

primary cause (Hintze, "Kultur und Krebs," pp. 61-76). A 1941 article on Stettin's skyrocketing lung cancer rates conceded that "numerous authors" blamed tobacco but suggested that "contact with animal products" (e.g., among butchers and leather workers) might be a cause; see (Gerhard?) v. Glinski, "Über die Zunahme des primären Lungenkrebses," *Hippokratès* 12 (1941): 829-34. A 1944 text on diseases of the lung listed tar, dust, automotive exhaust, "chronic catarrh," and congenital malformation as possible contributors to the increase—ignoring tobacco altogether—but concluded that the true causes were "unknown"; see Adolf Sylla, *Lungenkrankheiten* (Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1944), p. 619. Tobacco was the most-discussed theory in a postwar Viennese surgical text on lung cancer, whose authors nonetheless concluded that the cause of the disease's increased incidence "has not yet found a truly satisfactory explanation"; see Georg Salzer et al., *Das Bronchuscarcinom* (Vienna: Springer, 1952), p. 6. Hans Stroink, however, recalls that during his residency at Munich's Pathology Institute in 1947, when shown a lung cancer, institute director Ludwig Burkhardt would ask "what did he smoke?" (personal communication, May 5, 1998).

87. In Austria, the Nazi-minded citizens of Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Styria organized a tobacco boycott in 1933-1934 as part of an effort to bring down the government (by depriving the state treasury of tax revenues). Styria's anti-Nazi Sicherheitskommissar ordered all tobacco salesmen to hand over lists of customers who had stopped purchasing cigars and cigarettes, the goal presumably being to identify and punish supporters of the Nazi cause. Uncooperative tobacco shops were threatened with loss of their license, and the abstaining customers were threatened with a fine of a thousand schillings or imprisonment for up to three weeks; see "Behördlicher Kampf gegen Tabakabstinenz in Deutsch-Oesterreich," *Ärztliche Sachverständigen-Zeitung* (1934): 200.

88. Boehncke, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 11-12. The ministry's Erlass was dated March 21, 1938.

89. Sauerbruch, Lickint, and Gabriel, *Arzt, Alkohol und Tabak*. This second Reichstagung Volksgesundheit und Genussgifte was sponsored by the Nazi party's Hauptamt für Volksgesundheit; a summary of the proceedings can be found in "Berlin: Stimulants Endanger Public Health," *JAMA* 112 (1939): 2339-40. On March 6, 1939, Reiter had issued a call to Germany's leading medical, pharmacological, and nutritional societies to investigate the public health impact of nicotine; see his "Aufruf an die deutsche medizinische Wissenschaft!" in his *Reichsgesundheitsamt*, pp. 262-63.

90. See, for example, Hermann Stanger, *Ethik, Weltanschauung und Tabak* (1937), and Johannes Ude, *Rauchsklaverei und Kultur* (1937), both published in Vienna by the Reichsstelle gegen die Alkohol- und Tabakgefahren. The journal *Reine Luft* was published from 1938 to 1941 by the Berlin-based Deutscher Bund zur Bekämpfung der Tabakgefahren e.V. Following the annexation of Austria, *Reine Luft* absorbed *Tabakfreie Kultur*, the organ of the Austrian and Czechoslovakian antitobacco leagues. On October 4, 1940, the Reich interior minister asked all public health offices to display the journal in their waiting rooms; see "Runderlass des Reichsministers des Innern," *Reichs-Gesundheitsblatt* 15 (1940): 950. Other journals publishing antitobacco literature included

*Die Volksgesundheit* (People's health), *Volksgesundheitswacht* (Guarding the people's health), *Gesundes Volk* (Healthy people), and *Gesundes Leben* (Healthy life).

91. Bretschneider's *Der Weltbund* has Georg Bonne's remarks on tobacco as a *Feind des Weltfriedens* (p. 16); the term *Tabakterror* was originally used by the Stockholm antitobacco activist J. L. Saxon (*ibid.*, p. 11).

92. Klarner, *Vom Rauchen*, p. 28.

93. "Erkennung und Bekämpfung," p. 183, reporting on the April 5-6, 1941, meeting in Weimar of the Wissenschaftliche Tagung zur Erforschung der Tabakgefahren, to which Hitler sent a telegram of greetings. Julius Streicher several years previously had asserted that nicotine was "das grösste Gift für unser Volk"; see Erich Bruns and Robert Ley, *Partei, Volksgesundheit, Genussgifte. 2. Reichstagung Volksgesundheit und Genussgifte* (Berlin: Wacht-Verlag, 1939), p. 9.

94. Boehncke, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 11-13; "Erkennung und Bekämpfung," pp. 183-85.

95. Kitzing, *Erziehung*, pp. 225-26; Charman, *German Home Front*, pp. 53-56.

96. Ferdinand Goebel, *30 Experimente mit Alkohol und Tabak* (Berlin: Reichsgesundheitsverlag, 1940).

97. Klarner, *Vom Rauchen*, p. 45. The July 3, 1934, "Gesetz über die Vereinheitlichung des Gesundheitswesens" assigned to physicians the task of combating "abuse of alcohol, tobacco, sleeping pills, and opiates and similar poisons"; the methods specified to combat such ills included genetic and racial hygiene, marital counseling, and public health education (Boehncke, *Die Bedeutung*, pp. 10-15; also his *Die gesetzlichen Grundlagen*).

98. "Das Haus ohne Aschenbecher," *Die Tabakfrage* 24 (1942): 91.

99. Richard Kissling, *Der Tabak im Lichte der neusten naturwissenschaftlichen Forschungen* (Berlin: Paul Parey, 1893), p. 65. The first known efforts to develop low-nicotine tobacco products were those by Karl A. Mündner (1835-1891) of Brandenburg, a tobacco manufacturer and colleague of Otto Unverdorben, the first to identify nicotine in pipe residues. Mündner developed a low-nicotine *Gesundheitszigarre* using selective breeding techniques and new chemical extraction methods; his son Richard went on to develop filter-tipped cigars—the filters being made from wool and cork. Paul Koenig, director of the Reichsanstalt für Tabakforschung in Forchheim, characterized Mündner as the "erster Bekämpfer des Nikotins durch Entdeckung der Entnikotinisierung des Tabaks," offering this as evidence of the social responsibility of the German tobacco industry; see his *Die Entdeckung des reinen Nikotins* (Bremen: Arthur Geist, 1940), pp. 21-22 and plate 10.

100. Franz K. Reckert, *Tabakwarenkunde: Der Tabak, sein Anbau und seine Verarbeitung* (Berlin: Max Schwalbe, 1942), p. 31.

101. Germany was never a major grower of tobacco, though in 1938 it did produce about 35,500,000 kg—less than Greece (42,000,000 kg), Italy (42,000,000 kg), or Japan (65,400,000 kg). The United States at this time was the world's largest producer (624,400,000 kg), followed by British India (510,000,000 kg) and the Soviet Union (about 200,000,000 kg); see "Der Welt-Tabakanbau," *Chronica Nicotiana* 1 (Heft 2, 1940): 131.

102. Moritz to Lammers, October 7, 1941, R43 II/1226b, BAP.