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Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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PEACE IN VIETNAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Vietnamese agreements—but not the Laotian and the Cambodian—have now been signed, and the sigh of relief accompanying them has been heard around the world.

I commend Dr. Henry Kissinger for completing the arduous negotiations, and President Richard Nixon for ending the tragic war in Vietnam.

Dr. Kissinger, in his press conference last week, in a truly superb exposition, said:

Together with healing the wounds in Indochina, we can begin to heal the wounds of America.

How right he was, and how necessary it is that we take those words to heart. I think it apropos also to state at this time that, in my opinion, President Nixon's journeys to Peking and Moscow helped to lay the foundations for this settlement because, in my judgment—and that is all it is—the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. played a significant role. I would assume, in retrospect, that probably the People's Republic of China played the most important role.

Furthermore, in this postwar period, I believe that the Nixon doctrine, not only as it affects Southeast Asia but also the entire world, will become more applicable in the years ahead and will provide a basis for a noninvolvement policy in tune with the times, on the basis of our manpower, our resources, and our security.

It now appears that, at long last, this longest, most tragic, and second most costly war of all our wars is coming to an end.
The length of the war in Vietnam, based on official statistics, is 11 years and 26 days, although some would consider it longer.

The cost has been estimated at between $130 billion and $140 billion. It will rise to somewhere between $350 billion to $400 billion, inclusive, and run well into the first half of the next century. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point certain estimates bearing on this point.

There being no objection, the estimates were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**ESTIMATES OF TOTAL COST OF AMERICAN WARS, BY RANK**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War</th>
<th>Estimated ultimate costs</th>
<th>Estimated war costs</th>
<th>Original casualties</th>
<th>Total costs original war costs</th>
<th>Percent of costs to 1973</th>
<th>Total percent original war costs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World War II</td>
<td>644,000</td>
<td>288,000</td>
<td>290,000</td>
<td>193,767</td>
<td>91,000</td>
<td>38,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam conflict</td>
<td>210,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>130,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World War I</td>
<td>104,000</td>
<td>54,000</td>
<td>59,000</td>
<td>42,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean conflict</td>
<td>112,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil War (Union only)</td>
<td>12,952</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>6,100</td>
<td>5,511</td>
<td>1,772</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish-American War</td>
<td>6,410</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>50,868</td>
<td>21,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Revolution</td>
<td>7,090</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World War I</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean War</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Based on expenditures of Departments of the Army and Navy to World War I and major national security expenditures thereafter; usually the figures begin with the year the war began but in all cases they extend 1 year beyond the end of the actual conflict. See Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, series V 301-202 and V 352.

2. To World War I, estimates are based on Veterans Administration data. For World War II, World War II, and Korean conflict, estimates are those of the 1956 report of the President's Commission on Veterans' Penisons plus 25 percent (the increase in the average value of benefits since the Commission made its report).


4. Estimates based on assumption that war would end by June 30, 1970 (except for veterans' benefits costs to 1971).

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the casualties, from January 1, 1961, through the last date which I have just received, January 29, 1973, are as follows:

- Combat wounded—303,622 Americans.
- Combat dead—45,937 Americans.
- American dead, not the result of hostile action—10,300.
- For a total of 359,859 American casualties.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the news release which has been given to us on a weekly basis from the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, under date of January 29, 1973.

There being no objection, the news release was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**SOUTHEAST ASIA CASUALTIES STATISTICAL SUMMARY**

The Department of Defense released today the cumulative casualties reported in connection with the conflict in Southeast Asia as of 20 January 1973.

**CASUALTIES RESULTING FROM ACTION BY HOSTILE FORCES**

Total U.S. deaths from action by hostile forces is the sum of the following categories: Killed in Action, Died of Wounds, Died While Missing, and Died While Captured. Lines 1 through 4 subdivide casualties by cause or category. Line 5 provides an additional breakdown of the same totals by environment (air or ground). Totals are cumulative from 1 January 1961 through 20 January 1973.

**COMBAT DEATHS FOR OTHER FORCES IN VIETNAM, SINCE JAN. 1, 1961**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Force</th>
<th>RVNAF #1</th>
<th>Other free world forces</th>
<th>Enemy #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total deaths</td>
<td>184,089</td>
<td>5,275</td>
<td>975,692</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I will not go into additional details or statistics on the devastation covering such items as napalm, defoliation, craterization, refugees, disease, drugs, and so forth, although they are available—at least in the form of estimates.

Now that we have turned a corner—one of three, because Laos and Cambodia still have to be attended to—all four parties to the agreement have claimed that they have won, they say. But everyone lost, we know, even though all parties, individually, reached the best possible agreement in the circumstances.

Older men made this war, but younger men had to fight it. Let us hope that never again will another Vietnam or another Indochina occur.

The real heroes of this war, collectively, are those who served in Southeast Asia, those Americans who died, those who were wounded, those who were captured, those who are missing in action, because they all served and gave their best for their country.

What we hope is past, let us pray is past. Let us bind up the wounds caused by this tragedy; let us endeavor to heal the divisiveness within our country. Let us re-create the ideals which made this Republic what it was and what it must be again.

Let us admit our mistakes—and that applies to nations as well as to individuals—and learn from the past so that, in remembering, we will never again repeat the mistakes of this tragedy—ever again.