

eral Nazi state policies which had to cope with economic realities (and was therefore utilitarian to a considerable extent) yet did so by applying also racial considerations which affected also non-Jewish groups. Tenenbaum had been a leader of the Jewish anti-German boycott movement in the 1930s, and was therefore especially sensitive to the economic dimension of the Shoah. And though his book is outdated in many respects and has many deficiencies, it is still worth reading today precisely regarding this aspect.¹⁸

Raul Hilberg's landmark study *The Destruction of the European Jews* (first published in 1961) went much further. In the modular structure of the Holocaust as conceived by Hilberg, the economic aspect – “expropriation” as he called it – became the second stage in the linear, four-stage escalation of the process of anti-Jewish policies, after “definition”, and before “concentration” and “annihilation”. That means that expropriation was promoted by Hilberg to be an essential cog in the destruction process. In the part on expropriation he included dismissals, Aryanizations, property taxes, blocked money, forced labor and wage regulations, income taxes and starvation measures. All these ingredients related to policies inside Germany, mainly before 1939. But also in the parts on the later stages of what he coined “the destruction process” – “concentration” and “The Destruction Process II” (in which he dealt with the Final Solution) – Hilberg recurrently included chapters about confiscation and also dealt with forced labor. And in the chapter dealing with “consequences” he once again analyzed the problematics of restitution.¹⁹ Interestingly, Hilberg never tackled the question why expropriation should be a second stage in the destruction process at all – and not some other domain of the regime's activities (“exclusion”, for instance); apparently, this was obvious for Hilberg, in view of the enormous amount of documentation on economic issues that he encountered in his archival research.

However, already among scholars of the first post-1945 period in Holocaust research there were some who did not view the economic

18 Tenenbaum, *Race and Reich*. On Tenenbaum's analysis see Michman, *Holocaust Historiography*, pp. 20–24.

19 Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*. For an analysis of Hilberg's conceptualization see Michman, *Holocaust Historiography*, pp. 16–20.