

148. Hans-Wilfrid Wedler, *Klinik der Lungenasbestose* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1939), p. 68.
149. Martin Nordmann and Adolf Sorge, "Lungenkrebs durch Asbeststaub im Tierversuch," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 51 (1941): 168-82.
150. Welz, "Weitere Beobachtungen," p. 537.
151. Nordmann and Sorge, "Lungenkrebs," p. 169.
152. Hueper, *Occupational Tumors*, pp. 399-405; Barry I. Castleman, "Asbestos and Cancer: History and Public Policy," *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* 48 (1991): 427-30. Asbestos-induced lung cancer was actually officially recognized in 1940, in one of the *Merkblatt* commentaries on compensable occupational illnesses; see the *Monatsschrift für Krebsbekämpfung* 7 (1940): 214-15.
153. David Ozonoff, "Failed Warnings: Asbestos-Related Disease and Industrial Medicine," in *The Health and Safety of Workers*, ed. Ronald Bayer (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 140.
154. Eberhard Gross, "Das Carcinom vom Standpunkt des Gewerbetoikologen," in Adolf Butenandt et al., *Chemie und Krebs* (Berlin: Chemie, 1940), pp. 101-2.
155. Franz Koelsch, *Was weissst Du von Berufskrankheiten und Gewerbehygiene?* (Berlin: Arens, 1944), p. 25.
156. Enterline, "Changing Attitudes," p. 691; "German writers had made up their minds about the relationship between asbestos and lung cancer by 1943" (*ibid.*).
157. References can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 692-93. Richard Doll by this time had already given solid epidemiologic evidence for the link; see his "Mortality from Lung Cancer in Asbestos Workers," *British Journal of Industrial Medicine* 12 (1955): 81-82.
158. Richard Doll, personal communication.
159. Sellers, "Discovering Environmental Cancer," pp. 1824-35; compare also Harry M. Marks, *The Progress of Experiment: Science and Therapeutic Reform in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 136-63.
160. Lothar Horbach and Hans Loskant, *Berufskrebsstudie: Forschungsbericht*, Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (Boppard: Bold, 1981). Horbach and Loskant estimated that as many as 20 percent of all cancers in the general population were of occupational origins.
161. Hien, *Chemische Industrie*, pp. 213-71.
162. Oswald Bumke, *Erinnerungen und Betrachtungen: Der Weg eines deutschen Psychiaters* (Munich: Pflaum, 1952), p. 145.
163. *Trials of War Criminals*, 8:577.
164. Rehn, "Blasengeschwülste," pp. 588-600; David Michaels, "Waiting for the Body Count: Corporate Decision Making and Bladder Cancer in the U.S. Dye Industry," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, n.s., 2 (1988): 215-32.
165. Hueper, *Occupational Tumors*, pp. 470-71. Fritz Curschmann as early as 1920 noticed that bladder cancers usually developed "only after many years of work" with aniline dyes; see his "Statistische Erhebungen über Blasentumoren bei Arbeitern in der chemischen Industrie," *Zentralblatt für Gewerbehygiene* 8 (1920): 145-49.

166. "Verordnung über Ausdehnung der Unfallversicherung auf gewerbliche Berufskrankheiten," *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1 (1925): 69-70. Germany modified its occupational health legislation in 1929 and again in 1936; the 1936 law increased the number of compensable illnesses but made it more difficult for workers to obtain compensation for work-related injuries; see "Dritte Verordnung über Ausdehnung der Unfallversicherung auf Berufskrankheiten vom 16. Dezember 1936," *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1 (1936): 1117; also "Die entschädigungspflichtigen Berufskrankheiten," *Arbeitsschutz* 3 (1940): 19-29.
167. Staemmler, "Beruf und Krebs," p. 122.
168. Hueper, *Occupational Tumors*, p. 474.
169. B(etina?) Ewerbeck, "Ein Gang durch das Werk," *Gesundheitsführung*, November 1940, p. 429, cited in Hien, *Chemische Industrie*, pp. 224-25. Hien notes that I. G. Farben in 1939 published an article on "the myth of aniline dyes being poisonous" (p. 257).
170. L. Simon, "Dauererfolge der operativen Behandlung von Anilintumoren," *Zentralblatt für Gewerbehygiene* 7 (1930): 78-80; also his "Prognose und Behandlung der sogenannten Anilintumoren der Blase," in *Verhandlungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Chirurgie* (Berlin: J. Springer), pp. 709-11. Both articles are cited in Hien, *Chemische Industrie*, p. 220. Curschmann in 1920 failed to produce bladder tumors in experiments using dogs; see his "Statistische Erhebungen," pp. 145-46. Wilhelm Hueper eventually succeeded where Curschmann failed; see his paper with F. H. Wiley and H. D. Wolfe, "Experimental Production of Bladder Tumors in Dogs by Administration of Beta-Naphthylamine," *Journal of Industrial Hygiene and Toxicology* 20 (1938): 46-84.
171. Ernst W. Baader, "Berufskrebs," in Adam and Auler, *Neuere Ergebnisse*, pp. 104-28.
172. Koelsch was a Prussian conservative along the lines of the Deutsche-nationale Partei; he developed an exhibit on industrial hygiene for Dresden's Hygiene Museum and authored an influential textbook on occupational disease that went through several editions from 1937 through 1966 (*Lehrbuch der Arbeitshygiene*, published by Enke of Stuttgart).
173. There are other reasons to doubt the accuracy or completeness of cancer registries. Falling between the cracks were workers who left a carcinogenic line of work and later developed cancer, and no one knows how many of the German soldiers who died in the war (five to six million) might have eventually developed cancer.
174. Gine Elsner, "Die Betriebsärzte der IG Farben-Werke," in *Pax Medica: Stationen ärztlichen Friedensengagements und Verirrungen ärztlichen Militarismus*, ed. W. Beck, G. Elsner, and H. Mausbach (Hamburg: VSA, 1986), pp. 42-62; Hien, *Chemische Industrie*, pp. 233-38.
175. Brooks, *Hitler's Nuclear Weapons*, p. 123.
176. Hermann Kaienburg, "Vernichtung durch Arbeit": *Der Fall Neuengamme* (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1990).
177. Hans Reiter, "Arbeitshygiene und Vierjahresplan," in his *Das Reichsgesundheitsamt, 1933-1939: Sechs Jahre nationalsozialistische Führung* (Berlin: