

Aryanization, which was a major facet of this campaign both in Germany and in the occupied countries, raises a principle question: if Jews as *Volksfremde* had improperly taken their wealth from the *Volkseigentum*, the state as an institution could have decided, for instance, to confiscate Jewish property and financial assets. And yet, Aryanization was on the one hand a way to transfer belongings of private Jews to private Aryans (which indeed activated among individual Germans – and later also among non-Germans in occupied countries – the human characteristic of greed, thus causing lots of people to embark on prey-journeys); on the other hand, it was a process directed against the Jews as a collective, without exceptions. When looking upon those aspects as being two sides of the coin it turns clear that each Jewish individual was perceived as being the incarnation of some much larger Jewish threat. Beyond Aryanization, the comprehensive campaign to eject Jews from their positions in any economic institution, organization, enterprise or forum – whether big, middle-sized or miniscule – also indicates that there was an obsession to exclude Jews not just from society but from any influence on German economic conduct, for example economic thought and behavior.⁴⁴ Additionally, of importance is also the fact that economic persecution of the Jews started at the very first moment after Hitler's ascendance to power in January 1933 and lasted till even after their deportation⁴⁵ and death (because their money and belongings, and even parts of their bodies such as hair, were taken from them shortly before or after being murdered)⁴⁶ and till the last moments of the Reich's existence. That means that this was not one stage in a developing consecu-

of Economics and the Expulsion of the Jews from the German Economy, p. 215. See also his comprehensive study: Fischer, Hjalmar Schacht und Deutschlands "Judenfrage".

44 For understanding this aspect, one should just follow on the one hand the ousting process of individual Jews (which was often done in an apparently "polite" yet assertive mode; see for instance Barkai, Oscar Wassermann und die Deutsche Bank, pp. 92–102), and the many grassroots instances where groups of Jews were expelled from a certain sector, as is demonstrated by the example of the German Council of Municipalities, which coordinated "initiatives to chase Jewish merchants from town markets even before Reich laws to this effect were enacted" (the conclusion of Gruner, *Der Deutsche Gemeindetag und die Koordinierung antijüdischer Kommunalpolitik*).

45 Scheren, *Aryanization, Market Vendors, and Peddlers in Amsterdam*.

46 Kempner, *Eichmann und Komplizen*, chapter 21.