasculation of the nation-state, and the inculcation of socialist, feminist, and, most fundamentally, anti-Christian values: 'So we see that perpetual peace and stability have nothing whatever to do with the growing power and arrogance of the UN. On the contrary, we may deduce the true objectives of the UN from its fruits, not its words'.<sup>11</sup> This is put another way by Duck:

The United Nations is trying to establish a long list of universal values to guide nations and individuals. These values ... will not be Christian values. They will be the values of the politically correct humanists, witches, mystics, goddess worshipers, peaceniks, environmentalists, and a wide assortment of other ungodly activists who deem the blood of Jesus a repulsive thought and bow down before the altars of Satan (1998: 82).

It is this globalist 'ideological construction project' (Corbett, 1997: 210) that the CR finds most disturbing. The CR tends to focus on four major themes when analysing the globalist agenda: economic and military centralisation, environmentalism, new age spirituality, and feminism.<sup>12</sup>

The CR points to the UN's economic and military agenda as positive proof of the globalist mission. UN auspices and philosophy are seen to be behind the creation of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, amongst other treaties and institutions (ie: Jeffrey, 1995, ch 13; Van Impe, 1996, ch 5).<sup>13</sup> Militarily, UN peace-keeping missions are viewed by the CR as part of a covert plan to construct a world army ready to take power from nation states following compulsory, universal state disarmament.<sup>14</sup> The CR's critique of global economic institutions, and moves towards multinational armed forces, has strong resonances with an American public fiercely proud of its independence and 'way of life'. CR leaders who deploy secular rhetoric to advance the critique of globalism, such as Patrick Buchanan (1997) and Phyllis Schlafly (1997), have achieved a certain measure of success stoking nativist and protectionist fires.

The CR also focuses, again with some popular resonance, on environmentalist principles as one of the principal tenets of this NWO 'ideological construction project'. Espousing a 'pseudospirituality backed up by pseudoscience' (Corbett, 1997: 210), UN-sponsored events such as Habitat II, or the Kyoto Conference on climate change in 1997, were, for the CR, just one example of this 'anti-family and anti-American ideology' in action.<sup>15</sup> Arguably, the CR's vehement objection to international environmentalism is largely due to the latter's association with new age spirituality: 'Preserving the planet becomes the act of worship, and Christians the enemy'.<sup>16</sup> The UN is thus seen to be behind the construction of a one-world religion – namely, new age spirituality (ie: Corbett, 1998; Gairdner, 1992: 235; Lindsey, 1994: 43; Marrs, 1997: 37–41). The link between international environmentalism and 'the new age' is very clear to the CR: environmentalists are creating 'a religion out of the environment' (Duck, 1998: 82). Both environmentalism and new age religion are, fundamentally, about the anti-Christian worship of 'the earth'.

For the CR, environmentalism also goes hand in hand with feminism (see, for example, Kjos, 1997). The two come together in 'earth-centred' discourse – ideas of the earth as mother, gaia, goddess spirituality and so on (see also Palmer, 1997) – but international feminism has a further agenda on the family and sexuality that the CR opposes with all its might.<sup>17</sup> The United Nations is seen to be a key promoter of international feminism, through conferences such as the Human Rights Conference in Vienna in 1993, the 1994 Population Conference in Cairo, and the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing. One CR activist, at the Geneva WCFII conference in 1999, emphatically stated that the United Nations Population Fund, the World Health Organization,

UNICEF, and the United Nations Human Rights Commission, were 'headed by dedicated hard-line feminists who are enthusiastically implementing the feminist agenda'.<sup>18</sup>

An analysis of the focus on 'international feminism' reveals the CR's deep-seated feminisation and sexualisation of globalist philosophy itself. For example, one writer refers to the 'sirens of globalism' who: 'like the twin sisters who lured away sailors to their deaths in Homer's *The Odyssey* – sing their lovely, mesmerising songs of New World Order' (James, 1997a: 26). Another CR activist, Berit Kjos, identifies the feminist organizations and individuals providing inspiration and leadership to the new world order project (Kjos, 1997, see also Marrs, 1993). Why might the CR gender globalism in this way? Identifying evil as 'woman' is not unprecedented, and is by no means a peculiarly CR attribute. However, a somewhat less obvious point is that seductresses, and 'harlots', play a particular role in conservative Christian theology. Eve, of course, was perhaps the 'first' character to star in this role – seducing Adam to sin and causing the fall which only Christ's Second Coming can reverse. But, in literalist Protestant prophecy, the 'loose woman' returns again at Armageddon in the figure of the woman – the 'mother of whores' – who rides the Beast [Revelation 17:1–8]. Daymond Duck (1998: 83), for example, explicitly links together witches, environmentalism, and Revelation's Harlot. In the more virulently anti-Catholic genre of CR literature, the Vatican itself is feminised in this way and likened to this final female degenerate, while Marian apparitions are viewed as both a confirmation of 'feminist power', and a herald of the end times (see, for example, Hunt, 1994).

Often, indeed usually, international feminism is directly fused to lesbian sexuality. Corbett, for example, out of hundreds of workshops that took place at the Beijing Women's Conference, mentions only the following: 'Lesbianism for the Curious; Spirit and Action: Lesbian Activism from an Interfaith Perspective; Lesbian Flirtation Techniques; Beyond the Trinity Creator' (Corbett, 1997: 218). If globalism in general is heterosexualised as a siren seductress, a kind of femme fatale, reeling 'men' in through the mesmerising rhetoric of peace and prosperity, then global feminism, like its domestic sister, is, at the same time, homosexualised: 'For the first time in U.N. history, a clear place was given to lesbianism'.<sup>19</sup> For example, placing Hilary Clinton on a plane to China with 'a load of lesbians' makes clear that it is crucial to internationalise the CR's anti-gay domestic battles.<sup>20</sup> Finally, then, globalism is gendered, and sexualised, also because of the resonances this has with the CR's domestic anti-feminist and anti-gay analysis and rhetoric (see Herman, 1997).

### *(ii) Implementing globalism: UN Mechanisms*

If globalist philosophy animates the UN, what are its principal socio-political goals, and, how does the organization, at a practical level, implement this agenda? The CR provides fairly detailed explanations in response to both these questions. As discussed above, a large measure of CR time is spent on the UN's

expanding military role (ie: Buchanan, 1997; Schlafly, 1997). The growth of UN peace-keeping forces and, hence, the UN's direct involvement and intervention in the affairs of nation-states, is seen by the CR to be about, ultimately, universal national disarmament and the establishment of a permanent global fighting force. As I discuss below, this global force, for many CR propheticists, will become the army of the Antichrist.

Second, the UN advances very specific economic goals. Although, for the CR, the major economic actors are separate players to the UN as a whole (ie.: the World Bank; the IMF; the WTO), the UN nonetheless plays an important role in the globalist agenda to create a world economic order. It does this by advancing globalist economic philosophy through various UN agencies, such as the UN Development Programme (Robertson 1991: 57), or the International Labor Organization (Van Impe, 1996: 132), and through UN General Assembly Resolutions and Declarations (Robertson, 1991: 207). The UN also serves as a governance model for the construction of other, global economic alliances, all of which work together to achieve the complete centralisation of economic power. Thus, the CR, alongside being a leading proponent of domestic market economies, is, at the same time, one of the fiercest critics of international capital and its governance mechanisms. Hence, the 'strange bedfellow' alliance between CR and left-wing activists at the Seattle world trade protests in 1999.

Finally, in terms of inculcating globalist social values, be they feminist, new ageist, environmentalist, or gay rights, UNESCO, the UN's educational arm, and the UN-sponsored World Health Organization, are two of the key players identified here (Hagee, 1996: 122; Marrs, 1987; Van Impe, 1996: 133).<sup>21</sup> Each organization, through its myriad arms and agencies, promotes and entrenches an anti-Christian mind-set throughout the world. UN Conventions, such as the ones on the Rights of the Child or the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), also come under furious fire. Jeffrey, for example, argues that the Child Convention usurps parental control and constitutes one of the most 'insidious and evil attacks on the family' (Jeffrey, 1995: 176). The John Birch Society repeatedly denounces the 'astounding international takeover of the control of children'.<sup>22</sup>

The CR organization Concerned Women for America has made the campaign against CEDAW and the Child Convention one of its chief concerns.<sup>23</sup> CEDAW, for example, is seen by CWA as nothing more (nor less) than a tool of the 'radical feminist agenda ... to destroy the traditional family structure in the United States'.<sup>24</sup> According to Austin Ruse, President of the Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute, CEDAW 'proves' the triumph of 'radical feminism and anti-family ideologies'.<sup>25</sup> CWA goes so far as to link CEDAW with same-sex marriage initiatives in Hawaii (ibid). The Child Convention is, fundamentally, viewed by CWA as a means by which globalists, under the cloak of 'rights', will sever children from their families and religious communities (see also Buss, 2000). In addition to their critique of international conventions such as these, UN-sponsored conferences, such as those noted



earlier, are also a constant target of CR attack. Duck (1998), for example, sets out a comprehensive list of UN conventions, conferences, and other activities; he argues that ‘the progressive deterioration of America is directly linked to our involvement with the United Nations’ (1998: 87). All of the various methods at the UN’s disposal inexorably lead, for the CR, to the construction of a vast international Leviathan.

Despite the CR’s intense critique of globalist developments, many conservative Protestants, at the same time, believe these events to be inevitable, and could almost be said to look forward to them. Arguably, an understanding of CR prophetic belief is essential to comprehending why the CR’s international agenda and vision takes the shape it does. I have argued elsewhere that a focus on CR politics must not occur at the expense of coming to grips with CR theology, for the two are inseparable (Herman, 1997). In the context of this article in particular, the relevance of CR prophetic belief looms large. Before turning to the specifics of how the UN figures in CR endtimes scenarios, it might be helpful to briefly explore the contours of conservative Protestant premillennialism more generally.

### **3. The significance of the UN in endtimes scenarios**

#### *(i) American premillennialism*

A large majority of the U.S. CR are Protestant premillennialists – they believe that the bible prophesies the end of the world, followed by the second coming of Christ and the arrival of the ‘millennium’. A smaller number are postmillennialists: Christ will not return until God’s Kingdom rules on earth for one thousand years (see Shupe, 1997). Within the CR, a tension exists between pre and post millennialists; however, for the purposes of this article, it is sufficient to note that premillennial understandings largely (although not entirely) animate the Christian Right and its potential constituents.<sup>26</sup>

Premillennialists find the predominant authority for their eschatology in the final book of the New Testament – The Revelation of John. Most historians view The Revelation as an inspiration to believers during intense persecution by Roman tyrants at the time of writing, 81–96 C.E. (see, eg, Gager, 1983). However, orthodox Christians have for centuries considered it a prophetic blueprint for the earth’s end, Christ’s return, and the ultimate establishment of Christendom throughout the world (Boyer, 1992). That these things will happen is beyond question; the sequence is inevitable, even if the exact timing is unknown.

As Paul Boyer (1992) has shown in his study of the apocalyptic genre (see also Bull, (ed.), 1995; Brummet, 1984; Koch, 1983; O’Leary, 1994; Robbins and Palmer, 1997), versions of the endtimes scenario have flourished throughout the history of Christianity. Apocalyptic eschatology has been both populist and radical; early white settlers in the ‘new world’ brought a mix of pre and post

millennialist perspectives of many centuries duration (see also Lippy, 1982). By the early 1900s, 'new world' religious optimism (see eg, Glanz, 1982) had given way to prophetic, doomsday forecasting and premillennialism had become the dominant theology – that continues to be the case today.

Historically, there have been various versions of the endtimes scenario, all based on readings of biblical prophecy. Generally speaking, in order for Christ to reappear, a series of events will occur. The Gospel must be preached around the world and, as a result of this Great Commission, as it is known, many new adherents will be brought into the fold. At a certain point, this task will be complete, and 'true believers' will be 'raptured' – they will literally ascend to heaven to sit with Christ and watch the horrors unfold. This period will also see the rise of the Antichrist – the charismatic leader who will unite huge regions of the world behind him in an anti-Christian drive for global power.

The earth will then be plagued by terrible disasters – floods, fires, earthquakes, wars, and so on. Many millions of people will die horrible, excruciating deaths. At some point, thousands of Jews will see the light and convert (however this is far too late for Rapture and most of them will perish in the disasters and final battles). As regional power blocs engage in war, Christ and the saints return. They kill all non-believers, including the Antichrist, and usher in the peace and harmony of the millennium. At the end of one thousand years, Satan rises again, only to be defeated by Christ once and for all. The earth is then no more; only heaven exists. In addition to Boyer's (1992) exhaustive study of the apocalyptic genre, the details of this scenario have been analyzed, critically and otherwise, by a range of theologians, historians, sociologists, journalists, and others (ie: Cohn, 1970; Chandler, 1984; Henry, 1971; Lienesch, 1993; Pieterse, 1992).

Popularly, speculation about the end-times has generated a wealth of bestselling literature aimed at predicting and, often in gruesome detail, depicting the end of the earth. Historically, the Antichrist was argued to be embodied in the Ottoman Empire ('the Turk'), and in the Pope himself (Boyer, 1992: 61–2, 153). In the twentieth century, signs were seen in the ascendancy of fascist dictators, the expansion of Soviet communism, the creation of the Israeli state (according to Revelation, the Second Temple must be rebuilt), and the nuclear arms race.

In a popular 1970s and 1980s scenario, the USSR, together with its allies Iran, Libya, and others – Revelation's the 'Kings of the North' – would invade Israel. There, they would do battle with the 'Kings of the East' (China, Japan, and so on) in the final Tribulation (see, eg, Robertson, 1982: 213–22). In the 1990s, many premillennialists believed the Gulf War signalled the coming end (Jones, 1992), as did the increasing unification of Europe (Herman, 2000a). In the latter part of this century, in the United States, the imminent apocalypse has also been associated, intimately, with cultural degeneration: secularization; sexual immorality; worship of the state; crime; and drugs, for example (see Herman, 1997).

Apocalyptic visions also form part of the fiction oeuvre of conservative Christianity (as they do for other belief-systems as well). One example is Paul Meier's *The Third Millennium* (1993). The story concerns a Jewish family living in California, in 1995. A new President, corrupt, calculating, and intent on world domination and the obliteration of Christianity, is in the White House. As he plunges the United States, and the world at large, into greater and greater chaos, Christian believers suddenly disappear, and the Jewish family slowly begins to realise that salvation for them can only come through accepting Jesus. The novel culminates in a series of catastrophic events centred in Israel – most of the world's population (including all those who have refused to accept Christ) perish in a range of horrific holocausts. At the very end, Christ rides down from heaven, with the saints, to usher in the millennium.

Many readers of this article may find these ideas fanciful at best. However, it is too easy to dismiss them as silly and unimportant. As I noted above, many millions of Americans, including political policy-makers (see Barkun, 1987: 168; Boyer, 1992: 141–4) read *The Revelation* for signs, buy prophetic literature, and believe fervently in the scenarios. The premillennial worldview embodies both what Hofstadter (1966) has called a political 'paranoid style', and a fear of conspiracy that runs deep in American culture (Davis, 1971; Johnson, 1983; Fenster 1999). It also helps to shape, in important ways, the stances and understandings believers take on social and political issues generally (see also Lienesch, 1993).

Premillennialism informs many of the political positions adopted by the Christian Right in the United States. For example, the CR's enthusiastic support for Israel (see Mouly, 1985), particularly in light of its continued anti-Semitism,<sup>27</sup> makes little sense without an understanding of the role Jewish people must play at the world's end – namely, to 'return' to Israel and convert or die (see Dyer, 1993; Hagee, 1996, 1998; Henry, 1971; Pieterse, 1992). Similarly, the CR's pro-defence and patriotic stance is, for many, linked to the pre-ordained role the United States is destined to play in the final days (see Boyer, 1992; ch 7; also Cassara, 1982). LaHaye (1998) links these two themes together in arguing that the U.S. will be spared annihilation because it has been friendly to Jews and Israel.

The relationship between prophecy and politics is, thus, a hugely significant one for the CR, and this is no more apparent than in the global realm. While some might suggest or imply that right-wing religious forces use religion as a cover for conservative politics, in the case of the CR, I do not believe this to be the case. As Steven Carter has argued (1993), religion and religious belief must be taken seriously. It must be understood as providing a belief-framework that shapes, influences, and impacts upon political activity. I have spent some time setting out the premillennial worldview because, I would argue, any analysis of CR global ideology that neglects premillennialism does so at great cost. So, having sketched a broad outline of premillennialism, I now turn to explore how understandings about the United Nations are also importantly shaped by end times belief.

(ii) *The role of the United Nations*

An interesting place to begin this exploration is with the books of Hal Lindsey, one of the most popular CR prophecy writers for over thirty years. Lindsey's first book, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, published in 1970, was an attempt to foretell how the world would end, given the politics of the period. Although his prophecies did not prove correct, that is not what concerns me here. Of more interest is his approach to the New World Order.

In this early work, Lindsey simply has nothing to say about the United Nations and its global role. It does not figure in his text at all, despite extensive material being devoted to world power bases and alliances. Perhaps this is unsurprising; with the Cold War a major preoccupation at this time, it is 'predictable' that the USSR would have emerged as a major actor in CR prophecy texts. However, Lindsey does not balk at targeting western configurations; the European Economic Community (as it was known at that time) is one of his chief protagonists (Lindsey, 1970, ch 8).

As the United States loses power, Western Europe will be forced to unite and become the standard-bearer of the western world. Look for the emergence of a 'United States of Europe' composed of ten inner member nations. The Common Market is laying the ground for this political confederacy which will become the mightiest coalition on earth. It will stop the Communist take-over of the world and will for a short while control both Russia and Red China through the personal genius of the Antichrist who will become ruler of the European confederacy (Lindsey, 1970: 172).

Although the Cold War is one explanation for Lindsey's lack of interest in the United Nations, another must be that the UN itself was a rather different organisation during this period. Within the UN, the US led the battle against the 'evils of communism'. The UN organization itself was, arguably, a relatively weak entity, rendered somewhat immobile by this Cold War contest. At the same time, the postcolonial states were only beginning to make their UN presence felt.

Unlike Europe, the UN may well have been seen by Lindsey and others on the CR as a relatively unimportant or even benign influence. For it must also be recalled that the 1960s and 1970s were not, generally, a time of CR preoccupation with the American state and its liberal, atheistic ethos. Although conservative Christianity has always been a fierce critic of domestic liberalism, the American state itself was not, historically, a primary target; it was 'society', and, in particular, 'the permissive society', upon which the CR critique focused.<sup>28</sup> As a result, both the United States government, and its membership in the United Nations, would not have loomed large in CR endtimes scenarios.

The 1980s, despite the Republican stronghold on government within the United States, was, for the Christian Right, a period in which the sovereignty of America was severely undermined by the rise of globalist philosophy. By the

early 1990s, this was combined with a new threat – the ascendancy of the Clinton liberals. For the CR, the increasing power and role of international organizations, combined with the entrenchment of ‘globalists’ within the Whitehouse itself, inevitably resulted in the United Nations becoming one of the principal protagonists in the drive to establish the secular NWO.

The ‘new face’ of the UN was signalled by Pat Robertson in 1991. In *The New World Order*, Robertson details the ways in which the UN, and other international organizations, are pursuing strategies that could result in a ‘one-world dictatorship’ (ie: Robertson, 1991: 54). Hal Lindsey, in his 1994 follow-up to *The Late Great Planet Earth*, takes up the mantle. Despite the UN playing no role whatsoever in his earlier prophetic work, Lindsey, in 1994, explains how it is now the key actor: ‘the hallowed halls of the United Nations – the world’s leading promoter of globalism and world government – have become a hotbed of idol-worship and the kind of militant paganism that the prophets warned us would arise and spread in these last days’ (Lindsey, 1994: 43). Boutros Boutros-Ghali, UN Secretary-General at that time, is described by Lindsey as ‘the most influential individual on the face of the planet’ (Lindsey, 1994: 51). Lindsey depicts Clinton’s UN-sponsored intervention in Somalia as a blatant example of liberal one-worldism at work (Lindsey, 1994: 54). However, Lindsey has not left his concern with Europe behind; *Planet Earth – 2000 A.D.* (1994) maintains his belief that the European Union is the ten-nation confederacy referred to in Christian prophecy.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the UN has now taken a place as the leading philosophical (if not political) force for globalism (see also Van Impe, 1996: 89).

1998 saw the publication of Lindsey’s next instalment – *Planet Earth: The Final Chapter*. In contrast to the previous book, Lindsey’s preoccupation here with the UN has notably diminished. As far as he is concerned, the UN is a spent force, a ‘paper tiger’ (Lindsey, 1998: 147). It will, Lindsey argues, ‘join its predecessor, the League of Nations, on the scrap heap of history’ (1998: 148). The reason for this, according to Lindsey, is that the UN has spread itself too thinly: ‘The problem is, there are too many diplomats, not enough decision makers. It is too political, too fragile, too unwieldy to function as a dictatorship as profound and universal as the one predicted by Scripture’ (Lindsey, 1998: 148). For Lindsey, it is the European Union that will fulfil this Scriptural role (1998: 150).

Although Lindsey may have retreated from portraying the United Nations as the key global power, others have not. Grant Jeffrey, for example, takes the reverse view to Lindsey in that he argues the institutions of the European Union are but a ‘preview’ to the UN becoming ‘the nucleus of a powerful world government’ (Jeffrey, 1995: 96–7). Christopher Corbett argues similarly, though with slightly less assuredness, that the United Nations will absorb state sovereignties to become a ruling government in itself (Corbett, 1997).

Another source for investigating the role of the UN in CR endtimes belief is the novel, one of the most popular of the prophecy genres. Pat Robertson’s first foray into this form, entitled *The End of the Age* (1995), follows the usual

pattern in that a series of terrible events, commandeered by evil men, bring on the end of the world. Although all true Christian believers are raptured away to watch from above, those left behind, who come to see the light (ie: are born again), become a kind of resistance force for Christ. In Robertson's novel, the United Nations is mentioned just once – as a kind of relic that failed to deliver the new world order. Instead, Robertson's antichrist figure, US President Mark Beaulieu, 'a descendant of an aristocratic French family' (1995: 166), creates the Union for Peace, a United Nations type organization under his complete control (1995: 260).

In *Left Behind*, Tim LaHaye<sup>30</sup> and Jerry B. Jenkins construct a similar story, but one with an explicit role for the UN. Their antichrist, 'Nicolae Carpathia of Romania', becomes Secretary-General of the UN (1995: 412). A CNN reporter conveys the breaking news to the despairing Christian believers:

In the most dramatic and far-reaching overhaul of an international organization anyone can remember ... Romanian president Nicolae Carpathia was catapulted into reluctant leadership of the United Nations by a nearly unanimous vote. Carpathia, who insisted on sweeping changes in direction and jurisdiction of the United Nations ... [intends that] the United Nations headquarters will move to New Babylon ... [and that] member nations will ... destroy 90% of their military strength and turn over the remaining 10% to the U.N. (1995: 412–13).

By the time of the third book in LaHaye and Jenkins' series, *The Rise of Antichrist Nicolae* (1997), Carpathia is firmly ensconced as the Global Community Potentate and, under the guise of attempting to spread global peace and prosperity, he has succeeded in destroying much of the world's surface and population. LaHaye and Jenkins' seventh instalment (the pace of destruction had slowed somewhat) was at the top of the New York Times bestsellers list for several weeks in 2000.

Whether in the fiction or prophecy-writing genres, premillennial, conservative Christians allege, in graphic terms, the catastrophic consequences of movements for world peace and global unity, much of this represented by developments at the UN. Because these contemporary movements are not motivated by orthodox Christianity, they are, and must be, false. But it is not that the CR opposes world peace and global unity; on the contrary, their vision of a millennium ruled by Christ and the Saints is just that: a world where only 'true' Christians exist, everyone else is dead, peace reigns, and Christian orthodoxy rules the day across the globe.

I have argued elsewhere that the CR, despite its antistatist rhetoric, is not against 'the state'; rather, it opposes this state, or the types of states that currently exist (Herman, 2000b). Protestant orthodoxy is explicitly pro-government and government regulation – providing that the government is a 'truly' Christian one, and the regulation in question promotes orthodox Christian values. On the international front, the CR is nothing if not

consistent. It is not world government, or a new world order, per se, that is problematic; it is a secular world order, and a perceived atheistic global government that is the force for evil. Ironically, nothing resembles world government more, not any plans of contemporary 'globalists', than the global Christian monarchy to which the CR so much looks forward.

Ultimately, globalism will triumph – but not the false globalism of the Antichrist and today's spirit of antichrist ... But the kingdom of Christ will truly triumph. All nations will bow before His throne as He rules from His capital in Jerusalem. That is a true globalism which every Christian will enjoy (Corbett, 1997: 229).

... let us remember that the triumph of God's world order is certain (Robertson, 1991: 268).

When the Tribulation ends by the return of Christ ... He will set up His Kingdom ... and he will reign over the world for 1000 amazing and remarkable years (Breese, 1998: 335).

Jesus Christ will be the King over all the earth in His theocratic world government (Graham, 1992: 310).

#### **4. The Christian Right, its enemies, and globalisation**

I have suggested above that the CR, and the globalists it demonises, both advance a rather similar blueprint for world domination – one religious, one ostensibly secular, or, at least, inter-faith. However, the subjects of the globalist vision are, presumably, the world population, while the entranceway to premillennialist peace and harmony is restricted to Christians only. Because the CR views globalism as 'false', and sees its underlying animation as Satanic, one-worldism without Christ at the helm is an illusion and impossibility. Of course, it is also more than this – globalism and its attendant politics are, as I have discussed, fundamentally anti-Christ.

One question worth pursuing is – to what extent does the CR see globalism as originating from within the US, or, is it something 'out there', infecting the American polity? Certainly, the CR is clear that domestic proponents of feminism, environmentalism, and monetary centralism, for example, abound, and the CR spends much of its time fighting battles with these domestic adversaries. Yet, at the same time, there are definite threats outside American borders. At the level of individual agency, Americans are rarely identified as key globalists on the international stage.<sup>31</sup> Although Al Gore, for example, is a favourite target of the CR, he tends to be portrayed as a kind of dupe of international environmentalists. When globalist arch-enemies are identified, these tend to be people occupying positions such as UN Secretary-General, or

President of the European Commission. In the 1990s, for example, both Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and Jacques Santer, were often represented in terms reminiscent of Antichrist descriptions (see Herman, 2000a). Another oft-demonised figure is Maurice Strong, a Canadian environmental advocate and significant player in UN-sponsored environmental initiatives.<sup>32</sup> An exception to this tendency to see the main globalist protagonists as outside the US is Hilary Clinton. This is perhaps partly due to her direct foray into global politics through participating in UN conferences, and to her publication of *It takes a Village*. The CR has expended much energy in denouncing this text, and Hilary Clinton's subsequent trips to view African villages.

I would argue that it is perhaps the CR's very inability to 'know' from where the danger comes, inside or outside, that marks an important transition in CR approaches to governmental and international institutions. In the earlier decades of the twentieth century, the CR could easily identify trends and individuals in civil society of which it disapproved. 'Bad apples' within state institutions could be rooted out; leading state figures, such as J. Edgar Hoover, wrote regularly in mainstream Christian publications explaining how they were advancing God's Plan in government (Herman, 1997; ch 2). Although there were domestic adversaries, the 'evil of Communism', for example, was clearly something with distinctly foreign origins. But now, when Hilary Clinton and 'a load of lesbians' embark on an international excursion, just what is it they are doing? Are they exporting American feminism abroad? Will they bring some new danger 'home'? Is there a meaningful distinction to be made between 'home' and 'abroad'?

The processes, effects, and, just as importantly, perceptions of globalisation, such as the emergence of fluid boundaries, international identity movements, and instantaneous communication, for example, are developments that help to create a kind of postmodern miscegenation<sup>33</sup> between the US and the rest of the world. By this I mean that, for many conservative Christians, globalisation is facilitating the dilution (and pollution) of what is perceived to be historically, romantically, and essentially 'American'. It then becomes impossible to tell where the US ends, and the 'rest of the world' begins (and vice versa). For the CR, such a contamination is highly toxic, both for those who believed a Christian America could withstand The Tribulation, and those who seek to construct islands of bounded, authentic purity, be they 'the family', 'the church', or 'the nation'. Globalisation theory to some extent mirrors CR fears in implying that the United States (like all states) can not exist apart from its relationship to the 'single place', to borrow from Roland Robertson, of the global (Robertson, 1992). Lechner (1993: 30) highlights this irony in arguing that religious conservatism is both 'antimodern' and 'quintessentially modern':

It [fundamentalism] actively strives to reorder society; it reasserts the validity of a tradition and uses it in new ways; it operates in a context that sets nontraditional standards; where it does not take decisive control, it reproduces the dilemmas it sets out to resolve; as one active force among others, it affirms the depth of modern pluralism; it takes on the tensions



produced by the clash between a universalizing global culture and particular local conditions; it expresses fundamental uncertainty in a crisis setting, not traditional confidence about taken-for-granted truths; by defending God, who formerly needed no defence, it creates and recreates difference as part of a global cultural struggle. So compromised, fundamentalism becomes part of the fabric of modernity.

At the same time, however, there are perhaps good reasons to be sceptical about some aspects of 'religion and globalisation' theory, in the same way that James Beckford (1996) has urged caution with respect to postmodern sociology of religion generally. Peter Beyer (1994: 132–133), for example, argues that conservative Christianity cannot function as a global organising system (such as politics or communication) because its historical animating principle, the identification of outsiders to function as demons, can have no purchase in the single, global space. I would argue that the reverse may be the case. Globalisation, to the extent it exists, has facilitated the construction of more numerous and diverse confederations of enemies (see also Brouwer, Gifford, and Rose, 1996, chp. 10). However, this enemy force, for the CR, is that much more difficult to recognise, know, and combat successfully than perhaps in the past because of its transnational (and 'mixed-race') character. Paradoxically, this difficulty is both compounded and constituted by new confederations of 'friends' – international orthodox alliances between the CR and other conservative faiths – alliances made possible through globalisation processes. Globalisation, thus, both threatens and facilitates CR international legal politics. How the CR negotiates these complexities and contradictions remains to be seen.

In this article, I have considered the limitations of both religion and globalisation theory, and other critical scholarship on social movements and international law, in coming to terms with global Christian activism. I have attempted to make a contribution to bridging this gap by analysing the construction of the United Nations in CR ideology and prophecy. In conducting this exploration, I hope to bring to light a neglected area of study in order to provide a deeper understanding of the motivation and ideology behind one of the key protagonists in the international field, the Christian Right. I have also sought to pose some questions or challenges to the sociologies of law and religion, particularly current theorising on globalisation.

Keele University

Received 27 October 1999

Finally accepted 25 September 2000

## Notes

- 1 For critical comments on earlier drafts, I would like to thank: James Beckford, Doris Buss, Davina Cooper, and Carl Stychin. I am also grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for a grant that facilitated research for this article and for the larger project of which this article is a small part (*Globalizing Family Values* [with Doris Buss], University of Chicago Press, forthcoming 2002).

- 2 Declaration, World Congress of Families I, Prague, 1997.
- 3 'A Call From the Families of the World', World Congress of Families II, 1998.
- 4 Declaration, World Congress of Families II, Geneva, 1999.
- 5 [www.worldcongress.org/](http://www.worldcongress.org/)
- 6 By 'Christian Right', I mean a broad and diverse coalition of organizations striving to build an orthodox, largely Protestant, Christian world. The belief system animating this movement is, for the most part, a mixture of biblical literalism and premillennialist prophecy (explained further below). Although there are many divisions and distinctions amongst the CR, their constructions of 'the global' are remarkably consistent. I thus do not explore the diverse composition of the CR in this article, but have done elsewhere (Herman, 1997, chp. 1). Note also that I do not include the survivalist, militia, or race-based organizations, sometimes referred to as the 'extreme right', in my use of the term Christian Right (see Aho, 1990, 1996; Barkun, 1994; Lamy, 1997). I would not argue that the CR, as I use the term, is racist, nor that it operates outside the rule of law.
- 7 A comprehensive survey can be found in Marty and Appleby's five volume series (1991, 1993a,b, 1994, 1995). See also Caplan, ed. (1987), Haynes (1998), and Smith, ed. (1996).
- 8 See, for example, V. Romney, 'The Natural Family is in Peril Internationally', United Families International, 1999 ([www.worldfamilies.org/cgi-bin/world.cgi/archives/peril.html](http://www.worldfamilies.org/cgi-bin/world.cgi/archives/peril.html)); A. Ruse, 'Toward a Permanent United Nations Pro-Family Bloc', Paper delivered at the World Congress of Families II, Geneva, November, 1999. ([www.worldcongress.org/gen99\\_speakers/gen99\\_ruse.html](http://www.worldcongress.org/gen99_speakers/gen99_ruse.html)).
- 9 My discussion draws on material produced by CR organizations and individuals. I am aware that the CR 'constituency' is far more diverse and varied than these quasi-official statements might reflect; an enquiry into the 'translation' of these positions by grassroots supporters is another project.
- 10 Concerned Women for America, 'Celebrating independence: How long?' (July, 1998) *Family Voice* (CWA Internet Resource Library).
- 11 Fr. James Thornton, 'A higher warfare' (17 April, 1995) 8 *The New American* (internet version). This is the magazine of the John Birch Society.
- 12 See Carlson (2000) for an interesting CR history of the UN; he presents a detailed case arguing that the UN's underlying philosophy, originally 'Christian Democratic', has now shifted to 'Democratic Socialism'.
- 13 See also *The Phyllis Schlafly Report* 28(3) (October, 1994), pp. 1–4.
- 14 See, for example: Concerned Women for America, op cit.; William N. Griss, 'Beasts in blue berets' (29 September, 1997) 13(20) *The New American* (internet version).
- 15 Concerned Women for America, 'The United Nations', Policy Paper (URL:[www.cwfa.org/pp\\_index.html](http://www.cwfa.org/pp_index.html)) and 'Habitat II: the UN's attempt to control your family' (24 September, 1997) (CWA Internet Resource Library).
- 16 Concerned Women for America, 'Celebrating independence: How long?', op cit. See also, 'Greens capture American foreign policy' (26 May, 1998) (CWA Internet Resource Library).
- 17 See, for example, 'Dividing women from families: The UN agenda for global feminism' (17 March, 1999) (CWA Internet Resource Library). See also Corbett (1997: 214–218), Van Impe (1996: 79–80). For analyses of the CR's gender and sexuality politics more generally see, for example, Herman (1997), Ingersoll (1995), Kintz (1997).
- 18 C. Gwendolyn Landolt, 'The Family at the United Nations: Where do we go from here?', Paper delivered at the World Congress of Families II, Geneva, November, 1999. ([www.worldcongress.org/gen99\\_speakers/gen99\\_landolt.html](http://www.worldcongress.org/gen99_speakers/gen99_landolt.html)).
- 19 Concerned Women for America, 'In the aftermath: The UN Fourth World Conference on Women' (CWA Resource Library).
- 20 Concerned Women for America, 'Feminism at the Helm of U.S. foreign policy' (12 May, 1997) (CWA Internet Resource Library).
- 21 See also Thomas R. Eddlem, 'UNESCO: A budding global schoolboard' (8 August, 1994) *The New American* (internet version).

- 22 Jane H. Ingraham, 'UN Takeover of the child' (8 August, 1994) *The New American* (internet version).
- 23 See, for example: CWA, 'Dividing women from families: The United Nations agenda for global feminism' (17 March, 1999) (CWA Internet Resource Library), 'UN Convention on the rights of the Child: A treaty to undermine the family' (1995), 'In the aftermath: The U.N. fourth world conference on women' (1996), 'Exposing CEDAW' (no date), 'CEDAW sells out women and families' (10 September, 1998) (CWA Internet Resource Library). See also Gairdner (1992: 578–84).
- 24 'Exposing CEDAW', *ibid.*
- 25 A. Ruse, 'Toward a permanent United Nations pro-family bloc', paper delivered at the World Congress of Families II, Geneva, November, 1999 ([www.worldcongress.org/gen99\\_speakers/gen99\\_ruse.html](http://www.worldcongress.org/gen99_speakers/gen99_ruse.html)).
- 26 On contemporary Catholic apocalypticism, see Cuneo (1997).
- 27 Pat Robertson's writing (ie.: 1990, chps. 11, 12) reflects this sort of pro-Israeli anti-Semitism. See also 'Antisemitism: Its prevalence within the Christian Right' (May, 1994) *Freedom Writer* 1–8.
- 28 Elsewhere, I have discussed conservative Protestantism's cultural politics in the earlier years of the twentieth century, see Herman (1997, ch 2).
- 29 In Protestant prophecy, a ten nation confederacy will do battle with Christ's forces at Armageddon. For further exploration of the role of Europe in these events, see Herman (2000a).
- 30 Tim LaHaye is a long-time CR activist; his wife, Beverley LaHaye, founded Concerned Women for America.
- 31 When Americans are identified, they are often Jewish advisors to the Clinton administration and so, in antisemitic terms, are not Americans at all.
- 32 The demonisation of Canada and Canadians in CR texts deserves further exploration.
- 33 Lechner (1993) uses the terms 'contamination' and, borrowing from Hannerz (1991), 'creolization' to describe a similar process.

## References

- Aho, J.A., (1990), *The Politics of Righteousness: Idaho Christian Patriotism*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Aho, J.A., (1996), 'Popular Christianity and Political Extremism in the United States', in C. Smith, (ed.), *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism*, New York: Routledge.
- Barkun, M., (1987), 'The language of apocalypse: Premillennialists and nuclear war', in M. Fishwick and Browne, R.B., (eds), *The God Pumpers: Religion in the Electronic Age*, Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.
- Barkun, M., (1994), *Religion and the Racist Right: The Origins of the Christian Identity Movement*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Beckford, J.A., (1996), 'Postmodernity, High Modernity, and New Modernity: Three Concepts in Search of Religion' in Flanagan, K. and Jupp, P., (eds), *Postmodernity, Sociology, and Religion*, London: Macmillan.
- Beyer, P., (1994), *Religion and Globalization*, London: Sage.
- Boyer, P., (1992), *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Breese, D., (1998), 'Cyclone of Apocalypse' in James, W.T., (ed.), *Forewarning*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- Brouwer, S. and Gifford, P. and Rose, S.D., (1996), *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism*. New York: Routledge.
- Brummett, B., (1984), 'Premillennial Apocalyptic as a Rhetorical Genre', 35 *Central States Speech Journal*, 84.

- Buchanan, P., (1997), 'Should we evict the U.N.?' (27 December 1997) *New York Post* p. 15.
- Bull, M., (ed.), (1995), *Apocalypse Theory and the Ends of the World*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Buss, D., (1998), 'Robes, Relics, and Rights: The Vatican and the Beijing Conference on Women', 7 *Social and Legal Studies* 339.
- Buss, D., (2000), 'How the UN Stole Childhood: The Christian Right and the International Rights of the Child', in Monk, D. and Bridgeman, J. (eds), *Feminist Perspectives on Child Law*, London: Cavendish.
- Buss, D. and Herman, D., (Forthcoming 2002), *Globalizing Family Values*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Caplan, L., (ed.), (1987), *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Carlson, A., (2000), 'A history of "The Family" in the United Nations', Presentation to UN Observer Training Seminar, New York, 2 June 2000. ([www.worldcongress.org/WCF/carlson\\_UN.htm](http://www.worldcongress.org/WCF/carlson_UN.htm))
- Carter, S.L., (1993), *The Culture of Disbelief: How American Law and Politics Trivialize Religious Devotion*, New York: Basic Books.
- Cassara, E., (1982), 'The Development of America's Sense of Mission', in Zamora, L.P., (ed.), *The Apocalyptic Vision: Interdisciplinary Essays on Myth and Culture*, Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press.
- Chandler, R.C., (1984), 'The Wicked Shall Not Bear Rule: The Fundamentalist Heritage of the New Christian Right', in Bromley, D. and Shupe, A., (eds), *New Christian Politics*, Macon: Mercer University Press.
- Cohn, N., (1970), *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Corbett, C., (1997), 'The U.S. and other U.N. Serfdoms' in James, W.T. (ed.), *Foreshocks of Antichrist*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- Corbett, C., (1998), 'Energy, Ecology, Economy: A Foreboding Forecast' in James, W.T., (ed.), *Forewarning: Approaching the Final Battle Between Heaven and Hell*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- Cuneo, M.W., (1987), 'The Vengeful Virgin: Case Studies in Contemporary American Catholic Apocalypticism', in Robbins, T. and Palmer, S.J., (eds), *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, New York: Routledge.
- Davis, D.B., (1971), *The Fear of Conspiracy: Images of Un-American Subversion from the Revolution to the Present*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Duck, D., (1998), 'Harbingers of Humanism's Hurricane', in James, W.T., (ed.), *Forewarning*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- Dyer, C.H., (1993), *World News and Bible Prophecy*, Wheaton: Tyndale House.
- Fenster, M. (1999), *Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Flanagan, K. and Jupp, P.C., (1996), *Postmodernity, Sociology, and Religion*, London: Macmillan.
- Gager, J.G., (1983), 'The Attainment of Millennial Bliss Through Myth: The Book of Revelation', in Hanson, P.D., (ed.), *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*, Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Gairdner, W.D., (1992), *The War Against the Family*, Toronto: Stoddart.
- Glanz, D., (1982), 'The American West as Millennial Kingdom', in Zamora, L.P. (ed.), *The Apocalyptic Vision in America: Interdisciplinary Essays on Myth and Culture*, Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Press.
- Graham, B., (1992), *Storm Warning*, Dallas: Word.
- Hagee, J., (1996), *Beginning of the End: The Assassination of Yitzhak Rabin and the Coming Antichrist*, Nashville: Nelson.
- Hagee, J., (1998), *Final Dawn Over Jerusalem*, Nashville: Nelson.
- Haynes, J., (1998), *Religion in Global Politics*, London: Longman.
- Henry, C.F., (ed.), (1971), *Prophecy in the Making*, Carol Stream: Creation House.
- Herman, D., (1997), *The Antigay Agenda: Orthodox Vision and the Christian Right*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Herman, D., (2000a), 'The New Roman Empire': European Envisionings and American Premillennialists', 34 *Journal of American Studies* 23.

- Herman, D., (2000b), 'The Gay Agenda is the Devil's Agenda: The Christian Right's Vision and the Role of the State', in Rimmerman, C., Wald, K.D., and Wilcox, C., (eds), *The Politics of Gay Rights*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hofstadter, R., (1966), *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Hunt, D., (1994), *A Woman Rides the Beast: The Roman Catholic Church in the Last Days*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- James, W.T., (1997), 'Globalism's Siren Song', in James, W.T., (ed.), *Foreshocks of Antichrist*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- Jeffrey, G.R., (1991), *Messiah: War in the Middle East and the Road to Armageddon*, New York: Bantam.
- Jeffrey, G.R., (1995), *Final warning: Economic Collapse and The Coming World Government*, Toronto: Frontier Research.
- Johnson, G., (1983), *Architects of Fear: Conspiracy Theories and Paranoia in American Politics*, Los Angeles: Jeremy P. Tarcher.
- Jones, L., (1992), 'Apocalyptic Responses to the War with Iraq', in Pieterse, J.P.N., (ed.), *Christianity and Hegemony*, New York: St. Martin's.
- Keck, M.E. and Sikkink, K., (1998), *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kintz, L., (1997), *Between Jesus and the Market: The Emotions That Matter in Right-wing America*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Kjos, B., (1997), 'Classroom Earth: Educating for One World Order', in James, W.T., (ed.), *Foreshocks of Antichrist*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- Koch, K., (1983), 'What is Apocalyptic? An Attempt at a Preliminary Definition', in Hanson, P.D., (ed.), *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*, Philadelphia: Fortress.
- Ingersoll, J.J., (1995), 'Which Tradition, Which Values?: "Traditional Family Values" in American Protestant Fundamentalism', *4 Contentions* 91.
- LaHaye, T., (1998), 'America's perilous times have come', in James, W.T., (ed.), *Forewarning*, Eugene: Harvest House.
- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., (1995), *Left Behind*, Wheaton: Tyndale House.
- LaHaye, T. and Jenkins, J., (1997), *The Rise of Antichrist Nicolae*, Wheaton: Tyndale House.
- Lamy, P., (1997), 'Secularizing the Millennium: Survivalists, Militias, and the New World Order', in Robbins, T. and Palmer, S., (eds), *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, New York: Routledge.
- Lechner, F.J., (1993), 'Global Fundamentalism', in Swatos, W.H., (ed.), *A Future for Religion?*, London: Sage.
- Lienesch, M., (1993), *Redeeming America: Piety and Politics in the New Christian Right*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lindsey, H., (1970), *The Late Great Planet Earth*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Lindsey, H., (1994), *Planet Earth – 2000 A.D.*, Palos Verdes: Western Front.
- Lindsey, H., (1998), *Planet Earth: The Final Chapter*, Beverley Hills: Western Front.
- Lippy, C.H., (1982), 'Waiting for the End: The Social Context of American Apocalyptic Religion', in Zamora, L.P., (ed.), *The Apocalyptic Vision in America: Interdisciplinary Essays on Myth and Culture*, Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Press.
- Marrs, Texe, (1987), *Dark Secrets of the New Age*, Westchester: Crossway.
- Marty, M.E. and Appleby, R.S., (eds), (1991), *Fundamentalisms Observed (The Fundamentalism Project Vol 1)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marty, M.E. and Appleby, R.S., (eds), (1993a), *Fundamentalisms and Society (The Fundamentalism Project, Vol 2)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marty, M.E. and Appleby, R.S., (eds), (1993b) *Fundamentalisms and the State (The Fundamentalism Project, Vol 3)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marty, M.E. and Appleby, R.S., (eds), (1994), *Accounting for Fundamentalisms (The Fundamentalism Project, Vol 4)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Marty, M.E. and Appleby, R.S., (eds), (1995), *Fundamentalisms Comprehended (The Fundamentalism Project, Vol 5)*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meier, P., (1993), *The Third Millennium*, Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
- Mouly, R.W., (1985), *The Religious Right and Israel: The Politics of Armageddon*, Chicago: Midwest Research.
- O'Leary, S., (1994), *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Palmer, S.J., (1997), 'Woman as World Saviour: The Feminization of the Millennium in New Religious Movements', in Robbins, T.S. and Palmer, S.J., (eds), *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, New York: Routledge.
- Pieterse, J.P.N., (1992), 'The History of a Metaphor: Christian Zionism and the Politics of Apocalypse', in Pieterse, J.P.N., (ed.), *Christianity and Hegemony*, New York: St Martin's.
- Robertson, P., (1991), *The New World Order*, Dallas: Word.
- Robertson, P., (1995), *The End of the Age*, Dallas: Word.
- Robertson, P. with Slosser, B., (1982), *The Secret Kingdom*, Nashville: Thomas Nelson.
- Robertson, R., (1989), 'Globalization, Politics, and Religion', in Beckford, J. and Luckmann, T. (eds), *The Changing Face of Religion*, London: Sage.
- Robertson, R., (1991), 'The Globalization Paradigm', in Bromley, D.G., (ed.), *Religion and the Social Order*, Greenwich: JAI Press.
- Robertson, R., (1992), *Globalization*, London: Sage.
- Robertson, R. and Chirico, J., (1985), 'Humanity, Globalization, and Worldwide Religious Resurgence', 46 *Sociological Analysis* 219.
- Robbins, T. and Palmer, S.J., (eds), (1997), *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, New York: Routledge.
- Rudolph, S.H., and Piscatori, J., (1997), *Transnational Religion and Fading States*, Boulder: Westview.
- Schlafly, P., (1997), 'Speak up for Sovereignty and Patriotism – Cut Off Handouts to the UN' 30(6) *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*.
- Smith, C., (ed.), (1996), *Disruptive Religion: The Force of Faith in Social Movement Activism*, New York: Routledge.
- Shupe, A., (1997), 'Christian Reconstructionism and the Angry Rhetoric of Neo-Postmillennialism', in Robbins, T. and Palmer, S.J., (eds), *Millennium, Messiahs, and Mayhem: Contemporary Apocalyptic Movements*, New York: Routledge.
- Van Impe, J., (1996), *2001: On the Edge of Eternity*, Dallas: Word.