

approach to the Jewish question, at least as from 1936, was Hermann Göring.<sup>60</sup> An examination of the first years of the Nazi regime reveals that the general situation of the Jews escalated constantly, but also that policies still clang to parameters of traditional antisemitism.

The predominance of the economic approach in the Nazi sought-after goal of *Entfernung der Juden überhaupt* ended at the end of 1938. The notorious and so extremely important meeting at Göring's office on November 12, 1938, two days after *Reichskristallnacht*, is an important moment in that respect. The meeting was convened upon Hitler's order to have "*die Judenfrage jetzt einheitlich zusammengefaßt*" (the Jewish Question [...] to be summed up and coordinated once and for all) and "*die entscheidenden Schritte zentral zusammenzufassen*" (the decisive steps outlined in a coordinated way). At the opening of that meeting Göring stated that "*das Problem in der Hauptsache ein umfangreiches wirtschaftliches Problem ist*" (the problem is in the main a large-scale economic matter), that means that the economic aspect was the predominant one. But later on in the meeting Heydrich responded to that view by saying that "*Bei allem Herausnehmen des Juden aus dem Wirtschaftsleben bleibt das Grundproblem letzten Endes doch immer, daß der Jude aus Deutschland herauskommt*" (After all the elimination of the Jew from economic life, in the end there is still always the basic problem of getting the Jew out of Germany).<sup>61</sup>

From this moment on it becomes clear, that a more radical approach, which interpreted total removal essentially as ridding Germany from the presence of the physical Jews in its landscape – which was represented by the SS and Police apparatus, on this occasion through Heydrich's person – gained predominance.<sup>62</sup> Removing Jews from German territory meant at that moment forced emigration, or in other words: expulsion; later on, with the expansion of German rule in

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60 Knopp, Göring; Fest, Hermann Göring.

61 "Stenographische Niederschrift von einem Teil der Besprechung über die Judenfrage unter Vorsitz von Feldmarschall Göring in RLA [Reichsluftamt] am 12. November 1938, 11 Uhr", in: Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärtribunal [IMT], Bd. XXVIII (Nürnberg 1948), 816-PS, pp. 499, 533.

62 Kershaw, Adolf Hitler und die Realisierung der nationalsozialistischen Rassenutopie, p. 139.