

Springer, 1939), p. 251. Reiter also pointed out that lead shortages had prompted the use of substitutes in many industries—printing and painting, for example—reducing the health risks in those industries (*ibid.*).

178. Götz Aly, Peter Chroust, and Christian Pross, *Cleansing the Fatherland: Nazi Medicine and Racial Hygiene* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), pp. 1-98.

179. In one of his Hauptquartier conversations, Hitler entertained the rather cryptic idea that people with heart and lung disease "nicht mehr in der Öffentlichkeit bleiben können und dürfen ebenfalls keine Nachkommen mehr erzeugen"; these were measures "die nach siegreichem Kriegsende schnellstens durchgeführt werden müssen." See the memo authored by Hessen-Nassau Gauleiter Jakob Sprenger to an unnamed Kreisleiter, preserved in the Archiv der sozialen Demokratie der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Nachlass Fritz Henssler, Mappe 2, Az. I/B/37869/8, published in *Utopie Kreativ* 55 (1995): 36-37. Ernst Haeckel had proposed making voluntary euthanasia available to terminally ill cancer patients: see his *Die Lebenswunder: Gemeinverständliche Studien über biologische Philosophie* (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1904), pp. 131-35. The psychiatrist E. Wauschkuhn, anticipating the implementation of the euthanasia plans of Karl Binding and Alfred Hoche, as early as 1922 warned that it was "only a matter of time" before cancer patients, along with the blind and the deaf, tubercular, war-wounded, and persons unable to work would be put to death; see his "Die Freigabe der Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens," *Psychiatrisch-Neurologische Wochenschrift* 24 (1922): 217. There is no evidence that cancer patients were ever singled out for euthanasia in the Nazi period.

180. On the German euthanasia program, see Michael Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: "Euthanasia" in Germany, 1900-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); and Ernst Klee, "Euthanasie" im NS-Staat, die "Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens" (Frankfurt: S. Fischer, 1983). On parallel U.S. initiatives, see Ezekiel J. Emanuel, "The History of Euthanasia Debates in the United States and Britain," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 121 (1994): 793-802; also Martin S. Pernick, *The Black Stork: Eugenics and the Death of "Defective" Babies in American Medicine and Motion Pictures since 1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

181. Advocates of organic medicine espoused similar views: Karl Kötschau in 1939, for example, argued that people had to work, even if it cost them some of their health. The choice, as he put it, was between performance and elimination ("entweder Leistungsfähigkeit oder natürliche Ausmerze"); see his *Kämpferische Vorsorge statt karitative Fürsorge* (Nuremberg: Deutsche Volksgesundheit, 1939), p. 177; also Hien, *Chemische Industrie*, pp. 146-57.

182. Hermann Hebestreit, "Bedeutung und Zukunftsaufgaben der Arbeitsmedizin," *Zentralblatt für Gewerbehygiene* 18 (1941): 154-64.

183. Sepp Graessner, "Neue soziale Kontrolltechniken durch Arbeits- und Leistungsmedizin," in Baader and Schultz, *Medizin und Nationalsozialismus*, p. 149. The elderly for Haubold were "für das Gesamtvolk nicht mehr direkt nützliche[s] Leben"; see his "Statistik," p. 150.

CHAPTER 5 THE NAZI DIET

1. Cancer was already being blamed on improper diet during the First World War; see David Paul von Hansemann, "Beeinflusst der Krieg die Entstehung oder das Wachstum von Geschwülsten?" *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 15 (1916): 492-516. Nutrition was a feature of Germany's otherwise Taylorist labor physiology in the 1920s; see Dietrich Milles, "Working Capacity and Calorie Consumption: The History of Rational Physical Economy," in *The Science and Culture of Nutrition, 1840-1940*, ed. Harmke Kamminga and Andrew Cunningham (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), pp. 82-87.

2. Virchow, *Krankhafte Geschwülste*, 1:81-82.

3. Dormanns, "Die vergleichende geographisch-pathologische Reichs-Carcinomstatistik."

4. "Mitteilungen," *Monatsschrift für Krebsbekämpfung* 5 (1938): 328.

5. The SS paper *Schwarzes Korps* complained about German tourists "wolfing down whipped cream" in Viennese coffeehouses after the annexation of Austria; a pro-militarist slogan urged a choice between "Fighting Power" and "Whipped Cream" (*Schlagkraft oder Schlagobers!*); see George Davey Smith, S. A. Ströbele, and M. Egger, "Reply," *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 51 (1997): 209.

6. Reichsjugendführung, *Du hast die Pflicht, gesund zu sein!*, Heft 3, *Gesund durch richtig Ernährung* (n.p.: Gesundheitsaktion der Hitler-Jugend, 1939), p. 22.

7. Kitzing, *Erziehung*, p. 220.

8. Liek, *Der Kampf*, p. 22.

9. Franz G. M. Wirz, *Gesunde und gesicherte Volksernährung* (Dresden: Müllersche Verlagshandlung, 1938), pp. 1-16.

10. *Ibid.*; compare Gumpert, *Heil Hunger!*, pp. 22-23.

11. See my *Racial Hygiene*, pp. 235-37. Mussolini was a bread enthusiast: a 1941 Hitler Youth health handbook recites several lines of doggerel from the Duce, praising bread as "das Herz des Hauses, den Duft des Tisches, das Freudezeichen des Herdes"; see Kitzing, *Erziehung*, p. 187.

12. Wirz, *Gesunde und gesicherte Volksernährung*, p. 17. The Weltmilch-Kongress, meeting in Berlin, had recently endorsed the consumption of skim milk (*ibid.*).

13. Will Kraft, *Deutschlands Nahrungsfreiheit* (Dresden: Müllersche Verlagshandlung, 1937).

14. Kortenhaus, "Krebs," p. 426. A number of influential "orthodox" physicians joined in this critique of the (Virchowian) idea of cancer as the product of local irritation, favoring instead the hypothesis of damage to the entire organism; see Ferdinand Sauerbruch and E. Knake, "Die Bedeutung von Sexualstörungen für die Entstehung von Geschwülsten," *Zeitschrift für Krebsforschung* 44 (1936): 223.

15. Friedrich Kortenhaus argued that replacing animal fats with plant oils would help prevent cancer; see his "Krebs," p. 441.