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## INTRODUCTION

### Registration and Confiscation

On April 26, 1938, Field Marshal Hermann Göring ordered the registration of Jewish property in the Third Reich by June 30, 1938. Under the terms of this decree, it was possible for Göring “to secure the deployment of the registered property in accordance with the needs of the German economy.”<sup>1</sup> Thus, as the Foreign Office acknowledged internally, by creating an inventory of remaining Jewish property, Göring was preparing the ground for its subsequent systematic confiscation by the state.<sup>2</sup> Victor Klemperer commented in his diary on June 29, 1938, “We spent the morning filling out the forms: Property List of the Jews. . . . What do they want this list for? We have become so used to living in this condition of lost rights and waiting for the next despicable attacks that it hardly disturbs us any more.”<sup>3</sup>

In archives throughout Europe, millions of such property registration forms from the Nazi period can be found. A similar process of property registration was repeated for Jews attempting to emigrate, and even for those awaiting deportation and murder. Germany’s allies and collaborating states, such as Vichy France, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovakia, and Hungary, all introduced similar measures against Jewish property, as did the Nazi authorities in the countries Germany occupied directly. Beginning in the fall of 1941, the arrival of the “list” to be filled out describing their

<sup>1</sup> *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1938, Teil I, pp. 414–16.

<sup>2</sup> See Nuremberg Document NG-3802.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by *Bundesfinanzminister* Hans Eichel in the foreword to Kurt Schilde, *Bürokratie des Todes: Lebensgeschichten jüdischer Opfer des NS-Regimes im Spiegel von Finanzamtsakten* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), p. 7.

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meager remaining property was a clear indication to the Jews of Berlin of their imminent deportation.<sup>4</sup> Tax officials, bank clerks, and property evaluators also prepared detailed inventories as they settled up Jewish accounts and sold off remaining property after the so-called evacuations. If the Holocaust is to be understood as a function of bureaucratic process, this is particularly well illustrated by the perpetrators' exhaustive efforts to register all Jewish property in conjunction with the deportation and murder of the Jews. After the war, another generation of archives was created as a result of the lengthy and imperfect attempts at restitution, predominantly conducted in the West.

These massive Nazi era and postwar archives on Jewish property, much of them rarely used by historians, provided the starting point for my work on this project. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, directed by Paul Shapiro, became aware of this considerable resource for Holocaust research and asked me in the late 1990s to carry out detailed work in some of these emerging archives. The aims of this book are to describe the many mechanisms by which property was confiscated and to assess what the property records can tell us about the events of the Holocaust and the lives of those persecuted by the Nazis.

Essentially, this volume tells the story on three different levels. First, it sheds light on Nazi plans for confiscation and how they were implemented by many and various state organizations. Second, it presents the perspective of Jewish victims, who had to deal with mounting economic persecution on a daily basis as a growing threat to their existence. Third, it reveals the responses and responsibility of low-level perpetrators, Nazi collaborators, profiteers, and bystanders, including companies and individuals in the neutral countries, who may have benefited from or become aware of the Holocaust via the vast trail of property left behind.

### Legal Means

For many historians, one distinctive aspect of Hitler's seizure of power was the skillful abuse of supposedly legal means to acquire legitimation for his regime. This application of pseudo-legal and bureaucratic methods is also the defining characteristic of the confiscation of Jewish property. In spite of, or partly because of, certain initial excesses of plunder, theft, and "wild Aryanizations," after 1938 the bulk of remaining Jewish property was

<sup>4</sup> Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 185; Kurt Schilde, *Bürokratie des Todes*, p. 69.

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confiscated by “legal” and bureaucratic means under close state supervision. In particular, the leaders of the Nazi state sought to ensure that the lion’s share of the proceeds went to the benefit of the Reich. This, of course, did not prevent widespread corruption, interdepartmental rivalries, and private gain, which, as Frank Bajohr argues, were all inherent in the practice of Nazi rule.<sup>5</sup>

An important distinction has to be made between the transfer of property into “Aryan” hands – that is, the “Aryanization” of the economy – and the confiscation of Jewish property by the state. Generally Aryanization preceded and prepared the way for confiscation, converting various forms of Jewish wealth into bank accounts or investments (at a considerable loss to the owners) that then could be confiscated more easily by the state. Aryanization, especially of businesses, sought to deny the Jews any significant economic influence. Confiscation by the state had the object of ensuring that the German Reich, not private individuals, became the prime beneficiary of Jewish property.

As the complex legal regulations and proceedings concerning postwar restitution demonstrate, the transfer of property was inextricably linked with the concept of “legal title.” The Nazi expropriation of Jewish property could be conducted on a grand scale only through the deployment of a wide array of special taxes, punitive measures, and confiscatory decrees that purported to provide legal title to the Reich and other beneficiaries. This process in turn has left in diverse sources a very sizable archival footprint in the form of tax returns, bank accounts, land registers, and claims for unpaid bills. Without a legal guarantee from the state, the market for stolen Jewish property would have remained limited, as would the revenues to be realized. In Western Europe in particular, growing expectations of an Allied victory as the war progressed considerably depressed demand for former Jewish property that might have to be returned if the Germans were defeated.

The term “confiscation,” rather than theft, expropriation, or seizure, all of which apply to some degree, has been used here for specific reasons. First, this term directly reflects the legalized, bureaucratic, and state-organized nature of the process. After the deportations, the Nazis used legal artifice to make it appear that they were merely collecting, on behalf of the state, ownerless property left behind. The deliberate euphemism of property “falling” to the Reich was intended to reassure bureaucrats of the legality of their actions. In reflecting the original German language, my intention is not in any way to minimize the criminal nature of the thefts and expropriations,

<sup>5</sup> See Frank Bajohr, *Parvenüs und Profiteure: Korruption in der NS-Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2001).

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but rather to reflect on the essential characteristics of this massive program of state-sponsored theft.

This legalistic approach to the problem did, however, have some surprising side effects. Particularly in Western Europe, much confiscated Jewish property was paid into blocked accounts that remained in existence at the liberation, facilitating the process of restitution where there were still claimants to come forward. In the Netherlands, the authorities' postwar return of items to the rightful owners or their representatives was known as "*Rechtsherstel*" or the restoration of legal rights.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the extensive records created in Germany and elsewhere for the purposes of settling any outstanding debts made it possible to some extent to reconstruct certain details of the process of confiscation, both for restitution and historical purposes.

#### Archival Sources and Approaches

There are certain key reasons why the issue of Jewish property emerged with such potency during the 1990s. The opening of archives in Eastern Europe following the end of the Cold War, as well as the discovery of major archival collections from Western Europe that ended up in communist hands, made it possible to put together some missing parts of the puzzle.<sup>7</sup> Access to these collections has been supplemented by considerable archival releases in the West. For example, Greg Bradsher and his colleagues at the National Archives made staunch efforts to render the massive documentation related to Holocaust-era assets more accessible to researchers.<sup>8</sup> This effort has been reinforced by the large-scale release of remaining classified Nazi-related files, a process begun under the Clinton administration. Less well known are the

<sup>6</sup> The strict insistence on legal procedures also for the restitution of property after the war did, however, slow the process and make it harder for the victims, as the onus was on them to prove their previous ownership. I am grateful to Helen Junz for making this point during a presentation at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in February 2004.

<sup>7</sup> For example, in the former Osobyi (Special) Archive in Moscow, extensive collections from not only the Security Police and SD but also from the Reich Economics Ministry were uncovered. Major collections in the East German archives included the War Booty Office (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle) and Deutsche Bank collections.

<sup>8</sup> See Greg Bradsher (ed.), *Holocaust-Era Assets: A Finding Aid to Records at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland* (Washington, DC: Published for the National Archives and Records Administration by the National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1999).

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massive openings of millions of pages of relevant documentation in other archives, such as those of France, Switzerland, and Belgium.<sup>9</sup>

The gradual unlocking of key state financial archives for academic research has empowered historians to conduct more detailed research. Two main types of state documentation are available: first, the detailed contemporary German and collaborator records listing and evaluating the property seized, and second, extensive documentation regarding postwar claims for compensation and restitution. Both sets of files usually are organized according to the names of the victims, requiring painstaking research to piece together the processes of both expropriation and restitution, even on the basis of only a representative sample. Unfortunately, relatively few general files on the administration of the expropriation process have survived.<sup>10</sup> In addition, some private companies have opened their archives for closer academic scrutiny.<sup>11</sup> Despite the progressive opening of the archives, there remain certain types of documentation for which historians still have to wait. For example, most German tax records and also health-related compensation claims generally remain closed to historians, as they are subject to strict privacy laws for up to eighty years after their creation.<sup>12</sup>

The sheer scale of these massive property archives presents a particularly challenging problem. In the time available, I was not able to conduct an exhaustive examination of large collections or even attempt to examine a representative sample. Rather, I studied a few examples that serve to reveal

<sup>9</sup> The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has received a very large collection of microfilm records from the French archives over the past few years, much of it related to Jewish property. Large parts of this documentation were made accessible to historians in France only at the same time that it became accessible at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on microfilm; see USHMM, RG-43.023M (Commissariat général aux questions juives: AJ 38, 1940–1947, 443 reels).

<sup>10</sup> For example, in the Landesarchiv and at the Oberfinanzdirektion in Berlin, there are only two surviving *Handakten* (personal copies kept by employees) containing a sample of the flood of internal administrative regulations that governed the implementation of Jewish property confiscation.

<sup>11</sup> The most notable examples include larger German banks and insurance companies, such as the Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank, Commerzbank, and Allianz; these commissioned academic studies, as have other firms such as Bertelsmann and Degussa. In Austria, where Oliver Rathkolb has pioneered the opening of company records with other historians such as Dieter Stiefel, the Postsparkasse is one of many organizations to have begun reassessing their corporate history. In Switzerland, the establishment of the Commission of Independent Experts was accompanied by legislation guaranteeing its right of access to relevant private company archives.

<sup>12</sup> Harold James, *The Deutsche Bank and the Nazi Economic War against the Jews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 8.

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the main processes at work. Thus, the analysis has concentrated on grasping the qualitative nature of the confiscation process, leaving most quantitative analysis to the larger research teams, such as those working for the large French, Swiss, and Austrian Historical Commissions, or for the Deutsche Bank, which were better equipped for crunching the numbers from vast collections of individual files.

Much of the archival research for this book was conducted in the recently opened files of the German financial administration, now available in various Berlin archives and other regional centers. In particular, by piecing together the surviving collections from various German regions, I was able to reconstruct a more complete picture of the system than is available from the fragments surviving in any one location.<sup>13</sup> I also conducted considerable archival research on the seizure of Jewish property outside the Reich's borders, especially in collections concerning the occupied territories of the Soviet Union and the Netherlands. Inevitably, however, I relied on the existing but still rapidly expanding secondary literature for much of the international comparative work. I also used written and oral testimonies of survivors, as well as contemporary documents from Jewish victims, to gain an impression of what the loss of property actually meant to those who suffered persecution at the Nazis' hands.

Another important documentary source that has been surprisingly underutilized by historians, especially in more recent years, is the large collection of documents gathered for the Nuremberg trials. These have the advantage of having been extensively indexed, especially those materials relating to the Holocaust. Roughly 30 percent or more of all Holocaust-related documents in this collection deal with matters involving economic discrimination and exploitation.<sup>14</sup>

I derived the methodological approach for this broad survey directly from the nature of the sources used. Whereas historians previously focused mainly on the wording and intention of Nazi laws directed against Jewish property, by using individual case files, more stress here is placed on their implementation by the bureaucracy and their impact on Jewish lives. In addition, bringing together materials from various recently opened archives – documents reflecting the perspectives of perpetrators, victims, and beneficiaries – permits a differentiated analysis of the topic. In particular,

<sup>13</sup> For example, surviving Currency Office files from Thuringia, Berlin, and Münster have been examined, as different types of files survived in each case.

<sup>14</sup> See especially the very useful guide by Jacob Robinson and Henry Sachs (eds.), *The Holocaust: The Nuremberg Evidence. Part One: Documents* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and YIVO, 1976).

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this approach allows documents from diverse sources to “talk to each other,” opening up simultaneous analysis from several perspectives.

### Historiography

In general terms, the Aryanization of Jewish businesses in Nazi Germany has, at least until recently, attracted more attention than has the seizure of other assets through taxes, forced payments, and confiscation measures. Nonetheless, the focus has been primarily on a few, larger, more spectacular cases<sup>15</sup> or on regional studies limited mainly to the local implementation of Aryanization measures.<sup>16</sup> Recent research also has highlighted the role of the banks in mediating the Aryanization process,<sup>17</sup> as well as the treatment of their own Jewish employees and directors.<sup>18</sup> The emphasis generally has focused more on the organizers and beneficiaries of Aryanization than on the responses of the victims,<sup>19</sup> although some local studies have attempted to document extensively the lives of the victims and their former businesses.<sup>20</sup>

Until the 1990s, most historians treated the issue of property confiscation as an abstruse and largely secondary aspect of the Holocaust. The registers of and revenues from Jewish property were seen as a byproduct of the

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1982) vol. I, pp. 120–27; and Martin Friedenberger, “Das Berliner Finanzamt Moabit-West und die Enteignung der Emigranten des Dritten Reichs 1933–1942,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 49:8 (2001): 677–94, concerning the Aryanization of the Petschek group. A number of works also examine the Warburg Bank case, usually as part of broader studies of the business.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Franz Fichtl et al., *“Bamberg Wirtschaft Judenfrei”: Die Verdrängung der jüdischen Geschäftsleute in den Jahren 1933 bis 1939* (Bamberg: Colibri, 1998).

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, the article of Bernhard Lorentz, “Die Commerzbank und die ‘Arisierung’ im Altreich. Ein Vergleich der Netzwerkstrukturen und Handlungsspielräume von Grossbanken in der NS-Zeit,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 50:2 (April 2002): 237–68.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Dieter Ziegler, “Die Verdrängung der Juden aus der Dresdner Bank, 1933–1938,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 47:2 (April 1999): 187–216.

<sup>19</sup> See for example Dirk van Laak, “Die Mitwirkenden bei der ‘Arisierung’: Dargestellt am Beispiel der rheinisch-westfälischen Industrieregion 1933–1940,” in Ursula Büttner (ed.), *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich* (Hamburg: Christians, 1992): 231–58.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Barbara Händler-Lachmann, *Vergessene Geschäfte – verlorene Geschichte: Jüdisches Wirtschaftsleben in Marburg und seine Vernichtung im Nationalsozialismus* (Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1992); Alex Brüns-Wüstefeld, *Lohnende Geschäfte: Die “Entjudung der Wirtschaft am Beispiel Göttingens* (Hanover: Fackelträger, 1997).

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destruction process that officials diligently collected. It was not expected that these specialized sources could add much to our understanding, as the Holocaust was not seen as having been motivated primarily by material gain. These sources attracted instead the attention of genealogists and local historians attempting to trace the fates of family members or to compile memorial lists. There were, however, a few detail-oriented historians who did not underestimate the role of property confiscation in the destruction process.

Most notable in this respect is the seminal work of the late Raul Hilberg, who defined the removal of property (*Enteignung*) as one of the essential steps common to the development and implementation of the Holocaust throughout Europe.<sup>21</sup> Another key contribution was made by H. G. Adler, who perceived the exhaustive measures of property confiscation and the bureaucratic chicanery involved as integral to the dehumanizing effect of Nazi persecution. Nazi bureaucratic procedures steadily degraded human beings into mere objects of administrative regulation.<sup>22</sup> Helmut Genschel examined the Aryanization of the German economy in terms of direct Nazi pressure as well as legal measures, outlining the main chronology of events in the 1930s.<sup>23</sup> A particularly lucid analysis of the unfolding dynamic of Nazi Aryanization and confiscation measures is provided by the Dutch historian Hans van der Leeuw, who also worked extensively on restitution problems in the postwar decades.<sup>24</sup> Joseph Billig's work on the *Commissariat General des Questions Juives*<sup>25</sup> deserves mention as a rare early monograph on confiscation; the book stressed the centrality of this issue as a key to understanding the complex relationship between Vichy France and Nazi Germany. He thus foreshadowed some of the main arguments of more recent research, especially Professor Wolfgang Seibel's international project, "The Holocaust and Polyocracy in Western Europe."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, 3 vols.

<sup>22</sup> H. G. Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch: Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1974).

<sup>23</sup> Helmut Genschel, *Die Verdrängung der Juden aus der Wirtschaft im Dritten Reich* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt, 1966).

<sup>24</sup> See especially A. J. van der Leeuw, "Der Griff des Reiches nach dem Judenvermögen," in A. H. Paape (ed.), *Studies over Nederland in oorlogstijd* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 211–36, first published in *Rechtsprechung zum Wiedergutmachungsrecht* (1970): 383–92.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Billig, *Le Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives, 1941–1944* (Paris: Editions du Centre, 1953, 1955 and 1960) 3 vols.

<sup>26</sup> Wolfgang Seibel (ed.), *Holocaust und 'Polykratie' in Westeuropa, 1940–1944: Nationale Berichte* (December, 2001).

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In the 1980s, Avraham Barkai's work emphasized the effects of Nazi economic persecution on the German Jewish community throughout the 1930s, attempting to reconstruct the Jewish perspective of events.<sup>27</sup> Frank Bajohr presented the first detailed study of local Aryanization, focusing on Hamburg; he stressed the cooperation of various local authorities in the process and the interplay between initiatives from below and national measures.<sup>28</sup> Stefan Mehl's work on the Reich Finance Ministry provides an overview of the involvement of this key institution in the financial aspects of the Holocaust, but does not examine the implementation of anti-Jewish measures.<sup>29</sup> Especially with regard to property confiscation, it is important to contrast the laws with their actual implementation. This process can be accomplished only by an examination of the case files.

In recent years, there has been a flurry of interest in the extensive records of the regional financial administrations. Exhibitions in Düsseldorf and Münster were accompanied by publications incorporating both documents and analysis.<sup>30</sup> Regional projects in Hessen, Hanover, and Munich have combined the registration of archival holdings with their evaluation and presentation to a wider public.<sup>31</sup> The value of such sources for reconstructing something of the fabric of Jewish life at the onset of the Holocaust is demonstrated by the excellent biographical dictionary of Jews from Münster. This work draws extensively on financial documentation and more conventional sources.<sup>32</sup> Michel Hepp edited and published lists of denaturalized persons. This publication also includes introductory essays stressing the

<sup>27</sup> Avraham Barkai, *Vom Boykott zur "Entjudung": Der wirtschaftliche Existenzkampf der Juden im Dritten Reich, 1933–1943* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1987).

<sup>28</sup> Frank Bajohr, "Arisierung" in Hamburg, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: Hans Christians, 1997). Available in translation as "Aryanisation" in *Hamburg: The Economic Exclusion of the Jews and the Confiscation of their Property in Nazi Germany* (New York: Berghahn, 2002).

<sup>29</sup> Stefan Mehl, *Das Reichsfinanzministerium und die Verfolgung der deutschen Juden, 1933–1943* (Berlin, 1990).

<sup>30</sup> Wolfgang Dressen, *Betrifft: "Aktion 3". Deutsche ververten jüdische Nachbarn: Dokumente zur Arisierung* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1998); Alfons Kenkman and Bernd-A. Rusinek (eds.), *Verfolgung und Verwaltung: Die wirtschaftliche Ausplünderung der Juden und die westfälischen Finanzbehörden* (Münster: Oberfinanzdirektion Münster, 1999).

<sup>31</sup> On Hessen, see Susanne Meinel and Jutta Zwillig, *Legalisierter Raub: Die Ausplünderung der Juden im Nationalsozialismus durch die Reichsfinanzverwaltung in Hessen* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2004).

<sup>32</sup> Gisela Möllendorf and Rita Schlautmann-Overmeyer, *Jüdische Familien in Münster, 1918–1945: Biographisches Lexikon* (Münster: Westphälisches Dampfboot, 1995); another study that draws extensively on financial documentation to help reconstruct the destroyed Jewish community of Berlin is Mario Offenburger (ed.), *Adass Jisroel, Die Jüdische Gemeinde in Berlin (1869–1942): Vernichtet und Vergessen* (Berlin: Museumspädagogischer Dienst, 1986).

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hitherto underestimated significance of denaturalization in the development of anti-Jewish policy.<sup>33</sup>

The legal and diplomatic activity that led to numerous international lawsuits and some notable financial settlements in the late 1990s demonstrated clearly that the plundering of Jewish property was a European-wide phenomenon, with ripple effects spreading beyond the continent.<sup>34</sup> More than twenty countries established historical commissions, and many others have prepared official reports and position papers.<sup>35</sup> The present volume seeks to assess the impact of this vast amount of new research and to draw together themes touched on by the various commissions – themes that must be examined in an international perspective.

Thus, one can see that important strands of methodology, archival access, and historiography have been emerging, above all in Germany, for some time. However, it has been the intensified focus on financial issues from the perspective of survivors, combined with historians' more realistic evaluation of the role of practical aspects in the unfolding of the Holocaust, that has brought this constellation of issues to the fore. Since the late 1980s, a number of notable scholars, such as Götz Aly, Susanne Heim, and Hans Safrian, have contributed to the reassessment of practical, material, and bureaucratic factors alongside ideology in the development of the Holocaust.<sup>36</sup> They have been followed by many others, such as Wolf Gruner, who has examined the living conditions, forced labor, and pauperization of German and Austrian

<sup>33</sup> Michael Hepp (ed.), *Die Ausbürgerung deutscher Staatsangehöriger 1933–45 nach den im Reichsanzeiger veröffentlichten Listen*, 3 vols. (Munich: Saur, 1985–88).

<sup>34</sup> Among the better accounts of these negotiations are Stuart Eizenstat, *Imperfect Justice: Looted Assets, Slave Labor, and the Unfinished Business of World War II* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), and John Authers and Richard Wolfe, *Of the Victim's Fortune: Inside the Epic Battle over the Debts of the Holocaust* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002).

<sup>35</sup> Those countries that established historical commissions include Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Croatia, Estonia, France, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States. Official publications on assets-related issues were also published in the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada, Belarus, and Ukraine. See especially J. D. Bindenagel (ed.), *Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets, November 30–December 3, 1998 Proceedings* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1999) for the position papers of various countries.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung: Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine europäischer Neuordnung* (Hamburg: Hofmann und Campe, 1991); Götz Aly, *“Endlösung”: Völkerverschiebung und der Mord an den europäischen Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1995); and Hans Safrian, *Eichmann und seine Gehilfen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995). More recently, see also Götz Aly, *Hitlers Volksstaat: Raub, Rassenkrieg und nationaler Sozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2005).