

aspect as essential for the understanding of the Holocaust: in both Léon Poliakov's *Harvest of Hate* (first published in 1951) and Gerald Reitlinger's *The Final Solution* (1953) economic issues were mentioned only as by-products of other major developments (such as ghettoization in the case of Reitlinger).<sup>20</sup> Since the 1960s the economic aspect continued to lose its central place in overall conceptualizations of the Holocaust (as in the books by Nora Levin, Lucy Dawidowicz, Nathan Eck, Martin Gilbert and Yehuda Bauer).<sup>21</sup> In the so-called "intentionalism / functionalism" controversy,<sup>22</sup> which dominated much of perpetrator historiography (*Täterforschung*) from the 1960s through the 1980s, Nazi antisemitic economic policies were tackled by the functionalists, yet not as an essential issue by itself. As the controversy focused on the question in what mode anti-Jewish policies culminating in the Final Solution were shaped in general, the stances were generalizing and structural: Was ideology the motivating factor that shaped anti-Jewish policies (the intentionalist stance),<sup>23</sup> or did these escalate due to ad-hoc decisions resulting from the need to cope with practical issues (the functionalists stance)? Was the decision-making process goal-oriented and top-down, originating in an omnipotent and omniscient single person – Hitler (as the intentionalists claimed); or was it an unplanned result of "totalitarian anarchy" (or "organized chaos") characterized by fights over competences within the bureaucracy,<sup>24</sup> which caused the process to escalate (Hitler being a "weak dictator", as Hans Mommsen argued<sup>25</sup>)?<sup>26</sup> Within this context, the economic domain (exclusion of the Jews, the Four Year Plan) was interpreted as Hermann Göring's power basis that competed

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20 Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate*; Reitlinger, *Final Solution*. For an analysis of Poliakov's and Reitlinger's conceptualizations see Michman, *Holocaust Historiography*, pp. 11–16.

21 This is apparent in comprehensive studies published from the second half of the 1960s through the 1980s. See Levin, *The Holocaust*; Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews 1933–1945*; Eck, *The Holocaust of the Jewish People in Europe*; Gilbert, *The Holocaust*; Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust*.

22 On this controversy see: Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, pp. 82–106 (and in later editions). The terms "intentionalism" and "functionalism" were coined by Mason, *Intention and Explanation*.

23 Jäckel, *Hitlers Herrschaft*.

24 Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, pp. 94–108.

25 Mommsen, *National Socialism*.

26 Michman, *Holocaust Historiography*, pp. 91–96.