

## CHRISTOPHER R. BROWNING

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## PERSONAL DATA:

Born May 22, 1944  
U.S. citizen

Married  
Two children

## EDUCATION:

University of Wisconsin-Madison  
University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Oberlin College

Ph.D., 1975  
M.A., 1968  
B.A., 1967

## FELLOWSHIPS, AWARDS, HONORS:

Annetje Fels-Kupferschmidt Award, Netherlands Auschwitz Committee, 2012

Yad Vashem Book Prize, 2012, for Remembering Survival.

National Jewish Book Award, Holocaust Category, 2011, for Remembering Survival.

Holocaust Educational Foundation Distinguished Achievement Award for Holocaust Studies and Research, November 2008.

Honorary Doctorate, Northwestern University, June 2008.

Bertelsmann Europaeum Visiting Professor of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Jewish History and Politics, Mansfield College, Oxford University, 2007

American Academy of Arts & Sciences, Elected 2006

Fellow, National Humanities Center, 2006-7

National Jewish Book Award, Holocaust Category, 2004, for The Origins of the Final Solution.

Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung Forschungspreis, 2004

Ina Levine Scholar-In-Residence, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2002-2003

George L. Mosse Distinguished Lecturer, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002.

Honorary Doctorate, Hebrew Union College, 2000.

George Macaulay Trevelyan Lecturer, Cambridge University, 1999.

J.B. and Maurice Shapiro Senior Visiting Scholar, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1996.

Andrea and Charles Bronfman Visiting Professor of Judaic Studies, College of William and Mary, 1996.

Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, N.J., 1995.

National Jewish Book Award, Holocaust Category, 1993, for Ordinary Men.

Faculty Excellence Award, Pacific Lutheran University, 1992.

Fulbright Senior Research Grant (Israel), 1989.

"Best article" award, German Studies Association, 1988.

Burlington-Northern Foundation Faculty Achievement Award, Pacific Lutheran University, 1988.

Fellow, Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984-85

Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Fellow, 1980-81

American Council of Learned Societies Fellowship, 1980-81 (declined)

Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) Dankstipendium, 1972-73

Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, 1967-68

National Collegiate Athletic Association Post-Graduate Fellowship, 1967-68

Comfort Starr Prize in History, Oberlin College, 1967

Graduated summa cum laude with High Honors in History, Oberlin College, 1967

Phi Beta Kappa (junior year), Oberlin College, 1966

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Frank Porter Graham Professor of History, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (1999--2014)  
 Distinguished Professor, Pacific Lutheran University (1997-99)  
 Professor, Pacific Lutheran University (1984-1997)  
 Associate Professor, Pacific Lutheran University (1979-84)  
 Assistant Professor, Pacific Lutheran University (1974-79)  
 Instructor, Allegheny College (1969-71)  
 Giovanni Costigan Visiting Professor, University of Washington (Fall 2015)  
 Visiting Professor, College of William and Mary (Spring 1996)  
 Visiting Professor, Northwestern University (Spring 1992)  
 Visiting Professor, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Fall 1988)

## PUBLICATIONS AND CONFERENCE PAPERS:

## BOOKS:

Remembering Survival: Inside a Nazi Slave Labor Camp (New York: WW Norton, 2010; paperback edition, 2011). [French edition: A l'intérieur d'un camp de travail nazi (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010). Italian edition: Lo storico e il testimone: il campo di lavoro nazista di Starachowice (Bari: Editori Laterza, 2010). Israeli edition: Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2012. Polish edition: Pamięć Przetrwania. Nazistowski oboz pracy oczami więźniów (Wolowiec: Wydawnictwo Zarne, 2012)]

The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004; paperback edition, 2007). [German edition: Die Entfesselung der Endlösung. Nationalsozialistische Judenpolitik 1939-1942 (Munich: Propylaen, 2003). UK edition: London: William Heineman, 2004. Israeli edition: Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004. French edition: Les Origines de la Solution Finale (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2007. Italian Edition: Le origini della Soluzione finale (Milan: il Saggiatore, 2008)].

Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003).

Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers (Cambridge University Press, 2000). [German edition: Judenmord. NS-Politik, Zwangsarbeit und das Verhalten des Täter (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer Verlag, 2001); Italian edition: Procedure finali: politica nazista, lavoratori ebraei, assassini tedeschi (Torino: Einaudi, 2001; French edition: Politique Nazie, Travailleurs Juifs, Boreaux Allemands (Les Belles Lettres, 2002)].

Der Weg zur "Endlösung": Entscheidungen und Täter (Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz, 1998).

Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland (New York: HarperCollins, 1992; Paperback edition, 1993; paperback edition with new afterword, 1998). [German edition: Ganz normale Männer: Das Reserve-Polizeibataillon 101 und die 'Endlösung' in Polen (Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag, 1993). Serialized in Der Spiegel, July 26 and August 2, 1993. Dutch edition: Doodgewone Mannen (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1993). French edition: Des Hommes Ordinaires (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994. Italian edition: Uomini comuni: Polizia tedesca e "soluzione finale" in Polonia (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1995). Swedish edition: Helt vanliga män: Reservpolisbataljon 101 och den slutliga lösningen i Polen (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1998). Polish edition: Zwykli ludzie. 101. Policyzny Batalion Rezerwy i "ostateczne rozwiazanie" w. Polsce (Bellona, 2000). United Kingdom edition: Penguin Books, 2001). Spanish edition: Aquelles hombresgrises. El Batallon 101 y la Solucion Final en Polonia (Edhasa, 2002). Serbian Edition: Obicni Ljudi. 101. Rezervni Policijski Bataljon I Konacno Resenje U Poljskoj (Belgrade: Edicija Rec, 2004). Hebrew edition, 2005. Korean edition, 2010].

The Path to Genocide (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Italian edition: Verso il genocidio (Milano: il Saggiatore, 1998).

Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985; Revised, paperback edition, 1991).

The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office: A Study of Referat D III of Abteilung Deutschland 1940-43 (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978). German edition: Die "Endlösung" und das Auswärtige Amt. Das Referat D III der Abteilung Deutschland 1940-1943 (Düsseldorf: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010).

#### CO-EDITED BOOKS:

Holocaust Scholarship: Personal Trajectories and Professional Interpretations, ed. by Christopher R. Browning, Susannah Heschel, Michael R. Marrus, and Milton Shain (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Every Day Lasts a Year: A Jewish Family's Correspondence from Poland, introduced and co-edited by Christopher R. Browning, Richard Hollander, and Nechama Tec (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

#### ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS:

"Marcinkance Revisited in the Light of New Evidence," Holocaust & Antisemitism: Research and Public Discourse. Essays Presented in Honor of Dina Porat, ed. by Roni Stauber, Aviva Halamish, and Esther Webman (Tel Aviv University and Yad Vashem, 2015), pp. 53-70.

“The Personal Contexts of a Holocaust Historian: War, Politics, Trials and Professional Rivalry,” Holocaust Scholarship: Personal Trajectories and Professional Interpretations, ed. by Christopher R. Browning, Susannah Heschel, Michael R. Marrus, and Milton Shain (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 48-66.

“The Holocaust: Basis and Objective of the *Volksgemeinschaft*?,” Visions of Nazi Community in Germany: Social Engineering & Private Lives, ed. by Martina Steber and Bernhard Gotto (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 217-225.

(co-authored with Jürgen Mathäus), “Evidenz, Erinnerung, Trugbild. Fotoalben zum Polizeibataillon 101 im ‘Osteinsatz’,” Nazi-verbrechen: Täter, Taten, Bewältigungsversuche, ed. by Martin Cüppers, Jürgen Matthäus, and Andrej Angrick (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013), pp. 135-90.

“Holocaust History and Survivor Testimony: Challenges, Limitations, and Opportunities,” Against the Grain: Jewish Intellectuals in Hard Times, ed. by Ezra Mendelsohn, Stefani Hoffman, and Richard I. Cohen (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 277-84.

(co-authored with Francis R. Nicosia), “Ambivalenz und Paradox bei der Durchsetzung der NS-Judenpolitik: Heinrich Wolff und Wilhelm Melchers,” Widerstand und Auswärtiges Amt: Diplomaten Gegen Hitler, ed. by Jan Erik Schulte and Michael Wala (Munich: Siedler Verlag, 2013), pp. 197-223.

“Reply to Dan Fulda,” Den Holocaust erzählen: Historiographie zwischen wissenschaftlicher Empirie und narrative Kreativität, ed. by Norbert Frei and Wulf Kansteiner (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2013), pp. 151-64, 194-97, 244-47.

“Sajmiste as a European Site of Remembrance,” Philosophy and Society (Belgrade) XIII/4 (2012), pp. 99-105.

“Introduction,” The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1939-1945, vol. II, Ghettos in Occupied Eastern Europe, ed. by Geoffrey P. Megaree and Martin Dean (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), pp. xxvii-xxxix.

“Shoah, guerre e modernite: Contestualizzare la Shoah,” Passato e Presante, XXX, Nr. 86 (2012), pp. 15-27.

“Musicology, Biography, and National Socialism: The Case of Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. An American Historian’s Perspective,” German Studies Review 35/2 (May 2012), pp. 310-318.  
German version: “Musikwissenschaft und Biografie: Der Fall Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht—Aus der Perspektive eines amerikanischen Historikers,” Freiburger Universitätsblätter 195/1 (March 2012), pp. 51-59.

“Problem Solvers,” The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies, ed. by Peter Hayes and John Roth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.

“The Nazi Empire,” The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies, ed. by Donald Bloxham and A. Dirk Moses (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 407-25.

“The Origins of the Final Solution,” The Routledge History of the Holocaust, ed. by Jonathan C. Friedman (New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 156-67.

“Encountering Ethical Dilemmas in Writing the History of the Holocaust,” Lessons and Legacies, IX, ed. by Jonathan Petropoulos, Lynn Rappaport, and John K. Roth (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2010), pp. 294-99.

“Frameworks for Social Engineering: Stalinist Schema of Identification and the Nazi Volksgemeinschaft” (co-authored with Lewis H. Siegelbaum), Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared, ed. by Michael Geyer and Shiela Fitzpatrick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 231-265.

“On my Book Origins of the Final Solution: Some Remarks on its Background and on its Major Conclusions,” Holocaust Historiography in Context: Emergence, Challenges, Polemics, and Achievements, ed. by David Bankier and Dan Michman (New York: Berghahn, 2009), pp. 403-419.

“Law, History, and Holocaust Denial in the Courtroom: The Zündel and Irving Cases,” Nazi Crimes and the Law, ed. by Nathan Stolfus and Henry Friedlander (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 197-215.

“‘Judenjagd’: Die Schlussphase der ‘Endlösung’ in Polen,” Deutsche, Juden, Völkermord. Der Holocaust als Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by Jürgen Matthäus and Klaus-Michael Mallmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2006), pp. 177-189.

“Funzionari intermedi e uomini comuni come esecutori dell’Olocausto,” Storia della Shoah. La crisi dell’Europa lo sterminio degli ebrei e la memoria del XX secolo, vol. I: La crisi dell’Europa e lo sterminio degli ebrei, ed. by Marina Cattaruzza, Marcello Flores, Simon Levis Sullam, and Enzo Traverso (Turino: UTET, 2005), pp. 623-653.

“‘Alleviation’ and ‘Compliance’: The Survival Strategies of the Jewish Leadership in the Wierzbnik Ghetto and the Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps,” Gray Zones: Ambiguity and Compromise in the Holocaust and Its Aftermath, ed. by Jonathan Petropoulos and John K. Roth (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 26-36.

“Before the ‘Final Solution’: Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland (1940-1941),” Ghettos 1939-1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival. Symposium, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC, 2005, pp. 1-13.

“Ideology, Culture, Situation, and Disposition. Holocaust Perpetrators and the Group Dynamic of Mass Killing,” NS-Gewaltherrschaft: Beiträge zur historischen Forschung und juristischen

Aufarbeitung, ed. by Alfred Gottwaldt, Norbert Kampe, and Peter Klein (Hamburg: Edition Hentrich, 2005), pp. 66-76.

"Die Entfesselung der Endlösung," P.M. History (March 2005), pp. 86-92.

"Writing and Teaching Holocaust History: A Personal Perspective," Teaching About the Holocaust: Essays by College and University Teachers, ed. by Samuel Totten, Paul R. Batrop, and Steven Leonard Jacobs (Praeger, 2004), pp. 31-49.

"The Factory Slave Labor Camps in Starachowice, Poland: Survivor Testimonies," Symposium Presentations on Forced and Slave Labor in Nazi-Dominated Europe, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2004, pp. 63-75.

"The Decision-Making Process," The Historiography of the Holocaust, ed. by Dan Stone (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 173-96.

"Initiating the Final Solution: The Fateful Months of September-October 1941," Occasional Paper, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, October 2003.

"The Wehrmacht in Serbia Revisited," Crimes of War: Guilt and Denial in the Twentieth Century, ed. by Omer Bartov, Atina Grossman, and Mary Nolen (The New Press, 2002), pp. 31-40.

"The Holocaust in Marcinkance in the Light of Two Unusual Documents," The Holocaust: The Unique and the Universal. Essays in Honor of Yehuda Bauer, ed. by Shmuel Almog, David Bankier, Daniel Blatman, and Dalia Ofer (Jerusalem, 2001), pp. 66-83.

"Historians and Holocaust Denial in the Courtroom," Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide (New York, 2001), pp. 73-78.

"The Holocaust and History," Lessons and Legacies, vol. III: Memory, Memorialization, and Denial, ed. by Peter Hayes (Evanston, Ill., 1999), pp. 23-27.

"Ordinary Germans or Ordinary Men? Another Look at the Perpetrators," Lessons and Legacies, vol. II: Teaching the Holocaust in a Changing World, ed. by Donald Schilling (Evanston, Ill., 1998), pp. 41-54.

"Die Debatte über die Täter des Holocaust," Nationalsozialistische Vernichtungspolitik 1939-1945: Neue Forschungen und Kontroversen, ed. by Ulrich Herbert (Frankfurt/M., 1998), pp. 148-69.

"I massacri compiuti in Europa orientale dal Battaglione 101 nelle testimonianze degli esecutori delle violenze," La Memoria Del Nazimo Nell'Europa Di Oggi, ed. by Leonardo Paggi (Firenze, 1997), pp. 163-180.

"Modernization, Barbarism, National Socialism and the Holocaust," Major Changes Within the Jewish People in the Wake of the Holocaust, ed. by Yisrael Gutman and Avital Saf (Jerusalem, 1996), pp. 321-333.

"A Final Hitler Decision for the 'Final Solution'? The Riegner Telegram Reconsidered," Holocaust and Genocide Studies, X/1 (Spring 1996), pp. 3-10.

"Beyond Warsaw and Lodz: Perpetrating the Holocaust in Poland," Perspectives on the Holocaust: Essays in Honor of Raul Hilberg, ed. by James S. Pacy and Alan P. Wertheimer (Boulder, 1995), pp. 75-90.

"Nazi Germany's Initial Attempt to Exploit Jewish Labor in the General Government: The Early Jewish Work Camps 1940-1941," Die Normalität des Verbrechens: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Forschung zu den nationalsozialistischen Gewaltverbrechen, ed. b Helge Grabitz, Klaus Bästlein, and Johannes Tuchel (Berlin, 1994), pp. 171-185.

"The Euphoria of Victory and the Final Solution: Summer-Fall 1941," German Studies Review, XVII/3 (October 1994), 473-81.

"Hitler and the euphoria of victory: the path to the Final Solution," The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation, ed. by David Cesarani (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 137-47.

"Beyond 'Intentionalism' and 'Functionalism': A Reassessment of Nazi Jewish Policy from 1939 to 1941," Reevaluating the Third Reich, ed. by Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan (New York, 1993), 211-33.

"German Memory, Judicial Interrogation, and Historical Reconstruction: Writing Perpetrator History from Postwar Testimony," Probing the Limits of Representation, ed. by Saul Friedlander (Harvard University Press, 1992), 22-36.

"The Emergence of the Final Solution and the War, 1939-41," The Shoah and the War, ed. by Asher Cohen, Yehoyakim Cochavi, and Yoav Gelber (Peter Lang, 1992), 35-52.

"One Day in Jozefow: Initiation to Mass Murder," Lessons and Legacies: The Meaning of the Holocaust in a Changing World, ed. by Peter Hayes (Evanston, Ill., 1991), 196-209.

"Germans and Serbs: The Emergence of Nazi Antipartisan Policies in 1941," A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis, ed. by Michael Berenbaum (New York, 1990), 64-73.

"Vernichtung und Arbeit," KONKRET: Politik & Kultur, Heft 12 (December 1989), 65-69. Reprinted in Vernichtungspolitik: Eine Debatte über den Zusammenhang von Sozialpolitik und Genozid im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland, ed. by Wolfgang Schneider (Hamburg, 1991), 37-51.



"L'origine de la solution finale: du contexte militaire et politique à la prise de décision (1939-1941)," La Politique Nazie D'extermination, ed. by Francois Bédarida (Paris, 1989), 156-76.

"Bureaucracy and Mass Murder: The German Administrator's Comprehension of the Final Solution," Comprehending the Holocaust: Historical and Literary Research, ed. by Asher Cohen, Yoav Gelber, and Charlotte Wardi (Frankfurt, 1988), 159-77.

"Genocide and Public Health: German Doctors and Polish Jews, 1939-1941," Holocaust and Genocide Studies, III/1 (1988), 21-36. A somewhat abridged version of this article had been published in German: "Genozid und Gesundheitswesen: Deutsche Ärzte und polnische Juden 1939-1941," Der Wert des Menschen: Medizin in Deutschland 1918-1945, ed. by Götz Aly and Christian Pross (Edition Hentrich Berlin, 1989), 316-28.

"Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland: 1939-1941," Central European History, 19/4 (1987), 343-368.

"Nazi Resettlement Policy and the Search for a Solution to the Jewish Question, 1939-41," German Studies Review, IX/3 (1986), 497-519.

"The Reports of a Jewish 'Informer' in the Warsaw Ghetto: Selected Documents," co-edited with Israel Gutman, Yad Vashem Studies, XVII (1986), 247-293.

"Approaches to the Final Solution in German Historiography of the Last Two Decades," The Historiography of the Holocaust Period: Proceedings of the Fifth Yad Vashem International Historical Conference, ed. by Israel Gutman and Gideon Greif (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1989), 53-77.

"Harald Turner und die Militärverwaltung in Serbien, 1941-42," Verwaltung contra Menschenführung im Staat Hitlers. Studien zum politisch-administrativen System, ed. by Dieter Rebentisch and Karl Teppe (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 351-373.

"La décision concernant la solution finale," L'Allemagne nazie et le génocide juif (Paris: Gallimard, Editions du Seuil, 1986), 190-216. An English version of this article was subsequently published as: "The Decision Concerning the Final Solution," Unanswered Questions: Nazi Germany and the Genocide of the Jews, ed. by Francois Furet (New York, 1989), 96-118.

"The Final Solution in Serbia. The Semlin Judenlager--A Case Study," Yad Vashem Studies, XV (1984), 55-90.

"Wehrmacht Reprisal Policy and the Mass Murder of Jews in Serbia," Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen, 1983/1, 31-47.

"The German Bureaucracy and the Holocaust" and "Deportations," Genocide: Critical Issues of the Holocaust, ed. by Alex Grobman, Daniel Landes, and Sybil Milton (Chappaqua, New York: Rossel Books, 1983), 145-9 and 160-65.

"Zur Genesis der 'Endlösung.' Eine Antwort an Martin Broszat," Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte 29/1 (January 1981), 97-109. For a revised and expanded English version of this article: "The Genesis of the Final Solution. A Reply to Martin Broszat," Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual, I (1984), 113-132.

"The Government Experts," The Holocaust: Ideology, Bureaucracy, and Genocide. The San Jose Papers, ed. by Henry Friedlander and Sybil Milton (New York: Kraus International Publications, 1980), 183-97.

"Referat Deutschland, Jewish Policy, and the German Foreign Office, 1933-40," Yad Vashem Studies, XII (1977), 37-73.

"Unterstaatssekretär Martin Luther and the Ribbentrop Foreign Office," Journal of Contemporary History, XII/2 (April 1977), 313-44.

#### REVIEW ARTICLES:

"A New View of the Holocaust" (review of Timothy Snyder, Black Earth), New York Review of Books LXII/15 (October 8, 2015), pp. 41-43.

"When Europe Failed," New York Review of Books LXII/13 (August 13, 2015), pp. 64 and 66.

"How the Envy of the Jews Lay Behind It," New York Review of Books LXII/1 (January 8, 2015), pp. 44 and 46.

"Das Ende Alle Vertuschung," Das Auswärtige Amt und seine umstrittene Vergangenheit, ed. by Martin Sabrow and Christian Mentel (Frankfurt a.M: Fischer Verlag, 2014), pp. 231-39.

"How Ordinary Germans Did It," New York Review of Books LX/11 (June 20, 2013), pp. 30-32.

"In the Cauldron," New York Review of Books LIX/15 (August 16, 2012), pp. 70-75.

"The German Foreign Office: Myth and Reality," Yad Vashem Studies 39/1 (2011), pp. 297-305. Reprinted with revisions as: "The German Foreign Office Revisited," Bulletin of the German Historical Institute (fall 2011), pp. 71-79.

"On Saul Friedländer's The Years of Extermination. Evocation, Analysis, and the 'Crisis of Liberalism'." History and Theory, 48 (October 2009), pp. 238-47.

"Spanning a Career: Three Editions of Raul Hilberg's Destruction of the European Jews," Lessons and Legacies, vol. VIII: From Generation to Generation, ed. by Doris L. Bergen (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2008), pp. 191-202.

"Raul Hilberg," Yad Vashem Studies, 35/2 (2007), pp. 7-20.

"Daniel Goldhagen's Willing Executioners, History and Memory, 8/1 (spring/summer, 1996), 88-108.

"The Holocaust Distorted," Dissent (Summer 1989), 397-400.

"The Revised Hilberg," Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual, III (1986), 289-300.

#### INVITED LECTURE SERIES:

The Bogdanow Lectures, "Agency in the Holocaust: Perpetrators, Survivors, Rescuers," University of Manchester, January 2015.

The Bertelsmann Visiting Professorship Lecture Series, "Remembering Survival," Mansfield College, Oxford University, May/June 2007.

George L. Mosse Distinguished Lectures, University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 1-3, 2002, on "Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Post-War Testimony."

The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures, "Contested Issues in Holocaust Scholarship: Nazi Policy, Jewish Labour, German Killers," Cambridge University, February-March, 1999.

#### LECTURES AND CONFERENCE PAPERS:

"The Elusive Holocaust Perpetrator," The Brains that Pull the Triggers: Conference on Syndrome E, Paris, April 2015

"How 'ordinary' people kill other people," International Symposium: The Archeology of Violence: Wartime Violence, Mass Violence," Lens, France, October 2014.

"The History and Challenges of Accountability for Genocide and War Crimes: The Case of Nazi Germany," National Humanities Center Conference on Human Rights and the Humanities, March 2013.

"Dealing With the 'Question.' The Origins of the Final Solution," International Conference on World War II. Stemming the Nazi Tide: The End of the Beginning 1942-43," The National WW II Museum, New Orleans, December 2012.

“Holocaust History and Survivor Testimony: The Case of the Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps,” Fortunoff Archives Thirtieth Anniversary Conference, Yale University, October 2012.

“The Personal Contexts of a Holocaust Historian: War, Politics, Trials, and Professional Rivalry,” Conference on Holocaust Scholarship: Personal Trajectories and Professional Interpretations, Cape Town, South Africa, August 2012.

“Sajmiste as a European Site of Holocaust Remembrance,” Conference: If Not Now, When...? The Future of the Site of the Old Fairgrounds (Sajmiste) in Belgrade, Belgrade, Serbia, May 2012.

“Response to Wulf Kansteiner, ‘Sense and Sensibility: The Holocaust Realism of Christopher Browning’,” Conference on History Unlimited: Probing the Ethics of Holocaust Culture, UCLA, April 2012.

“Survivor Testimony from Starachowice and the Dynamics of the Slave Labor Camp Prisoner Community,” Conference on Rewriting the Jewish History of the Holocaust, University of the Holocaust, University of Florida, Gainesville, March 2012.

“Revisiting the Perpetrators: Why Did They Kill?” Auschwitz Never Again Lecture, Amsterdam, January 2012.

“Contextualizing the Holocaust,” Conference on The Shoah: Modernity and Political Evil, Florence, Italy, January 2012.

“Holocaust Denial in the Courtroom: The Historian as Expert Witness,” The Adolf Eichmann Trial—Looking Back 50 Years Later, Loyola Law School, Los Angeles, September 2011.

“Henrich Wolf und Wilhelm Melchers: Ambivalenz und Paradox bei der Durchsetzung der NS-Judenpolitik” (co-authored with Francis Nicosia), Konferenz Widerstand und Auswärtiges Amt, Tützing, Germany, September 2011.

“Ordinary Men and Remembering Survival,” Symposium: Den Holocaust erzählen? Historiographie zwischen wissenschaftlicher Empirie und narrative Kreativität, Jena, Germany, June 2011.

“Holocaust History and Survivor Testimony: The Case of the Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps,” Keynote Lecture, Conference on Testimonies, Personal Narratives, and Alternative Tellings, Rutgers University, March 2011.

“Musicology and Biography: The Case of Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht. An American Perspective,” The American Musicological Society, Indianapolis, November 2010.

“The Holocaust: Basis and Objective of the Volksgemeinschaft,” Conference on German Society in the Nazi Era: Volksgemeinschaft as Ideological Projection and Social Practice, German Historical Institute London, March 2010.

“Survivor Memories, Ethnic Stereotypes, and the Complexity of Experience in the Factory Slave Labor Camps of Starachowice, Poland,” Conference on Unleashed Memory: Debates on Genocide, Forced Labour, and World War II after 1945, Berlin, Germany, September 2009.

“Remembering Survival: Holocaust History and Survivor Testimony,” Birkbeck College-Wiener Library Lecture Series, London, June 2009.

“A Tale of Two Cities: New York and Cracow,” Keynote address, Lessons and Legacies Conference of the Holocaust Educational Foundation, Evanston, November 2008.

“Generalplan Ost,” Keynote address, Conference on Science, Planning, Expulsion: The National Socialist General Plan for the East, University of Toronto, October 2008.

“Survivor Memories of the Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps,” Plenary Address, Conference on The Holocaust as Local History, Thessaloniki, Greece, June 2008.

“Survivor Memories, Ethnic Stereotypes and the Complexity of Experience in the Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps,” Kings College-UNC Symposium, London, June 2007.

“Ethics During and After the Holocaust,” Roundtable, Lessons and Legacies Conference, ClaremontMcKenna College, November 2006.

“Holocaust History in Public: Scholars in Court, Media, and Museums,” Roundtable, German Studies Association, Pittsburg, September 2006.

“Holocaust History and Survivor Testimony: Writing the History of the Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps,” Plenary Session, “Between Memory and History: Eyewitness Accounts as a Historical Source,” American Historical Association Conference, Philadelphia, January 2006.

“Why Did They Kill? Holocaust Perpetrators Reconsidered,” Kintore Lecture, University of Edinburgh, October 2005

“Auschwitz and the Nazi State,” Roundtable on the BBC Documentary, German Studies Association, Milwaukee, September 2005.

“Holocaust Denial in the Courtroom,” Continuing Legal Education presentation, Washington Government Lawyers Association, Olympia, Washington, July 2005.

“Spanning a Career: Three Editions of The Destruction of the European Jews,” Lessons and Legacies Conference of the Holocaust Educational Foundation, Brown University, November 2004.

"Alleviation and Compliance: The Survival Strategies of the Jewish Leadership in the Wierzbnik Ghetto and Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps," Conference on "Gray Zones: Ambiguity and Compromise in the Holocaust and Its Aftermath," Claremont McKenna College, February 2004.

"Initiating the Final Solution: The Fateful Months of September-October 1941," Ina Levine Award Annual Lecture, U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, March 2003.

"The Factory Slave Labor Camps in Starachowice, Poland: Memories of the Jewish Survivors." U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum Symposium on "Forced and Slave Labor in Nazi-Dominated Europe," October 2002.

"Ideology, Culture, Situation, and Disposition. Holocaust Perpetrators and the Group Dynamics of Mass Killing," Workshop on Understanding Violence, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, June 2002.

"Holocaust Perpetrators: Ideologues, Managers, Ordinary Men," US Holocaust Memorial Museum Symposium on the Perpetrators of the Holocaust, Rwanda, and Cambodia, March 2002

"The Holocaust and History: Lessons from the David Irving Case" University of Western Ontario Conference on "The Future of the Past," March 2002

"Before the Final Solution: Nazi Ghettoization in Poland, 1940-41," US Holocaust Memorial Museum Symposium on the Ghettos of the Holocaust, November 2001

"Historians and Holocaust Denial in the Courtroom: The Irving and Zündel Trials," German Studies Association Conference, Washington DC, October 2001

"Historians and Holocaust Denial in the Courtroom," Plenary address, Remembering for the Future 2000, Oxford, July 2000.

"War Crimes Trials," Continuing Legal Education presentation, Washington Government Lawyers Association, Olympia, Washington, July 2000.

The Taft Lectures ("Holocaust Denial in the Courtroom: The Zündel and Irving Trials," and "Holocaust Perpetrators in the Light of New Evidence"), University of Cincinnati, May 2000.

"Why Study the Holocaust?" Frank Porter Graham Chair Inaugural Lecture, University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill, March 2000.

"The Wehrmacht in Serbia Revisited," International Symposium on Military War Crimes: History and Memory, New York, December 1999.

"The Absent Minority: Germany's Fifty Years in the Shadow of the Holocaust," Center for European Studies, UNC-Chapel Hill, October 1999.

"Holocaust History and Survivor Memories: Studying the Starachowice Labor Camp," luncheon address to European History Section, American Historical Association, Washington DC, January, 1999.

"Hitler and the Final Solution: When Did He Decide?", Symposium on the Genesis of Nazi Policy: Structure and the Decision-Making Process, University of Florida, Gainesville, April 1998.

"The German Order Police," American Historical Association, Seattle, WA, January 1998.

"German History, German Perpetrators, and the Goldhagen Controversy," Third International German History Colloquium, University of British Columbia, May 1997.

"Daniel Goldhagen's Willing Executioners," Symposium, US Holocaust Memorial Museum, April 1996.

"Writing Holocaust History: A Personal Perspective," 18th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Montreal, August 1995.

"Modernization, Antisemitism, National Socialism, and the Holocaust," invited paper, conference "Das Vermächtnis des Massenmords: Wie modern war der Nationalsozialismus?" sponsored by the Hochschule für jüdische Studien, Heidelberg, May 1995.

"Massacres Committed in Eastern Europe by Reserve Police Battalion 101 according to Post-War Testimonies by the Perpetrators," invited paper, International Conference to Commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the 1944 Massacres around Arezzo, Arezzo, Italy, June 1994.

"Ordinary Germans or Ordinary Men? A Reply to the Critics," invited paper, Inaugural Academic Conference of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C., December 1993.

"The Evolution of Nazi Terror," invited paper for Terror in Comparative Perspective, a conference of the Center for European Studies, Harvard University, November 1993.

"Victory Euphoria and the Path to Genocide," German Studies Association conference, Washington, D.C., October 1993.

"Modernization, Barbarism, National Socialism and the Holocaust," invited paper, Yad Vashem International Conference, Jerusalem, June 1993.

"Ordinary Germans or Ordinary Men: Another Look at the Perpetrators," Conference of the Holocaust Education Foundation, Illinois, October 1992.

"Hitler and the Euphoria of Victory: The Path of the 'Final Solution'," Invited paper for conference on The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation, sponsored by the Institute of Contemporary History and the Wiener Library, London, January 1992.

"German Reprisal Policy in Serbia during the Second World War," Invited paper for a symposium on Serbia in the Second World War, Macquarrie University, Sydney, Australia, August 1991.

"Beyond Warsaw and Lodz: Perpetrating the Holocaust in Poland," Symposium in Honor of the Retirement of Raul Hilberg, University of Vermont, Burlington, April 1991.

"How Antisemitic were the Killers?" German Studies Association, Buffalo, N.Y., October 1990.

"German Memory, Judicial Interrogation and Historical Reconstruction: Writing Perpetrator History from Post-War Oral Testimony," invited paper, UCLA conference on "Nazism and the 'Final Solution': Probing the Limits of Representation," April 1990.

"Initiation to Mass Murder: One Day in Jozefow," invited paper, Northwestern University conference on "Lessons and Legacies of the Holocaust," November 1989.

"The Emergence of the Final Solution and the War, 1939-41," invited paper for the conference "The Shoah and the War," Strochlitz Institute of Holocaust Studies, Haifa University, January 1989.

"German Technocrats, Jewish Labor, and the Final Solution: A Reply to Götz Aly and Susanne Heim," Oxford Conference on the Holocaust: Remembering for the Future, July 1988.

"Beyond 'Intentionalism' and 'Functionalism': A Reassessment of Nazi Jewish Policy, 1939-41." Invited paper, Symposium on the Third Reich: New Research, New Interpretations, Philadelphia, April 1988. (A somewhat expanded version of this paper was also given to the USA-GDR historians' symposium on Nazi Terror and Resistance, Princeton University, May 1989).

"German Diplomats and the Holocaust," Invited paper, Symposium on German Professionals and the Holocaust, University of Washington, March 1988.

"Beyond 'Intentionalism' and 'Functionalism': A Reassessment of Nazi Jewish Policy, 1939-1941," American Historical Association, Washington D.C., December 1987.

"Les étapes chronologiques de l'extermination. La conjuncture de guerre." Invited paper for the Colloquium "La Politique Nazie d'extermination" of the Institut d'histoire du temps présent, Sorbonne, Paris, December 1987.

"Genocide and Public Health: German Doctors and Polish Jews, 1939-1941," German Studies Association, St. Louis, October 1987.



"Historians, Hitler, and the Holocaust," Invited paper for the conference on Holocaust Literature and History, sponsored by Pacific University and the Oregon Holocaust Resource Center, Portland and Forest Grove, Oregon, March 1987.

"Germans and Serbs: The Emergence of Nazi Anti-Partisan Policy in Serbia in 1941," Invited paper for the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council conference on The Other Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis, U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C., February 1987.

"Nazi Ghettoization Policy: 'Attritionists' vs. 'Productionists'," German Studies Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, September 1986.

"Bureaucracy and Mass Murder: The German Administrator's Comprehension of the Final Solution," Invited paper for the congress of the Strochlitz Institute of Holocaust Studies at the University of Haifa on "Comprehending the Holocaust--Historical and Literary Research," June 1986.

"Nazi Resettlement Policy and the Search for a Solution to the Jewish Question, 1939-41," German Studies Association, Washington, D.C., October 1985.

"Launching the Final Solution," Western Association for German Studies, Madison, Wisconsin, October 1983.

"Approaches to the Final Solution in German Historiography of the Last Two Decades," Invited paper for Yad Vashem's Fifth International Historical Conference, Jerusalem, March 1983.

"Wehrmacht Reprisal Policy and the Mass Murder of Jews in Serbia," Western Association for German Studies, El Paso, Texas, October 1982.

"La décision concernant la solution finale," Invited paper for the Colloquium on Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, sponsored by the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, June 1982.

"The German Civil Service and the Holocaust," Invited paper for the Second Regional Conference on the Holocaust, San Jose, California, March 1978.

"Ribbentrop and the Final Solution," Western Association for German Studies, Tempe, Arizona, October 1977.

"The Politics of the Final Solution: The German Foreign Office and the Belgrade Massacres," European Studies Conference, Omaha, Nebraska, October 1977.

#### ENCYCLOPEDIA ENTRIES:

"Raul Hilberg," Encyclopaedia Judaica (Second Edition, 2007).

"The Holocaust: History," The Encyclopedia of Religion (First Edition, 1987, and revised for Second Edition, 2005).

Five articles and seventeen short entries for The Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, ed. by Israel Gutman (Sifriat Poalim/Macmillan Publishing Company, 1990).

#### BOOK REVIEWS:

Written for: The New York Times Book Review, Times Literary Supplement, American Historical Review, New York Review of Books, Die Zeit, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, The International History Review, Francia, Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Journal of Contemporary History, Shofar, Neue Politische Literatur, Journal of Baltic Studies, Studies in Contemporary Jewry, Bulletin of the German Historical Institute London, Journal of Genocide Research, Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung, and Patterns of Prejudice.

#### CONSULTATIONS:

Department of Justice, Canada  
 Commonwealth Office of Public Prosecution, Australia  
 U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum  
 War Crimes Branch, Crown Prosecution Service, Great Britain  
 Office of Special Investigations, Justice Department, USA

#### EXPERT WITNESS TESTIMONY:

I have given expert witness testimony in court in several cases, including Crown vs. Zündel and Crown vs. Kisluk in Canada, Crown vs. Serafimovich, Crown vs. Sawoniuk, and David Irving vs. Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt in the United Kingdom, and the Department of Justice vs. Wagner in Australia.

#### CONSULTATION ON DOCUMENTARY FILMS:

"Auschwitz and the Nazi State" (BBC)  
 "Holocaust" (MPR)

#### PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS:

German Studies Association  
 Executive Committee 1991-4  
 Nominating Committee

Best Article Prize Committee  
Editorial Board, Holocaust and Genocide Studies  
Editorial Board, Jewish Social Studies  
Editorial Board, Yad Vashem Studies  
Editorial Board, Journal of Genocide Research  
Editorial Board, Journal of Modern History  
US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Academic Advisory Committee  
Chair, Publications Sub-Committee