

**The Power of the Press: Peter Buxton and the Exposure of Medical Racism  
Through the Tuskegee Experiment**

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## Process Paper

Throughout my life, I have always been interested in science, especially the medical field. As a result, when I was researching for my NHD topic, my focus remained in this area. From the start of my research, the Tuskegee Syphilis Study was one of my top choices. For some context, the Tuskegee Study was a medical experiment from 1932-72, in which African Americans were subjected to the harmful effects of syphilis, even after a treatment was adopted. Peter Buxton, however, reported the immoral nature of the study to the press, and massive change resulted. When comparing my options for a topic, the Tuskegee Study was a clear winner due the complexity it provided. However, I narrowed my focus to Peter Buxton, the study's whistleblower. In doing so, I deepened the connection between my topic and this year's NHD theme, *Communication in History*. Peter Buxton had a large impact because of his communication with the press, otherwise the nation would have been unaware of what was going on. In addition, the Tuskegee Study itself was largely immoral due to the lack of communication between the researchers and participants. Peter Buxton's effects on the world were also spread through other forms of communication, including newspapers, speeches, and word of mouth through communities.

I began my research by finding secondary sources from a number of reputable organizations. This was done on purpose and allowed me to gain a general understanding of Peter Buxton, and also be able to research more specific parts of my topic. Once I understood the topic, I was able to understand and interpret the primary sources, ranging from newspapers to research reports. With all this information, I began to create my project, beginning with my paper's outline. I put all my knowledge together, reorganized it, and eventually came up with my historical argument: Peter Buxton's communication about the immoral nature of the Tuskegee Study

promoted new change and ethical standards in medical research, but it also created a distrust for medicine among some African Americans and other groups. With my argument in mind, I wrote several rough drafts, found evidence to support each claim, edited, and then finally finished my final draft.

Peter Buxton's exposure of the Tuskegee Study has clearly proved its significance in history through the numerous effects it has had on the world. While the Tuskegee Study was one of many medical studies during the time, the exposure of the exploitative actions it used helped to develop new ethical guidelines. Additionally, numerous organizations were created to protect study participants, which encouraged future studies and allowed for the developments they provide. Now, the medical distrust placed in many citizens has become of great importance as the coronavirus pandemic is flourishing, and many citizens refuse to get the vaccine, leading to the further spread of the virus. All of these effects show the extent of Peter Buxton's significance, and how his actions continue to have an effect on our world.

## “HUMAN GUINEA PIGS ALLOWED TO DIE OF SYPHILIS”<sup>1</sup>

On July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1972, newspapers were plastered with word of the newly exposed Tuskegee Syphilis Study, thanks to Peter Buxton and Jean Heller. Over several previous years, Buxton had been working to expose the true nature of the study, after he learned of the unjust and racist methods of research used on its volunteers. Despite several failed attempts to reform the study, Buxton came into contact with Jean Heller, an investigative reporter for *The Washington Star*, who was able to craft an article detailing the events of the study, which were referred to as “a moral and ethical nightmare”<sup>2</sup>. By communicating with the press and publicizing the unethical nature of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study in 1972, Peter Buxton inspired a national outrage against the widespread medical racism displayed through Tuskegee, which led to the creation of new governmental institutions designed to promote high ethical standards in medicine, but simultaneously created damaging perceptions of medicine for African Americans.

### **Racism Develops Throughout American Society**

Since the beginning of the American colonies, racism has been inherent in the United States. With the institution of the first British colonies in America, Africans were enslaved by whites, treated as indentured servants, and looked down upon by their Caucasian masters. White people treated Africans like cargo, packing as many people as possible onto ships and sending them across the Atlantic Ocean to the colonies to do the labor of the White people<sup>3</sup>. Despite their

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<sup>1</sup> Associated Press, "Human Guinea,".

<sup>2</sup> Associated Press, "Syphilis Victims,".

<sup>3</sup> *Stowage of the British*.

poor treatment, African Americans, throughout American history, had a large impact on the United States through their participation in the Revolutionary War<sup>4</sup>, their development of the economy through the labor they were forced to do, and their varying perspective on many world issues. In spite of their contributions, African Americans remained as slaves in the South and outside of citizenship in the rest of the country until the end of the American Civil War, when they gained citizenship through the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment. Although slavery was abolished, white supremacy and racist views remained exceedingly present, presenting themselves through the formation of groups like the KKK and the establishment of Black Codes and Jim Crow laws, which continued to restrict the rights of African Americans. Racist perceptions of society were also heightened and spread by false medical beliefs that African Americans and other dark-skinned people were of a different species, that they were savage, animal-like, and thus, lower in the social standings. One of these stereotypes promoted the perception that African American people were sexually uncontrolled, due to their sex drives, which were said to be much larger than those of Caucasians. This led to the further belief that STDs, like syphilis, were more likely to affect African Americans, spurring studies like the Tuskegee Syphilis Study that examined the effects of these diseases on Black people.

## **The US Public Health Service Initiates the Tuskegee Syphilis Study**

In 1932, the Tuskegee Syphilis Study began its treacherous first years in Macon County, Alabama, the current epicenter of the syphilis pandemic<sup>5</sup>. In prior years, syphilis had become

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<sup>4</sup> Collins, "Black Soldiers," US Army.

<sup>5</sup> Associated Press, "Syphilis Victims,".

extremely prevalent in Black communities in the south, and the disease took a toll on the people as many began to die. Compounding the effects of the disease itself, treatments of the time, which often included elements like mercury, were known to be fatal<sup>6</sup> and provided a low success rate. Thus, the Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in the Negro Man was created in hopes of learning more about the disease. The study began by selecting 412 African American men afflicted with syphilis to act as the experimental group, and 204 unaffected African American men to act as the control group<sup>7</sup>. However, from the start, the researchers used unethical means to push their study forward. Many men were skeptical of the study, believing it could be a way for the government to enlist them in the army, so the researchers performed examinations of women and children as a way to ease the nervousness of the men<sup>8</sup>. Along with this, the researchers left the volunteers in the dark about the true reasons for the study, leaving them to believe they were afflicted with bad blood<sup>9</sup>, a local phrase used to describe a large number of health conditions with varying severity<sup>10</sup>. This lack of communication contributed to the further spread of syphilis in the community, as spouses, children, and other civilians were infected due to negligence.

The study began in the midst of the Great Depression, which the researchers were able to use to their advantage. At the beginning of the study, the participants were simply given medical exams and medicine, which was a valuable resource, however, participation began to drop. During the Great Depression, about 50% of all African Americans were unemployed<sup>11</sup>, which left their families in poverty. In an attempt to save the study, the researchers played off African American poverty, hiring Eunice Rivers Laurie, an African American nurse in the community, to serve in the

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<sup>6</sup> Associated Press, "Syphilis Victims,".

<sup>7</sup> "Ad Hoc Committee.", pg 3.

<sup>8</sup> McVean, "40 Years," Office for Science and Society.

<sup>9</sup> "Interview Notes,".

<sup>10</sup> Tuskegee University, "About the USPHS," Tuskegee University.

<sup>11</sup> "Race Relations."

study and provide the study participants with hot meals, along with transportation to and from appointments<sup>12</sup>. Along with the addition of Nurse Eunice, the US Public Health Service (USPHS) also gave burial insurance to the participants, as many of them began to succumb to the effects of syphilis. In fact, within the first 16 years of the study, 140 men, or 23% of the study members, had died<sup>13</sup>.

## **Medical Advancements Debase the Tuskegee Study**

In 1928, Alexander Fleming came across a mold that had antibacterial properties, named penicillin, which quickly became a medical lifesaver<sup>14</sup>. Penicillin became an antibiotic used against a wide variety of infections and bacteria, including *Listeria*, *Salmonella*, and *E. Coli*<sup>15</sup>. However, what was most important for the Tuskegee study was the use of penicillin to cure syphilis, which became the primary treatment in 1943<sup>16</sup>. While this should have been a joyous day for the researchers in the Tuskegee Study, they had other plans. They continued to conduct their study without any communication to the participants. In addition to keeping the treatment a secret, the researchers also attempted to find ways to keep their participants from being cured so that they could study them from the volunteers' first examinations to their deaths<sup>17</sup>. Dr. Millar, one of those in charge of the Tuskegee Study, claimed that patients weren't denied drugs, however, they were deceived, as penicillin was not offered to the participants<sup>18</sup>. Due to the lack of communication

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<sup>12</sup> McVean, "40 Years," Office for Science and Society.

<sup>13</sup> USPHS, *Draft Report*, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Gaynes, "The Discovery,".

<sup>15</sup> Yip, *Penicillin*.

<sup>16</sup> Tampa et al., "Brief History,".

<sup>17</sup> CDC, "The Tuskegee," U.S. Public Health Service Syphilis Study at Tuskegee.

<sup>18</sup> Associated Press, "Syphilis Victims,".

between the researchers and the participants, the participants believed the disease was incurable<sup>19</sup>, and their disease progressed further. It is important to note that syphilis, when left untreated, produces serious irreversible effects<sup>20</sup>. The researchers conspired with local physicians, asking them to not treat study participants for syphilis<sup>21</sup>. This prevented the volunteers from being cured and living a normal life, and some of them ended up going far away to get the treatment<sup>22</sup>. Despite this unethical treatment, the study continued for about 30 more years, as the researchers gathered more data while the community continued to suffer.

## **Buxton Scrutinizes the Tuskegee Experiment**

Peter Buxton lived a seemingly normal life. Born in 1937, his family soon immigrated to the USA from Czechoslovakia in 1939, where he was raised in San Francisco<sup>23</sup>. As an adult, Buxton attended college at the University of Oregon, where he earned a degree in political science<sup>24</sup>. He then enlisted in the army, becoming a Psychiatric Social Worker for several years, before finally gaining a job in the USPHS as a venereal disease investigator<sup>25</sup>. This job allowed Buxton to discover the Tuskegee Study in 1966, and the nature of the study itself led Buxton to investigate further, learning of its immoral tactics used to gain information.

While conducting his investigation of the Tuskegee Study, Buxton recognized alarming similarities between the Tuskegee Study and the Nuremberg Trials<sup>26</sup>, which occurred two decades

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<sup>19</sup> "Interview Notes,".

<sup>20</sup> CDC, "Syphilis Treatment," Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs).

<sup>21</sup> CDC, "The Tuskegee," U.S. Public Health Service Syphilis Study at Tuskegee.

<sup>22</sup> McVean, "40 Years," Office for Science and Society.

<sup>23</sup> Elliott, "Tuskegee Truth," The American Scholar.

<sup>24</sup> Government Accountability Project.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid

<sup>26</sup> Elliott, "Tuskegee Truth," The American Scholar.

prior between 1945-1949. The Nuremberg trials were a series of trials that took place in order to convict and give evidence for the guilt of many high-level Nazi members<sup>27</sup>. In particular, Buxton's investigation was most highly influenced by the Doctors trial, one of the subsequent Nuremberg trials in which 23 Nazi doctors were tried for war crimes, as they participated in the systematic killing of large numbers of people<sup>28</sup>. In the opening statement of the trial, the defendants, or the Nazi doctors, were being charged with the murder and torture of numerous people, all for the sake of medical science<sup>29</sup>. This easily correlates to the Tuskegee study, in which, numerous Black people were prevented from treating their syphilis, which quickly led to continued pain, and, for a large portion of the volunteers, death. Along with the death of the subjects, both the Nazi doctors and the Tuskegee researchers were motivated by race (Jews and African Americans), and used race as an excuse for their clear murder, claiming the race of the subjects was inferior and less valuable. The doctors trial ended up producing the Nuremberg code<sup>30</sup>, a document that was created to promote ethical studies and was used in the future to inform numerous countries when they created ethical guidelines for medical studies<sup>31</sup>.

### **The Press Unmasks the Unethical Nature of the Tuskegee Experiment**

After his investigation of the Tuskegee Study, Buxton began writing reports to his superiors, closely examining the Nuremberg code and its relevance to Tuskegee. However, his report was highly discouraged, as many of his superiors used the excuse that they were all volunteers, and they believed they were in the right. After passing through Buxton's superiors, his

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<sup>27</sup> "Nuremberg Trials."

<sup>28</sup> "The Doctors," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

<sup>29</sup> United States of America v. Karl Brandt, vol 1, pg 10-17.

<sup>30</sup> United States of America v. Karl Brandt, vol 2, pg 181.

<sup>31</sup> "Nuremberg Code."

report moved on to the top USPHS doctors. They defended the Tuskegee study and their use of volunteers, and the study continued. Buxton continued with his attempts to shut down the study, entering Law school at the same time. Buxton, once again, challenged the USPHS and their decision to continue the Tuskegee study in 1968, but was once again shot down. However, an ad hoc meeting was called to discuss the continuance of the study, as issues had begun to come up<sup>32</sup>. Issues of racism, discrimination, and not treating the disease, which were large factors in their current meeting, were not a problem for them at the start of the Tuskegee Study<sup>33</sup>. Despite these new social issues, those in attendance at the meeting chose to continue the study<sup>34</sup>, allowing the participants' syphilis to fester even longer. After finishing law school in 1972, Buxton was left with no other options. Buxton began to communicate with Edith Lederer and her superior, Jean Heller, working with them to break the news to the public about the study<sup>35</sup>, and on July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1972, word of the immoral Tuskegee Study plastered the newspapers<sup>36</sup>, changing the world.

## **National Protest Leads to an Abundance of Change**

Quickly after the press was alerted, the nation became outraged over the treatment of African Americans in the Tuskegee Study. With the headlines filled with the news of the immoral and racist nature of the study, people began to demonstrate their indignation, which led to many influential figures speaking out against the study itself. This national outrage quickly led to the closing of the study on November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1972<sup>37</sup>, and the participants of the study and their family

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<sup>32</sup> "Ad Hoc Committee.", pg 1.

<sup>33</sup> "Ad Hoc Committee.", pg 2.

<sup>34</sup> "Ad Hoc Committee.", pg 15.

<sup>35</sup> Elliott, "Tuskegee Truth," The American Scholar.

<sup>36</sup> Associated Press, "Syphilis Victims,".

<sup>37</sup> Assistant Secretary for Health to Directors of the Center for Disease Control, memorandum, "Termination of USPHS."

members were given reparations in a number of ways. These reparations included a \$9 million lawsuit on behalf of the study participants<sup>38</sup> and the new introduction of the Tuskegee Health Benefit Program, which gave lifetime medical benefits to the study members, and their family<sup>39</sup>. The news of the study attracted the notice of many people, however, one of the most important people that spoke about it was Bill Clinton, during his presidency. On May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1997, he condemned the actions of the Tuskegee researchers, apologized, and pledged to help in the future to make medical studies more ethical<sup>40</sup>, setting the stage for further changes.

While people were in shock and protesting the Tuskegee study, the government was working to create new institutions that would protect people in the future, and promote ethics in medicine. Quickly after the Tuskegee Study was exposed, the National Research Act was enacted in 1974, which served to create guidelines and principles that were required to be followed in research<sup>41</sup>. In addition, new regulations for human research were developed by the DHEW (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), and human research studies now required approval from the Institutional Review Boards, which guaranteed their ethical standards were appropriate<sup>42</sup>. After Bill Clinton's public apology, he created the National Bioethics Advisory Commission, which served to review all regulations over ethics and studies, and to protect the welfare of volunteers in medical research<sup>43</sup>, making sure communication was present in studies.

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<sup>38</sup> Tuskegee University, "About the USPHS," Tuskegee University.

<sup>39</sup> Tuskegee University, "About the USPHS," Tuskegee University.

<sup>40</sup> Clinton, "Remarks in Apology," speech.

<sup>41</sup> CDC, "How Tuskegee," Center for Disease Control and Prevention.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Ibid

## **Lasting Effects on the African American Community**

Despite new precautions for medicine and public awareness of the racism that occurred in the Tuskegee Study, many African Americans remain wary of medicine, which leads to decreased health. Even 25 years after the Tuskegee Study was exposed, African Americans demonstrated low participation in medical studies, and only a select few had chosen to be organ donors<sup>44</sup>. In terms of life expectancies, African American men have one of the worst, with the average life expectancy for a 45-year-old Black male being 3 years less than that of a 45-year-old White male<sup>45</sup>. Studies have shown that health outcomes have been damaged by the perception of the Tuskegee Study, as many older African American men took this news to heart, and became wary of the possibility they may also face some of the same injustice. They use less of the medical facilities and services available to them, and this lack of utilization is heightened in African American men that fall under certain categories: they live in close proximity to the area of Tuskegee, they are less educated, they are in a lower socioeconomic class, or they are older<sup>46</sup>. However, amid the COVID-19 pandemic, the medical distrust spurred by the Tuskegee Study has gained more importance. In the US, African Americans account for approximately 13% of the population, however, they make up 21% of the deaths from the virus<sup>47</sup>. On top of their large proportion of deaths, African Americans only constitute 3% of the people enrolled for the vaccine<sup>48</sup>. Without trust in the medical system, the pandemic will continue to dominate society and harm those who go against medical recommendations. However, the distrust found in many African Americans is not unwarranted.

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<sup>44</sup> Clinton, "Remarks in Apology," speech.

<sup>45</sup> Alsan and Wanamaker, "Tuskegee and the Health," in *The Quarterly*.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid

<sup>47</sup> Warren et al., "Trustworthiness before,".

<sup>48</sup> Ibid

After all, if it took 40 years for communication in the Tuskegee Study, who's to say there's transparency between researchers and participants now? While Peter Buxton inspired change and new guidelines by communicating with the press, there is no doubt he also created and furthered medical distrust among citizens. As the world advances, the legitimacy and benefits that medicine provides must continue to be communicated, and the trust many African American's lost must be slowly gained back.

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY:

### PRIMARY SOURCES:

**"Ad Hoc Committee Meeting to Examine Data from the Tuskegee Syphilis Study and Offer Advice on Continuance of This Study." February 6, 1969.**  
<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/281641>.

This primary source documents an ad hoc meeting occurring in 1969, in which the continuance of the Tuskegee Study was discussed. Members of this meeting discussed the events of the Tuskegee study, the data and findings that it has provided, and possible ways to preserve and continue the study despite questions of racism and ethics. This document is located in the National Archives, a U.S. government agency, and the information presented in this document is gathered from a meeting with high-level officials of the USPHS, who had full knowledge of the study and its findings. Despite the presentation of accurate information, it is important to recognize that this document likely contains a bias towards viewing the Tuskegee Study as ethical, as the USPHS wished to continue their study as long as possible. This source was used mainly when referencing the years when Buxton was attempting to make a change to the study inside the USPHS system itself, however, this source was also used to gain the perspective of medical professionals during the study.

**Assistant Secretary for Health. Memorandum to Directors of the Center for Disease Control, memorandum, "Termination of USPHS Study of Untreated Syphilis (the Tuskegee Study)," November 16, 1972.**  
<https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/memorandum-terminating-the-tuskegee-syphilis-study>.

This memorandum was written by Merlin Duval, who, at the time, was the Assistant Secretary for Health. He created this memo to announce the termination of the Tuskegee Study on November 16th, 1972, and allowed medical treatment to be given to the remaining study participants. This primary source was found through DocsTeach, an off branch of the National Archives, which is a government-run archive, and obtained from the records of the CDC, another government-run institution, so the validity of the documents can be assumed. This memo was used to validate the date for the end of the Tuskegee study, and referenced in the section, "National Protest Leads to an Abundance of Change".

**Associated Press. "Human Guinea Pigs Allowed to Die of Syphilis." *The Argus Press* (Owosso, MI), July 25, 1972, 6.**

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=Zw4oAAAIBAJ&sjid=8gQGAAAIBAJ&pg=690%2C2312863>.

This source is a newspaper article that was published on July 25th, 1972, the same date that Jean Heller's article was published in the Washington Star. The article details the events of the Tuskegee study, exposes the unethical nature that the study was conducted in, and also quotes influential officials of the USPHS including Don Prince and J.D. Millar. The Argus Press, the newspaper in which this article was published, is a reputable source that has existed since 1854 in Owosso, Michigan, and the article itself is from the Associated Press, a news agency used in newspapers across the nation. The headline of this article is used at the beginning of my paper, however, I referenced this article numerous times when gathering ideas and notes.

**Associated Press, Jean Heller. "Syphilis Victims in U.S. Study Went Untreated for 40 Years." *New York Times* (New York City, NY), July 26, 1972.**

<https://www.nytimes.com/1972/07/26/archives/syphilis-victims-in-us-study-went-untreated-for-40-years-syphilis.html>.

This is a newspaper article that was originally created by Jean Heller, publicizing the racist and malicious actions that occurred during the Tuskegee Study. This article was originally created with help from Peter Buxton, which heavily detailed the numerous ways in which the participants were mistreated and forced to endure suffering as a result. This article was written by Jean Heller, a well-known investigative reporter who, at the time, was writing for the Associated Press, and the article was published in the New York Times, a credible newspaper with national influence. This source was used throughout my paper, as it provided large amounts of general information, quotes, and facts about the Tuskegee Study, and my paper was created to analyze the effect this primary source had.

**Burney, Leroy E. "Certificate for Participants in the Tuskegee Syphilis Study." 1958.**

<https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/certificate-for-participants-in-the-tuskegee-syphilis-study>.

This document is a certificate that was given to the surviving members of the Tuskegee Study in 1958, expressing the gratitude of the USPHS for the participation of the volunteers for 25 years. This source is unbiased, as it is simply a certificate, however, it highlights the motivations of the USPHS to keep their study participants content, as they wished to continue their study for many more years. While I didn't directly cite this source in my paper, it remained instrumental to shape the idea that the study participants were incentivized by the USPHS to remain in the study in numerous ways, which severely damaged their health.

**Clinton, Bill. "Remarks in Apology to African-Americans on the Tuskegee Experiment." Speech presented in White House, Washington D.C., USA, May 16, 1997.**  
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1997-book1/pdf/PPP-1997-book1-doc-pg607.pdf>.

This primary source is a speech that was delivered on May 16th, 1997, by Bill Clinton, the current President of the United States. In his speech, he acknowledged the numerous communities that were harmed by the Tuskegee Study, then apologized on behalf of the American people and the U.S. Government for the actions that were taken in the Tuskegee Study. He continued in his speech, recognizing that steps needed to be taken in order to repair the country and pledged to make numerous changes that would protect the people from unethical medical studies. This source was incredibly useful when I was shaping my argument, as it showed that the Tuskegee Study had a clear effect on the United States and provided a clear link between the formation of several government institutions and the Tuskegee Study. It also is able to connect to the NHD theme, as the speech demonstrates how important communication was in order to make a change in the U.S. after the Tuskegee Study.

**"Interview Notes." <https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/interview-notes>.**

This document contains notes from an interview in 1972, where one of the Tuskegee Study participants explained the events of the study, the actions of the researchers, and his health during the time period of the study. This source was very useful when dealing with the different perspectives, as I already had the perspectives of the medical professionals and the nation itself, however, this document gave the emotions and the thoughts of the participants. This allows the argument that the Tuskegee Study was more than just physically damaging to the research volunteers, but it was also mentally damaging, as they didn't know what was to come with their health.

***Photograph of Participants in the Tuskegee Syphilis Study. Photograph.***  
<https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/photograph-of-participants-in-the-tuskegee-syphilis-study>.

This photograph shows three African American men, two of which are getting shots and medical exams from two white Tuskegee Researchers. Along with the men, Nurse Eunice Rivers is behind them, talking and smiling. This source is one of the few images that I used, and it provides ensures that I'm looking at the Tuskegee Study and Peter Buxton through a wide variety of sources. Although I never cited this image in my paper, it was very significant while I was learning about the study, and understanding how it was managed.

***Stowage of the British Slave Ship Brookes under the Regulated Slave Trade Act of 1788. 1788.***  
**Image. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/98504459/>.**

This image depicts the slave trade ship, Brookes, with blueprints showing the storage of black slaves. In this image, it can be seen that the African slaves would be forced to lay down in lines, without room to move left/right or up/down, as each slave would have others lying next to them, along with more layers of people above and/or below them. This historical document is very useful to me when referencing the racist past of America, and explaining how the racist views of the past would lead to a study like the Tuskegee Experiment occurring.

**United States of America v. Karl Brandt, 1 U.S. (Palace of Justice).**

**[https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military\\_Law/pdf/NT\\_war-criminals\\_Vol-I.pdf](https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/NT_war-criminals_Vol-I.pdf).**

The court case, "The United States of America v. Karl Brandt", which also goes by the Doctors Trial or the Medical Case, is a trial against 23 Nazi doctors, in which the unethical nature of the medical research they conducted was exposed. This book is the first of two volumes detailing the Doctors Trial, which are both in the larger collection of volumes called the "Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals". This first volume contains the charges brought to the defendants, the organization of the trial, opening statements from both sides, and some of the evidence presented by both sides of the case. This information is reliable, because it is an official US document, and has been very useful when looking at the similarities between the Tuskegee Study and the Nazi Medical Experiments.

**United States of America v. Karl Brandt, 2 U.S. (Palace of Justice).**

**[https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military\\_Law/pdf/NT\\_war-criminals\\_Vol-II.pdf](https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/pdf/NT_war-criminals_Vol-II.pdf).**

The court case, "The United States of America v. Karl Brandt", which also goes by the Doctors Trial or the Medical Case, is a trial against the Nazi doctors, in which the unethical nature of the medical research they did was exposed. This book is the first of two volumes detailing the Doctors Trial, which are both in the larger collection of volumes called the "Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals". This second volume contains more evidence from the defendants and prosecution, along with the final statements, and the rulings/judgments. These volumes were created by the US Government, so their credibility can be assumed. I used this source mainly when referencing the Nuremberg Code, a document outlining medical ethics that was created during this court case. The Nuremberg Code and these trials played a large part in Buxton's actions to make reports against the Tuskegee Study, and thus, this source influenced my writings greatly.

USPHS. *Draft Report*. N.p., 1949. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/650717>.

This document is a draft report from the Tuskegee Study, in which the study was briefly explained, then it detailed the numerous deaths and autopsies that had occurred from the beginning of the study, in 1932, through 1948, a year before this report was written. This source is unbiased, as it simply gives information as to how many of their study participants were used in the Tuskegee study, how many had died at this point, and how many were autopsied, all of which is objective information. This source was influential in my writing of the progression of the Tuskegee study in my paper, and the death statistics were referenced.

## SECONDARY SOURCES:

Alsan, Marcella, and Marianne Wanamaker. "Tuskegee and the Health of Black Men." In *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 407-55. Vol. 133. N.p.: Oxford University Press, 2018. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1093%2Fqje%2Fqjx029>.

This article is one of my longer sources, and has a lot of information about the impact that the Tuskegee Syphilis Study had on healthcare, specifically black's trust in medicine and health officials. They conducted a study on inequality in medical outcomes, and went into great detail about the background of the situation, which was heavily based on the Tuskegee Syphilis Study, along with giving information about how they conducted their study, and results/analysis of their work. This source was written by Marcella Alsan - a Stanford professor with numerous degrees from high level universities like Harvard - and Marianne Wanamaker - a University of Tennessee professor - who both earned the Arrow Award, a prestigious health economics award, for this piece of work. This shows that this source contains valuable information, which I can use for the impact section of NHD, as the Tuskegee Syphilis Study has been shown to have lasting effects on the mindsets and lives of blacks through this source.

Brown, DeNeen L. "'You've got bad blood': The horror of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment." *The Washington Post*, May 16, 2017. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/05/16/youve-got-bad-blood-the-horror-of-the-tuskegee-syphilis-experiment/>.

This newspaper article was published in the Washington Post, and gave a large amount of information about the Tuskegee Study, going through a timeline of the study and explaining the faults of the USPHS. Along with general information about the study, numerous quotes were given from one of the last surviving participants of the Tuskegee

Study, Charles Pollard, talking about what he could remember of his experience in the study. The Washington Post is a nationally known newspaper and the article includes numerous quotes from people and agencies associated with the study, so the validity of the article and information is assumed. This article helped to shape my understanding of the topic and, in addition, allowed me to find several new primary sources to add to my paper.

**CDC. "How Tuskegee Changed Research Practices." U.S. Public Health Service Syphilis Study at Tuskegee. Accessed October 16, 2020.**

**<https://www.cdc.gov/tuskegee/after.htm>.**

This website gives information about the way that the Tuskegee Study has changed the way medical research is now conducted, mentioning new laws, regulations, and advisory boards. They mentioned numerous specific examples of these new changes and even talked about the impact that Bill Clinton's presidential speech about Tuskegee had, which helped to shape my argument about the change Clinton made through his national communication. This source was especially useful, and I referenced this website in the latter sections of my paper, in which I discussed the short and long-term impacts of the Tuskegee Study.

———. **"Syphilis Treatment and Care." Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs). Accessed October 16, 2020. <https://www.cdc.gov/std/syphilis/treatment.htm>.**

This webpage is an informational page from the CDC with information about modern treatment for syphilis, including the benefits of treatment but also its limits. It's useful due to its knowledge about syphilis and the credible source that it comes from, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Throughout the writing of my paper, the information provided from this source remained on my mind as the withholding of the syphilis treatment caused a large amount of suffering, so it heavily influenced the shaping of my argument.

———. **"The Tuskegee Timeline." U.S. Public Health Service Syphilis Study at Tuskegee. Accessed October 16, 2020. <https://www.cdc.gov/tuskegee/timeline.htm>.**

This source is from the CDC, and it gives a general timeline of the Tuskegee Study. It provides the information in a clear and concise form, highlighting the most important events from the study and associating them with clear, accurate dates. Along with the timeline, several of the events are also explained in higher detail on the same page. This source has been useful to me throughout the process of creating my paper, as it provided the structure for my argument, and allowed me to quickly view the main events,

and what came prior to each of them. It was also used when looking at the impact that Buxton and the Tuskegee Study had on the nation as many of the key events, like the court settlement and the founding of the Tuskegee Health Benefit Program, were clearly explained.

**Collins, Elizabeth M. "Black Soldiers in the Revolutionary War." US Army. Last modified March 4, 2013. Accessed October 16, 2020.**

[https://www.army.mil/article/97705/black\\_soldiers\\_in\\_the\\_revolutionary\\_war](https://www.army.mil/article/97705/black_soldiers_in_the_revolutionary_war).

This website details the main events of the American Revolution but also focuses on the impacts and role of African Americans on both the British and American sides of the war. This source focused on the American Revolution which was very different from the majority of my sources, however, it remained important as it gave large amounts of information about the role that race played during this time. I used this article in my paper to explain the impact that African-Americans have had on the United States, using the Revolutionary War as an example, but it was also used when talking about racial biases contributing to the unethical and inappropriate treatment of African Americans.

**"The Doctors Trial: The Medical Case of the Subsequent Nuremberg Proceedings." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Accessed October 18, 2020.**

<https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/doctors-trial>.

This webpage contains information about the Doctors Trial, which was one of the subsequent trials that occurred after the main court cases of the Nuremberg Trial. The website explains who the doctors on trial were, what they were being charged for, and gave a summary of the main events of the court case. While other sources I have gathered have information on the Nuremberg Trials, this webpage is my only source giving general information about the Doctors Trial and became incredibly valuable to me for that reason. This source was helpful to me while writing about Buxton's investigation of the Tuskegee Experiment, and informed my writing when explaining similarities between the Tuskegee Study and the Nuremberg Trials.

**Elliott, Carl. "Tuskegee Truth Teller." The American Scholar. Last modified December 4, 2017. Accessed September 15, 2020. <https://theamericanscholar.org/tuskegee-truth-teller/#.X2DUSmhKg2w>.**

This source is an article about Peter Buxton, who was one of the very influential people surrounding the Tuskegee Syphilis Study. Buxton was the whistleblower on the situation, and told the press about the injustices that were going on with the study. This

source explains why and how Tuskegee got the attention of the country, and gives the views of Buxton on the situation. This source is published on The American Scholar, a site published by Phi Beta Kappa, a well-known and reliable honor society, which proves that the source can be seen as credible. This source helps shape my argument that the Tuskegee Syphilis Study was clearly immoral, as it took a whistleblower to spread the news to the public, which caused outrage.

**Gaynes, Robert. "The Discovery of Penicillin—New Insights After More Than 75 Years of Clinical Use." *Emerging Infections Diseases* 23 (May 2017).**

<https://doi.org/10.3201/eid2305.161556>.

This journal article summarized the history of penicillin, all the way from its discovery in 1928 to the modern-day uses for the antibiotic. Unlike other sources that I had, this article focused less on the medicinal side of penicillin but instead delved into the ways that it affected the world, including its use in WW2, the struggle to produce it, and the public's knowledge of its uses. With an understanding of this knowledge, I was able to mention the discovery of penicillin in my paper, and detail how its invention changed the way the Tuskegee Study was managed and shifted the public's perspective of the ethics it employed.

**Government Accountability Project. Accessed October 7, 2020.**

<https://whistleblower.org/uncategorized/whistleblower-peter-buxtun-and-the-tuskegee-syphilis-study/>.

This article gives the detailed story of Peter Buxton, talking about his early life, the investigation of the Tuskegee Study that he conducted, and how he exposed the true nature of the study to the press. Along with information about Buxton, the website also gave information about the Tuskegee Study itself and explained several of the unethical methods used in the Tuskegee Experiment that led Buxton to investigate. Articles about Peter Buxton remained scarce, and this webpage ended up being one of the few sources I gathered that contained information about Buxton's early life and his investigation of the project. Thus, the information present in this source was used a large amount in my paper, especially in the middle sections of the paper, which talk about Buxton's contributions to the exposure of the Tuskegee Study.

**Katz, Ralph V et al. "The legacy of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study: assessing its impact on willingness to participate in biomedical studies." *Journal of health care for the poor and underserved* vol. 19,4 (2008): 1168-80. doi:10.1353/hpu.0.0067**

This source was an article talking about the Tuskegee Legacy Project, which was a study established in order to determine the impact of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study. The article went into great detail talking about how the research was conducted, and analyzed as well as summarized all the information that they discovered. This source is reliable for a couple reasons, first of all, the database in which it is located. The article is located in the US National Library of Medicine, a government run website, and all the people that wrote the article are very well educated, with PhDs and numerous high-end jobs. This source is very useful to me, as it allows me to analyze the impact of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study, and make sure that my work shows analyzation, and isn't just a summary.

**McVean, Ada. "40 Years of Human Experimentation in America: The Tuskegee Study." Office for Science and Society. Last modified May 14, 2019. Accessed October 16, 2020. <https://www.mcgill.ca/oss/article/history/40-years-human-experimentation-america-tuskegee-study>.**

This website was able to provide a large amount of general information about the topic, however, I chose it due to the background information that it gave. This source talked about the prior racism that led to the development of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study, and how medicine was discriminatory toward people of color, especially blacks, in history. This source is a lot more detailed than the other general information articles that I have, and also covers a wider time period. It's published on the McGill University website, which is a public university found in Canada, so it's a reliable source on the topic. The information provided through this website allows me to show how racism was impacting people through medicine, and how the Tuskegee Syphilis Study was a turning point for it, changing the way that studies like this were viewed.

**"Nuremberg Code." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. Last modified April 29, 2019. <https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/doctors-trial/nuremberg-code>.**

This source goes hand in hand with my other source about the Nuremberg Code, however, while the other one provided the word for word Nuremberg Code, this article talks about what each section of it means, along with the backstory of where the code came from, and its connection to the holocaust/Nazis. This source was created by the United States Holocaust Museum, which is a widely known museum, so this source is very credible. This article is most helpful for me when I am trying to use the Nuremberg code to support my arguments, but it may also be used for the backstory/impact stages.

**"Nuremberg Trials." *Library of Congress*. Last modified June 4, 2014.**  
[https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military\\_Law/Nuremberg\\_trials.html](https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law/Nuremberg_trials.html).

This source is a quick, general information source about the Nuremberg Trials, explaining what they were, why they happened, and when they happened. The webpage is located in the Library of Congress, a credible governmental agency, and is one of the few sources I have that gives general information about Nuremberg. This source was helpful to me when I was learning about the Nuremberg Trials after reading that Buxton's investigation found several similarities between these trials and the actions of the Tuskegee researchers. Thus, I was able to use the source as a quick reference source when writing about Buxton's life, along with the termination of the Tuskegee Experiment.

**"Race Relations in the 1930s and 1940s." *Library of Congress*.**  
<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/united-states-history-primary-source-timeline/great-depression-and-world-war-ii-1929-1945/race-relations-in-1930s-and-1940s/>.

This webpage is another source of general information; however, this webpage talks about the role that race played in a person's life in the 1930s and 1940s. It mentioned the Great Depression, political parties/voting, World War 2, and simple things like buying a house. This source was very useful to me when I was learning more about the setting and time period that the Tuskegee Study was created in, and how these factors impacted the way that the researchers acted. While a large part of the knowledge I gained from this source was used to simply inform my writing, I referenced this information when giving a statistic about the large percentage of unemployment of African Americans at the time.

**Tampa, M., I. Sarbu, C. Matei, V. Benea, and SR Georgescu. "Brief History of Syphilis." *Journal of Medicine and Life* 7 (March 25, 2014).**  
<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3956094/>.

This article details the history of syphilis, including its possible origins, prior treatments, and impacts on civilization, and gives brief information about modern syphilis. Primary sources are dispersed throughout the article, providing validation for the information claimed, and the article appears to be unbiased, as the majority of the writing is factual and objective. This source is referenced in my paper when talking about Alexander Fleming and the discovery of penicillin, however, the information was also significant when learning about the treatments used for syphilis in the early stages of the Tuskegee Study.

**Tuskegee University. "About the USPHS Syphilis Study." Tuskegee University. Accessed September 3, 2020. <https://www.tuskegee.edu/about-us/centers-of-excellence/bioethics-center/about-the-usphs-syphilis-study>.**

This source is a general overview of the Tuskegee Syphilis Study, giving information about the point of the study, the methods used to conduct it, and the impact that the study had on both the nation and Macon County, where the study took place. The impact talked about included a class action lawsuit, reparations for the study members and their families, and public apologies from all over, including President Clinton. This information was written by Tuskegee University, a well-known university, so it can be claimed that they are a reliable source. I am able to use this web page to provide a general outline of the way that the study functioned, however, this source is most useful when trying to connect to the theme. There are numerous times in the page where a lack of communication towards the participants is mentioned, leading to an increased amount of pain and suffering for the study members.

**Warren, Rueben C., Lachlan Forrow, David Augustin Hodge, and Robert D. Truog. "Trustworthiness before Trust — Covid-19 Vaccine Trials and the Black Community." *The New England Journal of Medicine* 383, no. 22 (November 26, 2020). <https://doi.org/10.1056/NEJMp2030033>.**

This article is talking about African Americans and the coronavirus, and how they are being affected differently. The authors talk about the medical distrust that has ensued as a result of past racism, and they specifically mention the Tuskegee Study and the effects that it has had on African Americans. In addition, it also mentions methods to mending the damage that has been done to African Americans, and ways the medical system can be made more trustworthy. Compared to my other sources, this article has a lot more information about the effects of the Tuskegee Study, and because it was published recently, it talks about COVID-19. This source is especially useful to me because of its relation to modern-day issues, as it helps me to make my argument, especially my conclusion, more relevant to the reader.

**Yip, Derek W., and Valerie Gerriets. *Penicillin*. Treasure Island, FL: StatPearls Publishing, 2020. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK554560/>.**

This book talks about Penicillin from a medical-based perspective, giving information about Penicillin's uses, the way it works, and possible errors/adverse effects that can occur from its use. This source is assumed to be accurate due to its affiliation with California Northstate University and the National Library of Medicine, and is useful to gain a perspective of the ways that penicillin is impactful on our world. The information provided in this book was referenced in the "Medical Advancements Debase the Tuskegee Study" section of my paper, when I was writing about the discovery of penicillin, and its widespread uses.