

Exposing The Effects of Agent Orange on Veterans and People Involved in the Vietnam War

Robert W. Morgan Jr.

Almost thirty years after the last troops were pulled out of what was then South Vietnam, its effects are still felt in today's society. It is hard not to find someone who's life has not been affected because of this war. One of the biggest and most controversial decisions made in the war was to use chemical warfare, called Agent Orange. Some people agreed with the use of Agent Orange. They saw it as a very viable weapon that needed to be used in order to keep the Communist from taking control of South Vietnam and subverting their democratic government. Many others disapproved of its use. They knew, correctly, that it would severely devastate the landscape of Vietnam and would forever ruin the land for agricultural use. They also knew of the harmful effect it would have once adults and children came in contact with the harmful chemicals that form the chemical make up of Agent Orange. Once the first bombs carrying Agent Orange were dropped there was no going back. For some people the use of Agent Orange changed their whole opinion of the war and what we were really fighting for. Pictures showing burns and disfigurement were soon to hit the presses. Once the American public could see exactly what was happening and how the civilian life was being treated impacted many people so much that they could no longer support what the United States was doing over in Vietnam. The goal of this paper is to show how the use of Agent Orange changed many people's perspective of the war in Vietnam.

Why has the use of Agent Orange become so controversial? The Americans dropped the atomic bomb to end World War II and did not have the backlash that it had, and still has, with Agent Orange. The very reason lies in the fact that the effects of Agent Orange are harming millions of people in Vietnam still to this day, but what exactly is Agent Orange. Agent Orange is a herbicide that was used to defoliate the jungles,

meaning the United States military was trying to kill off the trees in Vietnam in order to take away places for North Vietnamese military men could hide (1). The Viet Cong did not fight conventionally against the American military, they could not do so and expect to win. This caused them to resort to guerilla warfare in order to strike and weaken parts of a division or unit. The Americans used Agent Orange as a defense strategy in order to take away hiding places for the Viet Cong to run to after hitting the American units (2). What is especially harmful to those who were around Agent Orange and where it was sprayed was the dioxin, which is a byproduct of one of the chemicals components. People still worked and breathed even with the residue of the toxin still in the air and in the soil, civilians and military personnel alike. The toxin carried in it a carcinogen that got its way into the water and in the soil. Slowly as the years have passed and Vietnam has been hit with a lot of monsoons clean water has washed away the toxic water, but not before it entered into the food chain and then started to accumulate into body fat and tissue in humans that was able to passed from a mother to their child threw breast milk. The American military, by word of the American government, dumped millions of gallons of Agent Orange onto the southern half of Vietnam that has killed or injured over four hundred thousand people and is being attributed to birth defects of over five hundred thousand children (3). What has really been the devastating part of the use of Agent Orange is how many people have been affected by it that were too young to fight or who were not even alive when the Vietnam War happened. In all there were over two millions people affected by the weapon with over half a million of them being small children (4). Agent Orange has affected the lives of many of the people over in Vietnam, but the saddest part of its use is that it has caused problems to small children and now it

has affected the lives of people who were not even involved in the bloody and destructive war at all.

What causes Agent Orange to be so destructive and so deadly to so many people and things? Agent Orange is a fifty-fifty mix of two phenoxy herbicides. The first of the two herbicides is 2, 4 D which is 2, 4-dichlorophenoxy acetic acid and the other being 2, 4, 5-T which is 2, 4, 5-trichlorophenoxy acetic acid, which are two very common components to most of the herbicides found domestically. The name Agent Orange comes not from anything to do with the chemical make up or the smell, which was said to smell like perfume, but was named after the containers the chemical was shipped in. The United States military also used chemical weapons called Agent Blue, White, and even Pink. Most of the Agent Orange produced for the Vietnam War, under the code name Operation Ranch Hand, was done by Monsanto, which supplied around nineteen million gallons, of which eleven million gallons were actually sprayed in Vietnam. The reason Agent Orange became so deadly was that Monsanto was rushed to produce the defoliant and a containment was leaked into the mix during the manufacturing process. As stated previously, the two herbicides are used in domestic herbicides, but at a lesser concentration of TCDD, 2, 3, 7, 8-tetrachlorodibenzo-para-dioxin, which is a byproduct that is unavoidable and also unwanted of 2, 4, 5-T. The parts per million in domestic preparation is 0.05 while the number that was in the barrels sent over to Vietnam were one thousand times larger, putting the parts per million at 50, which meant that the contamination was far deadlier in the Vietnam containers (5). The herbicides used to make Agent Orange, which got its name from the drums it was shipped over in, are used

domestically, but because of contamination in manufacturing it became even deadlier than it was at first thought it would be.

Agent Orange has been linked to many illnesses for the Americans who fought there and for those people who were the people of Vietnam. The exposure to Agent Orange has been linked to any possible health problems Vietnam Veterans have faced since returning from the jungles. The diseases vary from rashes to nausea and even depression, certain types of cancers and even birth defects. The United States and Department of Veteran Affairs have responded to the many compliments lodged to their offices. They have carried out blood tests in order to test for who was and who was not exposed to its harmful effects. Studies have shown that there were very few people who were exposed to Agent Orange's harmful effects. Also people look at the children of the Veterans who served in Vietnam and see if the exposure their parents came into has any effect on the condition of the children. In most cases the children of the Veterans in fact suffer from fewer birth defects than the general population, in a study carried on in the United States by the Center for Disease Control and in Australia. The one exception to this appears in sailors who served off the coast and could not have been exposed to Agent Orange (6). The people most effected by the spraying of Agent Orange has been the Vietnamese people who were unlucky enough to live where the United States decided to target. In a film made by Peter Davis years after he was a soldier in Vietnam showed just how awful the effects of Agent Orange on the people. In the film Davis showed a woman with her five children. All of the women's children were blind, but that was not enough, three of those five children have no eyes at all. There are only flaps of skin on their foreheads where the eyes are supposed to be. This film was not produced at trying to

attack the Americans, but in fact try to show how awful the effects of Agent Orange have been in trying to get the Americans to do something more. Another film was produced about what land mines have done to unsuspecting children who have come across them. Both of these films had the support by Catholic Relief Oxfam, the Quakers, and the Vietnam Veterans of American Foundation (7). In the years following the Vietnam War there have been people trying to bring about recognition to the problems Agent Orange has caused the people. Some of the problems introduced legitimately need to be addressed while some of them have no basis and need to be forgotten about to address the ones that need the most attention.

When looking back at how Agent Orange has affected so many people, one must wonder did the government not know of its harmful effect, or did it? The use of Agent Orange in Vietnam started in 1965. The chemicals used to make up Agent Orange have been around for many years previous, and had even come under concern about the toxicity of the chemical. In a report made in 1952 army representatives contact Monsanto, the largest producer of Agent Orange for the war effort, and made it known to them that 2, 4, 5-T had in effect been tampered with by outside toxins making it more harmful than before. Just two years before the United States military started to use Agent Orange the army took a look at just how toxic Agent Orange actually was. In their report they found there was an increased risk of contracting chloracne that is a severe skin condition that is irreversible. Chloracne was the first of the disease to be later compensated for to Vietnam Veterans who sought out medical assistance for their growing diseases. The second disease that the Army's review found Agent Orange to put at a greater risk was respiratory irritations. The review further showed that there was a

greater risk of being harmed by these diseases if military persons who had very little experience in the care and handling of these chemicals administered Agent Orange. If the government knew of these harmful consequences why did they still choose to use Agent Orange? President Kennedy was in office when he was presented with information on how successful Agent Orange as well as the other Agents, based on the color strip on their containers, were at destroying crops and clearing the roads for use and communication lines in order to help out ground forces in Vietnam (8). It would be naïve to say that the American government did not have any idea about the harmful effects of Agent Orange when in 1952 a report was sent to the largest producer of Agent Orange explaining to them about the toxins that made their way into Agent Orange during the manufacturing process. Still President Kennedy and later President Johnson still choose to use Agent Orange because of the poor situation they faced in Vietnam. They were compelled to get more and more involved and to use any means necessary in order to accomplish a victory for the American forces over in Vietnam.

By any means necessary the United States government wanted to win over in Vietnam. President Johnson first used over Agent Orange in Vietnam. Johnson was more concerned with getting his domestic agenda pushed through than taking the time to examine the situation over in Vietnam. At first the reports coming out of Vietnam said that they were going to win the war, that they had it locked up. Johnson put a lot of trust in Bundy and McNamara, two members of his cabinet. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., the ambassador to Saigon, made a report to White House personnel and President Johnson leaving them with an imprint on their minds that victory would come very soon. Later reports started to surface in the White House saying there was a problem over in Vietnam

and they were not winning, as before they thought they were. The North Vietnamese capital of Hanoi was bombed more times than total bombs dropped by all the participants in World War II. Johnson did not trust the intelligence therefore he choose to ignore the new reports that came out about how the American military was not going to be able to win (9). Johnson felt that he could not show weakness and pull out of Vietnam. He could not take the foreign policy defeat and still be able to push through the Great Society which he hoped to improve conditions here at home for Americans. What Johnson actually did was help Americans here on our own soil, but hurt the Americans over in Vietnam and the Veterans returning because they became stigmatized for the actions they took at the orders of their government. Men were frequently called baby killers, harassed as they got off the plane, and even assaulted just for doing the duty their country told them they must do.

President Johnson's Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara did not view the intelligence world with such disregard as Johnson did. At first he too believed that the situation in Vietnam was able to won, and won quickly, but as the years drug on and more and more troops were sent over, McNamara started to see the folly of what they were doing in Vietnam. In July of 1965 McNamara went over to Vietnam and visited with General Westmoreland to access the situation over there. Much to his dismay he Westmoreland could not give McNamara any information on when the fighting would end. In fact, Westmoreland told McNamara that "he needed 175,000 troops by year's end and another 100,000 in 1966. Skeptical that aerial attacks could reduce the flow of men and material from North to South below the levels required to overwhelm South Vietnamese and U. S. forces" (10). That is to say that even with the ability now to use

Agent Orange, General Westmoreland was still unsure that it would even be able to help out the Americans in trying to defeat the NVA and VC, North Vietnamese Army and Viet Cong. Upon hearing this McNamara went back to Washington to draw up a report to show Johnson on what he needed to do next as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces. McNamara still believed that Vietnam was not a lost cause. In fact, when he got back to Washington he sat down and reviewed three alternatives that were already presented to him before. They included:

1. Withdraw under the best conditions obtainable—almost certainly meaning something close to unconditional surrender;
2. Continue at the present level—almost certainly forcing us into Option 1 later; or
3. Expand our forces to meet Westy's (Westmoreland) request, while launching a vigorous effort to open negotiations—almost certainly staving off near-term defeat but also increasing the difficulty and cost of withdrawal later.

McNamara was more enamored with option three, which they ended up using, but after looking back at this decision years later he found out how wrong this decision was (11). McNamara became more and more aware of the failing effort in Vietnam, but President Johnson just would not change the way he handled the situation over there for fear that it would hurt the passage of any of his Great Society bills. This caused a rift between the two men that would end with McNamara resigning his post as Secretary of Defense.

No matter what people felt later on, the decision to use Agent Orange was made and followed through with. The Operation Code Named Ranch Hand was put into motion with the primary way of exposing the crops to the herbicide is through the air. This put the Air Force in charge and they made constant flights over the jungles, the fields, and anywhere else they needed to spray the chemicals on. That is not the only way in which Agent Orange was employed. Early uses of Agent Orange, and herbicides

very similar to Agent Orange, arrived in drums on the ground that were accessible to ground forces. They would take and use two and a half gallon Hudson sprayers and fill them up with Agent Orange and spray towns they went through that were abandoned (12). This put more people at risk to the deadly herbicide. When researchers conduct studies on the Veterans who were apart of Operation Ranch Hand, they neglect to check out other Veterans who could have used sprayers on the ground, since not much attention goes to these men. While all of this was going on in Vietnam, Washington was not putting as much weight into Vietnam as needed. McNamara was urging President Johnson to more money, threw raising taxes, and more troops into Vietnam. Johnson would not listen here, he was satisfied with the continued air warfare, and the use of Agent Orange, that was already taking place. Johnson did commit more ground forces over to Vietnam, but not enough forces, and for that not enough money that would have allowed the American military to successfully accomplish a victory over there (13). Through the lack of funds and an unwillingness to commit as many grounds troops needed to fight, President Johnson and the American military relied on the air wars to win in Vietnam. In the grand scheme of things Agent Orange was needed under Johnson in order for the United States to be triumphant over in Vietnam. What these people did not figure in are the lives that would later be hurt and diseased by over using herbicides that were polluted and would cause deadly harm when used.

After all this, what are can conclusion could be drawn from the facts? It is a fact that a lot of people were exposed to Agent Orange. It is also a fact that chemical companies knew that 2, 4, 5-T was contaminated in the manufacturing process, but was still used in the war effort over in Vietnam. The big question still needing to answered,

or rather agreed upon, is who was really affected by the use of Agent Orange and what are the actual side effects that it has caused? It has been proven that Agent Orange is identified “as a cause of cancer, congenital deformations, and other afflictions” (14). What does that mean to the Veterans of the Vietnam War? Does that mean anyone who was over there or exposed to Agent Orange will die a grotesque and early death? This conclusion cannot be drawn with the evidence that has been uncovered. A study done by the Center for Disease Control in 1988 of Vietnam Veterans and Veterans who did not serve in Vietnam shows very little connection to a mass hysteria over the disease that Agent Orange is said to cause. The study did prove there were two differences between the two groups of Veterans, that the Vietnam Veterans had lower sperm counts and a higher affliction for hearing loss (15). The problem with just looking at Vietnam Veterans and Veterans who were not in Vietnam saturates the sample with men who were not even exposed to Agent Orange at all. In order to show better concrete evidence of this, one must look at the men who handled Agent Orange the most. The best group to examine when looking at the effects that Agent Orange has done is to the members of Operation Ranch Hand.

The idea to test out the members of Operation Ranch Hand for Agent Orange disease and effects came about on Memorial Day in 1979 when pressure by media sources as well as Vietnam Veteran interest groups. President Carter made this announcement as more and more veterans had growing concerns about their exposure to the herbicide. More and more evidence start to accumulate as more and more veterans were interviewed about their experiences and operations were over in Vietnam. The evidence started to show that the exposure to Agent Orange was even greater than the

United States government wished to admit (16). It was threw pressure from outside the government, threw veterans and interest groups, that called for more research to be done on Agent Orange and its harmful side effects. Now we have cause for the studies, but what did they in fact show? For years veterans, who claimed to have suffered because of Agent Orange, bombarded the Veterans Administration with requests for medical treatment. Since the VA did not take the requests seriously, when they tried to present the material they had found, foul play was called. In fact, the Veterans Administration came under such attack that the research on Agent Orange and its effects was taken out of their hands and transferred to first the Food and Drug Administration, FDA, and then to the CDC, Center for Disease Control. With the VA under fire and pressure now being put on Congress to act, they did so. The Congress enacted an order allowing for any veteran who claimed herbicide related illness or disease to be able to receive free medical care and nursing home care, if they were unable to live on their own. Congress made it well known that this law was for medical care only, and not benefit payments (17).

When the first research was done on Agent Orange, there was still not enough evidence out there to show just what Agent Orange cause and did not cause. Congress still acted because they feared the backlash if they just ignored the issue at hand.

The studies about the members of Operation Ranch Hand only serve to support the claims made by the United States government and the Veterans Administration, that the members of Operation Ranch Hand are not more likely to die earlier or to have certain, if any types of cancer, at a higher rate than anyone else (18). That is to say that everyone claiming that Agent Orange caused their problems may not have facts to back up their claims. How can this be since the members of Operation Ranch Hand were the

most susceptible to Agent Orange and its harmful effects? The truth of the matter lies in how dioxin, the main marker showing exposure to Agent Orange, spread throughout a person's body. Dioxin is stored in a person's body fat and slowly makes its way into the bloodstream. It is a proven medical fact that people with more body fat do not release fat-soluble compounds, like dioxin, as quick as people who have less body fat. The conclusion that can be drawn from this is that higher levels of dioxin are associated with higher obesity levels in an individual. The facts here disprove the most recent claim that Agent Orange is the cause of diabetes, when in actuality obesity is more directly the cause for diabetes than any kind of exposure to Agent Orange. To take this a step further, when looking at other diseases said to be caused by Agent Orange, such as cancer, it has been shown that members of Operation Ranch Hand are twenty-one percent less likely to develop cancer than other Vietnam Veterans who were not even exposed to Agent Orange (19). The evidence present in many studies shows, with the members of Operation Ranch Hand as the control group, that simple exposure to Agent Orange does not mean you are going to die an early death or have troubles for the rest of your life.

With most of the evidence supporting the exact opposite about what groups such as Agent Orange Victims International and Agent Orange Victims of New York, why has Congress not reversed its bill or the veterans stopped making complaints. While the evidence does not show high levels of problems, the fact of that matter is, there are still people who got infected with dangerous levels of dioxins from Agent Orange. If it were not for groups such as Agent Orange Victims International, many people would not know about Agent Orange at all (20). It is through their efforts that people are now more aware about what Agent Orange has done to its victims. While there may not be the enormous

amount that they wish to claim suffered because of Agent Orange, there are still people who did suffer. It is still true that Agent Orange causes some diseases and birth defects. Some birth defects are not seen until later. The son of a Vietnam Veteran related the story of his son in an interviewing explaining the problems his son has had with cancer. It has been proven that Agent Orange can be passed from mother to child in breast milk and through the genes of the parents. His son has five scars on his body from surgeries he has had to endure to rid his body of cancer (21). This is something that we all must never forget. Even those this is a rare case, as shown by the evidence on the effects of Agent Orange, it should not be forgotten.

Agent Orange is not just linked to cancer and chloracne, but is also linked to numbness in limbs, violent rages, any many other diseases, though evidence shows not in the high numbers that are being claimed by many Vietnam Veterans. Now is the time to act, though. There is nowhere to hide from its harmful effects, even the government can no longer ignore the effects of Agent Orange. In 1983 the truth behind the government's knowledge on the harmful effects of Agent Orange surfaced. In a lawsuit brought on by Vietnam Veterans against Dow Chemical it was revealed from internal documents from Dow Chemical that they told the government that dioxin in Agent Orange was incredibly toxic to human beings and threw their own studies they have shown fatalities from it (22). The government since has done obviously not enough to take care of the people who actually suffered at the hands of Agent Orange. Though the Veterans Administration, now called the Department of Veteran Affairs, have agreed to compensate veterans with such afflictions as Hodgkin's disease, skin cancer, soft tissue sarcoma, and others (23). The question still needing to be answered is will this solve all the remaining problems

with Agent Orange? The answer to that in my opinion is no. The Veterans will not recover fully until all of the evidence is brought forth and the Vietnam is finally put to rest. The problem with us Americans is that we do not let go easy. The best way to end all of the suffering is to join together with the Vietnamese government to find prisoners of war, people missing in action, to rid country of as many still undetonated landmines as possible, and to treat those who have suffered from the chemicals used over in Vietnam. It was not until recently that actions taken by the United States government to try and work peaceably with the Vietnamese government. While over in Vietnam President Clinton promised assistance to the Vietnamese government in research to determine the effects of Agent Orange on the soils and plant life in Vietnam (24). This is a huge step in trying to normalize relations with a country that bares no ill feelings towards us. We cannot turn back the hands of time. What is done is done and all we can do is move on and try to fix problems from the past and learn from them in order not to repeat them.

Agent Orange was probably one of the most controversial issues surrounding the Vietnam conflict, if not the most controversial one, and has since still been a thorn in the side of the American government. From day one the members of the government knew of the harmful side effects of Agent Orange. Also from the beginning there were groups such as The Federation of American Scientists, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, as well as a few others protested the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam (25). The government ignored their pleas and put millions of lives at risk for doing so. The facts show that dioxins in Agent Orange do cause many illnesses, but these cases are rare and few and far between. Does that mean we should just ignore the issue? Absolutely not because there are people who have children born with defects and people

who contract very deadly illnesses. Even though the studies show that the people most at risk, the members of Operation Ranch Hand, had fewer cases than others, it does not mean we should just let a group of people waste away and die. Is it enough that they served their country and came home to riots and attacked? Not to many, but to me they are heroes in my book. Only the future will show us what it has in store for us, but when it comes to Agent Orange, we as a world need to take care of our people who have been affected by this chemical, not just because it is our fault as members of the government, albeit a small member, but it is our duty to help those that are in need because of the way our society works. Our society is so interconnected that boundaries and obstacles that were there twenty-five years ago no longer exist. It is time to forget our differences and concentrate on our strengths. One of our strengths as humans is to help those that are in need. The veterans for the Vietnam War most in need are those that suffer because of the harmful chemicals and weapons used to fight it.

1. Fumento, Michael. "Vietnam Flashback." Reason 32 no. 3. 2000: 46-47.
2. Spake, Amanda. "The Healing Process is Far From Done." U.S. News and World Report 128 no. 17. 2000: 39
3. Dreyfuss, Robert. "Apocalypse Still." Mother Jones 25 no. 1 2000: 42-51+
4. Davis, Peter. "Letter From Vietnam." The Nation 276 no. 22 2003: 20-22, and 24-26.
5. Warwick, Hugh. "Agent Orange: The Poisoning of Vietnam." The Ecologist v28 no. 5. 1998: 264-265.
6. Fumento, Michael. "Vietnam Flashback." Reason 32 no. 3. 2000: 46-47.
7. Davis, Peter. "Letter From Vietnam." The Nation 276 no. 22 2003: 20-22, and 24-26.
8. Schuck, Peter H. Agent Orange on Trial: Mass Toxic Disasters in the Courts. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986. pgs. 16-17.
9. Andrew, Christopher. For the President's Eyes Only. New York, Harper Perennial, 1995.
10. McNamara, Robert S. In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam. New York: Vintage Books, 1995. pgs 201-202.
11. McNamara, Robert S. In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam. New York: Vintage Books, 1995. pg. 204.
12. Powell, Colin and Joseph E. Persico. My American Journey. New York: Ballantine Books, 1995.
13. Shesol, Jeff. Mutual Contempt: Lyndon Johnson, Robert Kennedy, and the Feud That Defined a Decade. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997. pgs. 273-274.
14. Karnow, Stanley. Vietnam: A History. New York: Penguin Books, 1995. pg. 33.
15. Burkett, B. G. and Glenna Whitley. Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation Was Robbed of its Heroes and its History. Dallas, Texas: Verity Press, Inc., 1998. pg. 543.
16. Uhl, Michael and Tod Ensign. GI Guinea Pigs: How the Pentagon Exposed Our Troops to Dangers More Deadly Than War: Agent Orange and Atomic Radiation. Playboy Press, 1980. pg. 134.
17. Schuck, Peter H. Agent Orange on Trial: Mass Toxic Disasters in the Courts. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986. pgs. 78-79.
18. Gough, Michael. Dioxin Agent Orange: The Facts. New York: Plenum Press, 1986. pg. 69.
19. Fumento, Michael. "Vietnam Flashback." Reason 32 no. 3. 2000: 46-47.
20. Wilcox, Fred A. Waiting For an Army To Die. Washington, D.C.: Seven Locks Press, 1989. pg. 10.
21. Young, Marilyn B. The Vietnam Wars: 1945-1990. New York: Harper Perennial, 1991. pgs. 325-326.
22. Macpherson, Myra. "McNamara's Other Crimes: The Stories You Haven't Heard." The Washington Monthly v27 1995: 28-29.
23. Dreyfuss, Robert. "Apocalypse Still." Mother Jones 25 no. 1 2000: 42-51+
24. Omestad, Thomas. "A Country, Not a War." U.S. News and World Report 129 no. 21 2000: 53.

25. Dreyfuss, Robert. "Apocalypse Still." Mother Jones 25 no. 1 2000: 42-51+

WORKS CITED

- Andrew, Christopher. For the President's Eyes Only. New York, Harper Perennial, 1995.
- Burkett, B. G. and Glenna Whitley. Stolen Valor: How the Vietnam Generation Was Robbed of its Heroes and its History. Dallas, Texas: Verity Press, Inc., 1998.
- Davis, Peter. "Letter From Vietnam." The Nation 276 no. 22 2003: 20-22, and 24-26.
- Dreyfuss, Robert. "Apocalypse Still." Mother Jones 25 no. 1 2000: 42-51+
- Fumento, Michael. "Vietnam Flashback." Reason 32 no. 3. 2000: 46-47.
- Gough, Michael. Dioxin Agent Orange: The Facts. New York: Plenum Press, 1986.
- Karnow, Stanley. Vietnam: A History. New York: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Macpherson, Myra. "McNamara's Other Crimes: The Stories You Haven't Heard." The Washington Monthly v27 1995: 28-29.
- McNamara, Robert S. In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Omestad, Thomas. "A Country, Not a War." U.S. News and World Report 129 no. 21 2000: 53.
- Powell, Colin and Joseph E. Persico. My American Journey. New York: Ballantine Books, 1995.
- Schuck, Peter H. Agent Orange on Trial: Mass Toxic Disasters in the Courts. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Shesol, Jeff. Mutual Contempt: Lyndon Johnson, Robert Kennedy, and the Feud That Defined a Decade. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997.

Spake, Amanda. "The Healing Process is Far From Done." U.S. News and World
Report 128 no. 17. 2000: 39

Uhl, Michael and Tod Ensign. GI Guinea Pigs: How the Pentagon Exposed Our Troops
to Dangers More Deadly Than War: Agent Orange and Atomic Radiation.
Playboy Press, 1980.

Warwick, Hugh. "Agent Orange: The Poisoning of Vietnam." The Ecologist v28 no. 5.
1998: 264-265.

Wilcox, Fred A. Waiting For an Army To Die. Washington, D.C.: Seven Locks Press,
1989.

Young, Marilyn B. The Vietnam Wars: 1945-1990. New York: Harper Perennial,
1991.