

## Works Cited

### Primary Sources

Associated Press. [1940s?] Web. 9 April 2020.

<https://www.commondreams.org/news/2015/04/02/johns-hopkins-sued-over-1950s-non-consensual-std-study>.

This is a photograph taken by one of the scientists in the experiment. He is examining the Guatemalan soldiers' tongues. It is unsure what he is doing, but he appears to be holding a syringe, assumingly to inoculate the man in front of him.

Cutler C., John. "Experiment No. 2 Gonorrhea Prophylaxis." National Archives and Records Administration, 15 Mar. 1947.

This is a report from either John Cutler's team or the man himself about one of the prostitutes that were inoculated with Gonorrhea. It details her symptoms and if the experiments injected were positive or negative.

Cutler C., John. Letter to Richard Arnold. 21 August 1946. CDC, Record Group 422. National Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence to Project.

John Cutler, addresses this letter to Richard Arnold about the update of instead of using military personnel, they use the prisoners of the local prison. One of the doctors, Juan Funes, was able to get the room and board to the researchers at a cheap price at the penitentiary. Dr. Spoto suggests, while in the space, they use the prisoners as their patients.

Cutler C., John. Letter to Richard Arnold. March 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

Dr. Richard Arnold explains his concerns of John Cutler using mentally ill patients from the asylum as another group for experimentation. He then disregards that, and later explains how John Cutler could use this to his advantage. More into the letter, Dr. Richard Arnold lists ideas and more experimental designs for the patients, and ignores the ethical issue.

Cutler C., John. Letter to C. H. Morrison. June 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

This letter talks about the way that the other organizations may find out about the intentions of the experiment and might call the whole thing off. He tells C. H. Morrison and the other scientists that it is important to be discreet about the information and actions done in the experiment. It would get in the way of meaningful results in the name of science.

Cutler C., John. Letter to John Mahoney. 2 January 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

John establishes the parameters and patients they will use and updates Mahoney of their area of work. He requests more instruments of science due to the ability to use the prisoners combined with the guards. He also talks about how the “Indians” (aka Guatemalans) were confused and frightened at the research the scientists had done to them.

Cutler C., John. Letter to John Mahoney. 7 January 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

In this letter, John Cutler talks about the disguise of the program of treatment for venereal disease to Mahoney. He speaks on how if the prisoners comply and give the researchers blood, they will be given commodities like cigarettes or soap. But really, some prisoners will not get any treatment at all for the diseases Cutler will give them.

Cutler C., John. Letter to John Mahoney. 17 July 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

This letter talks about how John Cutler will use rabbit venereal infection spots to place the fluids on other patients. At this time they were waiting for the rabbits to get more infectious. The group was waiting for treatment for penicillin.

Cutler C., John. Letter to Joseph Spoto. March 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a.

It is at this point where Cutler has the results from most of the ways syphilis can interact and invade a person's body. The research so far has been going greatly, and this letter marks a way to provide treatment at different levels with the chemical- orvus-mapharsen. This letter shows how through the researchers have been and the widespread infections they did to make these results.

Cutler C., John. Letter to Joseph Spoto. 15 March 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a.

In this letter, Cutler talks about the hospitalization of one of the sex workers paid to do the experiment. The dates reference how many times she has been inoculated with gonorrhea. It is clear that Dr. Cutler and his medical team have been repeatedly inoculating these victims with strains of gonorrhea and syphilis.

Harlow L., Elliot. Letter to John Mahoney. 22 May 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

Elliot Harlow, one of the scientists from the Venereal Disease Research Laboratory, sends this letter and forwards the updates to Dr. Cutler. He talks about how an inconvenience it is that one of the patients, inoculated with gonorrhea, found a way to try and treat himself with penicillin.

This is an eye-opener as to how inhumane it is for scientists to see an innocent person, most likely in pain, as a disappointment when they try to relieve themselves of the pain the scientist inflicted upon themselves.

Mahoney, John. Letter to John C. Cutler. 30 June 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

John Mahoney accepts how John Cutler will use prisoners without their consent in the experiment. That way, it'll be much cheaper to keep the experiment more ongoing. He disregards how Cutler's team will take prisoners for their own benefit and those unethical ways.

Morrison H., C.. Letter to John C. Cutler. 28 August 1946. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence to Project.

This letter highlights the first few months of the experiment and all the technical things they have to do before they establish themselves in Guatemala. . C. H. Morrison talks about the prospects about the experiment and the costly duties to move all the lab equipment to Guatemala. Dr. Cutler is waiting for C. H. Morrison, who will accompany him in the experiment.

Arnold, Richard. Letter to John C. Cutler. 21 July 1947. CDC, Record Group 422. National

Archives and Records Administration. Hollinger Box 1a. Correspondence Letters 1947.

Richard Arnold's letter describes how the school children inoculated with venereal droplets are less likely to be infected. The school children must have been a great fit as they have not been infected by malaria or venereal diseases as much as their adult counterparts. Needless to say, they did force children into it.

“STDs in Racial and Ethnic Minorities - 2017 Sexually Transmitted Diseases Surveillance.”

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention,  
24 July 2018, [www.cdc.gov/std/stats17/minorities.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/std/stats17/minorities.htm).

In the following diagrams and statistics, it displays the percentages of different races who suffer from Gonorrhea, Primary and Secondary Syphilis, and Congenital Syphilis. According to the diagrams, the percentages of white folks compared to people of color or natives are much higher in Congenital Syphilis and Primary and Secondary Syphilis. Whites suffering up to 80.0% (3.0 to 5.4 cases per 100,000 population) in P&S Syphilis (Primary and Secondary) and 234.5% in Congenital Syphilis.

Victim of Guatemala syphilis experiment. [1940?] Bio-edge.org. Web. 29 January 2020.

<https://www.bioedge.org/bioethics/victims-of-guatemala-syphilis-experiments-to-sue-johns-hopkins/11390>

In this photo, it depicts a scientist overlooking a Guatemalan patient in what seems to be a hospital. The patient looks sickly as he has glass cups over his body. It is unsure whether the scientist is making the inoculation processes of the virus [syphilis/gonorrhea] faster or to see the sensitivity the body has after being infected with the virus.

### **Secondary Sources**

912th Engineer Air Force Headquarters. *A Minute with Venus...A Year with Mercury!* 194-. Web. 9 April 2020. <https://collections.nlm.nih.gov/catalog/nlm:nlmuid-101439088-img>

This is a poster made by the Air Force to prevent soldiers from having sex with sex workers.

CDC “Tuskegee Study - Timeline - CDC - NCHHSTP.” Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 22 Dec. 2015,  
[www.cdc.gov/tuskegee/timeline.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/tuskegee/timeline.htm).

The CDC lists the dates, controversies, and important events of the Tuskegee study. Tuskegee starts with Booker T. Washington, who sees that due to the syphilis/gonorrhea outbreaks, the economic development for African-Americans, compared to whites, is going through a downward spiral. In order to combat syphilis, scientists needed to understand it, so they established the Tuskegee study. They did not treat or tell black men who had syphilis that were not going to be treated or were even told that they had syphilis. The study was exposed and discouraged due to the horrible miscommunication and uninformed consent. Compensation was made for the victims and their families.

Carroll, Rory. "Guatemala Victims of US Syphilis Study Still Haunted by the 'Devil's

Experiment'." *the Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 8 June 2011,

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jun/08/guatemala-victims-us-syphilis-study>.

Rory Carroll addresses how the victims and their families of the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment (Guatemala Venereal Experiment) of today are still affected. The victims interviewed describe the pains and tortures they went through as part of the experiment, and the stress and worry for their children and later generations, as they unknowingly pass on the virus. The article also features scenarios where a Guatemalan could be picked for the experiment and how.

Carroll, Rory. *Marta Orellana*. 2011. Web. 8 April 2020.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jun/08/guatemala-victims-us-syphilis-study>.

This is a portrait of one of the victims from the Guatemala project.

Duarete, Carlos. *Frederico Ramos*. 2017. Web. 9 April 2020.

[http://www.slate.com/articles/health\\_and\\_science/cover\\_story/2017/02/guatemala\\_syphilis\\_experiments\\_worse\\_than\\_tuskegee.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/health_and_science/cover_story/2017/02/guatemala_syphilis_experiments_worse_than_tuskegee.html)

This is one of the victims, a soldier, of the Guatemala Syphilis Experiment.

Doyle, Kate. "Decades Later, NARA Posts Documents On Guatemalan Syphilis Experiments".

UNREDACTED, 2019,

<https://unredacted.com/2011/04/25/nara-posts-dr-cutlers-papers-on-medical-experiments-in-guatemala/#more-3529>. 30 Oct 2019.

Gutmann, Kate et al.. "'Ethically Impossible' STD Research in Guatemala from 1946 to 1948".

bioethicsarchive.georgetown.edu. September 2011.

[https://bioethicsarchive.georgetown.edu/pcsbi/sites/default/files/Ethically%20Impossible%20\(with%20linked%20historical%20documents\)%202.7.13.pdf](https://bioethicsarchive.georgetown.edu/pcsbi/sites/default/files/Ethically%20Impossible%20(with%20linked%20historical%20documents)%202.7.13.pdf). 9 April 2020.

This was our most used source aside from John Cutler's papers. It included everything about the Guatemala Syphilis Experiment. In it, it describes the steps leading up to the experiment, the initial design, the ongoing effects of unethical practices, and the results from the experiment. Kate Doyle, in her article, talks about the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment and how it was possible for such study to happen. It goes in depth as to why the experiment was made in the first place and why it was secretive; the study was frowned upon by doctors morally, but many let it go in the name of answers and science. Because of John Cutler's position and social groups, the study was able to be hushed without telling the Guatemalan victims' families or the United States government.

Mariani, Mike. "The Guatemala Experiments." Pacific Standard, 27 May 2015,

[psmag.com/news/the-guatemala-experiments](http://psmag.com/news/the-guatemala-experiments).

Mike Mariani's article goes in depth about the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment and where it all came from. It states of the many aspects of the Western problems and why it was justifiable to work on confused patience, to find a better cure for venereal diseases. It is a timeline of the events, starting from the beginning where Cutler worked on Terre Haute and ending at the lost lawsuits by the victims' families from today.

McNeil, Donald G. "U.S. Apologizes for Syphilis Tests in Guatemala."

<https://www.nytimes.com>, The New York Times Company, 1 Oct. 2010,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/02/health/research/02infect.html>.

Donald McNeil depicts how the U.S. tried to apologize to Guatemala and its victims, but also shows why this was not enough to the thousand that suffered. It also references how even though the Nuremberg Experiments and their doctors were condemned and executed during the time of the experiment, the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment was still going. And also the other unethical experiments that were taking place during that times as well; it is the true irony of shaming Nazi doctors and scoffing at them, while we do the same to marginalized communities.

Perine, Peter L., et al. "EPIDEMIOLOGY OF STD." EPIDEMIOLOGY OF THE SEXUALLY TRANSMITTED DISEASES , 1985, doi:Annu. Rev. Public Health 1985.6:85-106.

<https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.pu.06.050185.000505>.

AIDS, HIV, and other venereal diseases of data on different people of color and whites during the 1900s until the 1990s. We are going to discuss how this changed from the spikes to our own present form of data of venereal diseases.

Reverby, Susan M. "Ethical Failures and History Lessons: The U.S. Public Health Service



Research Studies in Tuskegee and Guatemala.” *Public Health Reviews*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2012, doi:10.1007/bf03391665.

In Susan Reverby’s dissertation on the Tuskegee and Guatemala Study, she tries to clear up any loose ends in both studies. She discusses the reasons why they both regions were used in order to do their studies and how that affected the scientists’ way of thinking. It also addresses the lack of ethics involved in the studies and how even though many scientific groups like the CDC accepted and encouraged the Tuskegee experiment.

Reverby, Susan M. “Restorative Justice and Restorative History for the Sexually Transmitted Disease Inoculation Experiments in Guatemala.” *American Journal of Public Health*, American Public Health Association, July 2016, [www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4984739/](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4984739/).

In this article it focuses on the injustice the Tuskegee and the Guatemalan victims faced when their studies were exposed, but not dealt with. The presidents apologized and the media showcased and made money off of the exposures, yet there were little reparations made to be done for the victims of the experiments. The article also mentions how racial and classist the study was, treating marginalized communities like rubbish while the upper classes/ ‘favored’ races tried to defend the study. Dr. Cutler and even many of the researchers have yet to come forward and say their bad deeds and do their time. They do the opposite and try to come to the argument that it was for the greater good.

Rivero Gil, Francisco. *!Atención; Las Enfermedades Venéreas Amenazan Tu Salud. !Prevente Contra Ellas; 1939*. MoMA.org. Web. 27 November. 2019.

In this art made by Francisco Rivero, it depicts a sex worker embracing a what seems to be a soldier. The soldier is unbeknownst to the dangers the untreated syphilis danger the woman carries. During the Spanish Civil War, where this takes place, syphilis outbreaks would kill and incapacitate many soldiers who slept with untreated sex workers.

Rodriguez, Michael, and Robert Garcia. "First, Do No Harm: The US Sexually Transmitted Disease Experiments In Guatemala". US National Library Of Medicine National Institutes Of Health, 2013, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3828982/>.

In this article, they talk about the diseases American doctors and medical experts intentionally inflicted on marginalized groups of Guatemala and how U.S.'s ethics committee tries to underplay the piece of history. It tells a story of gruesome content of the forced experiments, an example of a far, far lot of experiment contents that were lost or covered. Then the article shows how the American Bioethical committee's commission, years later, talked about whether or not these findings were true or false - even though they were found true multiple times. It did not even mention the ethical issues surrounding the experiment nor the reparations to the survivors/victim's families.

Kara Rogers. November 23, 2011. Encyclopædia Britannica. March 3, 2020.

[www.britannica.com/event/Guatemala-syphilis-experiment#accordion-article-history](http://www.britannica.com/event/Guatemala-syphilis-experiment#accordion-article-history)

In this article, they explain the victims affected by the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment and go into further detail of the examination process with some of the patients. It also informs of the results and consequences before Dr. Cutler's passing and after. The whole aftermath with the discovery of Dr. Cutler's documents in 2010 by Susan Reverby left the public eye with their jaws dropped.

“STDs in Racial and Ethnic Minorities - 2017 Sexually Transmitted Diseases Surveillance.”

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention,  
24 July 2018, [www.cdc.gov/std/stats17/minorities.htm](http://www.cdc.gov/std/stats17/minorities.htm).

The CDC did a census of the prevalence in STDs within communities of color, especially ones living in more penurious settings. There are more spikes of syphilis, HIV, and AIDS in Latino and African-American communities. We are going to use this data to create a more complex thought as to how the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment and other experiments based on sexually transmitted infections (like aids) another may be essential to communities of color, but also damaging them.

Schrader, Vivien St Martin L. “Ethically Impossible” STD Research in Guatemala from  
1946 to 1948. Librairie Hachette, Paris, 2011.

While this is not an article, it does include the information and discussions between President Obama and the Commission faculty of the Bioethics committee. It features communication and how they should proceed with apologies and ramifications.

Spector-Bagdady, Kayte, and Paul A Lombardo. “From in Vivo to in Vitro: How the Guatemala  
STD Experiments Transformed Bodies Into Biospecimens.” *The Milbank Quarterly*, John  
Wiley and Sons Inc., June 2018, [www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/29652094](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/29652094).

In this article it talks about how the specimens and the fluids taken from the experiment were still being used since its final procedure time. The authors bring up how these substances should be given back either to the representatives to the communities or to the survivors. Moreover how there should be money and other resources paid back to the people who were affected by the experiments. It also mentions the Tuskegee experiment where the same doctor and the same

procedures were happening but to African-American communities. These fluids and tissues needed to be brought to the public and showcase how even while these victims were gone, there was no justice to be held from Dr. Cutler.

Subramanian, Sushma. "In the 1940s, U.S. Researchers Infected Hundreds of Guatemalans With Syphilis. The Victims Are Still Waiting for Treatment." *Slate Magazine*, 26 Feb. 2017, [slate.com/articles/health\\_and\\_science/cover\\_story/2017/02/guatemala\\_syphilis\\_experiments\\_worse\\_than\\_tuskegee.html](https://slate.com/articles/health_and_science/cover_story/2017/02/guatemala_syphilis_experiments_worse_than_tuskegee.html).

In this article it talks about how the patients from the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment are still not given treatment for their disease that they weren't aware of and being forced from it. In Guatemala, there are still many, most likely hundreds, where the later generations of these patients have passed down the disease. It also mentions how even though Tuskegee Study was extremely inhumane, at least the disease wasn't forced upon the victims of that experiment as such the case of the Guatemalan Syphilis Experiment.

Symons, Xavier. "Victims of Guatemala Syphilis Experiments to Sue John Hopkins."

[bioedge.org](https://www.bioedge.org). 2015,

<https://www.bioedge.org/bioethics/victims-of-guatemala-syphilis-experiments-to-sue-johns-hopkins/11390>

This article delves into the lawsuits and the legal actions that have taken place since the study was exposed in 2010. The families from the experiment are suing Johns Hopkins, which was the university that funded the project. Right now, they are fighting for justice and ramifications and compensation.

UNAIDS "Guatemala." UNAIDS, 8 Dec. 2016,

[www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/guatemala](http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/guatemala).

This depicts the data for multiple people including race, sexuality, age, and gender and prevalence of aids in them. This is modern statistics. From this we can deduce the effects of the study and see whether due to the programs the venereal research study group did were successfully implemented or not.

“US Medical Tests in Guatemala 'Crime against Humanity'.” BBC News, BBC, 2 Oct. 2010,

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-11457552>.

This article is about how unethical the Guatemala Syphilis Experiment had been. It talks about how the Guatemalan people were affected by it and how unfairly treated they were. It deems the researchers as inhumane.

Walter, Matthew. “Human Experiments: First, Do Harm.” nature.com, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 8 Feb. 2012,

<https://www.nature.com/news/human-experiments-first-do-harm-1.9980>.

Matthew Walter depicts the stories of the Guatemalan victims and the feelings they had during the whole inoculation process. One of the victims also featured in other articles talks about how he went through the processes of the experiment. But it also features the good things that came out of the experiment where treatment and programs were made to help those that had venereal diseases.

## **Graphics**

Baumert, Lukas. *Lamp-Oil-Nostalgia-Old*. 2017. Historically. Pixabay.com. Web. 29 January.

2020. <https://pixabay.com/photos/lamp-oil-lamp-nostalgia-old-2903830/>

Butov, Ri. *Anesthesia-Hospital-Surgery-Patient*. 2019. Web. 2 March 2020.

<https://pixabay.com/photos/anesthesia-hospital-surgery-patient-4607287/>

Cotonbro. *Person Holding Syringe and Vaccine Bottle*. 2017. Web. 9 March 2020.

<https://www.pexels.com/photo/person-holding-a-vaccine-3952242/>

Cromwell, Elizabeth. *Obama Chesh*. 2007. chesh.org. Web. 6 April 2020.

[http://chesh.org/barack/DSC\\_0022.JPG](http://chesh.org/barack/DSC_0022.JPG)

Ducette, Vernon. *Susan Reverby*. 2011. bu.edu. Web. 6 April 2020.

<http://www.bu.edu/bostonia/web/reverby/>

everyculture. *Men spread out coffee beans*. [1940s?] Web. 9 March 2020.

<https://www.everyculture.com/Ge-It/Guatemala.html>

Ichigo121212. *Prison-Cell-Jail*. 2014. Web. 2 March 2020.

<https://pixabay.com/photos/prison-prison-cell-jail-crime-553836/>

Leal, Victor. *Guatemala-City-Architecture-Travel*. 2019. Web. 2 March 2020.

<https://pixabay.com/photos/guatemala-city-architecture-travel-4626550/>

Planio, Johannes. *Night-Moon-Allgäu- Mountains-Alpine*. 2013. Nature/Landscapes, Allgäu.

Pixabay.com. Web. 29 January. 2020.

<https://pixabay.com/photos/night-moon-allg%C3%A4u-mountains-alpine-4702174/>

Republica. *Flasks-Erlenmeyer-Chemistry*. 2015. Web. 1 March. 2020.

<https://pixabay.com/photos/flasks-erlenmeyer-chemistry-606612/>

Reyes Antonio, Marco. *Guatemala-City*. 2015. Web. 9 April 2020.

<https://pixabay.com/photos/dawn-guatemala-antiguaguatemala-782647/>

University Health Network - Academy of Medicine Collection: Oxophenarsine Hydrochloride

Marpharsen. 1954. Web. 9 April 2020.

<https://mhc.andornot.com/en/permalink/artifact7701>

An old photo of the medicine Marpharsen.

Voice of America. *Guatemala's then President Alvaro Colom*. 2010. voa.com. Web. 6 April 2020

<https://www.voanews.com/americas/judge-lawsuit-over-guatemala-syphilis-experiment-proceed#&gid=1&pid=1>