

1.—EXTERNAL FINANCING OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

[In millions of dollars]

	* 1966	1967	* 1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	Total 1966-74
a. Sino-Soviet expenditures:										
Economic:										
People's Republic of China.....	75.0	80.0	120.0	90.0	60.0	105.0	90.0			
Soviet Union.....	150.0	200.0	305.0	385.0	345.0	320.0	210.0	NA	NA	
Total.....	225.0	280.0	425.0	475.0	405.0	425.0	300.0			
Most recent CIA estimates ¹					735.0	755.0	465.0	* 670.0	1,295.0	5,325.0
b. U.S. expenditures:										
Military:										
People's Republic of China.....	95.0	145.0	115.0	140.0	100.0	115.0	230.0			
Soviet Union.....	360.0	505.0	415.0	175.0	90.0	165.0	375.0	NA	NA	
Total.....	455.0	650.0	530.0	315.0	190.0	280.0	605.0			
Most recent CIA estimates ²					205.0	315.0	750.0	330.0	400.0	3,950.0
Economic (fiscal years):										
Economic ³	593.5	494.4	398.2	314.1	365.9	387.7	386.8	313.4	* 389.9	
Food for Peace ⁴	143.0	73.7	138.5	99.4	110.8	188.0	67.8	188.3	* 230.1	
Total.....	736.5	568.1	536.7	413.5	467.7	575.7	454.6	* 501.7	620.0	4,883.5
Military (fiscal years):										
Military aid.....	875.1	1,208.51	1,153.2	1,710.8	1,727.6	1,895.0	2,348.5	2,270.5	1,010.0	14,249.2
U.S. operations ⁵	4,924.9	18,891.5	25,346.8	26,089.2	21,372.4	12,805.0	7,001.5	3,029.5	691.0	121,151.8
Total.....	5,800.0	20,100.0	26,500.0	28,800.0	23,100.0	14,700.0	9,400.0	5,300.0	1,701.0	135,401.0

Note: Totals (in billions of dollars): Sino-Soviet economic aid, 5.325; Sino-Soviet military aid, 3.950; Sino-Soviet aid, 9.275; U.S. economic aid, 4.8835; U.S. military aid, 14.2492; U.S. aid, 19.1327; U.S. military expenditures, 135.401; U.S. expenditures, 140.2845; Foreign economic aid, 10.2085; Foreign military aid, 18.4993; Foreign aid, 28.4077; Foreign military aid, 139.3510; Foreign expenditure, 149.5595.

NOTES

Figures used in this survey represent the highest estimates for Sino-Soviet aid to North Vietnam. For example, the March 5, 1975 CIA estimates for Sino-Soviet aid during 1970-1974 have been used. These figures total more than \$1 billion more than the previous estimates for those years.

Lowest possible figures were used in calculating U.S. military aid. For instance, until FY 75 some 80 per cent of PL 480 Food for Peace aid was used to generate counterpart funds that in turn were used to purchase U.S. military supplies. Thus, Food for Peace in fact constituted a source of additional military aid for the Saigon government during the period in question. For the purposes of this survey, however, Food for Peace aid was treated as economic aid, reducing total U.S. military aid by nearly \$1 billion.

No attempt has been made to calculate undervaluations of U.S. equipment and materiel delivered to the Saigon government. Journalist Tad Szulc has cited (*Rolling Stone*, October 1974) Pentagon undervaluations of 50 to 90 per cent.

The figure \$140.2845 billion for total U.S. expenditures on the war should not be taken as representing the full cost of the war. Senator Mansfield recently cited the *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.* figure of \$352 billion

(*Congressional Record*, March 21, 1975, S4642). Economist Tom Riddell, writing in the October, 1973 *Progressive*, sets total war costs at \$676 billion.

SUMMARY

By U.S. government figures:
The U.S. spent and the Saigon government benefited from:

97.1 per cent of all foreign military expenditures in Vietnam

93.8 per cent of all foreign expenditures in Vietnam.

78.3 per cent of all foreign military aid to Vietnam.

67.4 per cent of all foreign aid to Vietnam.

48.7 per cent of all foreign economic aid to Vietnam.

U.S. aid to Saigon represented:

92 per cent of Sino-Soviet economic aid to North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

3.6 times Sino-Soviet military aid

2.1 times total Sino-Soviet aid

Altogether, the U.S. spent:

15.1 times total Sino-Soviet expenditures on Vietnam

34.3 times total Sino-Soviet military expenditures on Vietnam.

Furthermore:

96.5 per cent of U.S. expenditures went directly for military purposes

74.5 per cent of U.S. aid went directly for military purposes.

42.6 per cent of Sino-Soviet aid went directly for military purposes.

FOOTNOTES

¹ National Security Study Memorandum No. 1, in Congressional Record, May 10, 1972.

² Report of Vice-Admiral de Poix, Director, Defense Intelligence Agency, transmitted to Congressman Les Aspin, May 18, 1974.

³ Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, and Bureau of Intelligence and Research (Department of State), estimates of March 5, 1975.

⁴ Report of Congressman Paul N. McCloskey, Congressional Record, March 14, 1975, E1184.

⁵ U.S. Agency for International Development, Fiscal Year 1975 Submission to the Congress, "Indochina Postwar Reconstruction Programs," p. 49.

⁶ Ibid., annual economic aid totals less Food for Peace totals.

⁷ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Commodity Credit Corporation, telephone interview, January 1975.

⁸ 1974 economic aid total in 3, less 7.

⁹ Congressional Research Service, February 1974 Update of Total War Cost Figures.

¹⁰ 9, less annual military aid figures from 5.

¹¹ U.S. Department of Defense, Comptroller's Office, telephone interview, February 1975.

2. U.S. AID TO INDOCHINA (SINCE FISCAL YEAR 1949)

a. The past (1) Under Truman: \$1,300.1; (2) 1953-75, country breakdown

[In millions of dollars]

President and fiscal year	Military	Economic	Food for Peace	Total	President and fiscal year	Military	Economic	Food for Peace	Total
VIETNAM¹									
Eisenhower: 1953-61.....	526.3	1,466.6	78.3	2,071.2	Nixon:				
Kennedy: 1962-63.....					1969.....	1,710.8	314.1	49.4	2,124.3
Johnson:					1970.....	1,727.6	365.9	110.8	2,204.3
1964-65.....	955.4	658.1	193.5	1,807.0	1971.....	1,895.0	387.7	188.0	2,470.7
1966.....	875.1	593.5	143.0	1,611.6	1972.....	2,398.5	386.8	67.8	2,853.1
1967.....	1,208.5	494.4	73.7	1,776.6	1973.....	2,270.0	313.4	188.3	2,771.7
1968.....	1,153.2	398.2	138.5	1,689.9	1974 ²	1,010.0	* 389.9	* 230.5	1,630.0
					1975.....	700.0	* 282.0	* 54.0	5,036.0
					Total.....	6,430.4	6,050.6	1,565.4	24,046.4

President and fiscal year	Military	Economic	Food for Peace	Total	President and fiscal year	Military	Economic	Food for Peace	Total
LAOS					CAMBODIA				
1953-61	98.4	266.0	1.1	365.5	1953-61	67.6	217.6	2.3	287.5
1962-65	142.8	159.2	2.6	304.6	1962-65	23.6	7.5	4.6	35.7
1966	54.3	57.2	.4	111.9	1966-69				
1967	55.0	56.1	1.3	113.8	1970	8.3			8.3
1968	81.7	62.9	1.5	146.1	1971	184.0	70.0	6.8	260.8
1969	79.8	52.0	.2	132.0	1972	187.2	37.1	20.5	249.8
1970	77.9	51.4	1.9	131.7	1973	140.8	67.5	29.1	237.4
1971	163.9	48.9	.6	213.4	1974	419.1	95.0	168.3	682.4
1972	220.7	48.9	3.3	272.9	1975	275.0	110.0	81.0	466.0
1973	334.4	48.0	3.6	384.7	Total	1,305.6	609.7	312.6	2,227.9
1974	108.0	40.6	3.3	152.2					
1975	30.0	56.0	NA	86.0					
Total	1,447.9	948.1	18.8	2,414.8					

TOTAL INDOCHINA

Pre-1953	1,300.0	1971	2,944.9
Fiscal year 1953-61	2,724.2	1972	3,370.8
1962-65	2,147.3	1973	3,393.8
1966	1,723.5	1974	2,464.6
1967	1,890.4	1975	1,588.0
1968	1,836.0	Total	29,984.1
1969	2,256.3		
1970	2,344.3		

B. THE FUTURE—PENDING ADMINISTRATION REQUESTS, APRIL 1975

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Military	Economic	Food for Peace	Fiscal year	Military	Economic	Food for Peace
-VIETNAM				LAOS			
1975 supplemental	722	507		1976			
1976	1,293	A		Southwest Asia Incremental	124	C	
1977	355			Total A+B+C		959	
1977	1,000			Total military	4,141		
CAMBODIA				Total requests ¹			
1975 supplemental	222		73-100				
1976	425	B					

¹ Total requested \$5,680,000,000.

U.S. AID TO INDOCHINA COMPARED WITH U.S. AID TO 151 OTHER NATIONS AND TERRITORIES, 1945-1974

Since 1945 the U.S. has given \$128.534 billion in aid grants;

Of this sum: \$26.491 billion has gone to South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia since the French left;

\$28.033 billion has gone to Indochina counting aid sent to the French before 1954.

Of the aid grants since the French left: \$22.505 billion went to South Vietnam

\$2.282 billion went to Laos

\$1.204 billion went to Cambodia

The U.S. has therefore sent:

20.6% of all post World War II aid grants to Indochina;

21.8% of all post-World War II aid grant to Indochina counting aid to the French;

and

17.5% of all post-World War II aid grants to South Vietnam.

The government of South Vietnam has therefore received more U.S. aid funds—not loans—than any other government or administration in the world:

17.5% of all U.S. aid grants since World War II have gone to a country with 0.8% of the population of U.S. aid recipients.

Sources

Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriation Bill, 1975, Report, March 10, 1975.

1974 Information Please Almanac, Atlas,

and Yearbook, Dan Golenpaul and Associates, USA, 1973.

Note

In computing the total U.S. foreign assistance since World War II, aid to the Soviet Union has been admitted, as well as any loan aid. Loans to the governments of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia amount to less than \$200 million of the total and have not been deducted.

U.S. AID TO INDOCHINA—SUMMARY

In the period since South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia ceased to be outright French colonies, the United States has sent \$28.684 billion in aid.

Including aid sent under the Truman administration during the first Indochina war, the United States has sent a total of \$29.984 billion in aid.

Of the aid sent since 1953, 66.9 per cent has been direct military aid, 83.3 per cent of total Indochina aid has gone to Saigon, and 57.4 per cent of total Indochina aid has been direct military aid to Saigon.

For the rest of FY 1975, FY 1976, FY 1977 ("Transition") and FY 1977 the Ford administration is requesting \$5.312 billion in aid which is equivalent to 17.7 per cent of all U.S. aid to Indochina.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, 1975, Report (No. 94), March 11, 1975, p. 5.

² U.S. Agency for International Development, Fiscal Year 1975 Submission to the Congress, "Indochina Postwar Reconstruction Programs," pp. 49, 57, 76.

³ Congressman Paul N. McCloskey, Report, Congressional Record, March 14, 1975, E 1184.

⁴ 3, less 5.

⁵ U.S. Department of Agriculture, Commodity Credit Corporation, telephone interview, January, 1975.

⁶ U.S. Agency for International Development, Economic Assistance, Vietnam desk, telephone interview, April 1975.

⁷ Congressional Record, Fiscal Year 1975 Concessional Food Aid Allocations, March 13, 1975, H 1676.

⁸ House Report 93-1255, August 1974.

⁹ Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1975, Senate Hearings, p. 1450.

¹⁰ PL 93-559, Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act, Fiscal Year 1975, authorized figure.

¹¹ Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1975 Hearings, House of Representatives, Part 1, p. 1068.

¹² Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations, Fiscal Year 1975, Senate Hearings, p. 1449.

¹³ Congressional Record, March 13, 1975, H 1676; an additional \$50 million is available under "Cambodian Reserve."

3. WAR COSTS FROM JAN. 27, 1973 (PARIS AGREEMENT) TO JUNE 1975

[In millions of dollars]

	Fiscal year—			
	1973 (Feb- ruary- June)	1974	1975	Total
Vietnam:				
Military.....	675.0	1,010.0	700.0	2,385.0
Economic.....	176.0	389.9	282.0	847.9
Public Law 480 ¹	80.7	230.1	54.0	364.8
Total.....	931.7	1,630.0	1,036.0	3,597.7
Cambodia:				
Military.....	64.5	419.1	275.0	758.6
Economic.....	27.8	95.0	110.0	232.8
Public Law 480.....	6.5	168.3	81.0	255.8
Total.....	98.8	682.4	466.0	1,247.2
Laos:				
Military.....	79.9	108.0	30.0	217.9
Economic.....	19.4	40.6	56.0	116.0
Public Law 480.....	1.4	3.6	7	5.0
Total.....	100.7	152.2	86.0	338.9
SEA incremental.....	416.0	691.0	281.0	1,388.0
Grand total.....	1,547.2	3,155.6	1,869.0	6,571.8

¹ Public Law 480, Food-for-peace.
² Southeast Asia incremental DOD costs related to the phase-down of the Indochina conflict (mainly bases in Thailand)
 Note: \$6,571,800,000 equals 23 percent of all U.S. aid since 1953.

SOURCES

Fiscal year 1973. Five-sixths of fiscal year 1973 totals, contained in information furnished by the Committee on Government Operations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information to Congresswoman Bella S. Abzug, Feb. 20, 1974.

Vietnam military. Congressman Paul N. McCloskey, Report, Congressional Record, Mar. 14, 1975, E1184.

Vietnam fiscal year 1974 economic. Ibid., less Public Law 480, Fiscal year 1974 Public Law 480. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Commodity Credit Corporation, telephone interview, January 1975.

Fiscal year 1975 economic. Agency for International Development, Economic Assistance, Vietnam desk, telephone interview, April 1975.

Vietnam fiscal year 1975 Public Law 480. "Fiscal Year 1975 Concessional Food Allocations," Congressional Record, Mar. 13, 1975, H1676.

Laos fiscal year 1974 military. House Report 93-1255, Aug. 1, 1974.

Laos fiscal year 1974 economic. Foreign assistance and related programs appropriations, fiscal year 1975, Senate hearings, p. 1450.

Fiscal year 1975 Laos and Cambodia. Public Law 93-559, Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act, fiscal year 1975, authorized figure.

Fiscal year 1974 Cambodia military. Foreign assistance and related programs appropriations, fiscal year 1975, House hearings pt. 1, p. 1068.

Fiscal year 1974 Cambodia economic. Ibid., 1449.

5. COSTS OF THE AIR WAR IN INDOCHINA

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Fighter-bomber sorties	Cost of fighter-bomber sorties	B-52 sorties	Cost of B-52 sorties	Value of aircraft lost	Total cost	Fiscal year	Fighter-bomber sorties	Cost of fighter-bomber sorties	B-52 sorties	Cost of B-52 sorties	Value of aircraft lost	Total cost
1966.....	184,000	1,550	3,700	120	840	2,510	1972.....	117,000	1,444	16,700	750	1,000	3,190
1967.....	328,000	2,690	7,400	270	1,100	4,060	1973 ¹	96,000	1,260	20,500	990	590	2,840
1968.....	366,000	3,260	15,300	580	1,460	5,300	1973 ²	28,000	360	7,800	380	30	770
1969.....	375,000	3,640	20,500	850	950	5,440	Total.....	1,915,000	18,790	124,100	5,330	7,590	31,710
1970.....	268,000	2,810	19,800	840	1,020	4,670							
1971.....	153,000	1,780	12,400	550	600	2,930							

¹ One-half 1973.

² Cambodia, Jan. 1-Aug. 11, 1973.

Sources: "The Air War in Indochina," p. 101.

6. If Americans had suffered from the war on the same scale as the people of Indochina...

1. Vietnam:

Vietnam is about the size of New Mexico. South Vietnam is about the size of Florida. The population of South Vietnam is roughly 20 million. 1,710,000 Vietnamese killed since 1960=17,955,000 Americans or everyone living in New York State.

3,098,000 Vietnamese wounded since 1960=32,550,000 Americans, or the entire populations of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Kentucky.

2. In the two years since the signing of the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam (January 27, 1973 to January 27, 1975).

150,000 Vietnamese soldiers have been killed=1,575,000 Americans, or the population of Detroit.

290,000 Vietnamese soldiers have been wounded=3,045,000 Americans, or almost everyone in Chicago.

15,000 Vietnamese civilians were killed in 1973 alone=157,000 Americans, or most of Pres. Ford's home town, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

70,000 Vietnamese civilians were wounded in 1973 alone=735,000 Americans, the population of Cleveland.

1,418,000 Vietnamese became refugees in that two-year period=13,850,000 Americans, equivalent to forcing all the people in Texas, Oklahoma, and Washington, D.C. to leave their homes.

3. Cambodia:

Cambodia is about the size of Missouri. The population is over 7 million. 600,000 Khmers have been killed or wounded=18,254,000 Americans, or the entire popula-

tion of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. 3,390,000 Khmers have become refugees=103,092,000 Americans, or almost everyone in the United States living west of the Mississippi and north of Ohio.

4. Laos:

Laos is the size of North Carolina and Virginia combined. The population is 8 million (no U.S. government figures for killed and wounded) 700,000 refugees=49,693,000 Americans, or all the people in the three most populous states, California, New York, and Illinois.

Sources:

Vietnam. Cumulative statistics from Department of Defense:

States. 1974 Information Please Almanac.

Refugees. Senate subcommittee on refugees, Study Mission Report for the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees, "Human Problems in South Viet Nam and Cambodia: Two Years after the Cease-Fire," January 27, 1975.

Cambodia. Sydney Schanberg, New York Times, September 8, 1974.

Laos. Senate subcommittee on refugees, "War-Related Civilian Problems in Indochina," Part II, 21-22, April 1971.

7. TOTAL CASUALTIES

January 1961-Jan. 27, 1973

	Killed	Wounded	Total
Americans.....	56,226	153,654	209,880
South Vietnamese:			
Military.....	1,135,557	1,911,043	3,046,600
Civilian.....	415,000	935,000	1,350,000
Subtotal.....	1,550,557	2,846,043	4,396,600

Fiscal year 1975 Cambodia Public Law 480. Congressional Record, Mar. 13, 1975, H1676.

Fiscal year 1973 S.E.A. Incremental. Prorated, from "Budget of the Government of the United States."

Fiscal year 1974-75 SEA incremental. U.S. Department of Defense, Comptroller's Office, telephone interview, February 1975.

4. U.S. EXPENDITURE BY COUNTRY

[In millions of dollars]

Country	U.S. aid	U.S. military operations	Total
Vietnam.....	24,046.4	112,833.6	136,880.0
Cambodia.....	2,222.9	1,508.1	3,737.0
Laos.....	2,414.8	6,810.1	9,224.9
Total since 1953.....			149,835.9

SOURCES

U.S. aid. From "U.S. aid to Indochina" table.

U.S. military operations. Taking Congressional Research Service total war cost figures (from DOD) for annual incremental costs, less 1965 \$100,000,000 incremental, less military aid allotments for Indochina, less Laos (3) plus Cambodia (3).

Military operations, Cambodia and Laos. Senator Stuart Symington, "Cambodia Bombing," Congressional Record, July 13, 1973, S13848; "Air War in Indochina," (revised edition, Beacon Press: Boston, 1972) for cost of bombing of Laos and Cambodia, which constitute the greatest part of U.S. military operations in the 2 countries.

Indochinese: (Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam).....	200,000	300,000	500,000
Total.....	1,806,783	3,299,697	5,106,480

Since the Ceasefire: Jan. 27, 1973-Jan. 27, 1975:

Americans.....			
South Vietnamese:			
Military.....	150,140	290,480	440,620
Civilian.....	15,000	70,000	85,000
Subtotal.....	165,140	360,480	525,620
Cambodians.....	(¹)	(¹)	(¹)
Grand total.....	1,971,923	2,660,177	5,732,100

¹ Over 100,000 killed and wounded.

U.S. DEATHS, HOSTILE AND NON-HOSTILE CAUSES, AND WOUNDED

Year	Deaths in hostile action	Deaths in non-hostile action	Wounded	Total
1961.....	11	2	2	15
1962.....	31	21	41	93
1963.....	78	36	218	332
1964.....	147	48	522	717
1965.....	1,369	358	3,398	5,035
1966.....	5,008	1,045	16,526	22,579
1967.....	9,378	1,680	32,371	43,429
1968.....	14,592	1,919	46,799	63,310
1969.....	9,414	2,113	32,940	44,467
1970.....	4,221	1,844	15,511	21,567
1971.....	1,380	968	4,817	7,165
1972.....	300	251	587	1,138
1973 ¹	* 12		12	24
Total.....	45,941	10,285	153,654	209,880

¹ January 1-27.

² Includes both killed in action and status changes.

Source: Pentagon Information Office.

VIETNAMESE CASUALTIES BY YEAR

	Johnson years—1964-68				Nixon years—1969-73		
	ARVN killed	PRG/DRV killed	Civilians killed		ARVN killed	PRG/DRV killed	Civilians killed
1964	7,457	16,785		1969	21,833	156,954	60,000
1965	11,243	35,436	25,000	1970	23,346	103,638	30,000
1966	11,953	55,524	50,000	1971	22,069	98,094	25,000
1967	12,176	88,104	60,000	1972	39,587	131,949	65,000
1968	27,915	181,149	100,000	1973 ¹	1,726	5,625	
Total	70,744	376,998	235,000	Total	13,778	45,057	15,000
Total, Johnson years		682,742		Total, Nixon years	122,339	541,317	195,000
				Total, Johnson/Nixon years		1,541,398	

Year	ARVN killed	Wounded	PRG/DRV killed	Wounded	Civilians killed	Wounded	Refugees	Total war victims
1960								
1961	2,223	2,788	5,669	8,503				19,183
1962	4,004	5,449	12,133	18,199				39,785
1963	4,575	7,195	25,148	37,737				74,467
1964	5,665	11,488	23,575	35,362				76,090
1965	7,457	17,017	16,785	25,177				66,446
1966	11,243	23,118	35,436	53,154	25,000	75,000	772,000	994,951
1967	11,953	20,975	55,524	83,286	50,000	100,000	906,000	1,227,738
1968	12,176	29,448	88,104	132,156	60,000	115,000	436,000	872,884
1969	27,915	70,696	181,149	271,723	100,000	200,000	2,522,000	3,373,483
1970	21,833	65,276	156,954	235,431	60,000	140,000	590,000	1,269,494
1971	23,346	71,582	103,638	195,457	30,000	95,000	620,000	1,099,023
1972	22,069	59,823	98,094	147,141	25,000	75,000	404,000	831,127
1973	39,587	109,960	131,949	197,923	65,000	135,000	2,020,000	2,699,419
1973 ¹	1,726	6,542	5,625	8,437			2,000,000	22,330
Subtotal	195,764	501,357	939,793	1,409,686	415,000	935,000	10,270,000	14,666,600
Since cease-fire:								
1973 ¹	13,778	51,364	45,057	67,585	15,000	70,000	818,700	1,081,484
1974	11,499	51,822	79,806	119,709	NA	NA	594,300	857,136
Subtotal	25,277	103,186	124,863	187,294	15,000	70,000	1,413,000	1,938,620
Total	221,041	604,543	1,064,656	1,596,980	430,000	1,005,000	11,683,000	16,605,220

¹ Jan. 1-28.² Jan. 28-Dec. 31.

Sources:

ARVN—Army of the Republic of Vietnam; PRG—Provisional Revolutionary Government; DRV—Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Casualties ARVN and PRG/DRV 1960-72. Department of Defense.

PRG/DRV wounded. DOD projects 1.5 wounded per death.

Jan. 1-28, 1973. Government of Vietnam.

Jan. 28-Dec. 31, 1973. "Relief and Rehabilitation of War Victims in Indochina: 1 Year After the Ceasefire," Study Mission Report, Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees, Jan. 27, 1974, p. 9.

Casualties in North Vietnam:

Civilian casualties

1965	25,000
1966	50,000
1967	50,000
1972	50,000
Total	185,000

There are no accurate figures available. These estimates are based on former Defense Secretary McNamara's estimate in May 1967 that the three years of bombing was killing or seriously injuring 1,000 non-combatants per week (*Pentagon Papers*, Gravel ed., Vol. IV, p. 172). The National Security Studies Memorandum No. 1, commissioned by Henry Kissinger in 1969, estimated 57,000 persons killed in the bombing of North Vietnam 1965-68. The figures for 1972 bombing are also not available. North Vietnam reported (AP in *New York Times*, January 5, 1973) that 1,318 residents of Hanoi were killed and 1,261 wounded in ten days of bombing in December 1972.

Cambodian war casualties:

Cambodian refugees. There are no reliable figures on the number of refugees. However, in a GAO report reprinted in the March 20, 1975 *Cong. Record*, S4618, it was stated that "roughly three million of the five million [under control of Lon Nol's government] have become refugees." The Study Mission report for the Subcommittee to Investigate Problems Connected with Refugees and Escapees, "Humanitarian Problems in South Vietnam and Cambodia: Two Years After the Cease-Fire," January 27, 1975, reported that as of December 1974, there were 3,889,050 refugees in Cambodia. (p. 31). In

Sydney Schanberg's article of September 8, 1974 in the *New York Times*, it is also stated, "The refugee rolls have soared by 200,000 in that time to an estimated total of 3 million people . . . Nearly half the people of Cambodia are now refugees."

Cambodian casualties. There are no reliable figures on killed and wounded in Cambodia over the past five years. The State Department, Cambodia desk, estimates about 50,000 government forces have been killed or wounded between 1972 and the first half of 1974, with about 35,000 "enemy" killed during the same period. State Department estimates for January and February 1975 are around 40,000 killed and wounded on both sides. These figures are obviously underestimated. Sydney Schanberg, in his September 8, 1974 *New York Times* article stated, "By the lowest possible estimates more than 300 Cambodians are killed or wounded every day. So far, at least 600,000 Cambodians have become casualty statistics, nearly one-tenth of the country's population of 7 million." In April 1975 Schanberg revised his estimated upwards to 1 million casualties. In the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees January 1975 report the figure for civilian casualties since the war began is "well over 450,000." (p. 35).

Laos war casualties:

There are no reliable estimates on the number of Laotians killed or wounded during the war, but the numbers are in the hundreds of thousands. In a Washington Post article of March 4, 1970, it was reported that 100,000 Meo tribesmen have died in the last nine years of war in Laos. Civilian casu-

alties are impossible to determine. In "Refugee and Civilian War Casualty Problems in Laos and Cambodia," a report of the Refugee Committee, May 7, 1970, civilian casualties are given: 5,500 for 1967, 2,658 for 1968, and 3,674 for 1969 (p. 44). These figures are underestimates.

8. U.S. BOMBING TONNAGE IN INDOCHINA

	Tons	Sorties
1964-73:		
South Vietnam	3,223,553	946,142
North Vietnam	881,302	362,642
Laos	2,083,100	541,344
North Laos	320,722	
South Laos	1,762,378	
Cambodia ¹	96,598	3,316
Cambodia total	539,129	49,640
Indochina total	6,727,084	1,899,668
Indochina:		
1964	3,440	
1965	174,121	
1966	449,856	
1967	842,557	
1968	1,272,547	
1969	1,218,629	
1970	800,418	
1971	616,593	
1972	957,162	
1973	391,761	
1964-68	2,742,521	
1969-73	3,984,563	
Total	6,727,084	

¹ March 1969-March 1970.

Sources: 1965-72: Senator Stuart Symington, Congressional Record, July 18, 1973, S13848-S13851. Tonnage, June 1964-December 1974, Jan. 1-Aug. 15, 1973. Pentagon statistics supplied by Congressman Les Aspin.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE

May 14, 1975

BOMBING TONNAGE

SOUTH VIETNAM

	June 1964- December 1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	Jan. 1-27, 1973	Total
F/B sorties	?	65,921	123,645	165,103	200,258	150,321	74,212	16,123	76,664	6,695	878,942
B-52 sorties	0	1,538	4,290	6,375	16,505	11,525	4,069	2,416	19,430	1,650	67,798
Total sorties	?	67,459	127,935	171,478	216,763	161,846	78,281	18,539	96,094	8,345	946,740
F/B tons	?	86,620	153,102	293,275	334,967	308,912	141,195	52,163	187,708	13,004	1,574,196
B-52 tons	3,250	31,540	84,230	173,970	472,308	323,492	110,928	61,625	353,354	27,910	1,639,357
Total tons	3,250	118,160	247,332	467,245	807,275	632,404	252,123	113,788	541,062	40,914	3,223,553

* Started June 1965.

NORTH VIETNAM

	August 1964	February- December 1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	Jan. 1-27, 1973	Total
F/B sorties	?	25,408	81,137	105,576	92,224	285	1,003	1,705	46,186	1,663	355,187
B-52 sorties	0	0	280	1,420	682	0	0	0	4,440	533	7,355
Total sorties	?	25,408	81,417	106,996	92,906	285	1,003	1,705	50,626	2,196	362,542
F/B tons	154	40,554	123,194	205,785	208,068	285	1,003	1,705	120,981	4,251	706,320
B-52 tons	0	0	5,710	41,625	18,971	659	832	1,842	97,502	17,096	174,904
Total tons	154	40,554	128,904	247,410	227,039	669	832	1,842	218,561	15,347	881,302

CAMBODIA

	March 1969- December 1970	January- March 1970	April-De- cember 1970	1971	1972	January- Aug. 15, 1973	Total
F/B sorties	20	0	13,562	15,154	6,702	?	35,438
B-52 sorties	2,406	890	1,626	1,336	1,868	?	8,126
Total sorties	2,426	890	15,190	16,490	8,570	?	42,896
F/B tons	31	0	19,421	29,947	16,513	89,366	155,278
B-52 tons	70,500	26,067	48,719	33,567	36,899	168,099	383,851
Total tons	70,531	26,067	68,140	63,514	53,412	257,465	539,129

LAOS

	June- December 1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	January- April 1973	Total
Laos F/B sorties	?	9,923	47,690	44,402	25,247	142,502	97,480	82,314	31,260	10,920	541,738
Laos B-52 sorties	?	24	647	7,718	3,377	5,567	8,518	8,876	2,644	1,835	39,206
Total Laos sorties	?	9,947	47,737	52,120	28,624	148,069	106,998	91,190	33,904	12,755	541,344
North Laos F/B tons	36	8,643	8,186	10,903	31,505	81,670	55,363	38,992	22,057	14,993	272,348
South Laos F/B tons	0	6,295	52,366	72,008	113,529	274,881	179,643	177,995	57,665	19,142	953,524
Total Laos F/B tons	36	14,938	60,552	82,911	145,034	356,551	235,006	216,987	79,722	34,135	1,225,872
North Laos B-52 tons	0	0	0	0	0	(?)	4,217	6,513	25,097	22,547	58,374
South Laos B-52 tons	0	469	13,068	44,991	93,199	158,484	214,033	223,949	39,308	21,353	808,854
Total Laos B-52 tons	0	469	13,068	44,991	93,199	158,484	218,250	230,462	64,405	43,900	867,228
North Laos tons	36	8,643	8,186	10,903	31,505	81,670	59,580	35,505	47,154	37,540	320,722
South Laos tons	0	6,764	65,434	116,999	206,728	433,365	393,676	401,944	96,973	40,495	1,762,378
Total Laos tons	36	15,407	73,620	127,902	238,233	515,035	453,256	437,449	144,127	78,035	2,083,100

* Starts February 1970.