Cohen Center for Holocaust Studies

at Keene State College



"To Remember... and to Teach."

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Early Warning: Identifying Potentially Genocidal Political Movements

Franklin H. Littell developed the following "early warning system" while wrestling with the following types of questions: What kind of university produced Mengele, Freisler, Kittel, Hirsch, and Althaus? How can democracies protect themselves? The Nazis had murdered 344 political opponents by 1922; How did a terrorist movement became legitimate? What is a legitimate government? What is the difference between terrorists and freedom fighters? Terrorist movements, if not stopped *in time*, will fashion governments of criminal content and genocidal intent.

The issues and lessons raised by the Holocaust go far beyond the immediate horror of the events themselves. They include the whole problem of how democracies maintain themselves in a world in which by living up to their own principles they put themselves at risk. How can human beings overcome their own baser instincts, which can be mobilized under certain conditions by those who are the foes of all that we believe is human? Indeed, what can we do to protect ourselves as humans against a possible repeat of the Holocaust?

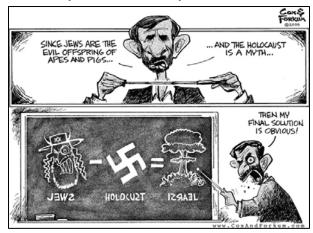
How do we develop an ability to predict potentially genocidal political movements?

The following fifteen criteria can be used to study the rise of Nazi Germany or as a tool to evaluate current political movements.

"First they came for the Communists, but I was not a Communist so I did not speak out. Then they came for the Socialists and the Trade Unionists, but I was neither, so I did not speak out. Then they came for the Jews, but I was not a Jew so I did not speak out. And when they came for me, there was no one left to speak out for me."

Pastor Martin Niemoeller

From: Cox & Forkum: "Genocidal Logic" (December 2006)





London, England: February 3, 2006

Fifteen Criteria for Identification

If out of 15, 10 or 11 clearly apply to some current movement, alarm bells must start ringing.

- 1) The group or movement prints, distributes, and uses antisemitic material for recruitment of membership.
- 2) The group or movement makes antisemitic appeals through the media or in evangelistic meetings.
- 3) and 4) The same actions as 1) and 2) are directed against any other ethnic, religious, or cultural community, using targeting and intimidation as a weapon in the quest for political power.
- 5) Members cultivate violence toward opponents -- publishing slanderous charges, bombing meeting places and homes and media, beating and assassinating.
- 6) The movement pursues the politics of polarization, destroying the middle ground of conciliation and compromise, rejecting the politics of moderation and orderly change. If it becomes large enough, instead of being a loyal opposition, it builds the structure of a state within a state, like the PLO in southern Lebanon before 1982.
- 7) The group or movement deliberately drives a wedge between the generations, alienating young people from their heritage -- a very characteristic part of the policy of the Nazi party. In the last open election the average voting age of the Nazi list was 10 years younger than the voters of the other parties. They got these votes by teaching the young people to be ashamed of and then to turn with bitterness against their elders.
- 8) The movement maintains camps for paramilitary training, including practice in the use of anti-personnel weapons.
- 9) The movement maintains private armies, demonstrating in public in uniform, parading and marching to intimidate loyal citizens.
- 10) Leaders of the movement elaborate a quasi-religious structure of authority and sanction, with political hymns, shrines, martyrs, and liturgies.
- 11) Archaic tribal, clannish, or religious symbols are worn by members as public insignias; secret passwords, handshakes, and other recognition signals are used to signal co-believers.
- 12) Induction and termination of membership are observed as pseudo-religious rites.

 Straying members are treated as heretics, subjected to exorcism or intensive group therapy.
- 13) The movement's basic unit is the closed cell, with three to seven the standard number. This is the classic unit of a revolutionary party or intelligence operation, but inappropriate to exercise influence upon a legitimate government.
- 14) The movement practices deception and confusion of public opinion by launching one-issue "fronts" without clear identification of sponsorship, financing and control. A great deal of money is raised this way, ostensibly for a good public purpose but actually to serve the movement's power drive and internal interests. This is also the "large net" within which "innocents" are caught.
- 15) The movement's tactics include infiltration and subversion of public institutions and voluntary associations, to bend their direction from public service in the declared purpose to organization of the group's drive for power. Positions controlling the schools, police and public safety forces are special targets.