nature of Nazi governance. There were competing factions with different agendas, and the policies undertaken were generally the result of struggles among different groups—the SS, the Interior Ministry, the powerful offices of Goebbels and Göring, not to mention Hitler's own predilections.

In science and medicine, too, it is wrong to speak of a coherent Nazi cancer research or policy. Rudolf Hess and his fellow romantics pushed for organic food and spiritual union, while Hans Auler and other champions of orthodoxy pushed for belt-tightening and technical finesse. Hitler eschewed meat, though some Nazi philosophers boosted pork as the sine qua non of Nordic life.[2] Anti-tobacco activists had to fight against industry apologists, of course, but also against the medical myopia that either disregarded statistics or focused exclusively on curing cancer rather than preventing it. Radiotherapists pushed X-rays and radium therapy, while racial hygienists pushed for strict controls on genetic hazards. Organicists stressed the importance of exercise and fresh vegetables, while military planners were busy stockpiling thousands of tons of food in tins. Nazi science was not a monolith; there was rarely a simple translation between ideology and policy.

Conflicting agendas are clear, for example, in the contrary hazard histories of X-rays and radium. Radiation was known to be a cause of both cancer and genetic mutations prior even to the 1930s, and by the middle of the Nazi era one begins to encounter the view that there is no "threshold" dose below which radiation is completely safe. Racial hygienists were notoriously afraid of genetic damage, championing stringent rules to protect "healthy Germans" against exposure to radiation and to prevent the carriers of damaged genes from reproducing. Nazi fears of radiation, however, were more than matched by the (equally Nazi) push to root out illnesses (and sometimes individuals) perceived as threats to public health. The campaign to implement mass screening led to an enormous upsurge in X-ray exposures—riding roughshod over the cautions voiced by eugenicists. The people doing the exposing were not the same as those issuing the warnings—though the interesting difference is not between Nazis and anti-Nazis, but rather between different kinds of Nazis, with different sorts of training

and different conceptions of health. The SS radiologist Hans Holfelder, who spearheaded an ambitious drive to X-ray hundreds of thousands of Germans, was trying to identify illness so steps could be taken to treat or isolate afflicted individuals; Eugen Fischer's concern in warning against overexposure was the longer-term "genetic health of the race." Both were solid Nazis, but the two had very different conceptions of how to preserve the health of the favored race.

Similar complexities are visible in the case of radium. Radium was known since the 1920s to be a cause of cancers and fetal malformations, and warnings against breathing the emanating gases emerged within a few years of their discovery. People found it difficult to believe, however, that inhaling the vapors from a clean mountain spring could make you sick. Complacency was fostered by the fact that some of the most serious harms came only months or even years after exposure, but also by the fact that radium showed early promise as a therapy. Radium became a mark of international medical prestige, as nations competed to accumulate the precious element, often said to be "the rarest and most costly metal on the planet"[3] (radium cost thousands of dollars per gram in the 1930s). New disciplines sprang up to explore the curative powers of the rays (e.g., radiology), leaving questions of potential hazards largely up to amateurs or ad hoc committees. Knowledge of potential benefits was privileged over knowledge of potential harms, the end result being that far more physicians came to see radium as a cure for cancer than as a cause of cancer.

Nazi ideology was not obviously relevant in many of these machinations. Radium research and therapy had an inertia that cannot be understood as a response of scientific actors to external political authority; there were ideologies other than Nazism suffusing the practice of medicine at the height of Nazi power.

What these examples suggest is that there was no one single "community of science" or medicine under the supposedly totalitarian conditions of Hitler's fascism—even after the exclusion of the Jews and the banishment of communists. What they also show, though, is that relations between "science" and "society" are more complex than is commonly imagined. Even in the microcosm of