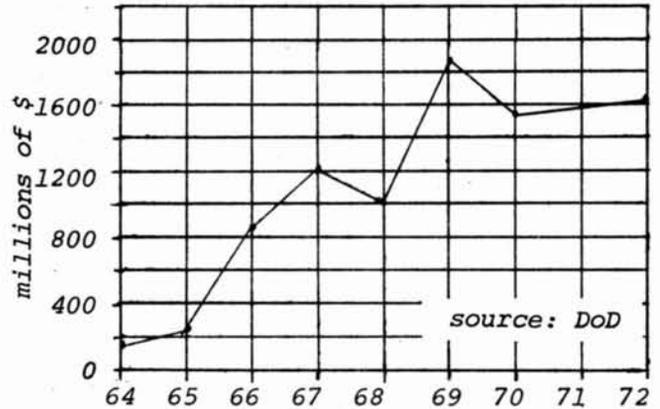


# UNITED STATES MILITARY AID TO INDOCHINA

## VIETNAM

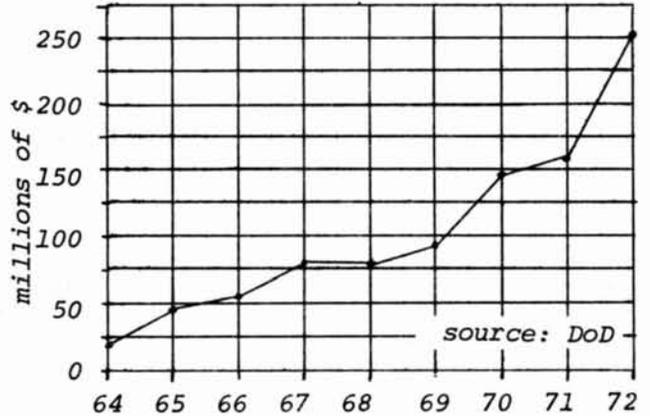
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> (in millions)
1964 -----	\$ 182.5
1965 -----	269.0
1966 -----	861.0
1967 -----	1,203.5
1968 -----	1,054.5
1969 -----	1,892.4
1970 -----	1,578.3
1971 -----	(classified)
1972 -----	1,638.7 (projected)



South Vietnam is undoubtedly the most militarized country on earth. Although its population numbers only 20 million, it has the fourth largest army in the world. When projected increases in the National Police and Local Self Defense Forces are completed, nearly one fourth of the population will belong to military or paramilitary organizations. The U.S. will continue to finance a substantial portion of South Vietnam's military budget.

## LAOS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> (in millions)
1964 -----	\$ 21.4
1965 -----	40.8
1966 -----	59.7
1967 -----	80.8
1968 -----	79.4
1969 -----	90.4
1970 -----	146.4
1971 -----	162.2
1972 -----	252.1 (projected)

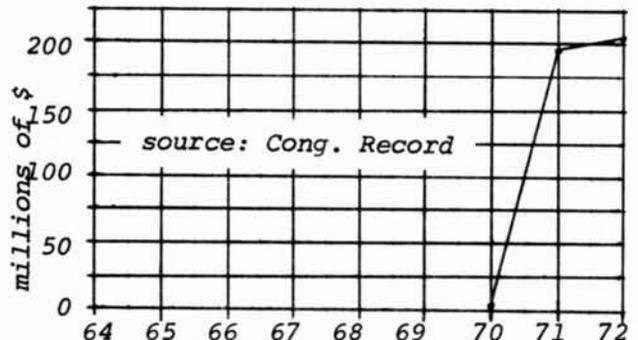


Most observers in Laos say that from the military point of view, the situation there is growing steadily worse and the initiative seems clearly to be in the hands of the enemy. \* \* \* The United States continues to train, arm, and feed the Lao Army and Air Force and to train, advise, pay, support, and, to a great extent, organize the irregular military forces under the direction of the CIA. \* \* \* The cost of military assistance to Laos has risen rapidly in the past few months with the fiscal year 1972 program doubling since January . . .

LAOS, April 1971, Staff Report,  
Senate Foreign Relations Committee

## CAMBODIA

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> (in millions)
1968 -----	\$ 0
1969 -----	0
1970 -----	8.9
1971 -----	190.0
1972 -----	211.0 (projected)

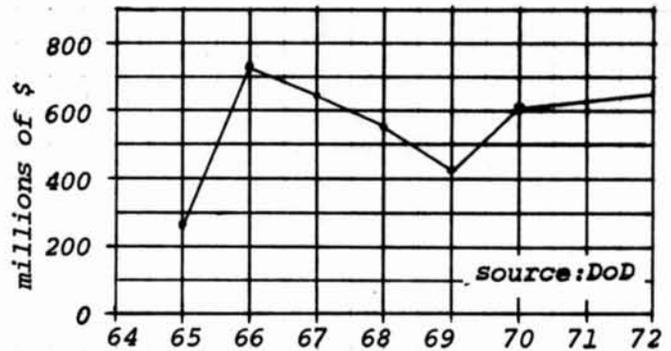


U.S. military aid to Cambodia has risen from nothing 4 years ago to over \$200 million for fiscal year 1972. Similarly, the Cambodian army has grown from 35,000 in April, 1970 to over 200,000. A staff report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee noted that as of May, 1970, Cambodia has become a major theater of the Indochinese war. In just three years, Cambodia's survival has become dependent on continued American military aid.

# UNITED STATES ECONOMIC AID TO INDOCHINA

## SOUTH VIETNAM

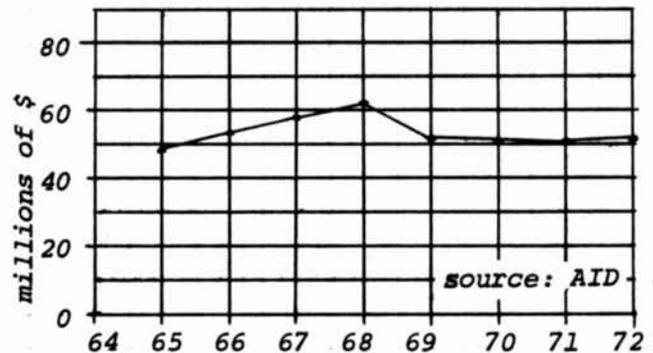
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> (in millions)
1965 -----	\$ 273.2
1966 -----	745.1
1967 -----	656.8
1968 -----	558.1
1969 -----	430.7
1970 -----	614.4
1971 -----	(classified)
1972 -----	647.6 (projected)



After years of receiving more economic assistance than any other country, South Vietnam still depends on U.S. aid for fiscal stability. The withdrawal of United States troops has produced yet another strain on the Vietnamese economy, and years more of substantial financial aid are foreseen by both American and Vietnamese economists.

## LAOS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> (in millions)
1965 -----	\$ 48.2
1966 -----	54.8
1967 -----	57.9
1968 -----	63.7
1969 -----	52.8
1970 -----	52.5
1971 -----	52.0
1972 -----	52.6 (projected)

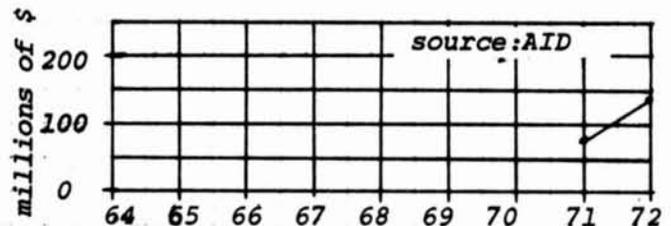


The Royal Lao Government continues to be almost totally dependent on the United States, perhaps more dependent on us than any other government in the world, and this dependence appears to be increasing as the war continues and the military situation worsens.

LAOS: April 1971 Staff Report, Senate Foreign Rel.Comm.

## CAMBODIA

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u> (in millions)
1969 -----	\$ 0
1970 -----	0
1971 -----	78.9
1972 -----	130.0 (projected)



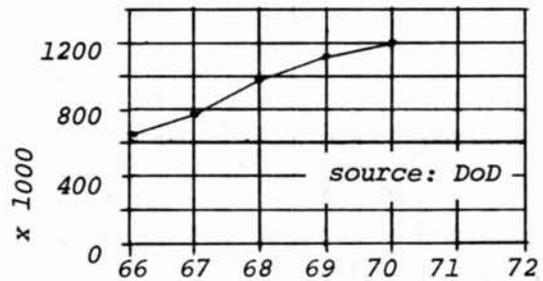
Before the government of Sihanouk was overthrown, nothing - zero - in the way of U.S. aid was going to Cambodia. Their country was an oasis of order in war-torn Indochina. In one and a half years of coup government in Phnom Penh, the picture has been completely reversed. Cambodia is being reduced to chaos and devastation even as it is now well on its way to receiving its first billion dollars in direct or indirect support from the United States.

Senator Mike Mansfield, October 13, 1971

# THE GROUND WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM

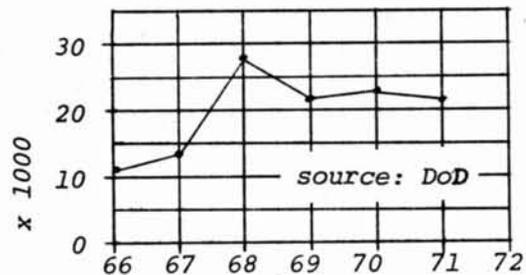
## SOUTH VIETNAMESE TROOP STRENGTH

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1966 -----	671,000
1967 -----	799,000
1968 -----	998,000
1969 -----	1,148,000
1970 -----	1,200,000
1971 -----	(classified)



## SOUTH VIETNAMESE COMBAT CASUALTIES

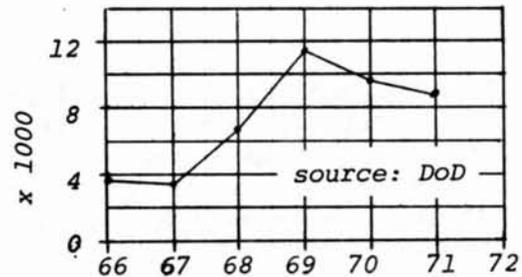
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1966 -----	11,953
1967 -----	12,716
1968 -----	27,915
1969 -----	21,833
1970 -----	23,346
1971 -----	21,700 (projected)



South Vietnam's population is only one tenth that of the United States. Thus, American losses proportionate to ARVN casualties would be around 200,000 killed annually.

## SOUTH VIETNAMESE BATTALION SIZE OPERATION

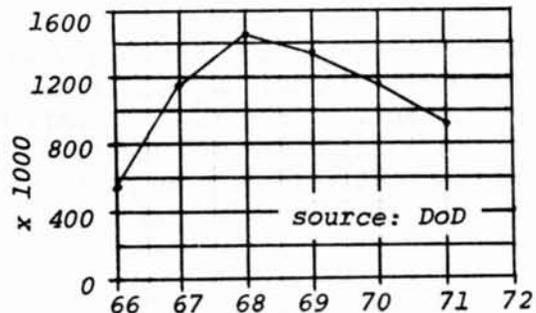
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1966 -----	3,942
1967 -----	3,874
1968 -----	6,973
1969 -----	11,403
1970 -----	9,904
1971 -----	9,000 (projected)



United States battalion-sized operations have steadily declined over the last three years. At present, U.S. operations constitute just over 8% of all battalion-sized actions. Thus, the termination of the American ground combat role in Vietnam may have political significance in the U.S. but will have little military influence on the course of the war in Indochina.

## GROUND MUNITIONS EXPENDED IN INDOCHINA

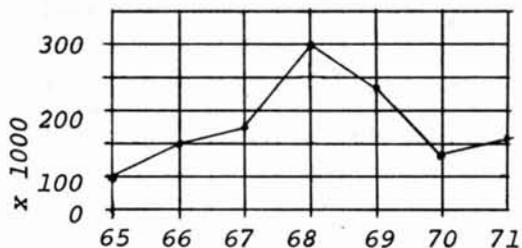
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TONS</u>
1966 -----	576,800
1967 -----	1,176,400
1968 -----	1,451,000
1969 -----	1,374,200
1970 -----	1,181,533
1971 -----	930,000 (projected)



## CIVILIAN CASUALTIES (KILLED AND WOUNDED)

### SOUTH VIETNAM

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1965 -----	100,000
1966 -----	150,000
1967 -----	175,000
1968 -----	300,000
1969 -----	232,000 (approx.)
1970 -----	137,000 (approx.)
1971 -----	see below

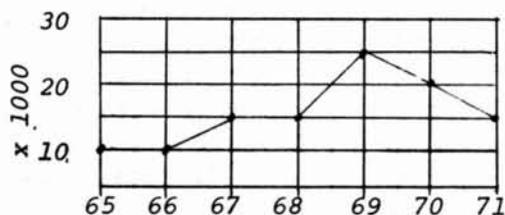


*source: Ref. Subcom.*

In the words of Senator Edward Kennedy, (April, 1971), "Civilian casualties continue at a high level." The chief index used to estimate South Vietnamese civilian casualties is war-related hospital admissions. For the first six months of 1971, the admissions stood at approximately 88% of 1970, which would project a casualty rate similar to the 1965-1968 period.

### LAOS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u> (rough estimates)
1965 -----	10,000
1966 -----	10,000
1967 -----	15,000
1968 -----	15,000
1969 -----	25,000
1970 -----	20,000
1971 -----	15,000



*source: Project Air War*

"Comprehensive data is not available on the number of civilian casualties (in Laos) in recent years because the problem has been conveniently ignored by our government." (Senator Kennedy) However, by all accounts, the civilian death toll has seriously escalated under President Nixon. "The effects of the bombing coupled with increased military activity on the ground have resulted in civilian casualty rates comparable to those in Vietnam." (Senate Refugee Subcommittee)

### CAMBODIA

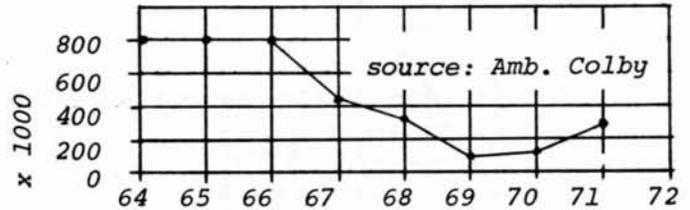
There are no precise figures available for civilian casualties in Cambodia. The Senate Refugee Committee estimates thousands of refugees since the invasion and singles out U.S. air strikes as a primary cause of the displacement.

**CONCLUSION:** For the people of Indochina, the war is not winding down. In Laos and Cambodia, the civilian casualties have increased significantly under Nixon, while in South Vietnam they have levelled off near 1965 - 1968 figures. The continued level of the air war is chiefly responsible for these figures. Project Air War estimates 130,000 civilians a month have been killed, wounded, or refugeeed under Nixon, compared to 95,000 during the Johnson years.

# REFUGEES IN INDOCHINA

## SOUTH VIETNAM

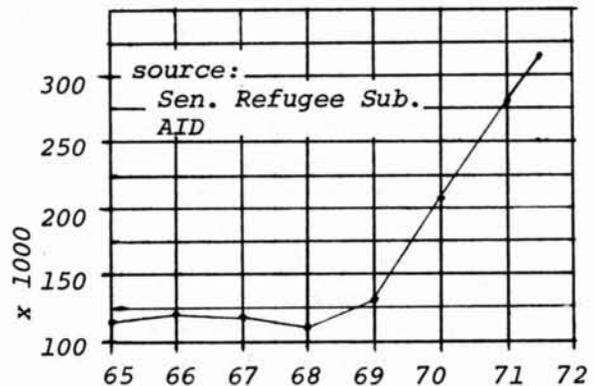
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1964 - 66 -----	2,400,000 (estimated)
1967 -----	435,000
1968 -----	340,000
1969 -----	115,000
1970 -----	135,000
1971 -----	70,000 (first quarter)



Though down from peak periods, refugee generation in South Vietnam continues at a high level. During the Senate Refugee Committee hearings (April, 1971) Senator Edward Kennedy noted, "Over the past few months, the monthly flow of refugees has been higher than at any time since the Tet Offensive."

## LAOS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1965 -----	119,000
1966 -----	122,000
1967 -----	119,000
1968 -----	111,000
1969 -----	131,000
1970 -----	210,000
1971 (Jan.) -----	280,000
1971 (June) -----	315,000



In 1971 the number of refugees in Laos stands at an historical high, amounting to more than 10% of the population, representing a 240% increase since 1969. As revealed during the Senate Refugee Subcommittee hearings, (April, 1971), a close statistical correlation exists between the escalated American bombing in the period since 1969 and the growing number of refugees.

*It is my conclusion after the efforts and the work and the review we have done on the creation of refugees, that the bombing in Laos contributes to at least 75% of the refugees.*

Senator Edward Kennedy, April, 1971

## CAMBODIA

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1970 (April) ----	0
1971 (April) ----	1.5 million

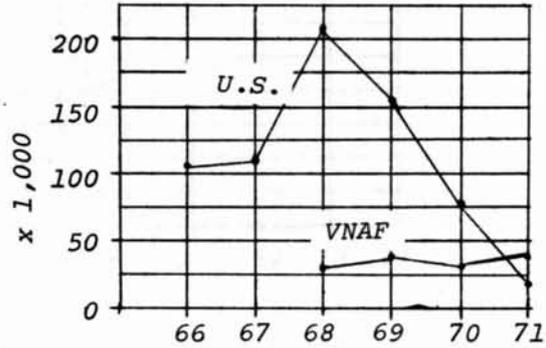
No more comprehensive statistics are available from the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees. But, as the Committee notes, "the familiar pattern of Vietnam and Laos ... is being repeated." Senator Kennedy singles out the "unrestricted air war" as the chief generator of the refugees.

**CONCLUSION:** If one tabulates the total refugee pattern under President Johnson and President Nixon, it is clear that the Nixon years, characterized by an expansion of the fighting into Laos and Cambodia, have escalated the refugee toll.

# FIXED WING ATTACK SORTIES

## SOUTH VIETNAM

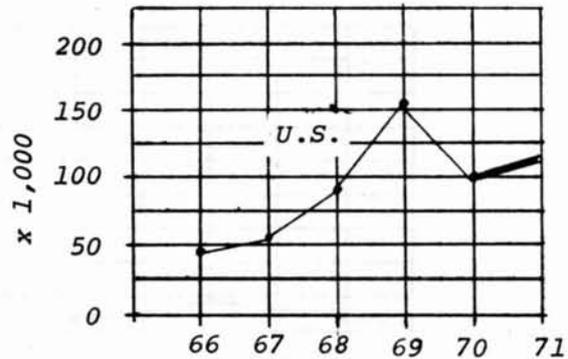
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>VNAF</u>
1966	---114,000---	NA
1967	---118,000---	NA
1968	---218,000---	27,000
1969	---155,000---	34,200
1970	--- 76,000---	28,200
1971	--- 17,470---	24,685 (projected)



It is important to note the character of the air war's targets in South Vietnam. Well under 10% of the sorties were flown as close air support, the rest qualifying as harassment and interdiction sorties and even reprisal strikes, with the inevitable result of significant civilian casualties.

## LAOS

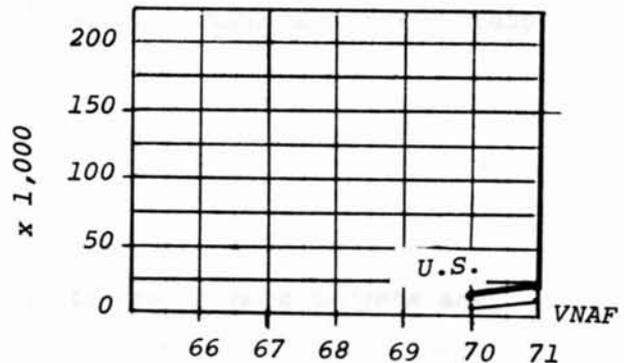
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>VNAF</u>
1966	--- 48,000---	NA
1967	--- 53,000---	NA
1968	--- 88,000---	NA
1969	---152,000---	NA
1970	---100,600---	NA
1971	-- 109,241--	252 (projected)



The relatively unknown air war in Laos has resulted in twice the number of sorties flown against North Vietnam. In addition, the bombing in Laos has been targeted, "to destroy the physical and social infrastructure" of organized life in enemy controlled territory. (Senate Subcommittee on Refugees)

## CAMBODIA

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>VNAF</u>
1966 - 1969	not available	
1970	--- 14,040---	9,800
1971	--- 19,721 ---	13,340 (projected)

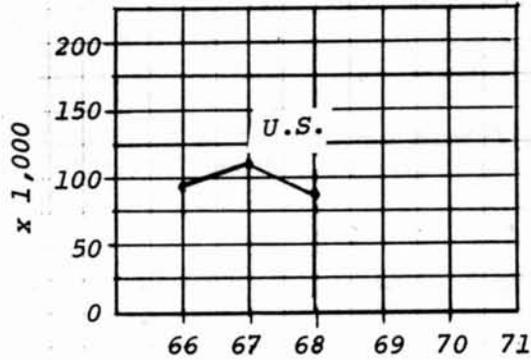


Press reports indicate that a new offensive involving South Vietnamese troops and substantial American air power is being planned for this winter (1971-1972). Administration officials have made it clear on many occasions, particularly Secretary Laird in January 1971, that air power will be freely used in Cambodia. In addition to American sorties, VNAF has accounted for 15,000 strikes since 1970.

## NORTH VIETNAM

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u> *
1966 -----	89,000
1967 -----	109,000
1968 -----	82,000

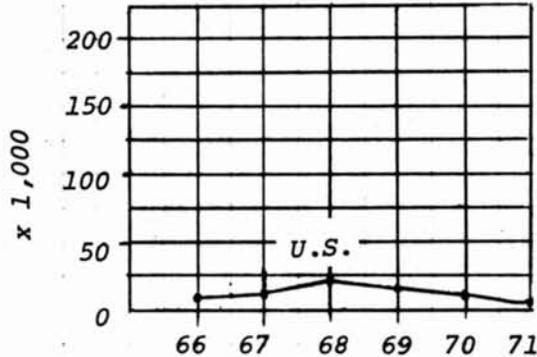
\* Does not include  
"Protective Reaction"  
Strikes



Strikes against North Vietnam have been resumed, reaching an average of one every four days in 1970. Targets have been expanded beyond anti-aircraft sites to include such strategic targets as POLs (Petroleum sites).

## B-52'S

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
1966 -----	5,200
1967 -----	9,700
1968 -----	20,500
1969 -----	19,500
1970 -----	15,100
1971 -----	12,600 (projected)



Though B-52 sorties are down 50% from their peak period, reports indicate that they are to level off at their present rate of 1000 sorties per month.

Source: Cornell Air War Study

## Definitions:

SORTIE: one aircraft taking off, proceeding to one or more targets and returning again.

MISSION: one or more aircraft going to one or more targets and returning.

STRIKE: a loose term often used interchangeably with mission.

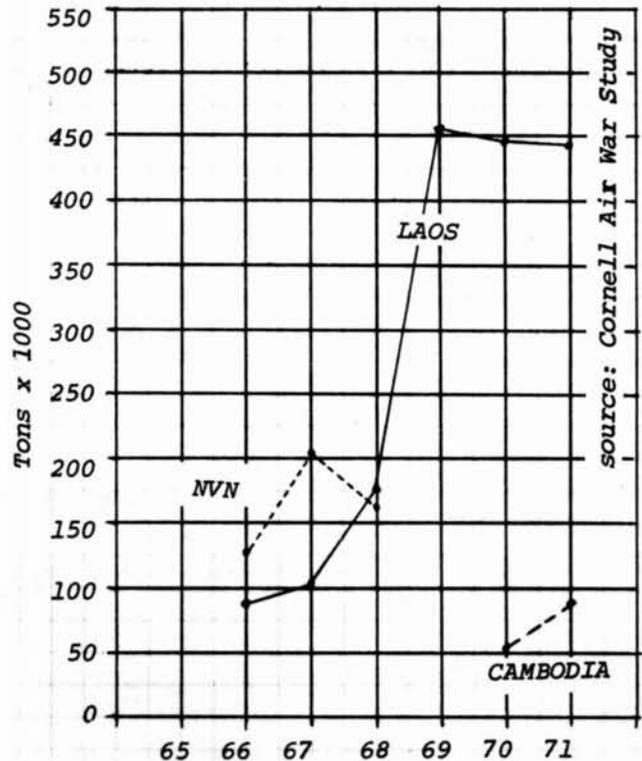
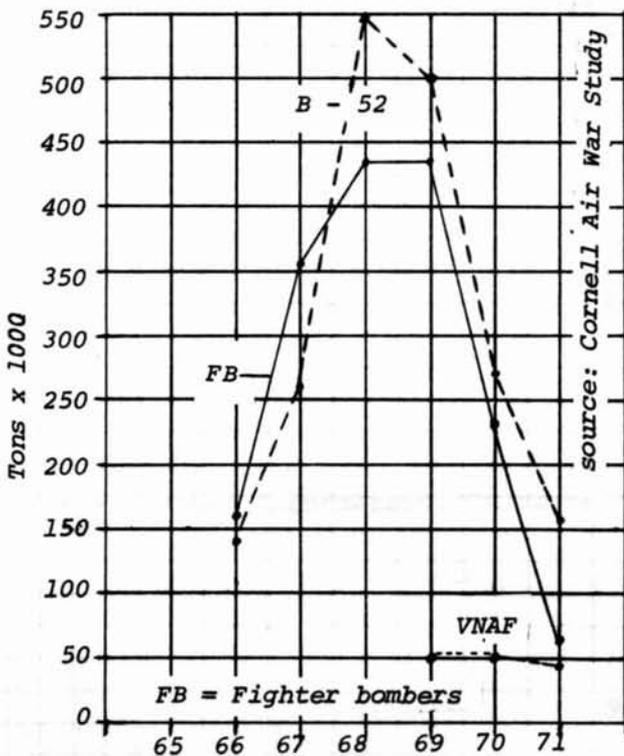
# AIR DROP MUNITIONS

All tonnage figures by country are "unofficial" (Cornell Air War Study) and presented only to show trends. For "official" South East Asia total tonnage, use DOD figures.

DATE	TYPE	S.VIETNAM	N.VIETNAM	LAOS	CAMBODIA	TOTAL	DOD TOTAL
1966	F-B	160,000					
	B-52	140,000					
	TOTAL	300,000	128,000	67,000		495,000	512,000
1967	F-B	357,000					
	B-52	260,000					
	TOTAL	617,000	207,000	101,000		925,000	932,763
1968	F-B	436,000					
	B-52	550,000					
	VNAF	30,000					
	TOTAL	1,016,000	164,000	176,000		1,356,000	1,431,654
1969	F-B	434,000		425,000			
	B-52	500,000		30,000			
	VNAF	50,000					
	TOTAL	984,000		455,000		1,439,000	1,387,237
1970	F-B	235,000		310,000	43,000		
	B-52	272,000		138,000			
	VNAF	50,000			14,000		
	TOTAL	557,000		448,000	57,000	1,062,000	977,446
1971	F-B	64,000		285,000	64,000		
	B-52	160,000		160,000			
	VNAF	45,000			25,000		
	TOTAL	269,000		445,000	89,000	803,000	833,291 (projected)
TOTAL	3,743,000	499,000	1,692,000	146,000	6,080,000		

TONNAGE  
NORTH VIETNAM - LAOS - CAMBODIA

TONNAGE - SOUTH VIETNAM



## TONNAGE OVERALL

From 1969 - 1971 more tons of bombs fell on Indochina than fell during the last three years of the Johnson Administration, though sortie rates (as the Nixon Administration is quick to point out) have declined. The tonnage totals for the Nixon Administration also surpass those of World War Two and the Korean War combined.

Secretary Laird has made it clear that under the "Nixon Doctrine" the United States is "prepared to provide material assistance and air and sea assistance" to our Asian allies. (January 21, 1971) President Nixon has declared, "I am not going to place any limitations on the use of air power." (February 17, 1971). During the House 1971 DOD House Appropriations Hearings the committee was told by Pentagon spokesmen to expect a "significant (US) Air Force commitment in Southeast Asia for a considerable period of time," thus it is more than reasonable to assume that after the last ground troop is withdrawn the air war will continue." Presently the bombs are falling at the rate of more than 2 Hiroshimas a month.

## AIR FORCE PLANE DEPLOYMENTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND THAILAND

Of the thousands of aircraft based in South Vietnam and Thailand, there were (in January, 1971) approximately 360 fighter bombers, 45 B-52's and 50 fixed wing gunships. (This includes approximately 120 carrier based attack planes).

Projections for mid-1972 call for a 20% reduction in fighter bombers for a total of 300, while the number of B-52's will remain unchanged and an increase is projected for fixed wing gunships.

*Cornell Air War Study*

For Further Information, Contact: PROJECT AIR WAR  
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Washington, D.C. 20036  
785-3111