Beyond the Shadow of Agent Orange: Veterans Stand for Justice

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Individual Documentary

Process Paper: 500 words

After creating a documentary about the Vietnam Veterans Memorial last school year, I became interested in the issues surrounding this controversial era. One of the controversies during and after the Vietnam War included the use of Agent Orange, a toxic chemical used for defoliation. Although the chemical manufacturers had discovered that the dioxin within Agent Orange caused chloracne, a disfiguring rash, the use of Agent Orange continued for a decade in Vietnam, leaving 2.4 million soldiers exposed. While in Vietnam and in the decades that followed, veterans not only experienced chloracne but also a number of other diseases resulting from Agent Orange exposure. I found the persistence of veterans inspiring as they advocated for benefits and justice in response to their suffering, despite resistance from their government.

I used an assortment of sources, both primary and secondary, in conducting my research. Using secondary sources, such as books, websites, and films, I found information regarding Agent Orange's use during the Vietnam War. I also acquired excellent primary source information through interviewing Vietnam veterans and members of Vietnam veterans of America, an organization that advocates for Vietnam veterans. In another personal interview, Bart Stichman, the lead attorney for the Nehmer case, shared his account of the case and how the National Veterans Legal Services Program persuaded Congress to change the standard for recognizing diseases correlated to Agent Orange. The information from these interviews greatly enhanced the research process. Other primary sources included images, film footage, and documents from various collections, including the National Archives, *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Times*, and NBC News.

I decided to create a documentary, since I enjoy making films. When creating the documentary, I wanted to incorporate the interviews in a powerful and meaningful way. To do so, I utilized personal experiences shared by the interviewees. I also incorporated many images

and video clips of the Vietnam War and its controversial use of Agent Orange to support the narration.

With a lack of governmental support for their growing health issues, Vietnam veterans took a stand through legal action and legislation to gain benefits and justice for the years of suffering resulting from their exposure to Agent Orange. Initiating the first major stand for support, Paul Reutershan, a dying Vietnam veteran exposed to Agent Orange, filed a lawsuit in 1978 against the manufacturers of the toxic defoliant. As the first major stand, it served as a catalyst for future actions. In 1986, the National Veterans Legal Services Program supported the Vietnam veterans' stand in a class action lawsuit, *Nehmer vs the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs*, which changed the standard for identifying diseases presumed related to Agent Orange by eliminating the requirement for a direct causal relationship. Through the Agent Orange Act of 1991, veterans and legislators took a stand once again in order to expand the list of diseases eligible for benefits. As a result of their decades-long stand, Vietnam veterans and their families have gained justice and benefits for the suffering resulting from Agent Orange exposure.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Personal Interviews

Kaderlik, Maynard. Personal Interview. 14 Jan. 2017.

Maynard Kaderlik, a chairperson for Vietnam Veterans of America's Agent Orange Committee and a Vietnam veteran, provided a first-hand account of Agent Orange exposure and the efforts for justice and support. After describing his time in Vietnam and his exposure to Agent Orange, Kaderlik shared the effect Agent Orange has had on himself, his children, and his grandchildren. As a primary source, Kaderlik then described the efforts that he and the Vietnam Veterans of America have taken in order to advocate for the support of Vietnam veterans.

Leaveck, Michael. Personal Interview. 3 Oct. 2016.

Michael Leaveck, a Vietnam veteran and former Chief Lobbyist for Vietnam Veterans of America, worked for numerous organizations that fought for the benefits for Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange. In the interview, Leaveck provided useful information about his experiences in Vietnam and exposure to Agent Orange. He then described a documentary, which showed the dangers of Agent Orange that led to the lawsuit against the manufacturers of Agent Orange. Although this lawsuit was settled, many veterans, including Leaveck continued to fight for more substantial amounts of money and health benefits to help compensate for medical bills. Leaveck, a primary source, helped to show the struggles of veterans to gain benefits and the stand he and other Vietnam veterans took in order to gain these benefits for veterans exposed to Agent Orange.

Scott, Ronald. Personal Interview. 31 Dec. 2016.

Ronald Scott, a Vietnam veteran exposed to Agent Orange, shared the impact Agent Orange has had on him, leaving him with cancer throughout nearly his entire body. In addition, Scott, a primary source, shared his efforts to gain benefits to support his unimaginable medical bill and his ongoing physical challenges.

Stancliff, Cindy. Personal Interview. 10 Nov. 2016.

Cindy Stancliff, a primary source, provided information regarding her marriage to two Vietnam veterans. Her first husband died due to the effects of Agent Orange, and her second husband fought for seventeen years to gain benefits from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. Her description of the health impacts that they suffered, as well as the impact on her own life, enhanced the research and offered the perspective of a family member for the documentary.

Stancliff, Paul. Personal Interview. 10 Nov. 2016.

Paul Stancliff, a Vietnam veteran, shared the severe impacts that exposure to Agent Orange had on him. This primary source provided information about his seventeen-year battle with the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs to gain medical care, as well as his ongoing struggles with a variety of diseases. Mr. Stancliff also explained the method of his exposure to Agent Orange while in Vietnam.

Stichman, Barton. Personal Interview. 16 Jan. 2017.

In this interview, Bart Stichman, the lead attorney on the Nehmer case and co-founder of the National Veterans Legal Services Program, described the arguments presented on both sides of *Nehmer vs the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs*. He further explained how the case required that the Department of Veterans Affairs no longer require direct evidence of cause and effect with Agent Orange. Rather, they now had to consider any disease where there was a statistically significant correlation with Agent Orange exposure. This primary source helped to explain the ways in which Mr. Stichman's organization has advocated for veterans wishing to take a stand for justice.

Films

"The Dark Shadow of Agent Orange." *New York Times*, 12 May 2014, www.nytimes.com/video/us/100000002872288/agent-orange.html.

This film provided primary source footage of Agent Orange's impact on Vietnam and the veterans. Through the film, a scene was used showing the effects of Agent Orange on the defoliation of Vietnam's jungle. Further use of the film in the documentary included the use of scenes of protests and other ways in which the veterans took a stand to gain benefits for their suffering.

Legacies. 1983. Produced by Richard Ellison, PBS, 1983.

Part 13 of the PBS series, *Legacies*, shared the side effects of Agent Orange exposure, including forms of cancer and birth defects. Although many veterans were exposed to Agent Orange, they were unaware of the effects until after they already began to develop health problems. These warnings were finally released much later in 1970. The primary source footage helped to show the problems that the veterans were forced to deal with, as well as provided footage of the Vietnam War and spread of Agent Orange.

"Vietnam 35 Years Later: Agent Orange." *YouTube*, 17 Sept. 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=kkbnFfldsOc. Accessed 5 May 2017.

This primary source video, featuring a CBS anchor/reporter and Vietnam Reporting Project fellow, provided insight into the generations of Vietnamese suffering from significant health consequences due to exposure to Agent Orange. Through interviews with a number of Vietnamese families, the reporter provided a detailed account of the

birth abnormalities that have resulted from this exposure. A video clip of one of the children was used within the documentary to show the lasting impact of Agent Orange on the Vietnamese people.

Vietnam in HD. A&E Entertainment, 2011. History Channel.

This History Channel film mini-series provided an in-depth examination of the Vietnam War, beginning in 1965 and continuing through the next decade. The film showed the horrors and brutality of war, with young boys arriving and dying at a constant flow. While the series documented the entire war in detail, only a few scenes of primary source footage from this source were utilized in the documentary in order to show the troops as they first arrived in Vietnam, setting the context for this documentary.

Vietnam: Secret Agent. 1986. Directed by Jacki Ochs, produced by Jacki Ochs and Daniel Keller.

This film, *Vietnam: Secret Agent*, provided information regarding the negative health effects of Agent Orange. In addition, the film explained that, although the Agent Orange manufacturers were aware of the dangers, they withheld the information from the Department of Defense. For this reason, the Vietnam veterans were unknowingly exposing themselves to dangerous chemicals. The primary source footage from this source showed the spread of Agent Orange throughout the war, as well as illustrated the dangers of Agent Orange, which were not shared with the soldiers.

Vietnam's Lingering Mystery: Agent Orange. 2007. ABC News.

This ABC News Nightline special feature, which included primary source footage, showed the dangers and impact of Agent Orange exposure. In addition, the film provided video of President Bush signing the Agent Orange Act of 1991, which included eligibility for benefits to veterans suffering many other diseases resulting from Agent Orange exposure instead of just chloracne, which had been the case prior to the act.

Articles

Bird, David. "Veterans Divided on Damages Pact." *The New York Times*, 10 May 1984, p. A24. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1984/05/10/us. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This *New York Times* article, by David Bird, described the controversy of the \$180 million settlement. Because of the settlement, the Agent Orange manufacturers never had to accept responsibility for the toxic chemical that effected so many soldiers. In addition, many veterans were disappointed with the settlement because it did not even provide each veteran with much financial compensation for their suffering. The title of this primary source article was displayed in the documentary, representing the controversy of this settlement.

Blumenthal, Ralph. "How Judge Helped Shape Agent Orange Pact." *The New York Times*, 11 May 1984, p. A1. *New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1984/05/11/nyregion. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

In a *New York Times* article, Ralph Blumenthal explained the way in which Judge Weinstein helped to settle the lawsuit before the court case in which veterans sued for damages from the effects of Agent Orange. On the eve of the case, Weinstein gathered those on both sides to work out an agreement. After hours of negotiating, Judge Weinstein suggested a \$180 million settlement, which was soon agreed upon. The primary source supported the research process by explaining the way in which the case was settled in 1984.

---. "Veterans Accept \$180 Million Pact on Agent Orange." *The New York Times*, 8 May 1984, p. A1. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1984/05/08/nyregion. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

Ralph Blumenthal's primary source *New York Times* article described the largest settlement in history for a class action injury lawsuit. This 180 million dollars was distributed among the Vietnam veterans. However, because of the settlement, the Agent Orange manufacturers did not have to accept responsibility for their toxic product. The title of this article, used in the documentary, explained the result of Paul Reutershan's class action lawsuit.

---. "Veterans Speak Out on Agent Orange." *The New York Times*, 9 Aug. 1984, p. B1. *New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1984/08/09/nyregion. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

In this *New York Times* article, Ralph Blumenthal explained the stand which Vietnam veterans took to gain benefits after suffering from Agent Orange exposure. After filing a lawsuit against the Agent Orange manufacturers, Vietnam veterans settled with \$180 million to be distributed among all suffering veterans. The primary source helped to show how the Vietnam veterans took a stand to gain benefits after being exposed to the dangers of Agent Orange. A photo of the headline was also used within the documentary to indicate how veterans took a stand.

---. "Vietnam Agent Orange Suit by Veterans is Going to Trial." *The New York Times*, 6 May 1984, p. 2. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1984/05/06/nyregion. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This *New York Times* article, by Ralph Blumenthal, described the lawsuit against Dow Chemical and the other manufacturers of Agent Orange. The title of the article was shown in the documentary to represent the further stands taken by Vietnam veterans.

Clymer, Adam. "Bill Passed to Aid Veterans Affected by Agent Orange." *The New York Times*, 31 Jan. 1991. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1991/01/31/us. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This *New York Times* article, written by Adam Clymer, described the passing of the Agent Orange Act of 1991. The Act provided benefits for diseases correlated to Agent Orange exposure, as determined by the Nation Academy of Sciences. The primary source helped to provide information regarding the passing of the act, as well as the thoughts of those in Congress who were involved with the matter.

Dyhouse, Tim. "Agent-Orange Exposed Vets Score Another Court Victory." *VFW Magazine*, Nov. 2007, p. 15, www.1stbn83rdartyvietnam.com/Websites_of_Interest.

This article provided a list of the current Agent Orange associated diseases. The primary source was utilized in the documentary to show the impact that the stands taken by Vietnam veterans have had on allowing new diseases to be associated with Agent Orange exposure and eligible for benefits.

Jovanovitch, Milena. "Agent Orange Suit: A Veteran's Legacy." *The New York Times*, 21 Aug. 1988. *New York Times*, media.proquest.com/media/pq/hnp/pc/1653470/page/826/. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This *New York Times* article, by Milena Jovanovitch, explained the struggles of the Vietnam veterans. Although the settlement of \$180 million was made, this money was little in comparison to the needs of the veterans, who received a maximum of \$12,800 each, while most received far less. Because of this, many Vietnam veterans chose to continue the fight for veterans' benefits even after the settlement. This primary source was helpful to the research process by explaining the insignificance of the \$180 million settlement in comparison to the needs of the veterans.

Keegan, Anne. "Vietnam vets feel robbed of day in court." *Chicago Tribune*, 8 May 1984. *Chicago Tribune Archives*, archives.chicagotribune.com/1984/05/08/page/14/article/.

Although they received some financial compensation for their exposure to Agent Orange, many of the veterans who had joined the Reutershan lawsuit were disappointed in the decision to settle out of court. After the lawyers' fees, little money would be provided to each of the veterans, and no acknowledgement was made by the companies for their role in the veterans' suffering. A photo of this primary source article was used within the documentary to show the mixed reaction to the settlement.

Labaton, Stephen. "Five Years After Settlement, Agent Orange War Lives On." *The New York Times*, 8 May 1989, p. D1. *New York Times*, media.proquest.com/media/pq/hnp/pc/1654474/page/53/. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This *New York Times* article, by Stephen Labaton, described the continued anger of the Vietnam veterans, even after the war had ended. Although there was a \$180 million

settlement for damages due to exposure to Agent Orange, the majority of that money did not even go to the veterans. According to Labaton, most veterans who proved to have health problems in direct result of Agent Orange, only received about \$12,600. The primary source was helpful by showing the insignificance of the settlement made by the Agent Orange manufacturers.

Lyons, Richard D. "Military to Curb Use of Herbicides." *The New York Times*, 27 Dec. 1970, p. 5. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1970/12/27/archives. Accessed 5 Jan. 2017.

This primary source *New York Times* article, by Richard Lyons, described the ending of Agent Orange's use in Vietnam. After the growing scientific evidence of its negative health impacts, Agent Orange was gradually removed from the war. The article's title was shown in the documentary, representing the end of Agent Orange use in the Vietnam War.

Peterson, Iver. "Study of Effects of Agent Orange on Veterans Is Stalled in Dispute." *The New York Times*, 19 May 1986, p. A1. *New York Times*, media.proquest.com/media/pq/hnp/pc/1678866/page/1/. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This *New York Times* article, by Iver Peterson, explained the controversy over the exposure of Vietnam veterans to Agent Orange. The federal government began to make it more difficult for Vietnam veterans to receive health benefits after exposure to Agent Orange with the argument that not everyone who claimed to be exposed to Agent Orange was actually around the herbicide during the war, and, therefore, did not receive health problems because of Agent Orange. However, this argument angered many veterans who believed that the government only argued this with the hopes of not having to provide Vietnam veterans adequate benefits for their exposure to Agent Orange.

Severo, Richard. "U.S., Despite Claims of Veterans, Says None Are Herbicide Victims." *The New York Times*, 28 May 1979, p. A1. *The New York Times*. www.nytimes.com/1979/05/28/archives. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This *New York Times* article, a primary source, described the lack of acknowledgment by the United States government of the manufacturers of Agent Orange. Despite claims by veterans, government officials indicated that there was no relationship between the illnesses of Vietnam veterans and their Agent Orange exposure. However, the government did plan to launch an investigation. The title of this article was utilized in the documentary to show that neither the United States government nor the chemical companies acknowledged the claims of the veterans.

Legislation and Legal Actions

United States, Congress, House, Committee on Veterans' Affairs. *Report on the Health Effects of Agent Orange*. Testimony of National Academy of Sciences, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994. *Hathi Trust Digital Library*, babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015042697279. 103rd Congress, 1st session.

In this transcript of the testimony presented to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to the House of Representatives, Representative Bonior of Michigan noted that the fight for benefits for those exposed to Agent Orange had lasted longer than the use of the herbicide in Vietnam. Representatives of the National Academy of Sciences shared their methodology of reviewing 230 studies of Agent Orange exposure. In addition, Admiral Zumwalt, who commanded the Naval Forces in Vietnam and whose own son died from the effects of Agent Orange exposure in Vietnam, shared that this report represented the most reliable report to date, since it ruled out previous studies in which data had been manipulated. This source contributed to the research by emphasizing the importance of the objective reporting of the National Academy of Sciences on this issue.

---, ---, House. Agent Orange Act of 1991. Government Printing Office, 1991. *National Security Archive*, nsarchive.gwu.edu/radiation/dir/mstreet/commeet/meet3. House Bill 102-4.

The Agent Orange Act of 1991 required that the Department of Veterans Affairs use research from an independent body, such as the National Academy of Sciences, in order to determine what diseases were correlated with Agent Orange exposure. Based upon this evidence, the Department of Veterans Affairs would provide benefits to those suffering from these illnesses. A photo of the Act was used in the documentary to show the impact of this important piece of legislation.

---, ---, House. Vietnam Veterans Agent Orange Relief Act. Government Printing Office, 1983. *History, Art, and Archives: United States House of Representatives*, history.house.gov/HouseRecord.

Accessed 30 Apr. 2017. 98th Congress, House Bill H.R. 1961. H.R. 1961, a primary source, was an example of legislative action in order to advocate for Vietnam veterans prior to the Agent Orange Act of 1991. The bill, proposed by Representative Tom Daschle, required the Department of Veterans Affairs to establish guidelines for handling the claims of Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange. In this act, unlike the Agent Orange Act of 1991, the veterans had to provide proof of the connection of their disease to Agent Orange exposure.

Surveys and Transcripts

Clinton, William Jefferson. "Remarks by the President on Signing the VA-HUD Appropriations Bill." 26 Sept. 1996. *National Archives*, catalog.archives.gov/id/17407485. Speech.

This primary source transcript of a speech delivered by President Clinton discussed the passage of new legislation that would provide health benefits to children with Spina Bifida resulting from the exposure of their parents to Agent Orange in Vietnam. In the speech, President Clinton acknowledged the veterans and veterans' groups in attendance who had advocated for these benefits that were long overdue. Clinton's speech provided evidence of the lasting impact of the veterans' stand as new benefit areas continued to be added following the Nehmer case and the Agent Orange Act of 1991.

State of Illinois Agent Orange Study Commission Vietnam Veterans Agent Orange Survey. Springfield, IL, December 1983. www.usd116.org.

These completed veteran surveys provided information regarding the effects of Agent Orange on exposed individuals. Based on the collected data, the toxin had numerous effects on the victims, and not all of the recipients even received support for their suffering. One respondent claimed that, although he was given medical support, he was only classified as ten percent disabled, which did not support his needs. The effects of Agent Orange exposure among these recipients included physical and mental problems, as well as effects on later generations, such as birth abnormalities. These primary sources provided evidence of the suffering of the Vietnam veterans as a result of their exposure to Agent Orange.

Wilt, Harry. Interview transcript. *Thinkport Education: Maryland Public Television*. http://www.thinkport.org/pdfs/vietnam war stories/4Agent. Accessed 15 Jan. 2017.

This transcript of an interview with Vietnam veteran, Harry Wilt, provided information regarding Wilt's experiences in Vietnam. In addition, Wilt explained that he contracted diabetes as a result of his exposure to Agent Orange. However, even though he did file a claim to the Department of Veterans Affairs for benefits, he still explained that, because of the negative effects that Vietnam had on him, he is ready to die. This primary source helped show the severe impacts that Agent Orange had on those exposed.

Images and Political Cartoons

Agent Orange Protest. Law and Disorder, lawanddisorder.org. Accessed 25 Feb. 2017.

This primary source photograph depicted veterans taking a stand in support of Agent Orange victims. The image was utilized in the documentary to show the stands taken by veterans and their supporters in order to fight for justice.

Agent Orange protest. Veterans for Peace, americanorange.com/wp-content.

This primary source photograph depicted an individual group of Vietnam veterans marching with a sign, hoping to bring attention to the issue: Vietnam veterans are suffering from their exposure to Agent Orange. The image, used in the documentary, helped represent the stand of the Vietnam veterans.

Armstrong, Brad. Widow of Vietnam Veteran Exposed to Agent Orange. *The Center for Investigative Reporting*, 20 Dec. 2012, cironline.org/reports.

This photograph, by Brad Armstrong, depicted Linda Conrad mourning her husband's death resulting from Agent Orange exposure. The primary source helped to show the impact that Agent Orange had on veterans and their families.

Blue water navy Vietnam veterans protest for benefits. *Stripes*, www.stripes.com/polopoly_fs/1.410300.1463607772!/image. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

More recently, blue water navy veterans shared that they were also exposed to Agent Orange during their time in Vietnam. This primary source photo depicted the ongoing fight of some groups of Vietnam veterans to obtain benefits for illnesses resulting from their time in Vietnam.

Cleft lip of child of Vietnam veteran exposed to Agent Orange. *Vietnam Veterans of America*, vva.org/programs/agent-orange. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This photograph depicted a child with a birth challenge as a result of the previous generation's exposure to Agent Orange. The primary source was used in the documentary to represent the effects of Agent Orange exposure that have been passed on to later generations.

"Dow Chemical on Trial." *Illinois State Archives*, 1984, www.usd116.org/profdev/ahtc/lessons/SteffenFel09/cartoon2.JPG. Accessed 30 Apr. 2017. Cartoon.

This political cartoon, a part of the Agent Orange Study Commission collection at the Illinois State Archives, depicted a hearing in which a Dow Chemical executive denied the claims that Agent Orange caused harm to those exposed. This primary source helped to

illustrate the false claims by the chemical companies that Agent Orange, used in Vietnam, was not harmful to those exposed.

Gross, Dan. John Kraft, Vietnam veteran. 19 Mar. 2016, www.fredericknewspost.com/news/health/after-orange-vietnam-veterans-fight-lifelong-effects-of-agent-orange.

This primary source photograph showed the suffering of Vietnam veteran, John Kraft, after his exposure to Agent Orange. This image was used in the documentary to display the negative impact that Agent Orange has had on those exposed.

Heinis, Niels. "US Capitol, Washington D.C., USA." *Niels Heinis Photography*, www.heinis.eu/photo/197/. Accessed 4 Feb. 2016.

This primary source image of the Capitol building in Washington D.C. was used in the film to represent the lack of information given to the U.S. government by the Agent Orange manufacturers regarding the effects of Agent Orange.

Katz, Stephen M. Vietnam veteran Jim Smith has been diagnosed with prostate cancer and believes Agent Orange exposure may have played a role. *Vietnam Full Disclosure*, vietnamfulldisclosure.org/index.php. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This photograph depicted a Vietnam veteran diagnosed with cancer. It was used in the documentary to show the suffering of veterans exposed to Agent Orange.

Machian, Chris. Son of Vietnam Veteran Suffers Birth Defects. *Omaha World Herald*, 4 June 2016, dataomaha.com/media/bigstoryphotos/285234_cm-Orange09.jpg. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This primary source photograph depicted the son of a Vietnam veteran displaying his birth defects. As a result of Agent Orange exposure, many Vietnam veterans have passed their health issues on to later generations. This image was utilized in the documentary to show the birth defects caused from Agent Orange exposure.

---. Vietnam Veteran Terrence White sits on the couch with his grandson Zachary Vittitoe. *Omaha World Herald*, 4 June 2016, dataomaha.com/media/bigstoryphotos/285234_cm-Orange04.jpg.

This primary source photo depicted a Vietnam veteran with his son. Exposed to Agent Orange, the veteran has passed his health issues onto his son. The source was utilized in the documentary to show the birth challenges caused by Agent Orange exposure.

Paul Reutershan. 1978. Elyse Shapiro Photography, www.elyseshapirophotography.com/vintage.

This primary source image depicted Paul Reutershan, who developed cancer and chloracne as a result of his exposure to Agent Orange in the Vietnam War. Used in the documentary, Paul Reutershan's image represents the suffering of himself and many other veterans exposed to Agent Orange. Because of this suffering, Paul Reutershan filed a lawsuit against the manufacturers of Agent Orange, initiating the first major stand for justice.

Plane Spraying Agent Orange in Vietnam. 20 Dec. 2016. *New York Times*, static01.nyt.com/images/2014/05/09.

This *New York Times* photograph depicted the spraying of Agent Orange in the Vietnam War. The primary source was used as the title picture in the documentary.

Schaefer, Harry. Evening View of the Monsanto and FMC Chemical Companies at Nitro on the Kanawha River, Seen from Interstate 64. Aug. 1973. National Archives, catalog.archives.gov/id/551156. Accessed 5 May 2017.

This primary source photo depicted the Monsanto plant in Nitro, West Virginia at the time when it was manufacturing Agent Orange for use in Vietnam. The photo was used in the documentary when describing how there had been an earlier incident with dioxin, the main chemical in Agent Orange, that had resulted in workers at the plant developing chloracne.

---. Tow Boat on the Kanawha River Passes the FMC Chemical Corporation and Monsanto Chemical Company Plant at Nitro. June 1973. National Archives, catalog.archives.gov/id/551008. Accessed 5 May 2017.

Schaefer's primary source photo depicted one of the plants responsible for producing Agent Orange for use in Vietnam. The photo was used in the documentary when describing the exposure of plant workers to dioxin, the key chemical in Agent Orange, which led to health consequences, such as chloracne.

Somodevilla, Chip. Arlington National Cemetery. 20 Dec. 2012, cdn.thedailybeast.com/content/dailybeast/articles/2012/12/20/.

This primary source photograph depicted a soldier in Arlington National Cemetery. The image was utilized in the documentary to represent the major effects of Agent Orange exposure, which included death. Not only did the toxin affect those exposed, but it also had a terrible impact on the families of the victims.

Tay Ninh, South Vietnam. 1 May 1966. Stripes, www.stripes.com/polopoly_fs/. Accessed 20 Dec. 2016.

This primary source photograph depicted American soldiers drinking from a pond in Vietnam. The image, used in the documentary, showed a way in which soldiers were exposed to Agent Orange.

To treat Myasthenia Gravis, Higdon has been coming to an infusion clinic at his neurologist's office. *WJHL: News Channel 11*, 22 Feb. 2016, wjhl.com/2016/02/22.

This photograph depicted a Vietnam veteran being treated for his illnesses caused by Agent Orange exposure. The primary source was utilized in the documentary to show the support Vietnam veterans have gotten after taking a stand for justice.

Treatment of Diseases Related to Agent Orange Exposure. *Pro Publica*, www.propublica.org/images/ngen/gypsy og image. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This primary source photograph of a Vietnam veteran receiving benefits from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs was used in the documentary to show the results of the efforts by the Vietnam veterans to take a stand for support of their growing health issues.

Vietnam War veteran being examined during testing in Center for Disease Control (CDC) Agent Orange study, at Lovelace Medical Center. *Getty Images*, 1 Apr. 1985, www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo.

This image showed a Vietnam veteran receiving medical treatment for his exposure to Agent Orange. This primary source was shown in the documentary to demonstrate the negative health impact of Agent Orange exposure.

Vietnam War veterans Michael Milne and Douglas Rudolph exposed to Agent Orange. 1981. *Nieman Reports*, niemanreports.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10.

This primary source image depicted a Vietnam veteran suffering the effects of Agent Orange. The image was used in the documentary to represent the negative health impact that Agent Orange had on those exposed.

Watriss, Wendy. Daniel Salmon, Vietnam War veteran, San Antonio, Texas. *Nieman Reports*, niemanreports.org/articles.

Salmon, a former Air Force technician, had never had health problems until after his exposure to Agent Orange in Vietnam. This primary source photo showed the negative impact of Agent Orange on Salmon, including the deterioration of his circulatory system and the start of diabetes that led to the amputation of both of his legs in the mid 80s.

---. John Woods and his son, Jeff, 7, Long Island, New York. 1981. *Nieman Reports*, niemanreports.org/articles.

In addition to his own health challenges following exposure to Agent Orange while in Vietnam, John Woods' two youngest sons, born after his service in Vietnam, suffered multiple health problems. In contrast, his two sons born before the war had none of these health challenges. This photo was used in the documentary to demonstrate how Agent Orange not only impacted the veterans but also their families.

Whitehead, Dennis. "Agent Orange March." *Dennis Whitehead & MMI Media*, Dennis Whitehead, 13 May 1982, denniswhitehead.photoshelter.com/image/I0000gzVyHEIpL9I. Accessed 6 Mar. 2017.

This image depicted a march through Washington D.C. by protestors advocating for benefits for those exposed to Agent Orange during their service in Vietnam. The primary source was used in the documentary to show the individual stands taken in protest of Agent Orange.

Widow of Agent Orange victim. 22 June 2015. *Vietnam Full Disclosure*, vietnamfulldisclosure.org/wp-content.

This primary source photograph showed the widow of a Vietnam veteran exposed to Agent Orange. The image, used in the documentary, represented the suffering of the families of Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange.

Secondary Sources

Books and Articles

Adams, Latasha. "Agent Orange During the Vietnam War and Its Effects Today." *Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund*, 31 Aug. 2016, vvmf.wordpress.com/2016/08/31.

This secondary source article from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund described the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam and its effects. Agent Orange, named for the stripe on its containers, was manufactured by Dow Chemical and other chemical companies for the purpose of defoliation in Vietnam. However, years after the United States began spraying, those exposed to Agent Orange recognized that it caused major health problems, including cancer and other diseases. In addition, Agent Orange exposure could cause birth defects for future generations. This article, written by Latasha Adams, provided information regarding the production of Agent Orange and its effects on those exposed.

"Burn Pits." *U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs*, www.publichealth.va.gov/PUBLICHEALTH/exposures/burnpits/index.asp. Accessed 5 May 2017.

This article described the effects of burn pits, which were used by soldiers to remove waste in Iraq and Afghanistan. The pits burned a variety of products, ranging from excess food to chemicals. However, because these soldiers were exposed to these fumes, many health issues were noticed in response, such as eye irritation and trouble breathing. Furthermore, the long-term health impact of burn pits is still being researched. The secondary source helped to describe the modern-day controversial and potentially dangerous method used in Iraq and Afghanistan that has been compared to the controversy regarding the use of Agent Orange in the Vietnam War.

Committee to Review the Health Effects in Vietnam Veterans of Exposure to Herbicides. Veterans and Agent Orange: Health Effects of Herbicides Used in Vietnam. National Academy of Sciences, 1994. National Academy Press, National Academy of Sciences, www.nap.edu/read/2141. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This book, written by a committee of professors, explained the effects of Agent Orange on those exposed to it in Vietnam. The unbiased book reported that Agent Orange can cause many forms of cancer, as well as birth defects. Because many American soldiers were exposed to Agent Orange, they were at high risk of receiving these effects. The secondary source helped show the negative results of using Agent Orange in Vietnam and the reason for the veterans' anger.

Gough, Michael. "The Political Science of Agent Orange and Dioxin." *Politicizing Science: The Alchemy of Policymaking*, edited by Gough, PDF ed., Hoover Press, 2003, pp. 193-225.

This book, written by Michael Gough, provided information about the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam, its effects on those exposed, and the efforts to end its use in the conflict. Through Operation Ranch Hand, Agent Orange was sprayed during the war. Years later, veterans began noticing health issues that called for many studies to be made. These studies showed the negative health effect that Agent Orange had on those exposed. The secondary source provided useful information regarding the use of Agent Orange and the studies used to determine its effects.

Martini, Edwin A. *Agent Orange: History, Science, and the Politics of Uncertainty.* University of Massachusetts Press, 2012.

In this secondary source, Martini described how the burden of proof of health consequences related to Agent Orange exposure had shifted over the decades from the Vietnam veterans to the government through the legal action and legislation advocated for by veterans. The landmark legislation, the Agent Orange Act of 1991, dramatically changed how the Department of Veterans Affairs handled these claims. Despite the increased benefits for veterans, Martini noted the vastly different way in which the United States government had responded to similar claims made by the Vietnamese people.

"Nehmer v. U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs." *National Veterans Legal Services Program*, www.nvlsp.org/what-we-do/class-actions/nehmer-agent-orange-lawsuit. Accessed 19 Nov. 2016.

This web article provided information about the impact of the class action lawsuit, *Nehmer v. U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs*. Prior to the lawsuit, the Department of Veterans Affairs only provided benefits to Agent Orange exposed veterans who contracted chloracne. They claimed that this decision was made because chloracne was the only proven resulting illness correlated to Agent Orange. However, as a part of the lawsuit, Bart Stichman and the National Veterans Legal Services Program persuaded the judge that a proven cause and effect relationship is not the evidence Congress normally requires. Instead, the lawyers convinced the judge to make it so that benefits would be provided to veterans with illnesses that have a relationship to Agent Orange, rather than requiring a proven cause and effect relationship.

Parker, Laura. "Lawyers Step Up to Help Veterans Gratis." USA Today, 27 Nov. 2007.

This article was in a collection stored at the National Veterans Legal Services Program. The article described the advocacy efforts of their attorneys in the case, *Nehmer vs. U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs*. The article was displayed in the documentary while describing the Nehmer case.

Percy, Jennifer. "The Things They Burned." *New Republic*, 22 Nov. 2016, newrepublic.com/article/138058/things-burned. Accessed 5 May 2017.

This magazine article described the use of burn pits in Iraq and Afghanistan. The soldiers were often burning toxic chemicals, exposing them to the chemical fumes as they burned. The secondary source provided information describing the negative health impacts these burn pits have had on veterans. This method brought harm to modern day veterans in a manner similar to the Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange.

Sullivan, Kathleen. "Lawyers Badger VA to Help Vets Hurt by Dioxin." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 Mar. 2001.

This article was displayed in a collection at the National Veterans Legal Services Program. The primary source document described the impact of the Nehmer case, changing the standard that Congress would require. The article was shown in the documentary, explaining the impact of the Nehmer case.

Vicini, James. "Supreme Court Lets Stand Dismissal of Agent Orange Lawsuits." Edited by Dave Zimmerman. *Claims Journal*, 2 Mar. 2009, www.claimsjournal.com/news/national/2009/03/02/98300.htm. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This unbiased article, by James Vicini, described the attempts of the Vietnamese people to gain benefits from their suffering due to exposure from Agent Orange. However, in a New York court case on the matter, the judge ruled that Agent Orange was used to remove foliage instead of causing harm to the Vietnamese. Therefore, there was no violation of international law. However, this contrasted to the results of American veterans taking a stand. Unlike the Vietnamese people, the Vietnam veterans were granted some benefits due to Agent Orange exposure. The secondary source was useful towards the research process by showing the difference in benefits received between the American veterans and the Vietnamese people.

"Waiting for an Army to Die?" *Agent Orange Record*, 2010, www.agentorangerecord.com/information/the quest for additional relief/P0/.

This secondary source detailed the fight for veterans' benefits. Paul Reutershan, a dying Vietnam veteran as a result of Agent Orange exposure, filed a lawsuit against the manufacturers of Agent Orange. However, the day before the trial, in 1984, the case was settled for \$180 million, which was distributed to the veterans exposed to Agent Orange. Then, in 2004, the Vietnamese people filed a lawsuit against the Agent Orange manufacturers with the similar hope of receiving benefits after the devastation that Agent Orange had on their nation. However, unlike the American veterans, the lawsuit from the Vietnamese people was dismissed when Judge Weinstein determined that international law was not broken since the Agent Orange was not considered "chemical warfare." This unbiased source supported the research process by providing detail related to the results of the lawsuits and the difference in the outcome of the lawsuit filed by the American veterans and the lawsuit filed by the Vietnamese people.

Websites

"Agent Orange." *Veterans for Peace*, www.veteransforpeace.org/our-work/vfp-national-projects/agent-orange/. Accessed 5 May 2017.

This web article, a secondary source, described the ways in which Vietnam veterans have helped to advocate for the Vietnamese people impacted by their exposure to Agent Orange. Because the Vietnamese, too, were exposed to Agent Orange, Vietnam veterans have joined in this modern fight for justice to support the equal compensation for the Vietnamese people. The article helped to show how Agent Orange has brought the need to take a stand into modern times.

"Agent Orange Settlement Fund." *U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs*, www.benefits.va.gov/compensation/claims-postservice-agent_orange-settlement-settlementFund.asp. Accessed 28 Nov. 2016.

This article from the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs helped to explain ways in which benefits were given to Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange. The first way, following the settlement arranged by Judge Weinstein, was called the Payment Program, where money was distributed to specific cases of Agent Orange exposure. Later, the Class Assistance Program was formed to distribute money for the suffering veterans. However, these programs for the Settlement Fund, ended in 1997. This secondary source helped show the ways in which money was distributed to the veterans who suffered from Agent Orange exposure. However, the source may have had some bias, since it was published by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs.

"America's Most Lethal Secret Agent?" *Agent Orange Record*, War Legacies Project, 2010, www.agentorangerecord.com/agent orange history/. Accessed 30 Nov. 2016.

This secondary source article provided information about the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam. Between 1961 and 1971, the United States sprayed over 20 million gallons of herbicide over 4.5 million acres of land for defoliation purposes. Agent Orange was the most sprayed chemical, and it was sprayed through Operation Ranch Hand. The United States did not consider it to be chemical warfare because the government did not intend on causing any harm to the Americans or Vietnamese. It was solely used for the purpose of defoliation. However, as soldiers returned home and began to notice health problems, they started questioning the chemical. As studies of the effects of Agent Orange were conducted, these concerns grew, and the Federation of American Scientists petitioned the United States in 1967. In response to this petition and many other protests, the United States finally banned the use of Agent Orange in April 1970, with the final spraying on January 7, 1971. Then, in September of 1977, over 8 million remaining liters of Agent Orange were incinerated in Mississippi through Operation Pacer Ho. The article helped to explain the way Agent Orange was used in the war and how the ending of its use took place.

"Transcript: President Obama's Memorial Day Remarks at Vietnam War Memorial." *Fox News*, 28 May 2012, www.foxnews.com/politics/2012/05/28/. Accessed 8 Nov. 2016.

This Fox News webpage provided the original, unbiased transcript of President Obama's speech to the Vietnam Veterans on Memorial Day. In his speech, Obama described the need for support of the Vietnam Veterans, including the importance of providing them with benefits for resulting complications of Agent Orange exposure. Although he recognized the controversy of the war, he emphasized the necessity to remain supportive of the veterans. The secondary source was helpful to the research process through providing additional support to the claim that the Vietnam Veterans deserved proper benefits after suffering from diseases due to Agent Orange exposure.

Images and Political Cartoons

Aerial View of U.S. Capitol Building, Washington, DC. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum, www.reagan.utexas.edu/Archives/photographs/whitehouse.html. Accessed 5 Feb. 2016.

This secondary source image displayed a skyline image of Washington D.C. The image was used in the documentary to represent the government's lack of recognition of the impact of Agent Orange on the veterans prior to their taking a stand during the Reutershan case, the Nehmer case, and the Agent Orange Act of 1991.

"Agent Orange." *History*, A+E Networks, 2011, www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/agent-orange. Accessed 30 Nov. 2016.

This secondary source helped to provide information about the use of Agent Orange in the Vietnam War and the complaints about it following the war. Through Operation Ranch Hand, most of the defoliant was distributed by plane. However, after returning home, many veterans exposed to Agent Orange noticed escalating health problems. In 1979, a lawsuit was filed against the manufacturers, but it was later settled before the trial. Then, in 2005, the Vietnamese attempted to file a similar lawsuit against the Agent Manufacturers. They argued that the use of the toxin was against international law. However, it was ruled that the United States did not violate any international laws because Agent Orange was used solely as a defoliant, and therefore, the Vietnamese did not receive any benefits.

"Agent Orange and Cancer." *American Cancer Society*, 13 May 2016, www.cancer.org/cancer/cancercauses/othercarcinogens. Accessed 30 Nov. 2016.

This secondary source provided brief background information on the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam. The website also offered details about the health effects of Agent Orange. The toxin caused many cancers and other health problems, as well as miscarriages. The unbiased source helped to provide specific effects of the herbicide on those exposed to it.

Bart Stichman. *Stars and Stripes*, www.stripes.com/polopoly_fs/1.99148.1273691394!. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This photograph displays Bart Stichman, the co-executive director of the National Veterans Legal Services Program. Bart Stichman was the lead attorney in the Nehmer case. The image was utilized in the documentary, representing the impact Bart Stichman has had on the Nehmer case and the advocacy of veterans.

Child Birth Defects from Agent Orange Exposure. *Town News*, bloximages.newyork1.vip.townnews.com/omaha.com. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This political cartoon represented the impact that Agent Orange had on future generations. The illustration was used in the documentary to represent the birth defects caused by Agent Orange exposure.

"Diseases Caused by Agent Orange Exposure." *Veterans Today*, www.veteranstoday.com/wp-content/themes. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This image was utilized in the documentary because it showed many diseases caused by Agent Orange exposure.

Gavel with money. *Daily Report*, www.dailyreportonline.com/id=1202737483345. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This secondary source image depicted a gavel with money. Utilized in the documentary, the image represented money that was distributed to Vietnam veterans as a result of the \$180 million settlement.

Image of benefit checks. i2.cdn.turner.com/money/dam/assets. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This image of benefit checks was used in the documentary to represent the monetary benefits now received by Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange.

Justice for Vietnam's Agent Orange victims. *Veterans Today*, 6 Jan. 2011, www.veteranstoday.com/2011/01/06.

This secondary source photo, which depicted a ribbon in support of Vietnam veterans exposed to Agent Orange, was used in the documentary to symbolize the ongoing advocacy efforts of veterans to obtain the benefits that they deserved for years of suffering.

National Academy of Sciences sign. *NOAA*, 25 Mar. 2016, response.restoration.noaa.gov/sites/default. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This image depicted a sign of the National Academy of Sciences. The secondary source was utilized in the documentary to show the organization that researched the diseases added to the list presumed to have a relationship to Agent Orange exposure.

National Veterans Legal Services Program. files.ctctcdn.com/6bffe49d001. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This image depicted the logo of the National Veterans Legal Services Program and was used in the documentary to represent the organization and its advocacy on behalf of veterans.

Portrait of Judge Jack B. Weinstein during the Agent Orange lawsuit. 1984. *The Courtroom Sketches of Ida Libby Dengrove*, University of Virginia Law Library, archives.law.virginia.edu/dengrove/sketch/7090.

This secondary source illustration depicted Judge Jack Weinstein after Paul Reutershan filed a lawsuit against the manufacturers of Agent Orange. The night before the case, Judge Weinstein helped organize a \$180 million settlement. This illustration was shown in the documentary to represent the settlement organized by Judge Weinstein.

Thys, John. Monsanto plant. *Common Dreams*, www.commondreams.org/news/2016/09/14/five-alarm-threat-our-food-supply-monsanto-bayer-merger-advances. Accessed 5 May 2017.

This secondary source photo depicted a Monsanto plant, which produced Agent Orange used in Vietnam. This photo was used within the documentary when describing how Monsanto was one of the manufacturers of this toxic chemical.

Tripplaar, Kristoffer. Monsanto sign. *Chemistry World*, www.chemistryworld.com/news/bayer-to-buy-seed-giant-monsanto-/1017431.article. Accessed 5 May 2017.

Tripplaar's secondary source photo of the Monsanto plant was used within the documentary when describing one of the companies named in the Reutershan lawsuit.

U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. *PBS*, newshour-tc.pbs.org/newshour. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This photograph showed a sign of the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. The image was used in the documentary to represent the arguments presented by Veterans Affairs regarding Agent Orange. They indicated that there was no relationship between the veterans' diseases and Agent Orange exposure.

U.S Department of Veterans Affairs Health Care. *CBS Chicago*, cbschicago.files.wordpress.com/2014/09. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

This image depicted a sign in front of a U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs medical center. The image was utilized in the documentary, representing the side of the VA during the Nehmer Case.

Veterans benefits. *Wall Street Journal*, 26 May 2016, si.wsj.net/public/resources/images. Accessed 20 Jan. 2017.

The secondary source photo of the flag and a stethoscope was used in the documentary to symbolize the benefits received by veterans after they took a stand to receive compensation for their suffering resulting from exposure to Agent Orange.

Films

"Cleaning Agent Orange." *New York Times Video*, 10 Aug. 2012, www.nytimes.com/video/world/asia/100000001713916/cleaning-agent-orange.html. Accessed 5 May 2017.

This video provided secondary source information regarding the negative health impacts Agent Orange left on second generation Vietnamese natives. As the Vietnamese were exposed to the chemical, it caused birth abnormalities among the following generations. The video, in addition to helping to show the modern-day impact of Agent Orange, helped to show the need to advocate for these suffering Vietnamese children.

Obama, Barack. "President Obama Commemorates the Vietnam War." Vietnam Veterans Memorial, 28 May 2012, Washington D.C. The White House YouTube Channel, White House, www.youtube.com/watch?v=iqLrb3-NiO4&spfreload=1. Accessed 20 Jan. 2016. Speech.

This video-recorded speech, included on the White House's official YouTube channel, took place at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington D.C. Barack Obama delivered the speech to veterans, friends, and family members. The speech emphasized the importance of caring for the veterans and specifically mentioned those impacted by Agent Orange. The speech, a secondary source, was used at the conclusion of the documentary to show the lasting impact of the stand that veterans took to gain support for their exposure to Agent Orange.

Music

"Ash." Epic Classics, MP4 file, Secession Studios, 2014.

This song, "Ash," was used in the middle of the film to form a sad tone.

"Coast Off." Performance by Immediate Music. March On, mp4 file, 2015.

This song, "Coast Off," was used in the documentary's ending for a sense of a finale.

Greatest Hits 1969-1999. By John Williams, MP4 file, 1970.

This song, "Theme (From 'Born on the Fourth of July')," provided a powerful introduction to the film.

"The Harder Ground." Performance by Simon Wilkinson. *The Harder Ground- Single*, mp4 file, 2013.

This song, "The Harder Ground," was used in the documentary during the title and thesis.