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My Odyssey Among Fellow UVM Alumni

by
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UVM Class of 1942

Burlington born, as a “townie” I followed two brothers and two sisters up the steep hill to the UVM campus, braving Vermont’s notorious winter weather. My last two years involved Advanced Military Studies, scheduled at the crack of dawn before the beginning of morning academic classes. In my senior year, I was one of five company commanders with the rank of cadet captain. Graduating in May 1942, on the same back campus stage, 15 minutes apart, I received a Ph.B in History, and by way of UVM ROTC, a commission as a 2nd Lieut. Infantry in the US Army Reserves. This path was, so to speak, cleared for me 14 years earlier by my eldest brother, Cedric, UVM ‘28. Orders to active duty immediately took me off toward war.

After a torrid summer at the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Ga., I had the choice of several overseas assignments, but that did not include my European theater preference, which did not yet exist. I chose the 43d Infantry Division, because the Vermont National Guard 172nd Regiment was one of that division’s three regiments. I was assigned instead to the 169th Regiment, a Connecticut National Guard outfit, because the Vermont regiment was already overseas, where its troopship, appropriately named *SS Coolidge*, had foundered on a mine in the New Hebrides harbor of Efate.

I first caught up to the 172nd, but only symbolically, on stepping ashore in New Caledonia. I was greeted by Col. Henry Press, UVM ‘33, Quartermaster of the 43rd Division. From a St. Albans family,

his sister was a close friend of one of my sisters, so he was often a guest in our house. My own regiment first experienced combat in the closing days of the bloody Guadalcanal campaign, where we witnessed the raising of the American flag over that bitterly contested island.

There followed an uncontested Russell Islands landing, where the only conflict was between Marines and Army infantry units storming ashore at each other from opposed landing beaches. Next was the New Georgia campaign which ended early for me on the beach at Rendova, where I finally caught up to the Vermont regiment. A saturation Japanese bombing of the wide open Rendova beach sent me invalided home via a slow reverse island-hopping retreat. The 172nd regimental surgeon who

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treated me was Dr. Henry M. "Spud" Farmer, UVM '33, MD '37. An all-around star athlete, he practiced in Burlington for many years .

Young and healthy again, I was training recruits at several stateside army bases. It became obvious that the European war could not be won from the air, but would require masses of infantry, including combat experienced officers. Breaking the veterans' taboo "never to volunteer," I chose to go with the 44th Division still stateside awaiting deployment to Europe, rather than to go as a casual officer, a stranger joining a unit already in combat. That was the best gamble I ever made, for it probably saved my life when my platoon sergeants, by now my comrades at arms after some three months together, risked their own lives to drag me to safety when German mortar fragments penetrated my steel helmet and less steely skull.

I spent the Battle of the Bulge moved from hospital to hospital, where it sometimes seemed the German spearheads were targeting on me. Emerging from hospital in early January 1945, no longer able to bear a steel helmet on my still tender skull, but not wanting to go home for discharge and miss this opportunity to experience the continent whence my forebears came, and which had been the focus of my academic studies. I had a decent command of the German language, drawn from my father and an uncle who organized a club in Burlington dubbed "Der Yiddisher Winkel (Corner)," cultivating a literary Yiddish that could pass for literary German. I was offered a job as a press censor for a German language gazette published by the US Army in occupied Germany for the instruction and information of the inhabitants of the Heidelberg-Mannheim area.

After a glorious month of censorship training in Paris, where I freshened my French more than my German, I first entered Germany in April 1945 and was stationed in Heidelberg as a censor with the 6th Army Group. The only opportunity I had to use my censor's blue pencil was on Stefan Heym, who as temporary editor of the US Army's *Süddeutsche Mitteilungen* was writing copy praising the Red Army's occupation policies over those of the US Army, presaging his early defection to the USSR, and reflecting his lifelong commitment to Socialism. As censor of the *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung*, my blue pencil remained idle at the copy published by our selected German licensees, one of whom was Theodor Heuss, later the first president of the Federal German Republic.

When the US Office of Military Government for Germany (OMGUS) was separated from the US occupation forces, which it eventually subsumed, I accepted the post of Publications Officer for the Heidelberg-Mannheim area in the Information Control Division of OMGUS. My task required selecting trustworthy Germans as licensees for magazines and books, and allocating scarce

paper supplies for programs supporting OMGUS policy designed for reorienting the German people to democracy. I remained in that post until November 1948. Perhaps the most significant items produced by the publishers in my area were: Karl Jaspers' *Die Schuldfrage*, which has become a staple of the analytical philosophy of guilt; and a compendium of concentration camp atrocity documentation with pictures, by Mitcherlitch und Mielke, *Das Diktat der Menschenverachtung* (both by Lambert Schneider Verlag, Heidelberg, 1945). The latter publication, prepared in secret by its two German authors, was embargoed in my office safe in Heidelberg.

The original documents were being withheld awaiting surprise confrontation to discomfit the accused at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, a tactic prohibited in proper courts.

Returning with my bride to the United States in October 1948, I resumed my studies as a graduate student at NYU and Columbia, from which I received a Ph.M. as of 1955. An instructor at Brooklyn College from 1954 to 1960, I deserted academia to join as a senior historian an American Historical Association team arranging and describing for microfilming captured German records at Alexandria, Virginia in 1960-61. Simultaneous to my arrival was that of the new team chief, no less than Willard A. Fletcher, UVM '49.

Hired by the National Archives, I continued work on the *Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va.* which eventually amounted to 100 guides. Under my supervision, we also undertook the preparation of guides to the microfilm of the 12 subsequent Nuremberg trials and the Dachau trial records, all of which provided the foundation for the advanced digital search technology that eventually replaced all those guides.

During my National Archives service, I directed several conferences; the proceedings of two I edited for publication as *Captured German and Related Records* (Ohio University Press, 1974); and *Americans as Proconsuls: U.S. Military Government in Germany and Japan, 1944-52* (SIU Press, Carbondale, Illinois, 1984). Other unpublished conferences I directed were the "Nuremberg Trials as History, Law, and Morality," for the Conference Group on German Politics in March 1975; and two for the American Committee on the History of the Second World War.

After retirement in 1995, I served between 2001 and 2007 as one of four contract historians for the Interagency Working Group, tasked by the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act of 1998 to locate for declassification and opening to public research war crimes records still withheld by US intelligence and other Federal agencies. Published as an illustration of the type of sources to be found in the newly declassified records was *U.S. Intelligence and the*

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Robert Wolfe pictured in the 1942 UVM Yearbook, third from left, front row.

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Nazis (Breitman, Goda, Naftali, and Wolfe, Cambridge University Press, 2005), in which my one solely individual contribution was “Coddling a Nazi Turncoat [Eugen Dollmann].” In October 1981, combatants from 14 nations participated in an International Liberators Conference at the US State Department, the proceedings of which were published as *The Liberation of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Washington, DC 1987). In a session “Discovering the ‘Final Solution,’” I spoke about “Finding the Holocaust through its Third Reich Records.” Among the liberators participating from Vermont was Irving Lisman, UVM ‘34.

Raul Hilberg acquired his Ph. B. at Brooklyn College in chemistry, I at UVM in history; I taught history at Brooklyn, he political science at UVM; an interesting, irrelevant but bonding reciprocity fostering our common pursuit of Holocaust scholarship. My long relationship with him began when I assisted his seminal, unsurpassed research on the Holocaust at the National Archives. The personal bond deepened when we both served as members of the planning board for the Tauber Institute of Brandeis University.

We became friends during two trips on behalf of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council to the Soviet Union and East Germany, respectively. Our team of four American scholars examined captured German records in Moscow, Lvov, Riga, and Vilnius in July 1988. During a side trip to my parents birthplace in Kovno (Kaunas), I learned that putative relatives my forebears had left behind in the old country had survived in the Kovno ghetto until 1944 to die in a desperate attempt at resistance. Coincidentally, the sometime *Adolf Hitler Strasse* in Kovno had just been renamed for my mother’s great uncle, Avram Mapu, author of the first modern Hebrew novel.

In 1990, a like team of four, including Vermonters Raul Hilberg, Willard Fletcher and me, visited the East German Central State Archives at Potsdam, and State Archives at Leipzig and Dresden, as well as the Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald Museums at former Nazi concentration camp sites. In both these excursions, we selected for microfilming documents and files suitable for adding to the holdings of the U.S. Holocaust Museum.

If memory serves, it was in Vilnius at the regional Lithuanian archives that I began my day by opening a file containing a lengthy notorious document which I never had seen, but knew of from related records in my custody in the National Archives. Similar discoveries were made in most of the East European archives we visited. Silently I pushed it across the table to Raul, who after one glance began hurriedly copying the whole of it. That hand-off epitomized the collaboration between an archivist and researchers.

The East German State was on its last legs when we arrived at a police rest quarters in Potsdam late at

night. Raul and I decided that a walk would help us wind down for restful sleep. Two absent-minded professors, absorbed with the Holocaust documentation we had seen that day, we were heedless to our surroundings as we strolled in the nighttime dark, although as WWII combat soldiers we were wasting hard-earned training. When we finally sought to return to our unfamiliar lodgings, we were hopelessly lost. In desperation, Raul resorted to a street telephone booth to summon help. Shortly thereafter two amused young Peoples Police (Volkspolizei) escorted us to our quarters less than two blocks away! Embarrassed, Raul and I agreed not to tell a soul, but we both soon found the episode too hilarious to repress, so I repeat it here for all to savor.

My one post-graduate professional foray at UVM was the presentation of a slide show documenting the Holocaust from the records of the Third Reich that implemented the “Final Solution.” I was representing the National Archives at the 1991 UVM conference honoring the retirement of Raul Hilberg, but the conference directors understandably chose as speakers men more celebrated than this obscure archivist.

Thereupon, Raul asked me to reprise to his lecture class a Holocaust presentation that he had witnessed when we two spoke at a Brooklyn College event renaming its Humanities Institute after its founder, my sister Ethyle, who retired as Brooklyn Provost and academic vice president. A 1940 UVM graduate and lecturer in classics from 1940 to 1942, she was a recipient of the UVM Alumni Achievement Award in 1985, an honor which fell to me five years later.

Attending among Raul’s more than 200-strong lecture audience were the two political science professors who organized his retirement conference. They asked if I would turn my presentation into a paper, which appeared as “Nazi Paperwork of the Final Solution,” the first paper in *Perspectives on the Holocaust: Essays in Honor of Raul Hilberg*, (Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1994), pp. 5-37. As my last hurrah, I hope that presentation could be augmented by a full rebuttal of all the issues raised by Holocaust deniers; a denial of the deniers.



Robert Wolfe on the balcony of the Grand Hotel in Heidelberg, which housed offices of the U.S. Military Government



The National Archives, Washington

Moritz Bonn and the Critical Study of Colonialism

By Robert Gordon, Professor of Anthropology

Moritz Bonn has fascinated me ever since I saw him quoted as an authority in the (in) famous *Blue Book on Germany's Treatment of the Natives of Southwest Africa*, in which he claimed that Germany had solved the native "problem" by smashing tribal life in its effort to create a New Germany and then anonymously cited in the official German rejoinder, as evidence for how advanced German colonial administration was. It is derived from a lecture given at the Royal Colonial Institute in January 1914 and later published along with the ensuing discussion in the Institute's journal. It makes interesting reading if only because this young scholar provides an array of solid empirical data and then "respectfully" disagrees with the chair of the meeting, Lord Milner, a Jingo Imperialist par excellence, by suggesting that he consider creating reserves for Europeans rather than Africans! Clearly this is a person with chutzpah.

Fortuitously I discovered among his 64 boxes of papers deposited in the German Federal Archive in Koblenz a handwritten copy of his diary recording his three month trip to German South West Africa in 1906, and set about trying to transcribe and translate this document. Finding this a challenge beyond my meager skills—deciphering a scrawl in pencil in a carbon triplicate book is rather taxing—I started some contextual and background reading and a fascinating picture with intriguing questions started to emerge.

Born into a Jewish banking family in Frankfurt, Bonn wound up doing his doctorate in economics with Lujo Brentano in Munich, who then encouraged him to study at the fledgling London School of Economics. This resulted in a lengthy stay and a pioneering habilitation on English colonial policy in Ireland. Returning to Munich in 1905 a convinced free trade liberal of the "Cobdenite variety," with his English wife, a "suffragette drawn for the petite nobility", he was installed as an instructor (*Privatdozent*), but shortly thereafter decided to journey to South Africa to field test Hobson's recently published theory of imperialism. After traveling and conducting in situ investigations and interviews he was asked to go to German Southwest Africa and report on conditions there. The three months he spent in Namibia were an epiphany and he became a vehement critic of colonialism and indeed achieved a certain notoriety for publicly taking on General Lothar von Trotha, infamous for his role in authoring the Herero genocide.

The outbreak of the Great War found him stranded in the United States where he held a variety of visiting

positions at Cornell, Wisconsin and Berkeley before making his way back on the same liner as the German Ambassador. He then proceeded to play an important role as an economics adviser to the various German peace delegations, having the additional advantage of having been befriended during his South African research by one Philip Kerr, who was now Lord Lothian, Lloyd George's private secretary. Needless to say he was an ardent and persuasive proponent of surrendering the colonies as long as free trade rights were guaranteed. During this time he also managed to translate his friend, John Maynard Keynes' *Economic Consequences of Peace* into German.

In 1919 Bonn was offered Brentano's Chair in Political Economy at Munich University but was turned down by the Bavarian State Government, which insisted that Max Weber be appointed instead. Not that this dented his energy. A leading Liberal in the Weimar Republic, Bonn advised on economic reparation and price issues and continued his academic career largely at the Berlin Handelshochschule, where he was eventually elected Rector Magnificus. Here his most notable protégé was one Carl Schmitt, although they apparently had a rather acrimonious falling out. He also continued to make numerous visits to the United States and his analyses of American capitalism drew praise from a wide range of experts including Harold Laski, who labeled his book *Prosperity: Myth and Reality in American Econom-*



Moritz Bonn

ic Life as "the wisest book on America that has been published in many years ...No one since Tocqueville has written with greater insight". Laski praised it especially for its virtue of seeing the principles of the American economic policy in terms of the social environment. Such was his international reputation that when the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* was published he was responsible for several key entries: Economic Policy; Imperialism; International Finance, Price Regulation, Rationalization and Self-sufficiency (economic). The range of topics suggests Bonn's remarkable breadth of interest and reputation.

With Hitler's seizure of power, Bonn's library was looted and he was stripped of his citizenship on the same day as Einstein. For the consummate cosmopolitan like Bonn, exile was not as traumatic as it was for others. Receiving job offers from major universities in the United States and Britain, he decided to base himself at the London School of Economics and spent the rest of his life largely as a "Wandering Scholar" (as he titled his autobiography), visiting North American

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universities and colleges serving as an Allied propagandist.

He retired to London after the Second World War and made occasional visits to Germany, once to receive an honorary degree from Munich in a special double ceremony with Theodor Heuss and another time to collect an honorary degree from the Free University of Berlin. He died in 1965.

Bonn's life and works can be appreciated on a number of fronts. My particular focus is his analysis of colonialism. Unlike many other intellectuals and scholars of the time, he actually went to the colonies and wrote from extended firsthand experience not only of the elite but of the hoi-polloi as well, where his linguistic skills came into play while retaining what might be called "critical estrangement."

Acutely sensitive to the need to locate his analysis within a wider context and already in 1911 Bonn was writing of the need to develop a world-systems (*Weltwissenschaft*) perspective. The structure of the world economy had a decisive effect not only on colonization, but also, Bonn later argued, on decolonization. Making a distinction between *Kolonisation* and *Kolonisierung* Bonn saw colonialism as a part of the Imperial project, which he later defined as the employment of the engines of government and diplomacy to acquire territories, protectorates, and/ or spheres. "(T)he economic essence of imperialism is predatory; plunder, not profit, is its aim, while the political aim was 'ruling space' not 'living space.'" His analysis of colonialism emphasized the cultural aspects of the colonizers, whom he characterized as *Spiessburger*, especially with regard to the development of their notions of *Heimat* (terms which do not translate readily). This perspective allowed him to see connections between colonialism, capitalism and the rise of fascism, which he anticipated already in 1925. With remarkable forethought Bonn was already writing about the importance of "cultural pluralism":

We must assume that "in my father's house are many mansions" and believe in what has been rightly called "cultural pluralism". If we do that, and only if we do that, is there a chance of getting over racial frictions which, in these days of fairly free migration, no amount of segregation can completely settle. And if we allow racial hatred as biological laws which entitle certain strata to permanent superiority... democracy will not be safe.

The Crumbling of Empire: the Disintegration of World Economy (1938) probably represents Bonn's fullest single treatment of colonialism. Significantly he is not only concerned with decolonization in Africa but

also with the Hapsburg Empire. His argument was vintage free-trade: The world economy was disintegrating because the dominions and colonies were demanding protective tariffs and trying to use industrialization as the engine for economic development. Decolonization was fueled by the rhetoric and practice of democracy, in which everyone claimed sovereign and equal status, making counter-colonization inevitable.

Bonn's alternative positioning was refreshing. He was the first academic to talk about the importance of "decolonization" or "counter-colonization" and was capable of delivering numerous pithy and often prescient one-liners, as in the twenties when he proclaimed that "the business of Empire was converted into the Empire of business." And in the thirties, when he was already appreciating what later became known as globalization: "In a technical age which is annihilating distance and is contracting space and which is bent on mass-production... a new period of empire making might follow the present period of empire breaking."

Some other thought provoking quotes from Bonn:

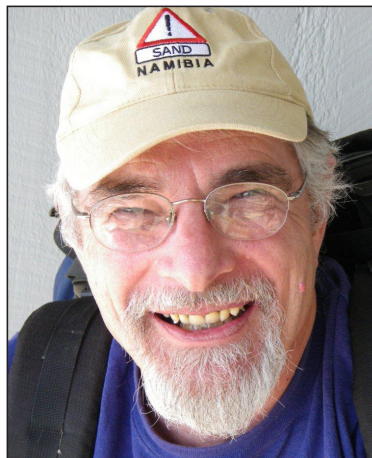
"(Colonial) Power was dressed up by poets and philosophers in the stirring garments of their own imaginations."

"The greater the (perceived) cultural gap between colonists and natives, the easier it is to coerce and control them by brute force"(clearly anticipating Hannah Arendt).

"White masters will try to get native workers, and white soldiers native women. The sexual appetites of men cannot be regulated by eugenic discussions."

Nazis were capable of co-opting colonial theories for purposes of creating a "plebiscitarian tribal democracy, the members of which possess universal suffrage depending on a stud-book certificate..... the Nazis are trying, as they have done all the time, to dress up their arbitrary, violent acts in the form of legality... to them justice is not an ethical conception, but a mere legal quibble.(One wonders how his former protégé Carl Schmitt reacted to this).

Apart from re-appreciating Bonn's ideas the question also arises as to how to understand his rapid fall into scholarly obscurity. Several factors appear to have been important. He was an internationalist and thus ignored by nationalist oriented historians. His opinionated writing style lacked stylistic authority, and as a "Cobdenite" Liberal his work slotted into neither the dominant post World War Two academic paradigms of the radical Marxists and the conservative Free Marketeers and thus slipped away uncited.



Robert Gordon

Student News

Ethan Jennings completed his MA in the Department of History under the supervision of Frank Nicosia and Jonathan Huener. His thesis examines the relationship between Germany and Spain from 1939-41, focusing primarily on Spain in German strategy and the German perspective of negotiations. The relationship between Nazi Germany and Nationalist Spain during World War II was unique. Spain was alone among the European neutrals in that it actively hoped for Axis victory, and supported the Axis in its propaganda in addition to the material support provided by Spain in the form of strategic raw materials. For around a year, Germany attempted to convince Spain to enter the war on the side of the Axis, before finally abandoning its efforts in February 1941 due to the time constraints imposed by the pending invasion of the Soviet Union. The first chapter details the period of Spanish neutrality, during which Germany sought mainly to advance its economic position in Spain. The following two chapters explore Germany's efforts to convince Franco's government to join the Axis and enter the war, paying particular attention to where Spain figured in German strategic plans for the Mediterranean and in the war against the British. German explanations of Spain's strategic importance did not necessarily reflect the plans of Hitler or the military. Germany's persistence in attempting to bring Spain into the war, however, and the conditions laid out during negotiations, say much about Nazi plans for the postwar world prior to the invasion of the Soviet Union.

Benjamin Lindsey, an MA candidate in the Department of History working under the supervision of Nicole Phelps and Jonathan Huener, received a David Scrase grant to conduct research on his thesis, which will examine the US congressional delegation that visited the liberated concentration camps in Germany in the spring of 1945. Lindsey will travel to Salt Lake

City and Boston to consult the papers of two key members of the delegation

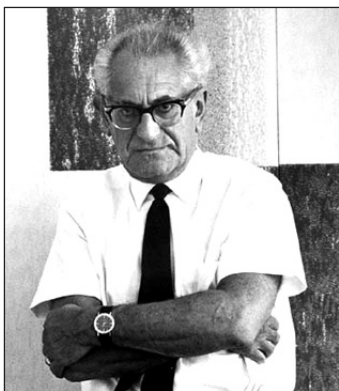
Katherine Sacks, UVM Class of 2011, majoring in English with a minor in Holocaust Studies, has been selected to participate in the workshop, Introduction to Holocaust Studies through the Records of the International Tracing Service Collection at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Designed for advanced undergraduate, M.A., and early Ph.D. students, the seminar is scheduled for August 1-9, 2011 at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. This seminar is the fourth in a series designed to encourage the use of the recently opened archival holdings of the ITS. The objective of this seminar is to acquaint promising advanced undergraduate, M.A., and early Ph.D. students with Holocaust Studies through this rich and diverse collection's records.

Dana Smith, an MA Student in the Department of History, working under the supervision of Alan Steinweis, is writing her thesis about the *Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern, Ortsgruppe München*, 1933-1938. The Kulturbund in Bavaria was one of the first Jewish cultural organizations established independently of the *Kulturbund deutscher Juden* in Berlin. It operated under regional control until mid-1935. By August of that year all Jewish cultural organizations were consolidated into a single organization, the *Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde* in Berlin. In December 1938, all regional branches of the *Reichsverband*, with the exception of Berlin, were closed as a result of the November pogrom. Smith's thesis looks at the role of the Kulturbund in providing the Jewish community with a brief psychological respite from Nazi persecution, as well as local Bavarian efforts to define a "Jewish" cultural identity--particularly the differences of opinion concerning music, visual arts, and Munich's popular marionette theater.

A Semester in Frankfurt

Alan E. Steinweis, Professor of History and Director of the Miller Center, was on leave from UVM during the Spring 2011 semester in order to serve as a visiting professor of Holocaust Studies and German-Jewish History at the Fritz Bauer Institute at the University of Frankfurt. Steinweis taught two courses at Frankfurt: an entry-level lecture class (*Grundvorlesung*) on the history of the Holocaust, which attracted about 100 students, and an advanced undergraduate seminar (*Hauptseminar*) on the November 1938 "Kristallnacht" pogrom, which was attended by about 25 students. The seminar was team-taught with the Director of the Fritz Bauer Institute, Raphael Gross.

A Jew and Social Democrat who fled Germany after the Nazis came to power, Fritz Bauer returned to Germany after World War Two and eventually became the district attorney (*Generalstaatsanwalt*) for the state of Hesse. While serving in that capacity, Bauer tipped off the Israelis as to the whereabouts of Adolf Eichmann, and organized the major trial of former Auschwitz camp personnel in 1964 in Frankfurt. The institute that is named in his honor was established in 1995 to engage in research, teaching, and public outreach on the Holocaust and other



Fritz Bauer

atrocities committed by the Nazi regime. In addition to its relationship with the University of Frankfurt, the Institute cooperates closely with the Jewish Museum of Frankfurt, the oldest institution of its kind in Germany.

Since 2000 the Fritz Bauer Institute has been housed at the University of Frankfurt. Its offices are located in an historically and architecturally significant building that once housed the headquarters of IG Farben, the German chemical cartel that played an important role in Nazi economic policy and later exploited slave labor during the war. After the defeat of Nazism, the building became the headquarters of the United States Military Government for Germany.

Details (in German) about the Fritz Bauer Institute and its activities can be found on its website, www.fritz-bauer-institut.de



The IG Farben Building of the University of Frankfurt

News from the Faculty

Antonello Borra (Romance Languages/Italian) is preparing a course on Jewish Italian writers of the 20th century and the portrayal of the Holocaust and the responsibilities of Italian society in memoirs, novels, films, and poems.

Meaghan Emery (Romance Languages/French) published the following articles: "Of Historical Hindsight and Oversight, and Why Reopening Giono's Case Is a Worthy Endeavor." *H-France Salon*. 2.1 (2010). "Giono's Popular Front: la joie au grand air, idéologie réactionnaire?" *French Historical Studies* 33.4 (Fall 2010); and "Nicolas Sarkozy's Historical and Political Transgressions: au service de la République?" *Contemporary French Civilization* 34.1 (Winter/Spring 2010).

Robert Gordon (Anthropology) published two books: *Fifty Key Anthropologists* co-edited with Andrew and Harriet Lyons and published by Routledge; and *Going Abroad: Travelling like an Anthropologist*, published by Paradigmpublishers. His essay "Moritz Bonn and the Critique of Colonialism" is currently under review and revision. He is also doing a paper for a volume on the genocidal impact of capitalist stock-farming on foragers. In addition he is starting a new project analyzing the notion of Plunder.

Jonathan Huener (History) has been continuing his research on the Polish Catholic Church under German occupation in archives in Warsaw and Poznan, and last fall presented two conference papers on the theme: "Polish Catholicism in the Reichsgau Wartheland" at the Third International Conference on Polish Studies in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and "The Nazi Occupation of Poland, the Polish Catholic Hierarchy, and the Vatican" at the Holocaust Educational Foundation bi-annual "Lessons and Legacies" Conference in Boca Raton, Florida.

For his contribution to a recent volume on *Weimar Classicism*, ed. David Gallagher, (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), **Dennis Mahoney's** (German) essay "On the Periphery of Weimar Classicism: Passion, Patriarchy, and Political Machinations in Caroline von Wolzogen's *Agnes von Lilien* (1797) and Barbara Honigmann's *Eine Liebe aus nichts* (1991)" interprets Honigmann's autobiographical, "Second Generation" novel --translated by John Barrett as *A Love Made of Nothing* (Boston: Verba Mundi, 2003)--as a response to the question as to whether there is such a thing as a German-Jewish identity.

In his capacity as editor of *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Proverb Scholarship*, **Wolfgang Mieder** (German) has arranged for the publication of the following volume in the journal's *Supplement Series*: Ilana Rosen, *Soul of Saul: The Life, Narrative, and Proverbs of a Transylvania-Israeli Grandfather*, (Burlington: The University of Vermont, Department of German and Russian, 2011). Present-day proverb research invariably deals with issues of identity, space relations, and dialogue. This study implements these concerns with regard to the overall folk creation and performance of Saul Rosenzweig, the author's father-in-law, a Jewish-Israeli elderly man of Austro-Hungarian (Transylvanian) origin. This examination is carried out using a four-fold model that consists of the thematic domains of chronology, ethos, topology, and style, which the author designed to account for the richness of material and meaning in family and community folklore. The result is a combined, close reading of a few telling narratives and of sixty proverbs and sayings told and recorded in Hungarian, Yiddish, and Romanian. Thus the relations among narratives, proverbs, genres, and languages (as within each category) are brought to the fore and discussed in several contexts. This study likewise touches upon the complex relationship of

the individual, the family, the community, and the political context; as well as that between the narrator-performer and the relative-researcher.

Frank Nicosia (History) saw the publication of two co-edited volumes in the fall of 2010: (with David Scrase) *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany: Dilemmas and Responses* (Berghahn Books, 2010), and (with Susanne Heim and Beate Meier) *Wer bleibt opfert seine Jahre, vielleicht sein Leben: Deutsche Juden 1938-1941* (Wallstein-Verlag, 2010). Nicosia wrote a chapter for each of these volumes. While continuing the research for his book project on the Middle East Policy of the Third Reich, Nicosia also began working with the translator for a German edition of his previous book, *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany*, which will be published by Wallstein-Verlag in early 2012. Nicosia co-chaired the Eleventh Biennial Lessons and Legacies conference on the Holocaust, held at Boca Raton, Florida, in November. He was invited to give public lectures at the School for Oriental and African Studies of the University of London in March, at Northwestern University in May, and at the University of Augsburg in Germany in June. He presented the keynote lecture "German Zionism at the Crossroads: 1933" at a conference on Central European Zionism between 1897 and 1933 at Ben Gurion University in Israel from 31 May to 2 June. He chaired a panel at the conference "Global Holocaust? Memories of the Destruction of the European Jews in Global Context" in Augsburg, Germany in June.

Nicole Phelps (History) won the biennial Austrian Cultural Forum Dissertation Prize in 2010 for her dissertation, "Sovereignty, Citizenship, and the New Liberal Order: US-Habsburg Relations and the Transformation of International Politics, 1880-1924." A book based on the dissertation is under contract with Cambridge University Press.

Robert Rachlin (lecturer in German) delivered a paper on *What was "Jewish" about the "Jewish Influence" on German Law, as Viewed by Nazi Legal Theorists?* at the Eleventh Lessons & Legacies Conference in Boca Raton on January 9, 2011. He completed an essay, "Roland Freisler and the Volksgerichtshof: the Court as an Instrument of Terror," for inclusion in the volume *The Law in Nazi Germany*, which he is co-editing with Alan Steinweis. His article *The Sedition Act of 1798 and the East-West Political Divide in Vermont* was published in the Fall/Winter 2010 issue of *Vermont History*, the peer-reviewed journal of the Vermont Historical Society. His essay *Anthony Haswell – the Bard of Bennington*, has been accepted for publication in the next issue of *The Walloomsack Review*, the organ of the Bennington Museum. Finally, he gave a lecture, *The Supreme Court in Times of Peril*, for the Green Mountain Academy in Manchester, VT on June 16, 2010. In his spare time, Rachlin serves as Senior Director and General Counsel of Downs Rachlin Martin in Burlington, Vermont.

Susanna Schrafstetter (History) gave papers at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference of the German Studies Association in Oakland, California, in October 2010 and at a Conference titled "The Forty Years? Crisis: Refugees in Europe, 1919-1959" at Birkbeck College, London in September 2010. She is a guest professor at the Universities of Augsburg and Munich in the spring of 2011, teaching seminars on global reparations politics. She is working on her book provisionally titled "The Politics of Compensation: Anglo-German Relations and the Victims of Nazism", and on some smaller projects, among them a contribution for an anthology on Nazi networks in 1950s West Germany.

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Alan E. Steinweis (History) spent Spring 2011 at the Fritz Bauer Institute, in Frankfurt (see p. 6). His book on the Kristallnacht, published by Harvard in 2009, appeared in German translation with the venerable publishing house Reclam. He published two articles: "Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Holocaust*, edited by Peter Hayes and John Roth, Oxford University Press, 2010; and "Die Reichskristallnacht in der Geschichtsschreibung," *Münchener Beiträge zur jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur*, Winter 2010. He delivered a presentation at the annual meeting of the German Studies Association in Oakland, California, and delivered invited lectures at York University (Toronto), the University of Florida, and the University of Zurich. He co-chaired at an international conference on the memory of the Holocaust in global perspective at the University of Augsburg, and continued his work on a general history of Nazi Germany, and an edited anthology about the law and the legal profession under that regime.

In February, 2011, **Judith Stone** (Art) presented a paper entitled "Hindsight/Foresight: Two Art Nouveau Masters Wed Traditional Craft to Artistic and Industrial Innovation" at the Fifth International Conference on Design Principles and Practices, held at Sapienza University in Rome. An expanded version of the paper will be included in Volume 5 of *Design Principles and Practices: An International Journal*, generated by Common Ground, the publishing arm of the University of Illinois. The study examines the impact of involvement in 19th

Century *avant garde* art movements on the modernist design and architecture of Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Henry van de Velde; it considers as well their attempts to balance the advantages of traditional hand craftsmanship, i.e. quality, with those of industrial "mass" production, that is, speed and high volume, in accomplishing their projects. Particular emphasis is placed on Van de Velde's contribution to the formation of the *Deutsche Werkbund*, and his heated conflict with the German social planner Hermann Muthesius regarding the latter's advocacy of universal standardization on the built landscape. A graphite drawing entitled "Reclamation II", by Stone, a professional artist and Macdowell Colony Resident Fellow, has been acquired by the Colony for its permanent collection.

Richard Sugarman (Religion) presented a paper, "The End of Theodicy: The Philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas in the Aftermath of the Holocaust" as the Plenary Speaker at the conference on Levinas and Difficile Liberté, Toulouse, France, July 2010.

Steve Zdatny (History) continues to work on the history of hygiene in France. In the last year he presented this work to audiences at the Society for French Historical Studies and the Center for European Studies, at Harvard, and had an article--"The French Hygiene Offensive of the 1950s: A Critical Moment in the History of Manners"--accepted by the *Journal of Modern History* and slated to appear in December 2011. He will be on sabbatical leave in the fall 2011 and a visiting research fellow at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences sociales, in Paris.

CONFERENCE REPORT

Lessons and Legacies XI: Expanding Perspectives on the Holocaust in a Changing World

Boca Raton, Florida, November 4-7, 2010

By Paul Moore, Christopher Dillon, Julia Hörath, and Kim Wünschmann, all Birkbeck College, University of London

Since 1989 the Holocaust Educational Foundation, in partnership with host universities, has sponsored the biennial Lessons and Legacies conferences on the Holocaust. These interdisciplinary academic gatherings are the largest and most important global forum on the Holocaust. Organizers FRANCIS R. NICOSIA (University of Vermont) and SUSANNAH HESCHEL (Dartmouth College), together with the influential figure of Theodore Zev Weiss (Holocaust Educational Foundation), the driving force behind the conference series, assembled a diverse and comprehensive conference programme for the Eleventh Biennial Lessons and Legacies Conference. The following report summarizes a selection of the conference proceedings.

TIMOTHY SNYDER (New Haven) gave the paper of the opening plenary session on the theme "Holocaust History: An Agenda for Renewal". Building on his recent work on the killing fields in Eastern and Central Europe, where the murderous 'utopian' population programs of the Nazi and Soviet regimes were enacted, Snyder emphasized that the role of geography and space in the 'Final Solution' remained poorly understood by historians. Scholars also needed to reconceptualize the reciprocity of the Soviet and Nazi regimes, freed from the blanket charge of 'relativism'.

In his keynote address, OMER BARTOV (Providence) spoke on "Genocide and the Holocaust: Arguments over History and Politics". While broadly welcoming Snyder's call for a contextual 'renewal' of Holocaust research, Bartov expressed concern about the influential 'colonial' strand in genocide studies led by Donald Bloxham and Dirk Moses. The Holocaust, he argued, was too complex a phenomenon to fit meaningfully into the rubric of colonialism, which obscured its national context as a Jewish and German experience.

The contributors to the panel "Words of Their Own: Diary Writing During the Holocaust" explored the challenges of working with diaries

as a source. AMY SIMON (Bloomington) focused on the depiction of perpetrators in ghetto diaries, seldom named by the authors due to the danger of discovery. When present, they were depicted in animalistic imagery which inverted Nazi propaganda and served to emphasize the humanity of the ghetto inhabitants. Simon concluded by noting the function of diary writing as a means of identity construction and assertion of subjectivity. DOMINIQUE SCHRÖDER (Bielefeld) also concentrated on the act of diary writing as a performance of identity. She stressed the analytical potential for historians in looking at the linguistic strategy of diarists as well as the information they convey: language and context, she concluded, were deeply reciprocal. RACHEL F. BRENNER (Madison) considered the question of what Polish (Christian) diarists saw when they encountered the ghettos. Diarists' silence could be as eloquent as their comments: Maria Dabrowska's massive diary of the German occupation, for example, devoted just five lines of text to the Warsaw Ghetto when it was razed in 1943.

A panel of four papers entitled "Persecution, Survival and Memory: Jews in Hitler's Germany" began with MICHAEL J. GEHERAN (Worcester, MA) presenting his research into German-Jewish First World War veterans' experiences under the Nazi regime, with a particular focus upon their self-perceptions and coping/survival strategies in the Third Reich. Geheran explicated the often complex and contradictory reactions of veterans to the regime, and vice versa. RICHARD N. LUTJENS, Jr. (Evanston) discussed his work on German Jews in hiding in Berlin. He highlighted their day-to-day experiences, illuminating their specific survival mechanisms, and discussed the complex relationship between their lives and the everyday life of non-Jews in Berlin at the same time. LAURIE MARHOEFER (Syracuse, NY) examined the denunciations of Ilse Sonja Totzke of Würzburg by her neighbours on account of her 'asociality', her sexuality, and her philosemitism. Despite this, Totzke was not imprisoned until several years after she had been brought to the attention of the authorities. Totzke's case thus represents an example of popular participation in the regime's repression, but also of the limits and contradictions inherent to that repression. PATRICIA KOLLANDER (Boca Raton) discussed the experiences of the thirty thousand German national U.S. Army soldiers who fought against Nazi Germany during World War II, having emigrated to the United States in response to Hitler's coming to power. Confrontation with Nazi genocide had diverse effects on these soldiers' perceptions of their own life stories and identities.

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The panel "Instruments of the *Volksgemeinschaft*: New Research on the Pre-War Nazi Concentration Camps" presented research from the Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded project on the concentration camps between 1933 and 1939. PAUL MOORE (London) considered German popular attitudes towards the prewar camps. After a discussion of print propaganda on the camps and its reception, he examined ordinary Germans' attitudes towards the institutions, concluding that the very failure of the Nazi regime to realise its aim of a unified 'Volksgemeinschaft', free of the old societal divisions of the Weimar Republic, in fact aided acquiescence, even approval, of the camps. KIM WÜNSCHMANN (London) stressed the centrality of the concentration camp system in the pre-war persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany. She argued that every category of detention was used by German authorities to criminalise and exclude the Jewish minority, so helping to shape the "ultimate enemy category" of the Jew in the public consciousness as the axiomatic foe of the German *Volksgemeinschaft*. CHRISTOPHER DILLON (London) focused on the *Volksgemeinschaft* as a rhetorical device in pathologizing Dachau concentration camp inmates. The projection of innate negative qualities onto the inmates, Dillon argued, also worked to bolster the demonstrably fragile collective self-esteem of the camp's SS perpetrators. JULIA HÖRATH (London) explored the under-researched function of the pre-war concentration camps as a means of persecuting socially deviant and purportedly 'criminal' behavior. The camps became a tool of social engineering almost from the outset of the Third Reich, as local agencies seized upon the camps as an opportunity to pursue pre-existing and long-standing aims of social discipline and crime prevention. In common with her fellow panelists, Hörath stressed that while the largely unopposed piecemeal incarceration of different groups in no way led teleologically to the Holocaust, historical understanding of the horrors of the 'Final Solution' is inadequate without its contextual origins in pre-war National Socialist persecution, at its sharpest and most lethal in the concentration camps.

GEOFFREY HARTMAN (New Haven) was honored for his contribution to Holocaust Studies, and spoke on the usefulness of video testimonies as scholarly resources. In her keynote address, SHULAMIT VOLKOV (Tel Aviv) presented a wide-ranging overview of her career-spanning research into issues of German-Jewish identity in modern history. She made particular reference to controversial and defining figures such as Walter Rathenau, for whom the questions and contradictions of this dual identity were played out in public, as well as private, life.

In the panel "Sexual Violence during World War II and the Holocaust and its Representation", JESSICA ANDERSON HUGHES (New Brunswick) considered forced prostitution in concentration camp brothels as an "act of resistance". The brothels could serve as a space for the assertion and performance of subjectivity, and intimate personal relationships could develop which, however asymmetrical, historians cannot subsume under the prevalent trope of "rape". REGINA MÜHLHAUSER (Hamburg) explored sexual violence perpetrated by Wehrmacht soldiers during the "war of annihilation" against the Soviet Union. She emphasized that propaganda notions of "Untermenschen" were often acted out through sexual domination and violence. PASCALE BOS (Austin) focused on memories of wartime sexual violence with particular reference to Jewish women. ELISSA MAILÄNDER KOSLOV (Paris) addressed the "aestheticization and sexualization" of National Socialist violence in American and Italian atrocity movies, for example "The Night Porter", a popular 1974 Italian film by Liliana Cavani, controversial for its depiction of a sadomasochistic relationship between a female prisoner and a camp guard.

The panel "Space, Place and the Holocaust" presented research undertaken on a project sponsored by the National Science Foundation into geography, spatiality and the Holocaust. WAITMAN BEORN (Chapel Hill) focused on the role of physical landscape in the *Einsatzgruppen* killings in Belarus. Geography, Beorn showed, was a fundamental red situational influence, particularly in the *Wehrmacht's* involvement. Project director ALBERTO GIORDANO (San Marcos) presented a highly detailed analysis of the wartime deportation of Italian Jews. He showed that Geographic Information Science technologies allowed Holocaust scholars to achieve an unprecedented degree of empirical detail. TIM COLE (Bristol) explored the potential utility of spatial analysis to access the experiences of ghettoization in Budapest. PAUL B. JASKOT (Chicago) set out the importance of space and 'positionality' to SS perpetrators at

Auschwitz. The SS concentration camp topography reminds historians of the multifaceted relationships between architecture, war and genocide.

During the final session, a panel on "The Struggle of Nazis and Jews to Shape German Law before and after the Holocaust", focused on the judicial context of racial persecution. ROBERT D. RACHLIN (South Royalton, VT) asked what was held by Nazi legal theorists to be 'Jewish' about extant German Law. Foremost among these were 'individualism', legalism (regarded by theorists like Carl Schmitt as hair-splitting), positivism and the principle of the rehabilitation of criminals. At numerous conferences these educated experts debated the way to make German Law, too, *judenfrei*. DOUGLAS G. MORRIS (New York) focused on Ernst Fraenkel and the dilemma of resistance. The point of illegal work, Fraenkel wrote, lay in a visibility which would of necessity attract violence by the regime. Only by open resistance and preparedness to risk one's life in the face of 'white terror' could one achieve the moral legitimacy to participate in a post National Socialist state. JOSEPH W. BENDERSKY (Richmond, VA) considered the contribution of Carl Schmitt's theories to the Nuremberg Laws. Recent analyses of Schmitt's private papers show him to have been a genuine and non-opportunistic antisemite well before 1933, notwithstanding many professional relations with Jews. BENJAMIN CARTER HETT (New York) considered the post-war role of Jewish émigré lawyers and ex-Gestapo officers in interpretations of the Reichstag Fire. Contesting the truism in Anglo-American historiography that the fire had been the work of a lone anarchist, Hett argued that Hans Mommsen's definitive interpretation had drawn unduly on the self-serving accounts of former Gestapo personnel.

The panel on "Rethinking Consensuality and Coercion: Instrumental Sex and Sexual Violence in the Holocaust" shared a unifying concern with a desire to move beyond established victim narratives. Acknowledging the advances made by recent gendered approaches to the history of the Holocaust, these papers contested the assumed division, present in much of the existing literature, between coerced and consensual sexual relationships. ROBERT SOMMER (Berlin) focused on the Pipel, young prisoners pushed into sexual relationships with prisoner functionaries. These relationships, long taboo, were frequently violent yet also held out the possibility of survival for the young prisoners. Sommer asserted that these sexual relationships represented the most prevalent form of sexual violence in the concentration camps. In her analysis of the Theresienstadt ghetto, ANNA HÁJKOVÁ (Toronto) examined sexual barter, outlining the markedly sexualized community of the inmates, and the stratification within it. She discussed the effects of the emergent forms of sexual barter on gender hierarchy, and the logic of the prisoner community as to what behavior was deemed permissible and what was not. Hájková demonstrated how the survivors negotiated "normalcy" and the postwar canonical narrative of Theresienstadt. MONIKA FLASCHKA (Kent, OH) presented the hitherto neglected phenomenon of the rape of Jewish Holocaust survivors by Russian soldiers in the final phases and immediate aftermath of the Second World War, thus far overshadowed by the more widely known rapes of German civilian women. Challenging the notion of liberation as a release from persecution and violence, Flaschka drew upon oral testimonies from Holocaust survivors who had witnessed sexual violence or experienced it themselves.

Taken as a whole, this eleventh conference in the series reasserted the pre-eminent place of *Lessons and Legacies* as a forum for cutting-edge scholarly research into Holocaust Studies, and demonstrated the continuing vibrancy and diversity of historical investigation into the Nazi genocide. Its many papers demonstrated the utility and insightfulness of interdisciplinary approaches, combining as they did gender studies, literary criticism, film studies, law, and history, and pointed the way towards further research.

For a complete program of the conference, please visit the following link:

<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=3626>

Lessons and Legacies XI. Expanding Perspectives on the Holocaust in a Changing World. 04.11.2010-07.11.2010, Boca Raton, FL (USA), in: H-Soz-u-Kult, 26.04.2011,

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Holocaust Education Summit

From October 13 to 15, 2010, the Miller Center at UVM hosted a Holocaust Education Summit, a teacher outreach initiative co-organized with the Institute for Holocaust Education of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The participants, about 30 in all, included teachers, education administrators, university professors, and others involved in Holocaust education in the New York and New England regions. During two days of presentations and meetings in the Davis Center on the UVM campus, the participants discussed a wide variety of questions relating to teaching about the Holocaust in primary and secondary education settings. The summit included a keynote lecture by Professor Simone Schweber of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and welcoming remarks by Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont, who is a senatorial member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, which oversees the Museum.



James Waller of Keene State College, New Hampshire



Beth Solin Dotan of the Institute for Holocaust Education, Omaha, Nebraska, spoke about educational efforts in her region



Senator Bernie Sanders welcomed the participants



Frank Nicosia, Hilberg Professor of Holocaust Studies at UVM, with Simone Schweber of the University of Wisconsin

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David Shiman, left, UVM Professor of Education



*Alan E. Steinweis of the Miller Center,
University of Vermont*



Group photo of the participants



*Patricia Heberer of the U.S. Holocaust
Memorial Museum*



*Amy Wardwell of Champlain Valley Union High School
and Cathy Butterfield of Montpelier High School*



*Tim Kaiser of the United States Holocaust Museum,
who presided at the summit*

Miller Center to Sponsor TV Documentary on “Little Jerusalem”

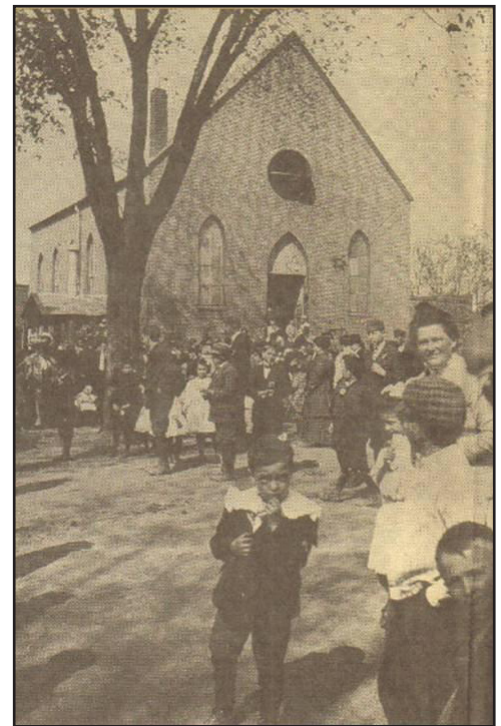
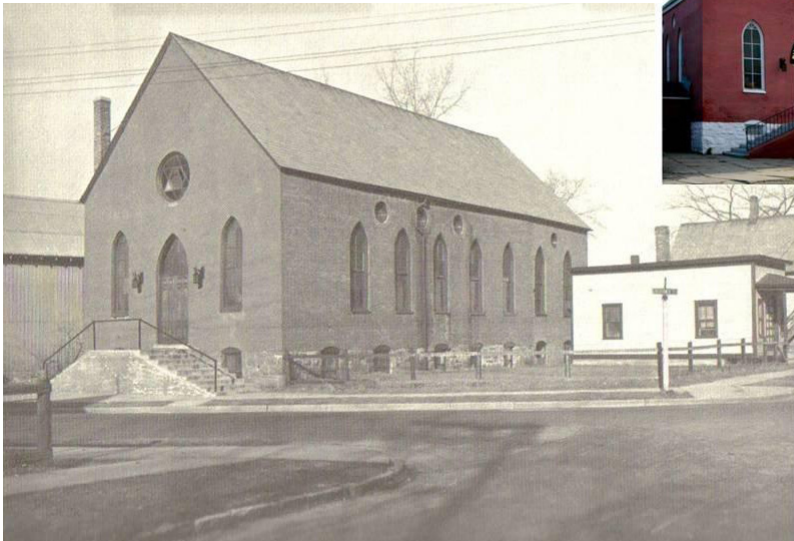
The Miller Center is serving as a sponsor of an upcoming television documentary to be produced and aired by Vermont Public Television (VPT). In addition to providing financial support, the Center will organize academic events related to the topic of the program.

“Little Jerusalem” will depict the rich history and everyday life of Burlington, Vermont’s ultra-traditional Jewish community. From the late 1800s until World War II, it was clear that the 40-square-block neighborhood known to its residents as “Little Jerusalem” was unlike any other in this or any American city. By 1940, Jewish immigrants throughout America had generally assimilated into the wider fabric of culturally pluralistic community life. But, whether due to their geographic isolation from mainstream America, or an inherent need to stave off the loss of their cultural identity, the residents of Burlington’s Little Jerusalem managed to maintain their traditional life.

By tying together the stories with artifacts, maps and city directories, along with synagogue records, the documentary will reconstruct the rich and multilayered fabric of the community, running the gamut from religious practices and observances, to growing up in the shtetl, to patterns of occupational transformation and economic development. In addition to the on-air broadcast, this project goes beyond the television screen with a lecture series, partnership with public schools, and an interactive website.

The Miller Center for Holocaust Studies is delighted to partner with VPT and other institutions in Vermont in making this important program possible.

*Ohavi Zedek Synagogue, Burlington:
1887-1952 (Building Bricked in 1902)*



Simhat Torah (1903)

Cekiskes, Lithuania Synagogue: Exterior



EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR

October 4, 2010

Inside Nazi Germany: Consular Reports on the Third Reich and the Persecution of the Jews

Frank Bajohr, *Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte, Hamburg*



This lecture summarized the results of an international research project that evaluates reports sent from Nazi Germany by the embassies and consulates of ten countries: The United States, Great Britain, France, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Japan, Argentina, and Costa Rica. It focused on the following questions: How did the consular and embassy staff perceive the National Socialist regime? What did they report about the behavior and attitudes of the German population? And above all, what did they report about the persecution of the Jews? This persecution posed a major problem to foreign diplomats because so many Jews were seeking to obtain visas to emigrate. The reports on the Nazi persecution of the Jews filed by the American consulates alone amount to some 9,000 pages. The reports are of great importance for an understanding of the Nazi regime, because, in contrast to the regime's own internal situation reports, they were composed by non-Nazi observers. As such they provide a "foreign view" from inside Germany of political and social processes in the Third Reich.

Frank Bajohr is a historian of modern Germany and the Holocaust at the Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg (Research Institute for Contemporary History in Hamburg), and a lecturer in History at the University of Hamburg. Among his numerous books are *Aryanization in Hamburg: The Economic Exclusion of the Jews and the Confiscation of their Property in Nazi Germany* (New York and Oxford, 2002); *"Unser Hotel ist judenfrei" Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 2003); and, with Dieter Pohl, *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis. Die Deutschen, die NS-Führung und die Alliierten* (Munich, 2006). For the fall 2010 he is a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C."

October 6, 2010



No War, No Peace: The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and the Armenian Genocide

Aram Yengoyan, *University of California, Davis*

After obtaining his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1964 Professor Yengoyan spent many years at the University of Michigan before moving to the University of California at Davis. He has published extensively on cultural and linguistic theory as well as on Australia and the Philippines. Sponsored by the Department of Anthropology and the Don and Carole Burack President's Distinguished Lecture Series

October 14, 2010

Controversies and Consistencies in Holocaust Education: A Review of Research on Teaching



Simone Schweber, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Welcoming Remarks by Senator Bernie Sanders, Member of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council

Professor Schweber discussed three key controversies involving Holocaust education, examining them against the backdrop of research in lived schools. By looking at Holocaust education in diverse institutional contexts and age groups, Schweber illuminated consistencies across classrooms.

Simone Schweber is the Goodman Professor of Education and Jewish Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Her research focuses on teaching and learning about the Holocaust in school contexts, and she is the author of *Making Sense of the Holocaust: Lessons from Classroom Practice*, an examination of public high school teachers' units. She is also the author (with Debbie Findling), more recently, of *Teaching the Holocaust*, a guide for religious school teachers on what to do and what not to do when teaching about this genocide. In addition, she has written numerous articles and consults frequently for the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Co-sponsored by the Department of Education and the College of Education and Social Services, UVM, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Keynote address for the Regional Holocaust Education Summit held at UVM, Oct. 13-15, 2010.

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR

October 26, 2010

Preoccupied by the Occupation: French Memories and Reactions to the Dark Years of the Nazi Presence*John Flower, University of Kent at Canterbury*

This lecture traced various ways the French have reacted to the years of the Occupation by the Nazis, especially as this is exemplified in literature and film. From the idea of a nation of resisters promoted by De Gaulle, through the emergence in the late 1960s and 1970s of a more complex picture, it turned to a growing preoccupation with the period in which guilt and the need to recognize it appear to be increasing. The difficulties of evoking a period that is now over sixty years in the past were considered as were the ways in which the notions of resistance and occupation, and the question of national identity, remain and have even grown in significance.

John Flower, Officier de Palmes académiques, has held the chair of French in the UK at the universities of Exeter and Kent, where he is now Emeritus Professor, and in France has been professeur invité at Paris-X Nanterre, Bordeaux and Avignon. He has published widely on the literature and culture of France in the 20th century, especially the work of writers of the Left and of François Mauriac. His recent publications include *François Mauriac et Jean Paulhan; Correspondance 1925-1967* (2001), *Autour de la 'Lettre aux directeurs de la Résistance' de Jean Paulhan* (2003) and *Joan of Arc: Icon of Modern Culture* (2008). *François Mauriac journaliste: les vingt premières années* will appear in 2010. He is Editor of the *Journal of European Studies*.

Sponsored by the Department of Romance Languages and the Don and Carole Burack President's Distinguished Lecture Series

November 1, 2010

The Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture**Globalizing Anti-Semitism: Nazi Germany's Arabic Language Propaganda during World War II and the Holocaust***Jeffrey Herf, University of Maryland*

From 1939 to 1945, the Nazi regime globalized anti-Semitism through the medium of short wave radio broadcasts in many languages, including Arabic. From 1941 to 1945, an entourage of pro-Nazi Arab exiles led by Haj Amin el-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, collaborated with officials, above all in the Radio Division of the German Foreign Ministry, but also with the SS and the Propaganda Ministry, to produce Arabic language broadcasts. Propaganda served the dual purpose of aiding Nazi Germany's military operations in North Africa and in preparing the ground for a possible extension of the Final Solution. Begun in 1941 under the leadership of Alexander Kirk, the American Ambassador to Egypt, officials in the US Embassy in Cairo produced verbatim English language translations of Nazi propaganda aimed at North Africa and the Middle East until spring 1945. The resulting, recently discovered several thousand pages of "Axis Broadcasts in Arabic" offer new documentation of a key chapter in the globalization of National Socialist Jew-hatred and its fusion with a distinctive current of Jew-hatred articulated by Husseini and other creators of the twentieth and twenty-first century invented tradition known as Islamism.

Jeffrey Herf is Professor of Modern European History at the University of Maryland in College Park. His publications have examined twentieth century German political and intellectual history, including considerable work on the nature of anti-Semitism during the Nazi era and the Holocaust. His books include: *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge University Press, 1984); *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Harvard University Press, 1997)—winner of the George Lewis Beer Prize of the American Historical Association; *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda During World War II and the Holocaust* (Harvard University Press, 2006); and most recently, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (Yale University Press, 2009). He has lectured widely at major universities in the United States, Europe and Israel. His many fellowships include stays at the Yitzak Rabin Center for Israel Studies in Tel Aviv, The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, the American Academy in Berlin and the International Center Research Center in Cultural Studies in Vienna. In addition to publications in scholarly journals, he has been a regular contributor to *The New Republic*.

The Raul Hilberg Memorial Lecture is made possible through a generous gift from Jerold D. Jacobson, Esquire, of New York City, UVM Class of 1962.

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR

November 15, 2010

The Memory of Child Survivors: Documents, Memoir, Auto-Fiction

Yehudi Lindeman, McGill University



Human memory is a marvelous but fallacious instrument, says Primo Levi. This lecture addressed two questions. First, given the wild vagaries of memory, what should be the task of the Holocaust historian whose mandate it is to examine the sources? Is there a special discretion he or she should use in studying diaries, testimonies, memoirs, even auto-fictions, all the available 'ego documents,' to borrow a term introduced by Dutch historian Jacques Presser, author of *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews* (1965; English version 1969). Second, as a child survivor of the Holocaust, how does one draw an accurate picture of three years in hiding and on the run, given the perilous state of memory? To what degree is it proper to use 'reconstruction and invention' (Amos Oz) to help shape a narrative and convey perceptions and perspectives gained and retained during events that occurred sixty or more years ago?

Yehudi Lindeman, a child survivor of the Holocaust, was separated from his family in the fall of 1942 and spent the next thirty months in hiding in about fifteen different locations in rural Holland. He holds degrees from the University of Amsterdam and a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from Harvard University. He is a retired Professor of English at McGill University and the founder and past Director of Living Testimonies, the Holocaust Video Archive at McGill. He has published on a wide range of subjects, from topics in Renaissance education, poetry and translation to issues surrounding resistance and rescue during the Shoah. His most recent book is *Shards of Memory: Narratives of Holocaust Survival* (2007). He is also the author, with Irene Lilienheim Angelico, of the forthcoming *The Third Seder: A Haggadah for Yom Hashoah* (2010).

Thursday, February 24, 2011 (Lecture held at the Vermont Law School)

Judging Auschwitz: Murder, Genocide, and the Challenges of Legal Interpretation

Devin Pendas, Boston College



How does one go about judging the greatest mass crimes in history? Can one do so using legal categories developed for far more mundane circumstances? What are the legal and political stakes involved in such cases? German courts in the 1950s and 1960s confronted these questions, as the country tried to prosecute Nazi genocide as murder under ordinary statutory law. Devin Pendas discussed the most famous such trial, the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial, and explores the way the judges in that case tried to do justice for mass crimes using ordinary law.

Devin Pendas is Associate Professor of History at Boston College. His research focuses on war crimes trials after World War II, particularly on West German Holocaust trials. In addition to many articles, he is the author of the acclaimed book, *The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963-1965: History, Genocide and the Limits of the Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2006). He is currently working on two projects: a history of Nazi trials in German courts in all occupation zones from 1945 to 1950, to be published by Cambridge University Press, and a synthetic history of law and mass violence in the modern period. Professor Pendas is a faculty affiliate and co-chair of the German Study Group at the Center for European Studies at Harvard University. He has received research fellowships from the German Academic Exchange Service, the MacArthur Foundation, the Center for Contemporary Historical Research in Potsdam, Germany, the U.S. Holocaust Museum, and the American Council of Learned Societies (Burkhardt Fellowship).

Co-sponsored by the Vermont Law School.



Friday, March 25, 2011

Interrogating the Map, Visualizing the Archive: Analyzing the Spaces and Buildings of Auschwitz

A Roundtable Discussion featuring:

Chester Harvey, Middlebury College • Jonathan Huener, University of Vermont

Paul B. Jaskot, DePaul University • Anne Kelly Knowles, Middlebury College

This public panel discussion focused on recent research concerning the spaces of Auschwitz. Drawing on art historical, historical and geographic specialists, the panel introduced the variety of spaces of victims and perpetrators at Auschwitz and discussed their interpretation from the view of spatial and historical evidence.

EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR

March 17, 22, and 24, 2011

The Long Shadow of the Nazi Perpetrator over 20th-Century German Art

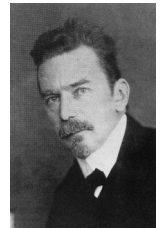
Three Lectures by Paul B. Jaskot, DePaul University

Underwritten by the Leonard and Carolyn Miller Visiting Distinguished Professorship in Holocaust Studies

Few regimes, if any, have influenced the history of the 20th-century as much as National Socialist Germany. Clearly, the criminal policies of this state came from a complex set of conditions and decisions leading up to Hitler's selection as Chancellor and had a profound impact on the postwar political order, including our definitions of genocide. And yet, such a strong influence and extreme policies are strangely absent from our study of 20th-century art. Scholars in art history too often limit their understanding of the Nazi past to the few high-profile antisemitic events such as the "Degenerate Art" show, without analyzing the pre-Nazi and postwar relationships to this history.

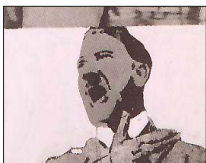
In a series of three lectures, Paul B. Jaskot interrogated the impact of Nazi personnel and genocidal policies on art and art history both before the Party came to power as well as in the postwar period. He highlighted the strangely ignored role of the perpetrator in analyses of art, especially in the postwar era. While naturally scholars have attended to the memorialization of victims, the variable presence of Nazi Party members in specific artistic debates in the pre-Nazi era as well as their reception as perpetrators in the postwar period has had a much greater influence on specific moments of artistic and art historical production than has previously been assumed.

These lectures explored the long shadow of that Nazi past, arguing that a much more serious approach to the history of the Hitler state needs to be integrated into our understanding of modern art history.



Paul B. Jaskot is professor of art history at DePaul University. His research focuses on the relationships between art and politics in modern art, with a specific emphasis on how art has been influenced by Nazi policies of oppression. Among his publications, he is the author of *The Architecture of Oppression. The SS, Forced Labor and the Nazi Monumental Building Economy* as well as the co-editor of *Beyond Berlin. 12 German Cities Confront the Nazi Past*. In addition to his research and teaching in this area, he is also the Director of the Holocaust Education Foundations' Summer Institute on Jewish Culture and the Holocaust (Northwestern University). From 2008-2010, he was the President of the College Art Association, the largest professional association for artists and art historians in the United States.

Lecture 1 • Thursday, March 17, 2011



The Nazi Party's Strategic Use of Art History and Antisemitism in the Weimar Republic: The Case of Heinrich Wölfflin

In this lecture, Professor Jaskot introduced the relationship of the Nazi Party to cultural policy before coming to power by looking at the way specific leaders used art history to further their antisemitic and political goals in the late Weimar Republic. Focusing on perhaps the most well-known art historian of the 20th Century, Heinrich Wölfflin, he argued that his writings were carefully manipulated by key individuals for political advantage. In the process, the lecture revealed a previously unremarked connection between one of the most important art historians and the politics of the Nazi Party.

Lecture 2 • Tuesday, March 22, 2011

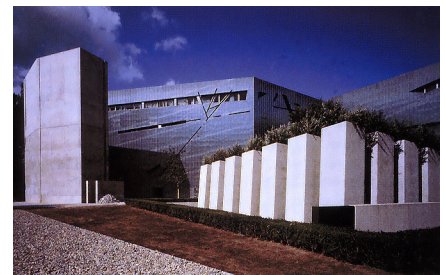
The Importance of the Perpetrator in Postwar Germany: Gerhard Richter and the Banality of the Nazi Past in Art

The Nazi past was much more relevant to postwar German art than has previously been assumed. In this lecture, Professor Jaskot analyzed the shifting debates in postwar West Germany as they circulated around changing definitions of perpetrators. Focusing on the high-profile trials of Adolf Eichmann as well as the Auschwitz guards, he argued that the reception of these trials on the government of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer engaged a broad section of the artistic establishment. Richter, one of the most prominent 20th-century German artists, was deeply influenced by the crises in Adenauer's government and other debates concerning the ongoing presence of the perpetrator in West German society. Understanding the resonance of the Nazi past in all of its dimensions helps us to clarify key aspects of his artistic choices.

Lecture 3 • Thursday, March 24, 2011

The Fear of the Perpetrator in a Nazi Present: Libeskind's Jewish Museum and its Transformation after Reunification

Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin is one of the most well-known buildings that, in part, responded to the Nazi past. What is not so well known, however, is the transformation of the original proposed function and meaning of the building after reunification in 1989. Libeskind's building was a Cold War project that lost some of its import in the post-Cold War Germany. However, with a sudden surge in Neonazi violence and political debates about the possible resurgence of a new generation of Nazi followers, Libeskind's building took on renewed urgency within the local Berlin government but also that of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. As a result of this moment in the potential appearance of a new Nazi present, the building, its function and its form all changed.



EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR

Thursday, March 31, 2011 • The Harry H. Kahn Memorial Lecture

Truth and Consequences: Issues in Holocaust Family Memoir

Irene Kacandes, Dartmouth College



In this talk, Irene Kacandes proposed the term “Holocaust family memoir” to describe the numerous autobiographical books that have been appearing in recent decades by children of Holocaust survivors like Art Spiegelman’s *Maus*, Helen Epstein’s *Where She Came From*, Lisa Appignanesi’s *Losing the Dead*, and Helen Fremont’s *After Long Silence*. These memoirs narrate what happened to family members in the Shoah and share the story of learning that story. Kacandes documented how such texts stake their claim to recount true history, albeit personal history. She concluded by arguing against critics of second generation literature, and for the ethical and historical value of Holocaust family memoirs. Soon they will provide our only new sources for understanding something of the fullness of Holocaust survivors’ experiences.

Irene Kacandes is Professor of German Studies and Comparative Literature at Dartmouth College, where she also teaches in Jewish Studies and Women and Gender Studies. She currently chairs the German Studies Department.

Kacandes is author of *Daddy’s War: Greek American Stories* (U of Nebraska P, 2009) and *Talk Fiction: Literature and the Talk Explosion* (U of Nebraska P, 2001). She is coeditor of *A User’s Guide to German Cultural Studies* (U of Michigan P, 1997) and *Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust* (MLA 2005), as well as of a special issue of *Women’s Studies Quarterly* on “Witness” (2008). She has undergraduate and graduate degrees from Harvard University and has also studied at the Free University in Berlin, Germany, and at the Aristotle University in Thessaloniki, Greece. Author of articles on trauma and memory studies, Holocaust studies, German and Italian cultural studies, narrative theory, and feminist linguistic theory, her current research focuses on family memory and the Second World War. Kacandes is recipient of a Fulbright Full grant, a SONY grant, and a fellowship at the United States Holocaust Museum and Memorial. She currently holds the Friedman Family Fellowship. Kacandes edits a books series at de Gruyter Verlag in Berlin, Germany and has served in numerous capacities for various divisions and committees of the Modern Language Association and on the executive committees of the International Society for the Study of Narrative and of the German Studies Association. She resides with her husband, Philippe Carrard, Professor Emeritus of Romance Languages at UVM, in Lebanon, NH.

Sponsored by the Department of German and Russian.

Thursday, April 14, 2011

Lev Raphael reads from his book *My Germany*

The son of Holocaust survivors, Lev Raphael is a pioneer in writing fiction about America’s Second Generation, publishing his first short story about children of survivors in 1978. Many of his early stories on this theme were collected in his award-winning book, *Dancing on Tisha B’Av*, while the best of those and newer ones appear in his second collection *Secret Anniversaries of the Heart*.



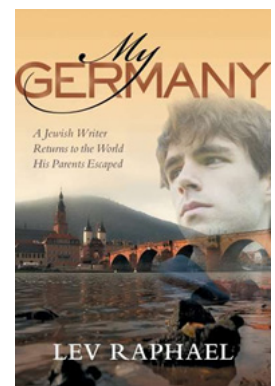
Raphael is the author of 17 other books including two novels about survivors, *Winter Eyes* and *The German Money*, and two memoirs, *Journeys & Arrivals* and *Writing a Jewish Life*. Raphael’s fiction has been widely anthologized in the U.S. and Britain, most recently in the anthology *Criminal Kabbalah*, which contains Lev’s latest story featuring a child of survivors: “Your Papers, Please.”

Along with hundreds of reviews in papers from The Washington Post to The Detroit Free Press, Raphael has published dozens of essays, articles, and stories in a wide range of Jewish publications: *Midstream*, *Hadassah*, *Psychology and Judaism*, *The Forward*, *Reform Judaism*, *Reconstructionist*, *Agada*, *Commentary*, *The Baltimore Jewish Times*, *The Detroit Jewish News*, *Inside*, *The Jewish Exponent*, *Jewish Currents*, *Tikkun*, *Jerusalem Report*, and *Shmate*.

Raphael has keynoted three international Holocaust conferences where he received standing ovations, as well as appearing at hundreds of invited lectures and readings in Israel, North America, and Europe at Jewish Book Fairs, Jewish Community Centers, synagogues and universities. Featured in two documentaries, he has been a panelist at London’s Jewish Film festival. His stories and essays are on university syllabi around the U.S. and in Canada; his fiction has been analyzed in books, scholarly journals and at scholarly conferences, including MLA.

Born and raised in New York City, he received his MFA in Creative Writing and English at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst where he won the Harvey Swados Fiction Prize, awarded by renowned editor Martha Foley for a Holocaust-themed story later published in *Redbook*. Winner of the Reed Smith Fiction Prize and International Quarterly’s Prize for Innovative Prose (judged by D. M. Thomas), Raphael holds a Ph.D. in American Studies from Michigan State University. Raphael taught at the university level in New York, Massachusetts and Michigan for 13 years and the first course he designed was a multi-disciplinary study of the Holocaust. He left teaching in 1988 to write and review full-time.

Sponsored by the Department of German and Russian.

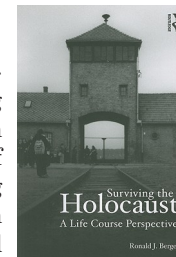


EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR

Thursday, April 28, 2011 • The Holocaust Memorial/Yom Hashoah Lecture

Surviving the Holocaust: One Family's Story*Ronald J. Berger, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater*

In this lecture, the distinguished sociologist Ronald Berger recounted the story of his father and uncle's survival of the Holocaust in Nazi-occupied Poland and how he came to tell it. Berger's father endured several concentration camps (including Auschwitz) as well as a horrific winter death march, while Berger's uncle passed as a Catholic among anti-Semitic Polish workers and Partisans, eventually becoming an officer in the Soviet Army. Illuminating their experiences through the lens of sociological analysis, Berger challenged the conventional wisdom that survival was simply a matter of luck. By highlighting the prewar experiences, agentive decision-making and risk-taking, and collective networks that helped Jews elude the death grip of the Nazi regime, Berger steered a new course between condemnations of Jewish victims' passivity and romanticized celebrations of their heroism.



Ronald J. Berger (Ph.D., UCLA) is Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater, where he teaches courses in criminology, white-collar crime, Holocaust studies, and disability studies, which are also the areas of his current writing and research.

Dr. Berger has published more than a dozen books, including *Surviving the Holocaust: A Life Course Perspective*; *Hoop Dreams on Wheels: Disability and the Competitive Wheelchair Athlete*; *Wheelchair Warrior: Gangs, Disability, and Basketball* (with Melvin Juetter); *Storytelling Sociology: Narrative as Social Inquiry* (with Richard Quinney); *Fathoming the Holocaust: A Social Problems Approach*; *Juvenile Justice and Delinquency: Sociological Perspectives* (with Paul Gregory); *Crime, Justice, and Society: An Introduction to Criminology* (with Marvin Free & Patricia Searles); and *Rape and Society: Readings on the Problem of Sexual Assault* (with Patricia Searles).

He has also published more than forty articles and book chapters, which have appeared in *Contexts*, *Criminal Justice Review*, *Gender and Society*, *Humanity and Society*, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *Law and Society Review*, *Perspectives on Social Problems*, *Qualitative Inquiry*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Sociological Focus*, and *Sociological Quarterly*, among other professional venues.

Dr. Berger has received UW-W's highest awards for both teaching and research, as well as the Chancellor's Award for service to students with disabilities and the Wisconsin Sociological Association's William H. Sewell Outstanding Scholarship Award. He is a former editor of *Sociological Imagination*, the journal of the Wisconsin Sociological Association, and currently serves as an associate editor for the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* and as the consulting editor of the *Disability in Society* book series for Lynne Rienner Publishers.

PREVIEW OF NEXT YEAR'S EVENTS

April 22, 2012

The Sixth Miller Symposium**The German People and the Persecution of the Jews****Presenters:**

Doris Bergen, University of Toronto

Frank Bajohr, Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte, Hamburg

Peter Fritzsche, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

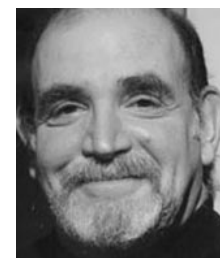
Atina Grossman, Cooper Union

Wolf Gruner, University of Southern California

Richard S. Levy, University of Illinois at Chicago

*Please check our website for further details.***Lecture/Performance by
Henry Greenspan**

Henry Greenspan is a psychologist and playwright at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor who has been writing and teaching about the Holocaust for almost three decades. He is the author of *On Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Recounting and Life History* and, with Agi Rubin, *Reflections: Auschwitz, Memory, and a Life Recreated* as well as the acclaimed play, *Remnants*. He received his B.A. and M.Ed. from Harvard University and his Ph.D. from Brandeis University. In 2000, he was the annual Weinmann Lecturer at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington.

*Date, Time, and Venue TBA*

PREVIEW OF NEXT YEAR'S EVENTS

October 10, 17, and 24, 2011

A series of three lectures by

Christopher R. Browning



University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

No historian has done more to enhance our understanding of the Holocaust than has Christopher R. Browning. In this series of three lectures, Professor Browning will summarize the findings of three of his most influential books, explain how he sees them relating to the evolving historiography of the field, respond to some of his critics, and point to opportunities for future research on the Holocaust.

Christopher R. Browning is the Frank Porter Graham Professor of History at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Before taking up this position in the fall of 1999, he taught for 25 years at Pacific Lutheran University in Tacoma, Washington.

Browning received his B.A. degree from Oberlin College in 1967 and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1968 and 1975 respectively. He is the author of eight books: *The Final Solution and the German Foreign Office* (1978), *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution* (1985), *Ordinary Men: Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992), *The Path to Genocide* (1992),

Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers (2000), *Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony* (2003), and *The Origins of the Final Solution: The Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy, September 1939-March 1942* (2004), and *Remembering Survival. Inside a Nazi Slave Labor Camp* (2010). He is also co-editor of *Every Day Lasts a Year: A Jewish Family's Correspondence from Poland* (2007).

Browning has served as the J. B. and Maurice Shapiro Senior Scholar (1996) and Ina Levine Senior Scholar (2002-3) at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. He has been a fellow of the Institutes for Advanced Studies in Princeton, New Jersey, and on the campus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has also received Fulbright, Alexander von Humboldt, DAAD, and Woodrow Wilson Foundation fellowships. He has delivered the George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures at Cambridge University (1999) and the George L. Mosse Lectures at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (2002), as well as the lectures of the Bertelsmann Visiting Professorship at Mansfield College, Oxford University (2007). He is a three-time recipient of the Jewish National Book Award—Holocaust Category, for *Ordinary Men*, *The Origins of the Final Solution*, and *Remembering Survival*.

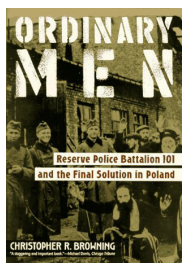
Browning has served as an expert witness in “war crimes” trials in Australia, Canada, and Great Britain. He has also served as an expert witness in two “Holocaust denial” cases: the second Zündel trial in Toronto in 1988 and in David Irving’s libel suit against Deborah Lipstadt in London in 2000.

Lecture 1

Monday, October 10, 2011, 7:00 PM, Old Mill, John Dewey Lounge

Adolf Hitler and the Decisions for the Final Solution

How and when the Nazi regime decided to solve its self-imposed “Jewish problem” through the systematic and total mass murder of every last Jew—man, woman, and child—within its grasp has been the subject of one of the most central and long-running debates among Holocaust historians. This lecture will seek to explain 1) why this issue has been important to historians; 2) what the course of the debate has been over both the timing of and Hitler’s role in the decision-making process; and 3) the reasons and evidence behind my position in this debate.



Lecture 2

Monday, October 17, 2011, 7:00 PM, Old Mill, John Dewey Lounge

Revisiting the Holocaust Perpetrators: Why Did They Kill?

In this lecture Prof. Browning will look at a variety of Holocaust perpetrators, including ideologues (“true believers”), technocrats and bureaucrats (the “managers” of genocide), and rank-and-file executioners (“grass roots killers”). He will examine the variety of explanations that scholars have offered concerning motivation that culminated in the so-called “Goldhagen debate,” and then look at subsequent evidence and insights that have emerged.

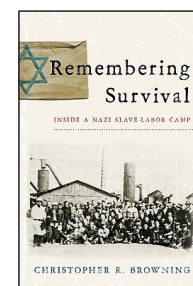
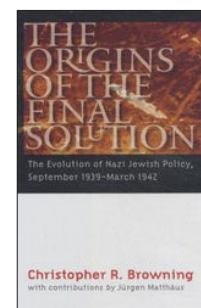
Lecture 3

Monday, October 24, 2011, 7:00 PM, Old Mill, John Dewey Lounge

Holocaust History and Survivor Testimony: The Case of the Starachowice Factory Slave Labor Camps

This lecture will examine two issues. First, what are the general methodological issues and concerns involved in using survivor testimony to write Holocaust history. Second, in a close examination of 292 survivors of the Starachowice factory slave labor camps, what can we learn about German policies and personnel on the one hand, and the survival strategies and internal dynamics of the Jewish prisoner community on the other.

Underwritten by the Leonard and Carolyn Miller Visiting Distinguished Professorship in Holocaust Studies.





The University of Vermont

CAROLYN & LEONARD MILLER
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The Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM has established a mailing list (listserv) for members of the community who would like to receive notices about the many guest lectures and other public programs sponsored by the Center. If you would like to join the mailing list, please refer to the following directions:

To join the list, send an email message to listserv@list.uvm.edu and place a subscribe command, `sub chs your_name_here`, in the body of the message. Replace "your_name_here" with your first and last name, for example:

`sub chs Mary Smith`

(You may receive a confirmation message from **LISTSERV**, just follow the instructions in the message.)

If you would like to consider making a gift to support the teaching, research, and community outreach activities of the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies, please contact UVM Development & Alumni Relations, 802-656-2010, or alumni@uvm.edu.

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