

# Annotated Bibliography

## Interviews

**Asarnow, Samuel, and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 5 Apr. 2018.**

I did this in person interview with Samuel Asarnow, a philosophy professor at Macalester College. Asarnow and I discussed the ethics of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, as well as the ethical conflicts relating to the US motives for providing food aid.

**Awan, Fareed and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 7 May 2018.**

Fareed Awan is a ethics professor at the University of Minnesota. We discussed the ethics of human experimentation, conflicting duties, and the philosophy behind ethical standards. This interview helped me to better understand the philosophy behind my experiment, as well as providing me with quotes to add to my website.

**Bateman-House, Alison, and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 31 Jan. 2018.**

I did this phone interview with Alison Bateman-House. Bateman-House has done extensive research on Conscious Objectors, and is working on writing a book about them. This interview was extremely helpful in furthering my understanding of the history of Conscious Objectors, and the value of the irreplicable Minnesota Starvation Experiment

**Blackburn, Henry and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 18 Aug. 2017.**

This is a personal interview that I did with Dr. Henry Blackburn. Blackburn worked closely at the University of Minnesota with Dr. Ancel Keys who did the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. Blackburn provided me with the perspective of Ancel Keys on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, as well as valuable additional resources.

**Crow, Scott and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 17 Nov. 2017.**

This is a personal interview I did with Dr. Scott Crow, an eating disorder specialist and professor at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Crow was helped me understand how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is used today, and gave me insight on the legacy of the experiment.

**D'Andrea, Carrie and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 14 May, 2018.**

Carrie D'Andrea is one of three daughters of Ancel Keys. D'Andrea gave me a good personal perspective to add to my project, as well as access to sources difficult to find.

**Peachey, Titus and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 5 May, 2018.**

Titus Peachy was a Conscientious Objector to the Vietnam War. He currently works to publicize the history of Conscientious Objection. Peachey provided me with the very valuable perspective of a pacifist, which helped me more clearly understand the participants in the Minnesota Starvation Experiments' point of view.

**Tucker, Todd and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 8 Nov. 2017.**

This is a personal interview that I did over the phone with Todd Tucker who wrote the book "*The Great Starvation Experiment*," one of the only published books on Minnesota Starvation Experiment. Tucker was very helpful in providing additional information on the experiment, background on his book, additional primary resources.

**Yoder, Anne and Hoch Robinson, Ella. Personal Interview. 4 May, 2018.**

Anne Yoder curates the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, a large collection of primary resources regarding the history of pacifism. I have used many of these sources throughout my research. Yoder helped me find more sources which were helpful to my research, and was able to answer many questions on the history of Pacifism.

## Primary Sources

### Books

**Guetzkow, Harold Steere., and Paul Hoover. Bowman. Men and Hunger: a Psychological Manual for Relief Workers. Brethren Publishing House, 1946.**

This is a manual for relief workers using the information from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this information to help me understand the immediate impact of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Garner, David M., and Paul E. Garfinkel. Handbook of Treatment for Eating Disorders. Guilford Press, 1997 Google-Books-ID: 3gmogQshl\_MC**

This is a guide for psychologists treating eating disorders. I used this to help me understand how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is used to help treat eating disorders and how the connection between eating disorders and the Minnesota Starvation Experiment was discovered.

**Keys, A., Brozek, J., Henschel, A., Mickelson, O., & Taylor, H.L. (1950). *The Biology of Human Starvation*, (Vols. 1–2). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.**

This book, *The Biology of Human Starvation* vol. 1-2, is the official publication and analysis of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment which has become the landmark publication on starvation. These volumes were incredibly helpful to my research, because all of the new information gained by the Minnesota Starvation Experiment was present, as well as the many different scientific assessments and interpretations of the experiment.

**“Who Are The Conscientious Objectors?”, Committee of Friends of Conscientious Objectors, 1919. Pamphlets relating to compulsory military service and training, 1916-, Minnesota Historical Society Pamphlet Collection.**

This is a pamphlet from the Minnesota Historical Society, published by the Committee of Friends with the purpose of illuminating the situation and beliefs of Conscientious Objectors to WWI. The pamphlet included many first hand accounts of the torture of Conscientious Objectors, many of which I used as quotes on my website, or to help me understand the unjustified torture many Conscientious Objectors faced.

**Welles, Sumner. *An Intelligent American's Guide to the Peace*. Dryden Press, 1945.**

This is a book published in 1945 introducing Americans to the concept of a global government, and its role in the restoration of world peace. I used this book to help me understand how the war likely affected the public's view of Conscientious Objectors, and how WWII changed America's approach to international interactions.

## Newspaper Articles

**Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, “Protecting Internally Displaced Persons: A Manual for Law and Policymakers”, October 2008**

This is an online publication from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, providing analysis on the protection of refugees including a section on the effects of food shortages. I used this primary source to show how the importance and the necessity of food is still a prominent problem today.

**Haggard, Stephan, and Marcus Noland. Hunger and Human Rights: the Politics of Famine in North Korea. U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea, 2005.**

This is a report from the U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea on the affects of hunger. I used this to expand upon the idea of starvation as a weapon of war. I also found this source very interesting because it proved that the US has been providing famine aid to North Korea because the Minnesota Starvation Experiment found that famine prevents democracy.

**Human guinea pigs. 1944. New York Times (1923-Current File), Jun 11.**

This is a New York Times article on the Conscious Objectors to WWII, and how they were helping the US's war effort in nonviolent ways. This was a helpful primary source because it gave me background on the other experiments Conscious Objectors were doing similar to the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Justus. "Step on It, Doc!" Minneapolis Star Archives, 28 Feb. 2009.**

This is a political cartoon from the Star Tribune Archives illustrating how the US is the "doctor" for starving Europe. I used this primary source to help me understand how the public reacted to the US's relief efforts.

**Kempner, Robert M. 1946. Impact of nuremberg on the german mind. New York Times (1923-Current File), Oct 06. 1946.**

This is a newspaper article analyzing the impact the ruling of the Nuremberg trials will have on Germany. I used this source to provide me with the publics reaction to the trials, both in Germany and in the US.

**Section, United Nations News Service. UN News - Fighting Famine: "Unprecedented Crisis" Putting 20 Million People at Risk, Warns UN Agency. 14 Aug. 2017.**

This is an article on the United Nations website informing people of the current famine in South Sudan, Somalia, Yemen and the north-east of Nigeria. I used this to help me understand how the data from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is used today. This also helped me understand how information on

food and starvation is still need today, and how this knowledge is invaluable to every current and future food crisis.

**Special to THE NEW, YORK TIMES. 1949. MEDICAL CODE IS SOUGHT. New York Times (1923-Current File), Mar 30. 1949**

This is a newspaper article on the French calling for the establishment of an international code of medical ethics. I used this source to help me understand what motivated Nuremberg code to be written and adopted.

**Special to THE NEW, YORK TIMES. 1950. WAR FOOD PLANNING URGED. New York Times (1923-Current File), Jun 03. 1950**

This is a newspaper editorial written to The New York Times in 1950, explaining the urgent need for food planning in case of war. This article helped me realize how the need for food motivates action, and how war intensifies a fear of losing food supplies.

**THOMAS H. 1950. What it means to go hungry. New York Times. (1923- Current File), Nov 12.**

This is a New York Times article on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment with a interview with Ancel Keys. I used this article to help me understand the public's perception of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, and what Ancel Keys' view of the experiment was.

**Tobey, James A. "The Biology of Human Starvation." American Journal of Public Health and the Nations Health 41.2 (1951): 236–237. Print.**

This is a book review published in the American Journal of Public Health, and the New York Times. I used this primary source to help me understand the reception of *The Biology of Human Starvation* immediately after it was published.

## Journal Publications

**Brožek, Josef, et al. "A Quantitative Study of Perception and Association in Experimental Semistarvation." Journal of Personality, vol. 19, no. 3, Mar. 1951, pp. 245–64. Wiley Online Library  
doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.1951.tb01100.x**

This is a copy of a guide for relief workers going overseas to provide aid for war torn Europe using the information from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I

used this pamphlet to help understand the immediate impacts of Minnesota Starvation Experiment, and some of the implications of this experiment during WWII relief efforts.

**“Committee of European Economic Cooperation Vol. 2 Technical Reports.”**

***Committee of European Economic Cooperation, Department of State, 1947***

These are the technical reports from the Committee of European Economic Cooperation, which outlined and advised the Marshall Plan. I used this source to help me prove that the Minnesota Starvation Experiment was used in the Marshall Plan.

**Dulloo, A. G., et al. “Autoregulation of Body Composition during Weight Recovery in Human: The Minnesota Experiment Revisited.” *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders : Journal of the International Association for the Study of Obesity*, vol. 20, no. 5, May 1996, pp. 393–405.**

This is a journal article on energy and micronutrient balances, and an explanation of the Minnesota Starvation Experiments subjects over gaining of weight after being allowed to eat freely. I used this source to help understand the current uses for the data produced by the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Dulloo, AG, and Jacquet Jean. *The Control of Partitioning between Protein and Fat during Human Starvation: Its Internal Determinants and Biological Significance*. Vol. 82, 1999. ResearchGate, doi:10.1017/S0007114599001580**

This is a research paper on the effects of starvation on cells and proteins in cells. I used this to help me prove the results of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment are still used today, and to give me some specific examples of the modern implications of the experiment.

**“Food and Agriculture Organization.” *International Organization Vol. 8 No. 2* , University of Wisconsin Press, 1954**

This is a report detailing the organization of the USAID program in 1954, which provides aid to foreign countries. I used this source to help me understand how USAID has changed since its establishment in 1954.

**Franklin, Joseph C., et al. “Observations on Human Behavior in Experimental Semistarvation and Rehabilitation.” *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan. 1948, pp. 28–45.**

This is a online copy of a release written by Ancel Keys and his team updating his sponsors on the status of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this

article to help understand the managing of public relations Ancel Keys had to handle while gaining understanding of Key's point of view on his experiment.

**Frisancho, A. Roberto. "Reduced Rate of Fat Oxidation: A Metabolic Pathway to Obesity in the Developing Nations." *American Journal of Human Biology*, vol. 15, no. 4, July 2003, pp. 522–32. Wiley Online Library, doi:10.1002/ajhb.10191**

This is a journal publication which predicts fat oxenginization rates and corresponding weight loss using some of the data from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this as proof that the data from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is still used today.

**Hall, Kevin D. "Computational Model of in Vivo Human Energy Metabolism during Semi Starvation and Refeeding." *American Journal of Physiology - Endocrinology and Metabolism*, vol. 291, no. 1, July 2006, pp. E23–37.**

This is a journal article describing the process of deriving a mathematical formula to "predict the unmeasured metabolic fluxes underlying the body composition changes." I used this article to further my understanding of other implications of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Keys, Ancel, et al. "PREDICTION OF SERUM-CHOLESTEROL RESPONSES OF MAN TO CHANGES IN FATS IN THE DIET." *The Lancet*, vol. 270, no. 7003, Nov. 1957, pp. 959–66. ScienceDirect, doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(57)91998-0**

This is an online copy of a newspaper article written by Ancel Keys on his predictions for the 7 Countries Study, one of Key's most well known studies on cardiovascular disease. I used this article to help me understand Key's exhaustive career at the University of Minnesota.

**Keys, Ancel, and Josef Brožek. "Body Fat in Adult Man." *Physiological Reviews*, vol. 33, no. 3, July 1953, pp. 245–325**

This is a brief publication by Ancel Keys outlining what he saw as the major issues with physical assessment of the human body. This helped draw my attention to how influential Ancel Keys was in his time.

**Kjenaas, Nancy K., and Josef Brožek. "Personality in Experimental Semistarvation: A Rorschach Study." *Psychosomatic Medicine*, vol. 14, no. 2, Mar. 1952, p. 115**

This is an online publication of an article written by Josef Brožek, one of Ancel Keys main scientists, reporting the test results of the Minnesota Starvation

Experiment on the Rorschach test and the Minnesota Multiphasic Inventory. This source helped me understand some of the exact results of the study and some of the specific test that were given.

**Melissa K. Whitworth, Andrea Whitfield, Søren Holm, John Shaffer, Wendy Makin, Gordon C. Jayson. “Doctor, Does This Mean I'm Going to Starve to Death?” Journal of Clinical Oncology, [ascopubs.org/doi/full/10.1200/jco.2004.02.056](https://ascopubs.org/doi/full/10.1200/jco.2004.02.056).**

This is a study on how cancer affects the metabolism of patients. I used this to help me understand how some types of cancers can cause starvation and how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is helpful in refeeding starving cancer patients.

**Müller, Manfred James, et al. “Metabolic Adaptation to Caloric Restriction and Subsequent Refeeding: The Minnesota Starvation Experiment Revisited.” *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, vol. 102, no. 4, Oct. 2015, pp. 807–19. PubMed, doi:10.3945/ajcn.115.109173.**

This paper published in the American Journal of Clinical Nutrition is the publication of the results of a smaller scale starvation and refeeding experiment similar to the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, following changing body compositions in differing states of health. I used this article to help me learn about experiments similar to the Minnesota Starvation Experiment and how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment contributed to furthering humanities knowledge of starvation and human interaction with food.

**Polivy, JANET. “Psychological Consequences of Food Restriction.” *Journal of the***

**American Dietetic Association, vol. 96, no. 6, June 1996, pp. 589–92. ScienceDirect, doi:10.1016/S0002-8223(96)00161-7**

This is an online article on the danger of self imposed eating restrictions and limitations and how these limits or diets can lead to eating disorders. This article gave me solid evidence that the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is still very relevant today and used by many eating disorder counselors.

**“Post Starvation Hyperphagia and Body Fat Overshooting in Humans: A Role for Feedback Signals from Lean and Fat Tissues.” *The American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, vol. 65, no. 3, Mar. 1997, pp. 717–23**

This is the findings from study on overshooting body fat after starvation incorporating the data from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this

information to help me understand the current implications of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Sinnott-Armstrong, Walter, and Franklin G Miller. "What Makes Killing Wrong?" *Journal of Medical Ethics, Institute of Medical Ethics*, 1 Jan. 2012.**

This is a article on the ethics of killing other people, with special regard to medical experiments using human subjects. I used this article to help me better understand the philosophy behind the Conscious Objectors views, as well as a more complete understanding of the ethics of human experimentation.

**Sipple, Horace L. "Williams-Waterman Fund for the Combat of Dietary Diseases. A**

**History of the Period 1935 through 1955." *American Journal of Public Health and the Nations Health* 47.11 Pt 1 (1957): 1459. Print.**

This is a journal article recognizing all the significant contributions to science made from 1935-1955. I used this source to help me understand how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment has been publicized and the medical contribution the experiment made.

## Government Publications

**The Belmont Report. 28 Jan. 2010.**

This is the Belmont Report, a research report establishing the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research. I used this to help me understand the rules and regulations human research has to follow and how they were established.

**Committee of European Economic Co-operation. July-September 1947. [Washington, D.C.] : Dept. of State, Division of Publications, Office of Public Affairs : 1947.**

This is a publication from the Department of State outlining the organization of the Committee of European Economic Cooperation. I used this source to help me understand the abilities and function of the Committee.

**"European Recovery Program: Hearings before the Committee of Foreign Relations." 8th Congress of the United States, 1946.**

This is a transcript of hearings before Congress on the European Recovery Program. I used this source to help me understand the perspectives for and against the US's assistance in Europe.

**Historical Dietary Guidance Digital Collection | National Agricultural Library.**

**<https://nutritionhistory.nal.usda.gov/>. Accessed 8 Dec. 2017**

This is an online pdf of a 1942 USDA food growers handbook, describing what foods and materials were needed for the war, and estimated supply and demand. I used this primary source to help me understand how much food and other agricultural supplies were needed in WWII.

**Kennedy, John F. “John F. Kennedy: Letter Accepting Resignation of George McGovern as Director of the Food for Peace Program.” Received by George McGovern, The American Presidency Project, 18 July 1962.**

This is a letter written by President John F. Kennedy in 1962, in response of the head of Food for Peace resigning. I used this letter to prove that Food for Peace was established to promote democracy and prevent the spread of communism, instead of humanitarian motives.

**Selective Service System > About > Alternative Service > Conscientious Objector.**

**<https://www.sss.gov/consobj> . Accessed 29 Nov. 2017.**

This is an article from the Selective Service Systems’ website on Conscientious Objection and Alternative Service, what alternative service consists of and how to register. I used this source to help me understand how the Selective Service has changed its stance on Conscientious Objectors to war since WWII and to help me identify current persisting problems in the Selective Service System.

**UN Charter (Full Text). 15 Apr. 2016.**

This is the original United Nations Charter establishing the United Nations. I used this to help me understand the United Nation’s motives to conduct the Doctors Trial leading to the establishment of human subject experimentation standards regulated by the UN.

**UN General Assembly. “Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.” UN General Assembly, 17 July 1998.**

This is the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court in 1998. I used this primary source to show that using starvation and other human needs as weapon is a punishable war crime against humanity.

**United States, Congress, “Selective Service System.” *Selective Service System*, US Government. [www.sss.gov/consobj](http://www.sss.gov/consobj).**

This is a US Government website on the Selective Service System and how Conscientious Objectors can register today. I used this website to help me understand how the Selective Service System has changed since the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**United States, Congress, Senate. "Conscientious Objectors' Benefits, Hearing before a Subcommittee ..., on S. 2708 ..., August 19, 1942." Conscientious Objectors' Benefits, Hearing before a Subcommittee ..., on S. 2708 ..., August 19, 1942, 1942.**

This is the transcript of a hearing from 1942 discussing Conscientious Objectors benefits and other amendments to the Selective Service Act of 1940. I used this to help me understand some of the opposing viewpoints on Conscientious Objectors during WWII.

**United States, Congress, Selective Service Regulations and the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as Amended. 1942. Gov't. Print. Office Congress.**

This is the Selective Service Act of 1940. I used this primary source to help me understand the choice or lack thereof on what alternative service Conscientious Objectors could serve. I also used this to find some quotes on Conscientious Objection in WWII, and the ethicality of alternative service options.

**United States, Congress, Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954. 1954. Government Publishing Office Congress.**

This is Public Law 480, the law that established the guidelines for US foreign aid in the Cold War. I used this law as proof that the Minnesota Starvation Experiment changed the way the US intervened in famine conditions. Also, this law provided very clear evidence and quotes proving that the US was only providing humanitarian aid to prevent the spread of Communism and promote democracy during the Cold War.

## Speeches

**Hoover, Herbert. Hunger More Destructive Than Armies. Vital Speeches of the Day, 1946, p. 496.**

This is a transcript of a speech by President Herbert Hoover on the destruction and details of the European Famine. I used this document to show how US famine response shifted in response to the beginning of the Cold War, as well as how the data from the Minnesota Starvation experiment was used for famine relief.

**Lehman, Robert S. "Conscience and the Draft." First Unitarian Society of Minneapolis. 21 Jan 1944. Pamphlets relating to compulsory military service and training, 1916-, Minnesota Historical Society Pamphlet Collection.**

This transcript of a speech given by Robert Lehman in 1944 outlined the conflict in my project. It emphasized the conflicting duties Conscientious objectors had, to obey their conscious and serve their country. I used this source to clarify and focus my conflict, and to help me understand how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment was a compromise for Conscious Objectors.

## Collections

**Max M. Kampelman Papers. Minnesota Historical Society. 1951-1980. 2 folders. Form 57: U.S. Civil Service, Security Clearance, 1980-1989. American Friends Service Committee: Civilian Public Service Union, National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 1944-1995.**

This is a collection of correspondence, forms and papers written by or about Max Kampelman, one of the participants in the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. These sources were very helpful because I could understand a wider perspective and more detailed account of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, while gaining a deeper understanding of Conscious Objectors and their treatment during WW2. These sources were at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library which had many other valuable research aids and sources.

## Ethical Codes

**Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct. American Psychological Association. Accessed 20 Dec. 2017**

This is the APA code of ethics from 2017. I used this to help me understand current ethics codes, their requirements, and how individual organizations interpret the code of federal regulations, and change them.

**WMA - The World Medical Association-WMA Declaration of Helsinki – Ethical Principles for Medical Research Involving Human Subjects. Accessed 18**

### **Dec. 2017.**

This is the current version of the Declaration of Helsinki, one of the ethics codes prohibiting the recreation of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this to help me understand ethics codes that current experiments involving human subjects must comply with.

### **WMA - The World Medical Association-WMA International Code of Medical Ethics.**

This is the international code of ethics physicians part of the world medical association are expected to follow. I used this Code of Ethics to help me prove that the Minnesota Starvation Experiment can never be replicated.

### **WMA - The World Medical Association-WMA Publishes Its Revised Declaration of Helsinki.**

This is article form the world medical association announcing its revised version of the Declaration of Helsinki. I used this to help me understand how ethical standards have changed after the Minnesota Starvation Experiment and how the doctors trial contributed to these changes.

## Data

### **American Association for Public Opinion Research. "Gallup and Fortune Polls." *Oxford Journals*, 1943.**

This is a archived publication of Gallup polls. I used this data to help me understand the public's perception of Conscious objectors and how public views changed over time.

### **Hasell, Joe, and Max Roser. "Famine Victims World Wide Since 1890." *Our World in Data*.**

This is a graph of global famine deaths since the 1890s. I used this source to help me understand the history of famines and why the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is still applicable in today's famines.

## Secondary Sources

### Books

**Dols, M. J. L., and D. J. A. M. van Arcken. "Food Supply and Nutrition in the Netherlands during and Immediately after World War II." *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 4, 1946, pp. 319–58. JSTOR, doi:10.2307/3348196**

This is a book detailing the US Government's funding distribution to Europe after the allies victory. I found this information very helpful to provide specific examples on the immediate impacts of this experiment.

**Riley, Barry. *The Political History of American Food Aid: An Uneasy Benevolence*. Oxford University Press, 2017.**

This is a book that outlines the history, influence and motivation behind American food aid. I used this source to help me understand the far reaching effects of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment and why the US provides the food aid it does today.

**Sen, Amartya. *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press, 2013.**

The book "*Development as Freedom*" by Amartya Sen introduces the idea that not only can starving people not be taught democracy, but that democracy prevents famine. I used this book to help me understand one of the many applications for the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, as well as a source on past famines.

**Sibley, Mulford Q., and Philip E. Jacob. *Conscription of Conscience: the American***

***State and the Conscientious Objector, 1940-1947*. Johnson Repr., 1965.**

This book is about Conscientious Objectors in WWII. This book was published in the 1950s, when Conscientious Objection was a relatively unaccepted practice in America, which helped me understand how the US reacted to Conscientious Objectors during WWII.

**Tucker, Todd. *The Great Starvation Experiment Ancel Keys and the Men Who Starved for Science*. University of Minnesota Press, 2007.**

This is one of the only books focused on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this book to help me gain a well rounded understanding of all parts of the experiment and lead me to contact the author for an interview.

## Videos

**Cristi Vlad. The Minnesota Starvation Experiment | The Other Ancel Keys. YouTube, Accessed 3 Dec. 2017**

This is a video which was created to introduce people to the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used some of the information from this video in my website, and to help me understand some of the everyday applications of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Ganzel, Bill, director. The Hunger Experiment. Ganzel Group Communications, Ganzel Group Communications, 1993, [ganzelgroup.com/video.html](http://ganzelgroup.com/video.html).**

This is a segment of the film "A Matter of Conscience" a documentary about Conscience Objectors. This documentary interviewed Bill Anderson, one of the Experiment participants. I used parts of this video on the "Critical Compromise" page of my website.

**"The Minnesota Semistarvation Experiment." The Minnesota Semistarvation Experiment Heart Attack Prevention, University of Minnesota, 25 Feb. 2014.**

This is a video off the University of Minnesota's website paying tribute to the participants in the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this to help me find quotes and first hand accounts of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, as well as using the video in my website.

## Articles

**70 Years Ago, the Minnesota Starvation Experiment Changed Lives. Pioneer Press, 15 Nov. 2014.**

This online newspaper article is a description of current and past effects of this experiment on its participants. I used this to help me understand the unique perspective of the people who experienced and participated in the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Baker, David. "The Psychology of Hunger." Monitor on Psychology, American Psychological Association, [www.apa.org/monitor/2013/10/hunger.aspx](http://www.apa.org/monitor/2013/10/hunger.aspx).**

This is a publication by the American Psychological Association giving readers a solid overview of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. This article helped me begin to understand this experiment without a lot of details, later helping me cut unneeded details from my project.

**Bateman-House, Alison. "Men of Peace and the Search for the Perfect Pesticide:**

**Conscientious Objectors, the Rockefeller Foundation, and Typhus Control Research.” Public Health Reports, vol. 124, no. 4, 2009, pp. 594–602**

This is a journal article on other government experiments COs could volunteer to be part of formed by the same compromise as the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, this article focused on experiments done involving typhus control. I used this to help me learn about other opportunities the US Government provided to CO's through this compromise.

**Bekier, Manny. “The Ethical Considerations of Medical Experimentation on Human Subjects.” 18 Nov. 2010**

This is a article on the ethical conflicts that arise with the use of data obtained in an unethical way. I used this article to help give me perspectives on the use of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Delasalas, Dean. “Senate Holds Hearing on Food Aid Reform.” BORGENTON, 6 Mar. 2018.**

This is an news article on the criticism of current US foreign aid policy, and propositions to change it. I used this article to help me understand how US foreign aid still is motivated by less humanitarian reasons and more self promotion motives.

**Ercsey-Ravasz, Mária, et al. “Complexity of the International Agro-Food Trade Network and Its Impact on Food Safety.” PLoS ONE, vol. 7, no. 5, May 2012. PubMed Central, doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0037810**

This is a journal article on the future of food and how the world's growing populations subsistence needs are going to be met in the future. I used this to help me understand not only how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment is used today, but how the data can be used in the future.

**“Food For Peace.” Robert and Elizabeth Dole Archive and Special Collections, 21 Sept. 2017**

This is an article on the establishment and aid provided by Food for Peace. I used this article too help me understand conflicting perspectives on Food for Peaces' accomplishments. This article also brought up the question of whether or not food should be used as an tool by governments, even when used to provide aid.

**Geran, Juliana. “How American Food Aid Keeps the Third World Hungry.” The Heritage Foundation**

This is an article on how American food aid insures that there will always be a need for food aid. I used this article to provide a perspective other than the US government's opinion of their own food aid, question the ethics of the US's food aid, and whether aid is always beneficial.

**Hueston, Will, and Anni McLeod. OVERVIEW OF THE GLOBAL FOOD SYSTEM: CHANGES OVER TIME/SPACE AND LESSONS FOR FUTURE FOOD SAFETY. National Academies Press (US), 2012. [www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov).**

This paper published in the National Academies Press presents past food and starvation crisis and discusses current and hypothetical future food crisis. I used this source to help me understand existing knowledge of food before the Minnesota Starvation Experiment and the likely uses for the experiment in the future.

**Kalm, L.M., & Semba, R.D. (2005). They starved so that others be better fed: Remembering Ancel Keys and the Minnesota Experiment. *Journal of Nutrition*, 135, 1347–1352.**

This was an article in *The Journal of Nutrition* on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment and its contribution to modern day sciences. I used this to help me understand and find the legacy of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, and this article helped me realize why this experiment is so valuable today.

**Miller, Roger G. To Save a City: The Berlin Airlift, 1948-1949. Washington, D.C.: Air**

**Force History and Museums Program, 1998. Print.**

This is an article on the Berlin airlift and the US justifications for the effort put into the airlift. I used this source to help me understand other possible applications for the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, though there was little evidence to corroborate the experiments use in the Berlin Airlift.

**Naveed, Sidra, et al. "Starvation Based Differential Chemotherapy: A Novel Approach for Cancer Treatment." *Oman Medical Journal*, vol. 29, no. 6, Nov. 2014, pp. 391–98. PubMed Central, doi:10.5001/omj.2014.107**

This is an online article on how chemotherapy can cause starvation, published in the Oman Medical Journal. I used this source to help me understand why and how cancer patients would benefit from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Pelley, Scott. "When Food Is Used as a Weapon." CBS News, CBS Interactive, 20 Nov. 2017**

This is an CBS News article on how food is being used as a weapon in many modern day violent conflicts. I used this article to introduce me to the concept of food as a weapon and help me realize how far reaching the effects of starvation can be.

**The Psychology of Hunger. American Psychology Association**

**<http://www.apa.org/monitor/2013/10/hunger.aspx> . Accessed 23 Jan. 2018.**

This is an article on the American Psychology Associations page on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment, and how this data can be used in counseling. I used this article to help me understand the current implications of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**Russell, Sharman Apt. "The Hunger Experiment." *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-), vol. 29, no. 3, 2005, pp. 66–82. JSTOR, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/40233064](http://www.jstor.org/stable/40233064).**

This is a journal article on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment written with the intention of notifying the scientific community of the Minnesota Starvation Experiments results and findings. I used this article to help me understand how the results of this experiment are still used today and in what areas of science.

## Websites

**A Journey Through The History Of American Food In 100 Bites. National Public Radio. Accessed 8 Dec. 2017**

This is a website with an interpretation of American interactions and history food. I used this to give an idea on how the Minnesota Starvation Experiment changed people's views of food and their interaction with it.

**"American Friends Service Committee Home." American Friends Service Committee, [www.afsc.org/](http://www.afsc.org/).**

This is the American Friends Service Committee's website with updates on the program, and what the program does. I used this website to help me understand how the American Friends Committee has changed since WWII.

**Blackburn, Henry. "Ancel and Margaret Keys Remembered." *Epidemiology and Community Health* : University of Minnesota : School of Public Health, University of Minnesota, 22 Mar. 2007.**

This is a web page paying tribute to the contributions of Ancel and Margaret Keys to science and the University of Minnesota. I used this source to help me learn about other discoveries the Key's made, and more about Margaret Keys.

### **The Civilian Public Service Story | Living Peace in a Time of War.**

**<http://civilianpublicservice.org/>. Accessed 18 Jan. 2018.**

This is a website created by the friends community to commemorate and teach people about the Civilian Public Service and its legacy. I used this website to help me understand the details of working in Civilian Public Service and how this system caused conflict with the government and Conscientious Objectors. This website was also helpful in my understanding of the legacy of the CPS Camps, and how that differs from the legacy of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

### **“Conscientious Objection During World War I.” WWI Online :: Opposition to the War in the United States, 14 July 2014**

This is an article on the opposition Conscientious Objectors faced during WWI. I used this website to help me understand the harsh treatment and conditions Conscientious Objectors faced throughout history.

### **Conscientious Objectors during World War II. University of Nebraska. Accessed 11 Nov. 2017.**

This is a website on Conscientious Objection during WWII written by Bill Ganzel, who made a documentary on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. I used this to help me understand the major conflicts between the government and conscientious objectors.

### **The Effects of Starvation on Behavior.**

**<http://river-centre.org/effects-starvation-behavior-implications-dieting-eating-disorders/>. Accessed 14 Oct. 2017**

This is a website for online eating disorder help, including an article on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment. This article gave a specific example of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment being used for eating disorder aid.

### **History of the United Nations. 21 Aug. 2015,**

**<http://www.un.org/en/sections/history/history-united-nations/>**

This is a history of the United Nations, as a timeline of significant events on the UN website. I used this to help me understand the development of the United Nations, and their role in the Doctors Trial.

**Jurden, John P. "Conscientious Objectors." Conscientious Objectors, American Bar Association, Feb. 2014,**  
**[www.americanbar.org/newsletter/publications/gp\\_solo\\_magazine\\_home/gp\\_solo\\_magazine\\_index/conscienciousobjectors.html](http://www.americanbar.org/newsletter/publications/gp_solo_magazine_home/gp_solo_magazine_index/conscienciousobjectors.html).**

This is an online magazine published by the American Bar Association. This article helped me gain insight to the evolving perspectives on Conscientious Objectors through modern history.

**Milestones in U.S. Food and Drug Law History. fda.gov, Accessed 8 Dec. 2017**

This is a timeline on the United States Food and Drug Administration's (FDA) website outlining some major events and discoveries since the FDA's establishment. I used this to help me understand how some of the data from the Minnesota Starvation Experiment may have been used in the FDA.

**The Minnesota Semistarvation Experiment « Heart Attack Prevention. Accessed 16 Oct. 2017**

This is a web page on the history of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment from the University of Minnesota's website. I used this website to help me find interviews and more sources, while giving me the University of Minnesota's perspective on this experiment.

**Nuremberg Code.**

**<https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/doctors-trial/nuremberg-code>. Accessed 18 Dec. 2017**

This United States Holocaust Memorial Museum website describing the doctors trial and the creation of the Nuremberg Code. I used this to help me understand why the Minnesota Starvation Experiment can never be replicated today.

**Online Exhibition.**

**<https://www.ushmm.org/information/exhibitions/online-exhibitions/special-focus/doctors-trial>. Accessed 18 Dec. 2017**

This is the webpage from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum on the Doctors Trial. I used this to help me understand the doctors trial and why current research ethics codes are in place.

**Overview of Camps | The Civilian Public Service Story.**

**<http://civilianpublicservice.org/campsoverview>. Accessed 18 Jan. 2018.**

**PBS - THE GOOD WAR: Resources. <http://thegoodwar.net/resources.html>. Accessed 5 Dec. 2017**

This is the bibliography for “The Good War and Those Who Refuse to Fight It.” I used this bibliography to help me find more primary sources and learn about topics related to the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**POV. Lesson Plan: Perspectives on the Morality of Killing in Wartime | Soldiers of Conscience| PBS. 2 Jan. 2008,**  
**<http://www.pbs.org/pov/soldiersofconscience/lesson-plan>**

This is a PBS lesson plan based off of “*The Good War and Those who Refuse to Fight it*” encouraging students to explore the morality of killing others during a time of war. I used this to help me understand important parts of the history of CO’s and different arguments supporting and refuting a CO’s stance on war.

**“USAID History.” U.S. Agency for International Development, USAID.**

This is the USAID webpage on the history of USAID since its establishment in 1954. I used this website to help me understand the history of USAID and its involvement in the Cold War and utilization of the results of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**What We Can Learn from the Minnesota Starvation Study About the Impact of Restriction on Behavior. The Emily Program. 15 November 2017.**

This is a website to provide online help for people with eating disorders. I used this information to provide a interpretation from the perspective of a person with an eating disorder on the Minnesota Starvation Experiment.

**World Food Programme, Herbert Hoover and the Importance of School Feeding to Build Peace | WFP | United Nations World Food Programme - Fighting Hunger Worldwide. World Food Programme, 7 Sept. 2009.**

This is an article on the World Food Program website on President Herbert Hoover’s approach to fighting world hunger. I used this information to help me understand the impact Food for Peace had on international United Nations famine response policy.

## Images

**American Friends Service Committee. “Sign That Appeared in Barber Shop Window near CPS Camp #32.” Swarthmore College Peace Collection.**

This is a picture of a sign near a CPS camp reading “No Skunks Allowed, So YOU Conscious Objectors, Keep the Hell out of this Shop!”

**"The Biology of Human Starvation," Keys, Bozek, Henschel, 1950.**

This is a picture of the cover of "The Biology of Human Starvation," the publication the Minnesota Starvation Experiment results.

**"The Conscious Objector in the Front!" WWI Postcards Archive, 12 July 2014.**

This is a postcard depicting the artist interpretation of Conscious Objectors to war.

**"Conscientious Objectors Building Road," Swarthmore College Peace Collection, 1943.**

This is a picture of Conscious Objectors to WWII building a road.

**"Conscientious Objectors Working in Civilian Public Service Camps." The Civilian Public Service Story, The Mennonite Central Committee.**

This is a photo collection from the website "The Civilian Public Service Story" of Conscientious Objectors working in the CPS camps.

**"Doctor US Congress," Justice, Minneapolis Star Archives, 1947.**

This is a political cartoon from 1947, representing the US as a "doctor" for the European famine.

**"First Shipment of Marshall Plan Food Aid," Getty Images, 1947.**

This is a picture of the first shipment of the food aid to Europe provided under the Marshall Plan.

**Forney, Ralph, "WWII Famine Victims from Concentration Camps," 1945.**

This is a picture of starving concentration camp survivors.

**Ihnatowycz, Ian, "Starving Children in Ukraine," 1944.**

This is a picture of starving children in Ukraine after the Allied forces took over in 1944.

**Jones, Gareth, WWII Famine Victims, 1945.**

This is a picture of starving children after WWII, in 1945.

**Getty Images. "Conscientious Objectors at a Peace Demonstration." The Daily Mail.**

This is a picture of Conscious Objectors in WWI protesting for peace in 1917.

**Hart, Edward H. "Food for Peace 5c US Stamp." Whitman Books.**

This is a picture of a US Food for Peace stamp from 1963.

**Keys, Ancel. "Will You Starve So That They Can Be Better Fed?" University of Minnesota.**

This is a picture of the cover of the pamphlet given to Conscious Objectors recruiting them to be in the experiment.

**Max Kampleman. United States Institute of Peace. 15 May, 2005.**

This is a picture of Max Kampleman from 2005.

**Men Starve in Minnesota. Photo Collection, Time/Life Archives. 14 Sept. 2013.**

This is a collection of photos of the Minnesota Starvation Experiment from an article Time magazine did on the experiment.

**"Public Service in Lieu of Military Service," Swarthmore College Peace Collection.**

This is a map of the locations of CPS service camps during WWII.

**Rothwell, Sean. "Treatment Spectrum for Anorexia Nervosa." Life in the Fast Lane.**

This is an adapted image on the treatment timeline for Anorexia Nervosa.

**Russian children clamor for food, The Montifraulo Collection, 1945.**

This is a picture of starving children trying to get food after WWII.

**"They Serve Without Weapons, Special Projects." Nebraska Studies.**

This is a copy of the cover of a pamphlet given to Conscious Objectors notifying them of special projects.

**Weindel, Henri, "Famine Victims of the USSR," 1941.**

This is a picture of famine victims, from areas where the USSR blocked food supplies.

**WWII Famine Victims, Gareth Jones/Getty Images, 1945.**

This is a picture of 4 starving children in Europe during WWII.