

the exclusion of Jews from German society in general materialized so fast. He explained that the “process of persecution should be understood as a dynamic interaction between state and society – one that was shaped by four determinant factors: antisemitism, the conforming of personal interests to the norms propagated by the Nazi regime, the activation of social interests – *in particular by the economic exclusion of the Jews* [my emphasis, DM] – and the growing consensual support for the regime after 1933.”³⁸ In Bajohr’s eyes, thus, the economic measures together with the unofficial economic attacks on and advantage taken of the Jews were complimentary acts within the broader drive for social exclusion; its success was due to the immediate benefit individuals and companies – also foreign ones – could gain from this process.³⁹

In a recent article, Christoph Kreutzmüller, Ingo Loose and Benno Nietzel dealt with what they call the “destruction of Jewish commercial activity” and “elimination of Jewish business activity” in three major cities in Germany, until the last phases of Jewish existence on German soil. The details of their study are less important for our argument; however, it is relevant to state that they too view the economic activities against the Jews as part of an antisemitic process to drive the Jews out of society, a process which was gradual and was most effective in the little cities and countryside villages, which explains why the Jews in the bigger cities could still hold on economically until the stage of the Final Solution. The terminology they use – “destruction” and “elimination” – is clearly meant to indicate, that this was a form of non-murderous annihilation of living conditions, to which Jewish tenacity (in the cities) was capable, to a certain extent, to resist: “Only by means of brutal violence was the Nazi regime ultimately able to crush the will of the Jews to assert themselves and persist, and to destroy the economic foundation of their lives in Germany”.⁴⁰

Christopher Browning, in a chapter on “The Nazi Empire” in the *Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*, has described things in a slightly modified way: “During the pre-war years of the Nazi regime, the perse-

38 Bajohr, *The ‘Folk Community’ and the Persecution of the Jews*, p. 183 (quote from the abstract).

39 Bajohr, *Arisierung als gesellschaftlicher Prozess*.

40 Kreutzmüller/Loose/Nietzel, *Nazi Persecution and Strategies for Survival*, pp. 31–70; the quote is from p. 70.