

laboratory that operated until 1948 (ibid., p. 186). Koch notes that some of Blome's bacterial cultures were captured by the Russians at Alt-Rehse's Doctors' Führer School (*Menschenversuche*, p. 264).

41. Hansen suggests that the 500,000 RM allocated for Nesselstedt in December of that year actually went to the construction of the Geraberg facility, which was never completed. American soldiers discovered the unfinished buildings, along with bacterial flasks and other laboratory equipment, when they captured Geraberg in April of 1945 (*Biologische Kriegsführung*, p. 141). It would be interesting to explore the extent to which Japanese-German medical contacts during the war were organized to further collaboration in the field of biowarfare; Hansen points out that Dr. Enryo Hojo lectured on the topic at the Military Medical Academy of Berlin in October of 1941 (ibid., p. 87). See also Hellmut Haubold, "Deutschlands und Japans Zusammenarbeit im Gesundheitswesen," *Die Gesundheitsführung*, March-April 1944, pp. 54-56.

42. Walter Vöcking, "Die Entwicklung des Heil- und Gewürzpflanzenbaues im Deutschen Reich," *Die Deutsche Heilpflanze—Beilage*, July 1939, p. 30.

43. Ludwig Lendle, "Über Vergiftungsmöglichkeiten bei Anbau, Sammeln und Verarbeitung einheimischer Arzneipflanzen," *Die Deutsche Heilpflanze—Beilage*, November 1934, pp. 11-12.

44. Walter Wuttke-Groneberg, *Medizin im Nationalsozialismus: Ein Arbeitsbuch* (Tübingen: Schwäbische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980), pp. 188-202.

45. Enno Georg, *Die wirtschaftlichen Unternehmungen der SS* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1963), pp. 62-65.

46. Groening and Wolschke-Bulhman, "Some Notes," pp. 120-23. Early American eugenicists regarded the magnificent redwoods of California as Aryans of the forest; the "Save-the-Redwoods League" established in 1918 counted at least eleven eugenicists among its members, including Madison Grant, Henry Fairfield Osborn, and Vernon Kellogg. See Susan R. Schrepfer, *The Fight to Save the Redwoods: A History of Environmental Reform 1917-1978* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), pp. 43-44.

47. Walther Schoenichen, *Naturschutz als völkische und internationale Kultur-aufgabe* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1942), pp. 405-10. Schoenichen cited the words of Paul Sarasin at the First International Nature Protection Congress in Geneva that "the most important task of world nature protection must be to protect the last remnants of primitive human races from extermination, and to preserve them as undisturbed as possible for future generations" (pp. 406-7). Schoenichen added that it was important to make such demands in the name of biology and anthropology, and not some mushy humanitarianism (*verwaschenen Menschlichkeitsidee*) that throws "Hottentots, Jews, and Aryans all into one pot" (p. 408).

47. Ibid., pp. 406-18, and for background, see Raymond H. Dominick, *The Environmental Movement in Germany: Prophets and Pioneers, 1871-1971* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 85-115.

49. Mervyn Susser, "Timing in Prenatal Nutrition: A Reprise of the Dutch Famine Study," *Nutrition Reviews* 52 (1994): 84-94.

50. J. M. Winter, "The Impact of the First World War on Civilian Health in

Britain," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 30 (1977): 487-507; Marks, *Progress of Experiment*, pp. 164-228.

51. Nikolaus Becker, Elaine M. Smith, and Jürgen Wahrendorf, "Time Trends in Cancer Mortality in the Federal Republic of Germany: Progress against Cancer?" *International Journal of Cancer* 43 (1989): 247; personal communication, Nikolaus Becker.

52. German women were often employed in weapons work during the war, though more often in supervisory positions; see Angelika Ebbinghaus, *Opfer und Täterinnen: Frauenbiographien des Nationalsozialismus* (Nordlingen: F. Greno, 1987).

53. There is indirect evidence that military men were more likely to smoke than civilians. A 1944 survey showed that lung cancer was the most common cause of cancer death among soldiers in the early years of the Second World War. In the German male population as a whole, by contrast, stomach cancers still outnumbered lung cancers by more than two to one. This peculiarity in the military was not due to its younger population, as shown by the fact that lung cancer was the most common cause of cancer death even after age-adjustment of the data (11 soldiers over 45 died of lung cancer; 10 soldiers over 45 died of stomach cancer); see Dietrich, "Krebs als Kriegsfolge," pp. 198-99. Given its long latency, many of these lung cancers would have begun to grow prior even to 1933, reflecting smoking patterns before the Nazi seizure of power.

54. Michael Burleigh, *Ethics and Extermination: Reflections on Nazi Genocide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 4 and 150-51; Arthur L. Caplan, "The Doctors' Trial and Analogies to the Holocaust in Contemporary Bioethical Debates," in Annas and Grodin, *Nazi Doctors*, pp. 258-75.

55. Carey Goldberg, "Massachusetts Man's Goal Is to Rid Town of Tobacco," *New York Times*, October 7, 1997.

56. Rosie DiManno, "The New Rednecks: NeoNazis Pushing Bigotry's Borders," *Toronto Star*, March 10, 1997, p. A7.

57. For sources, see Arthur L. Caplan: *When Medicine Went Mad: Bioethics and the Holocaust* (Totowa, N.J.: Humana, 1992).

58. Barry M. Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

59. Mark Walker, *Nazi Science: Myth, Truth, and the German Atomic Bomb* (New York: Plenum, 1995).

60. See chap. 1, n. 9.

61. Eduard Pernkopf, *Topographische Anatomie des Menschen: Lehrbuch und Atlas der regionär-stratigraphischen Präparation*, vols. 1-3 (Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1937, 1943, and 1952, plus subsequent editions and translations). For background, see Jonathan Broder, "The Corpses That Won't Die," *Jerusalem Post*, February 22, 1996, pp. 24-25.

62. Carl Schoettler, "Is Lifesaving Tool a Product of Evil?" *Baltimore Sun*, August 1, 1997.

63. David J. Williams, "The History of Eduard Pernkopf's *Topographische Anatomie des Menschen*," *Journal of Biomedical Communication* 15 (1988): 2-12.