169. Wolfgang Cyran, *Genuss mit oder ohne Reue? Eine medizinische Analyse über die Gefahren des Rauchens* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1968), p. 34. Lickint's postwar publications include: *Tabakgenuss und Gesundheit* (Hanover: Wilkens, 1936; rev. ed., 1951); *Die Zigarette, dein Schicksal; Die Zigarette—des Menschen Feind* (Wiesbaden: Walther, 1951); *Ätiologie und Prophylaxe des Lungenkrebses als ein Problem der Gewerbehygiene und des Tabakrauches* (Dresden: Steinkopff, 1953); *Wem schaden Alkohol, Tabak und Kaffee* (Berlin: Volk und Gesundheit, 1953); *Alkohol und Gesundheit* (Hanover: Wilkens, 1954); and *Arbeitshygiene* (Berlin: Technik, 1955).

170. Peter N. Lee, ed., *Tobacco Consumption in Various Countries*, 4th ed. (London: Tobacco Research Council, 1975), p. 28.

171. This argument is briefly suggested in Davey Smith et al., "Smoking," p. 222; compare also George Davey Smith, Sabine Ströbele, and Matthias Egger, "Smoking and Death," *British Medical Journal* 310 (1995): 396.

172. See, for example, Hermannsen, "Erzieher und Erzieherin!" p. 78.

173. Boehncke, *Die Bedeutung*, p. 10.

174. Helmut Heiber, *Goebbels* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1972), p. 233.

175. Zimmermann, *Die medizinische Fakultät*, pp. 95–96; BAK NS 18/226. Goebbels smoked thirty to fifty cigarettes a day from the 1920s through the 1940s.

176. "Antinikotin-Propaganda," in *Verfügungen/Anordnungen/Bekanntgaben*, ed. Partei-Kanzlei, vol. 1 (Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, 1943), p. 408.

177. Walther Funk to Stellvertreter des Führers, May 5, 1941, R43 II/1226b BAP.

178. "Form der Propaganda gegen den Tabakmissbrauch," May 22, 1941, R43 II/1226b, BAP.

179. Hans-Heinrich Lammers to Walther Funk, June 10, 1941, R43 II/1226b, BAP.

180. Klarner, *Vom Rauchen*, pp. 29–30.

181. Walther Kittel, "Alkohol und Wehrmacht," in *Wehrhygiene*, ed. Siegfried Handloser and Wilhelm Hoffmann (Berlin: Springer, 1944), p. 241.

182. Kittel, "Hygiene des Rauchens," p. 244.

183. "Zur Tabakwarenversorgung," *SD-Berichte zu Inlandsfragen*, September 9, 1943, R58/188, BAP.

184. "Versorgung mit Tabakwaren," March 28, 1944, R43 II/1226b, BAP.

185. See, for example, Reid's "Weltanschauung, Haltung, Genussgifte," p. 64. Reiter's words are in Werberat, *Volksgesundheit und Werbung*, p. 17.

186. Reckert, *Tabakwarenkunde*, p. 236.

187. "Erkennung und Bekämpfung," p. 184.

188. Klarner, *Vom Rauchen*, p. 46. According to the *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, there were 638,339 Germans involved in the tobacco trade in 1936/37. Most of these were employees of hotels, coffee shops, or food stores carrying tobacco products; only about 53,000 were exclusively involved in tobacco production or sales (ibid., p. 234). The best history of German tobacco industry finances is still Kurt Pritzkoleit's *Auf einer Woge von Gold: Der Triumph der Wirtschaft* (Vienna: Kurt Desch, 1961), pp. 181–244.

189. *Die Malerei der Gotik und Frührenaissance* (Hamburg, 1938) had sold 700,000 copies by 1938.

190. Waldorf-Astoria, *Uniformen der Marine und Schutztruppen* (Munich, n.d. [1932]), Vorwort; Kosmos, *Bild-Dokumente unserer Zeit* (Dresden, 1933).

191. Pritzkoleit, *Auf einer Woge von Gold*, pp. 215–18.

192. Conan Fischer, *Stormtroopers: A Social, Economic and Ideological Analysis, 1929–1935* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 128–29.

193. "Kritische Umschau," *Deutscher Tabakgegner* 15 (1933): 11. The SPD's "Freiheit" cigarette was advertised as "tied to our struggle": "Zigaretten aber auch, und das ist das Wesentliche, die verbunden sind mit unserer Kampfbewegung" ("Tausend in der Minute," *Hamburger Echo*, January 1, 1933).

194. Diels, *Lucifer*, p. 299.

195. Pritzkoleit, *Auf einer Woge von Gold*, pp. 215–17.

196. The Internationale Tabakwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft was established in March of 1938 with separate sections for History, Chemistry, Technical Affairs (including breeding and cultivation), Economics, and Finance. The idea was to bring together tobacco experts in meetings timed to coincide with tobacco trade fairs, where the latest farming and manufacturing equipment could be displayed. A Central Tobacco Office (Zentralstelle für Tabak) based in Rome was established at this same time; the office was to coordinate the agricultural and packaging aspects of the industry, while the association would handle the technical and scientific aspects; see "Die Entwicklung der Internationalen Tabakwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft," *Chronica Nicotiana* 1 (Heft 3, 1940): 25–32. The association was supposed to have a "purely German membership" (*rein deutsches Gremium*), and General Secretary Helmuth Aschenbrenner worked to ensure that none of the foreign section heads were Jews (Magyars, however, were fine). The Hungarian Janos Bodnar, director of Debreczen's Chemical-Medical Institute, was suspected at one point of being Jewish; the DKZ report found that he was a full-blooded Magyar (as was his wife) but had admitted more Jews than were allowed according to that university's *numerus clausus* during his tenure as dean of the medical school; see Aschenbrenner to DKZ, April 29, 1939, and DKZ to Aschenbrenner, June 16, 1939, DKZ, HIA.

197. See, for example, *Tabak und Neurose*, vol. 2 of the *Monographiae Nicotianae* (Bremen: Arthur Geist, 1942), p. 144, cited in Merki, "Nationalsozialistische Tabakpolitik," p. 32.

198. *Chronica Nicotiana* 3 (Heft 1, 1942): 71–74.

199. Margarete Focken, "Über ambulante Behandlung des Ulcus ventriculi und duodeni in der Allgemeinpraxis mit Sexualhormonen," *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* 67 (1941): 1118–21; R.G.J.P. Huisman, "Tabak und Ulkus," *Chronica Nicotiana* 3 (Heft 1, 1942): 71–72.

200. *Chronica Nicotiana* 1 (Heft 2, 1940): 70; the psychiatric judgment was that of Johannes Lange.

201. *Chronica Nicotiana* 1 (Heft 2, 1940): 48.

202. The president of the *Tabacologia medicinalis* was a Prof. Dr. Andriska of Budapest, with a Prof. Dr. Baglioni of Rome as vice president, though the