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job," says James Shobe, who was born in the Zone and has worked here 30 years.

"The members of the Guard are courteous," agrees Richard Gayer, a computer-systems analyst with 22 years of service here. "If you have a flat tire, they'll help you. I can't think of anything that made me feel uptight last year."

Under the canal treaties, however, U.S. police will be phased out by March 31, 1982, and many Americans are uneasy about that. "I love my home here, and it would take a lot to make me leave," says a housewife. "But see me after the American police leave and I'll tell you whether it's safe to stay."

The main source of present American discontent is the U.S. Department of Defense, which has taken over the job of providing such services as post exchanges, commissaries, hospitals and schools.

The Americans say these services are inferior to those formerly provided by the Panama Canal Company. They complain about large classes for their schoolchildren, school buses that do not come as close to their homes as before, long lines at the post exchange and the lack of food items previously available.

"Under our old system I could order oysters from New Orleans, but that can't be done now," says one housewife.

Defense Department officials say they are going out of their way to please the former Zoneans but that they must conform to the military's worldwide standards of operation.

Americans agree that the Panamanian government has kept its promise to maintain their area in the park-like condition of previous years.

In parts of the former Zone, now returned to Panama, the grass is higher, the roads have potholes, and refuse is gathering. But in contrast with crowded, untidy Panama City, just across the street, the American area appears almost totally unchanged from years past.

"Morale at the canal slumped right after the treaties went into effect," says Joseph J. Wood, director of the commission's Office of Executive Administration. "But the Americans are now making the most of what they have, and morale is up again."

WORK FORCE SHIFTS

The threatened mass walkout of American employees has not occurred. Most losses came between Jan. 1 and Oct. 1, 1979, when 1,280 Americans retired. From last October to June 30, only 168 Americans took advantage of early retirement provisions included in the treaties.

Nevertheless, because the intent of the treaties is to phase Panamanians into key positions, career opportunities for Americans are dwindling.

To insure efficient operation of the waterway, officials want to retain as many of the Americans as possible—and for as long as possible. But Americans see the writing on the wall. Police Sgt. Henry Twohy, whose grandfather helped to build the canal, speaks for many of his compatriots when he says: "We are training people to put us out of a job."

MORE ON AGENT ORANGE

● Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. President, since September 4, when the Senate agreed to two agent orange-related amendments—No. 1549 and 1530—to S. 1188, there has been much congressional and executive branch activity on agent orange. The Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs, which I chair, held hearings on September 10; the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee on Medical Facilities and Benefits, chaired by Congressman SATTERFIELD, held hearings on

September 16; the President's work group to study the possible long-term health effects of phenoxy herbicides and contaminants—the so-called IAG—held a public meeting—the first of its kind—on September 22; and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigation, chaired by Congressman ECKHARDT, held hearings on September 25.

These hearings have reinforced my view that if we are to find answers to the questions about the current health of veterans who served in Vietnam, studies must focus on the veterans themselves to determine if various health problems they are experiencing today might be linked to their exposure to agent orange or other environmental hazards there.

In adopting amendment No. 1549 to S. 1188 on September 4, the Senate agreed to a provision that would authorize the VA to study the health effects of other substances and environmental hazards to which our troops may have been exposed in South Vietnam that could possibly be related to certain symptoms evidenced now in Vietnam veterans. As I pointed out last Friday, September 26, during Senate consideration of H.R. 5288, neither that provision nor amendment No. 1530—which also was adopted by the Senate on September 4 in S. 1188 and would require the VA to promulgate guidelines for the adjudication of claims based on exposure to agent orange and other environmental hazards in South Vietnam—was viewed by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs to be germane to H.R. 5288, the proposed "Veterans' Rehabilitation and Education Amendments of 1980," because they involved health-care issues. Neither of these amendments was thus considered by the House for inclusion in the compromise agreement on H.R. 5288.

However, on September 26, on my motion, those two provisions, and two others not related to agent orange but also viewed as nongermane health-care provisions and thus rejected by the House in the context of H.R. 5288, were agreed to as an amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.R. 4015, an unrelated veterans' health-care measure, and H.R. 4015 was returned to the House as so amended. I very much hope that the House committee will act on this very important legislation before the end of the 96th Congress.

Mr. President, I also would like to take this opportunity to share with all Senators three articles about the agent orange issue that appeared on September 15 and 16 in the Baltimore Sun newspaper. These articles, which were written by Jon Franklin and Alan Doelp, are, in my view, objective and well-written summaries of recent developments related to this issue.

Mr. Franklin is a science writer who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1979 for feature writing and, in 1975, won the American Chemical Society's James T. Grady medal for science writing. Mr. Doelp is an investigative reporter.

I ask that the three articles be printed in full at this point in the Record.

The articles are as follows:

Vietnam Veterans Wait and Worry as Scientists Study

(By Jon Franklin and Alan Doelp)

(In late February. The Evening Sun published a series of articles examining the controversy surrounding Agent Orange, a chemical that killed foliage from jungle plants and trees during the Vietnam War. The following article is the first of two taking another look at the controversy.)

Three years after a government caseworker first charged that Vietnam veterans and their children were dying of Agent Orange poisoning, more than 2 million ex-servicemen still don't know whether they should worry or not.

The scientific case against Agent Orange remains extremely weak, but clear evidence that could reassure the veterans is lacking. Health experts say the veterans can expect to wait years for the answers they want.

Legal remedies, if merited, are equally distant. Although attorneys for veterans have filed one of the largest, and most complex, personal damage suits in history, the litigation is proceeding even more slowly than the science.

To date the only tangible result of the controversy is a growing cohesiveness among Vietnam veterans who, 10 years after the war, have begun to demand—and receive—recognition of their special problems.

"The Veterans Administration is still playing its game," complains Vince Lombardi, president of Baltimore's 700-member Vietnam Veterans' group. "Nobody's getting their disabilities or anything."

On the other hand, he said, the issue has brought local veterans together to lobby for benefits and present a united front to the federal government. That united front has gained them, among other things, a way to get treatment for a variety of ailments that veterans think are due to Agent Orange.

The VA has consistently refused to treat alleged Agent Orange symptoms, because no military service connection has been proved.

If a veteran writes "Agent Orange" or "herbicide" on his treatment application, his case is deferred, Mr. Lombardi said. But when veterans list their symptoms without writing "Agent Orange" on the forms, they often get the treatment they ask for.

Mr. Lombardi and many other veterans are bitter about the nation's inability to address their concerns about Agent Orange in a timely fashion.

"We want to know now," Mr. Lombardi says, "not 10 years from now. I don't care about my problems so much, but I want the VA to do something about my kids."

But the government is constrained by a law that says the veterans can't be compensated unless there is a connection between their health problems and their prior military service. Allegations are plentiful but the facts to back them up have been difficult to obtain.

Time after time, short-term studies that the veterans hoped would aid their cause have failed to do so.

Their most recent disappointment involved a study designed to test the charge that Agent Orange ultimately rendered some ex-soldiers sterile and others impotent, and triggered birth defects in the children of those who remained sexually competent.

To test that theory in mice, scientists with the National Institute for Environmental Health Sciences fed large doses of Agent Orange to male mice. Contrary to what might have been expected by the veterans, the mice suffered no long-term or delayed effects. They remained sexually active throughout the trials and their offspring remained no more likely to suffer birth defects than the offspring of mice never exposed to Agent Orange.

Veterans had also hoped for positive results from a human study focusing on a

group of Monsanto employees who were heavily exposed to Agent Orange components during an explosion in Nitro, W. Va., 30 years ago. But the only study completed so far demonstrates that the death rates among those workers remained normal.

That work was financed by Monsanto, but it was based on publicly available health documents and statistics.

Evidence could still emerge soon, however, that would back the veterans' claims. The Monsanto study is continuing, now focusing on the health of the workers who are still alive after the 30 years, and it could still produce new evidence.

There is also a competing study commissioned by the steelworkers' union, which represents the Monsanto workers.

Both studies, conducted by nationally-known scientists, were due for release earlier this summer. Neither has been completed and the scientists involved have consistently refused to divulge any preliminary findings.

Whatever the outcomes of limited, short-term research projects, final conclusions about the Agent Orange controversy will have to emerge from larger studies that focus on Vietnam veterans, not mice, rats, guinea pigs or industrial workers.

There are two such projects in the works.

The most critical is a massive epidemiological investigation of the health of Vietnam War veterans. This one aims at the heart of the issue: Are the veterans any less healthy, on the average, than the rest of the population? Or are the victims of brain tumors, birth defects and similar conditions simply using Agent Orange and the unpopular war as a scapegoat?

The study will also compare the health of Vietnam veterans thought to have been exposed to the herbicide with the health of ex-servicemen from other wars.

This study is the largest Agent Orange investigation contemplated by the government and is expected to provide conclusive answers to the veterans' charges. But to be thorough it must be meticulous and that takes time. Government officials estimate that the report will not be ready for at least three years and probably longer.

The other study, being undertaken by the Air Force, will determine the health of the 1,200 servicemen assigned to Operation Ranch Hand. Those were the men who actually handled and sprayed the herbicide, and are believed to have received more exposure to it than any other group. Some of the Ranch Hand "Cowboys" even drank small amounts of Agent Orange.

The Ranch Hand Association, consisting of 900 former Cowboys, claims its members do not suffer from any alleged Agent Orange symptoms. The Air Force intends to find out.

These large-scale studies could yield surprise answers. There are several circumstances in which both the veterans and the manufacturers of Agent Orange could be correct.

If the ex-servicemen do have excessive health problems, but those problems prove to be unrelated to Agent Orange, other substances and circumstances may be studied.

For instance, if Ranch Hand members prove to be in good health, but ground combat veterans do not, the focus of the investigation may shift away from Agent Orange. Tropical service left earlier generations of soldiers with lingering ailments and, in the case of Vietnam, ground troops were required to swallow an experimental malaria drug, Dapsone, that has been clinically linked to many of the ailments the veterans now complain of.

Most ground troops in Vietnam regularly took Dapsone or another malaria pill, Chloroquine-Primaquine. Pilots, including those who flew the Ranch Hand missions, did not take either drug.

But any health claims, or the correlation of those claims with anything else, are still speculative and will remain so until more of the studies are complete.

In the meantime, the largest personal damage lawsuit in history lingers along in a New York federal court. More than 4,000 veterans are suing the five chemical companies that manufactured Agent Orange, claiming it ruined their health or that of their children.

The suit is against the Dow, Monsanto, Diamond Shamrock, Thompson-Hayward, and Hercules chemical companies, all of which manufactured Agent Orange. The damages being asked reached \$40 billion, after which the veterans' attorneys quit even specifying the figure.

"All the defendant companies together are only worth about \$10 billion," said Victor Yannacone, the plaintiffs' lead lawyer. "Obviously it's not realistic to talk about straightforward damages."

Instead, the plaintiffs want a trust fund created out of the companies' earnings to compensate veterans who can prove their health problems are related to Agent Orange.

Many veterans, including more than 100 in Maryland, have refused to join Mr. Yannacone's suit and have filed their own suits. "We want our cases tried in Maryland, by our neighbors," Mr. Lombardi said.

The chemical companies, saying they are convinced that the health problems are unrelated to Agent Orange, say they will fight the claims every step of the way. Lawyers involved in the case say they expect it to drag on for years.

HERBICIDE EXPERIMENTS ON MICE FAIL TO SUPPORT VETERANS' CLAIMS

(By Jon Franklin and Alan Doelp)

Heavy doses of Agent Orange failed to produce either birth defects or delay health problems in a series of mouse experiments recently completed by the National Toxicology Program.

The experiments were designed to help investigate charges that some Vietnam War veterans and their children are suffering ailments that stem from the soldiers' exposure to the controversial defoliant.

The scientists fed high doses of Agent Orange to several hundred male mice, which they then bred with unexposed females. The chemicals made the mice sick, but when the poison was withdrawn they recovered completely and their offspring were no different from the offspring of normal mice used as controls.

The controversial chemical, called Agent Orange because it was shipped to Vietnam in orange-striped barrels, was sprayed over large tracts of the tropical jungle in an effort to deprive communist soldiers of cover.

The chemical was a mixture of two herbicides—2,4-D and 2,4,5-T—both considered harmless to animal life. But it was also contaminated with a manufacturing byproduct known as dioxin, one of the deadliest poisons ever synthesized.

Veterans' groups claim that soldiers exposed to Agent Orange, and therefore to dioxin, now suffer from a variety of serious ailments and have fathered abnormal numbers of defective children.

While animal studies do not necessarily apply to humans, a finding that Agent Orange caused birth defects in mice would have dramatically bolstered the veterans' claims. The toxicology study, however, did the opposite.

Three groups of mice that were fed varying levels of the dioxin-laced herbicides mated normally and produced offspring with no more birth defects than did a fourth group of mice kept under identical conditions but not exposed to Agent Orange.

Many veterans who complain of sterility

and impotence blame those problems on Agent Orange. The three scientists who performed the mouse study said the poisoned mice remained sexually competent.

Many earlier studies did nothing to resolve the Agent Orange controversy because they were poorly designed and, as a result, produced ambiguous results that fueled the arguments of both sides.

One EPA-sponsored study of birth defects in Alsea, Ore., for instance, reported a correlation between the application of 2,4,5-T and spontaneous abortions by women living near the sprayed areas.

The study immediately led to an emergency EPA ban on most uses of 2,4,5-T, but many scientists, including a group at the University of Oregon that has examined the study in detail, claim the Alsea report is riddled with errors and inaccuracies.

According to one scathing analysis, the EPA investigators gathered their data incorrectly, then compounded that error by misinterpreting the faulty data to produce unwarranted conclusions.

The case against the Alsea work is bolstered by a subsequent EPA-funded study that found no traces of dioxin or 2,4,5-T in milk samples taken from nursing mothers in several areas where 2,4,5-T was regularly used.

If the criticism prevails, the Alsea study, and with it the ban, may have to be junked. The EPA is presently conducting hearings in Washington to determine whether the ban should be lifted.

As a result, scientists investigating the controversial questions concerning Agent Orange are under pressure to design studies that will yield definitive answers.

The most important of those studies will be a large-scale epidemiological assessment of the health of Vietnam War veterans. The long-term project will ultimately settle the issue of whether the Vietnam veteran is, on the average, any sicker than the general population.

Because so much rests on the results, the project has proceeded at a glacial pace. Congress considered the study for weeks before mandating it last fall. Since then, the Veterans Administration has been busy selecting a contractor to do the creative work of designing the study.

A VA spokesman said the design contract may be awarded as early as this month. Designing the study is expected to take about a year. Once the design is completed, it will take at least two more years for the study to begin producing answers.

In the meantime, the National Toxicology Program proceeded with its mouse study in an attempt to at least partially answer the questions involving birth defects and long-term effects.

The toxicology study is a model of careful experimentation. The 200 mice were divided into four experimental groups of 50 each. One group of mice was treated like the rest, except that they were not fed any Agent Orange. They serve as the comparison point, or control, necessary to a definitive animal experiment.

The other three groups received three different mixtures of Agent Orange herbicides and dioxin, so that the relative toxicity of the chemicals involved, as well as any possible cumulative effects, could be measured.

The high doses of Agent Orange did, as predicted, have an effect on the mice. They lost weight, their livers swelled, their thyroids (a small immune-system organ) shrank. But those problems did not interfere with the animal's sexual abilities.

When the chemicals were withdrawn, the livers shrank back to normal size, the thyroids grew and the animals quickly regained their lost weight.

The complete recovery of the mice conflicts with veterans' claims that they are suf-

fering ill effects a decade and more after their exposure to relatively minuscule amounts of Agent Orange.

The scientists, when examining the offspring of the poisoned mice, found a small percentage of defects. But when that tally of deformities was compared to birth defects in the offspring of the unpoisoned control group of mice, they were statistically identical.

A specific "background level" of birth defects occurs normally in all mammals, including humans. While some children of Vietnam veterans are born defective, scientists question whether the numbers of such problems are any higher than those in population groups never exposed to Agent Orange.

STUDY "MEANINGLESS" TO AGENT ORANGE CONTROVERSY

(By Jon Franklin and Alan Doelp)

A study that found trace levels of dioxin in the fatty tissue of Vietnam veterans is scientifically valid but virtually meaningless in resolving the Agent Orange controversy, the study's chief scientist says.

The findings, which were first revealed several months ago, showed that fat samples from 11 Vietnam War veterans contained parts-per-trillion levels of dioxin, the poisonous byproduct that contaminated the military's Agent Orange herbicide.

The veterans' dioxin levels were a thousand times less than the smallest amounts shown to cause health problems in the most sensitive laboratory animals. Nevertheless, the study fueled the fears of veterans, who have blamed everything from impotence to cancer on their wartime exposure to the herbicide.

Of particular concern was the fact that 11 of 20 allegedly exposed Vietnam War veterans showed positive traces of dioxin while such traces were found in only four of 10 in a control group of veterans who were in Vietnam but who said they were not exposed to Agent Orange.

Those numbers were widely interpreted as implying that many infantrymen who served in Vietnam still carry potentially harmful traces of Agent Orange in their bodies. But Dr. Michael L. Gross, the scientist who conducted the study, says no such interpretation is warranted.

According to recent testimony at an Environmental Protection Agency hearing in Washington, the meaning of the results may be open to question because the dioxin levels are so minuscule and the techniques required to measure such vanishingly small quantities are so highly experimental.

Dr. Gross is a professor of chemistry at the University of Nebraska and director of the Midwest Center for Mass Spectrometry, one of six such centers in the country. He is recognized as one of the nation's foremost analytical chemists and has done extensive chemical studies for the Environmental Protection Agency, including several studies focused directly on dioxin.

He said the number of fat samples analyzed was far too small to show whether or not Vietnam veterans are any more likely to have dioxin in their fat than are average American citizens. Another test, conducted in an identical manner, could show average Americans with higher dioxin levels than ex-soldiers, he said.

The levels of dioxin discovered in most of the Vietnam veterans were on a par with levels found among members of the general population, Dr. Gross said.

"If a guy was in the infantry, he's probably not carrying high levels of dioxin," Dr. Gross said. He said he didn't know whether parts-per-billion dioxin levels pose a danger, but if they do, the veterans aren't anymore at risk than other Americans exposed to dioxin

from domestic herbicide applications, the use of chemicals like hexachlorophene, or air pollution.

"Maybe we're all in trouble," said Dr. Gross. "But if we are, we're together in it, at least."

The one meaningful part of the test, he maintained, involved three veterans who said they received extremely high exposures to Agent Orange during the Vietnam War. Fat taken from one of the three showed no dioxin traces, but the two others showed higher concentrations than anyone else in the experiment.

All three were directly involved in the handling and application of Agent Orange. The highest dioxin reading attained by Dr. Gross, for instance, came from an Air Force mechanic who spent a year in charge of a herbicide unit.

That veteran told the government that he'd handled and pumped herbicides into aircraft tanks, that he had continuously breathed herbicide fumes and that he "swam in it." Three separate tests on his fat sample yielded results of dioxin levels of 63, 96 and 100 parts per trillion.

Other veterans who tested positive had levels in the neighborhood of 3 to 14 parts per trillion, comparable to the amount of dioxin found in the fat of American civilians and very close to the limit of detection.

But, Dr. Gross said, the fact that two of the three veterans rated most heavily exposed by the Veterans Administration were shown to have relatively high dioxin levels does indicate that heavily exposed persons may indeed carry Vietnam War era dioxin in their fat.

Whether or not that poses a danger, nobody knows.

For that matter, it isn't even clear that the two-out-of-three ratio is correct. In cross-examination, an attorney for Dow Chemical Co., one of the manufacturers of Agent Orange, challenged the rationality of the Veterans Administration "heavily exposed" classification.

The lawyer pointed out that, according to government documents, several other veterans who said they were heavily exposed were not so classified. Their dioxin levels came out either nil or relatively low.

For instance, one man told VA doctors he received "severe, direct repeated exposure" when flying through herbicide sprays on scouting missions. He was not listed among the most heavily exposed.

If the classifications are modified to include all such veterans in the "heavily exposed" class, even those findings lose some of their sinister character. Depending on who decides the meaning of "heavily exposed," up to half of such Vietnam veterans have low or nil levels of dioxin in their fat.

Three Air Force officers who do herbicide research and who classified themselves as extremely heavily exposed were excluded from the totals. Two of them had dioxin levels on a par with that found in the non-military population and the third tested negative.

In an interview, Dr. Gross called for a larger, statistically significant study designed to provide concrete answers to the questions raised by the first one.

NICARAGUAN REFUGEES SHOULD HAVE THEIR VISAS EXTENDED

• Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, after the triumph of the Sandinista government on July 19, 1979, some 15,000 Nicaraguans fled from the fear of persecution and Marxist retribution to the United States. The U.S. Embassy in Managua adopted a generous policy of granting tourist visas, with no questions asked.

Those exiles who came to the United States thus faced an uncertain future, as more and more evidence accumulated of Sandinista murders, tortures, and imprisonments of any Nicaraguans who were "denounced" by their fellow citizens.

In the midst of social upheaval and tragic actions, many opportunities for hatred, revenge, and personal advancement present themselves accompanied by passion and social disintegration. This combined with the Marxist dominance of the revolutionaries has led many of the exiles to believe that to return home would be an act of folly, if not suicide.

Six months ago, the visas of these exiles were extended, expiring on September 28—that is last Sunday. That date was the last deadline for voluntary departure. After that, the exiles face deportation back to Nicaragua to face the Sandinista's Marxist revenge.

Despite the obvious danger these exiles face, the Carter Administration has refused to extend their visas again. The State Department holds that each one of the 15,000 must apply for political asylum as an individual case, supplying supporting documents. This is a lengthy process, one that could take months or even years, leaving these exiles in a state of suspended animation and with no settled means of livelihood. It is to be noted that these exiles do not enjoy the benefit of financial assistance or relocation support or counseling.

The only concession which the administration has made is to extend work permits for 2 months—an ambiguous response in the light of the indefinite tenure of asylum hearings.

This hard-nosed response contrasts with the treatment which has been accorded to the Cuban and Haitian exiles. Under the Refugee Act of 1980, the President has designated a special category of Cuban-Haitian refugees to enter as a class, and as we know, almost 150,000 have done so.

Yet the administration has not done the same for the Nicaraguan exiles—exiles who are clearly political exiles in the midst of revolutionary upheaval. I call upon the administration to do so now.

The Nicaraguan group is a group clearly defined by entry dates, and consists of highly motivated citizens who, for the most part, were leading productive lives in a capitalistic economy. It is a relatively small group which could be integrated into U.S. society without the social problems created by Castro's manipulation of the Cuban exodus.

Moreover, in the light of the events of the past few weeks, such an action would be a humanitarian deed. These events have heightened anxiety and tension in the exile group as the Nicaraguan Government more and more has dropped its mask. Consider the following:

First, on September 5, two Cubans in a Lear jet were seized by the FBI for presenting false Nicaraguan identity papers. The Miami Herald noted that the Cubans were believed to be on an intelligence operation.

Although the Nicaraguan counsel vouched for them, they were deported