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MAY 12, 1975

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The Price of Viet Nam

To the Editors:

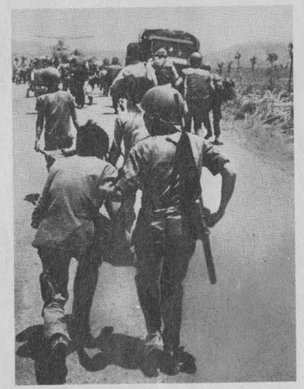
The debate over Indochina [April 28] is as revealing as ever. Although the war effort has failed, those who supported that effort will continue to lay the failure at the doorstep of every variable involved except their own gross miscalculations and erroneous assumptions. There never was anything but darkness at either end of the tunnel.

David E. Jakab
Arlington, Va.

For future guidance: at $3,540 per acre, we could have bought South Viet Nam with our $150 billion and saved hundreds of thousands of lives.

Richard M. Sibley
Mexico City

Professor Walt Rostow's letter [April 21] is a laugh. It is interesting that he, one of the main architects of



our Viet Nam policy under President Johnson, admits that "substantial errors have been made." He and other hawks in high places were the promoters of the policy that got us involved more and more deeply in this tragic situation.

J. Vincent Conlin
Madison, Wis.

Let's hear it for "Might makes right!"

Karen Dickes
Ellsworth, Me.

It has been five years since Allison, Sandy, Bill and Jeff were killed by Ohio Guardsmen. They were killed because they, along with others, were protesting our incursion into Cambodia. What do we have to show for these five years of more war in Indochina except thousands of American soldiers killed, 1 million Cambodians killed or wounded, hundreds of thousands of refugees, rampant inflation in our land, unemployment and destroyed dominoes?

Allison was right when she stated, "Flowers are better than bullets."

Arthur and Doris Krause
Pittsburgh

The writers are the parents of Allison Krause, who was shot at Kent State University on May 4, 1970.

Europe was saved twice by American soldiers in this century. In spite of this, we let the American people down in Indochina. The quays of Danang today, the quays of Rotterdam tomorrow. Those who do not remember the past are condemned to relive it.

John A.E. Vlielander
Numansdorp, The Netherlands

There have only been two times in the whole history of the Viet Nam War when we, the American public, have reacted en masse with genuine compassion: the return of the P.O.W.s and the arrival of the war orphans. If we had to personally face every orphan, every prisoner, every grieving family, we could never have allowed the war to go on for so long.

David Fein
Strasbourg, France

Now that we concede the mistake of our involvement, must we not also concede that those young men who were forced to flee America, not because they wished to avoid responsibility to their country but because they knew they had no responsibility to intervene in the internal struggle of the Vietnamese people, may have been the most intelligent citizens of all? When they can safely return to their homes and families without fear of imprisonment, only then will the time come for *all* Americans to begin anew.

Neal J. Keeney
Innsbruck, Austria

We should not allow Thieu to blame Nixon, Kissinger or the U.S. for Viet Nam's military disasters. An old G.I. graffito about the colors of the South Vietnamese flag makes it perfectly clear: "Red is for the blood unshed./ Yellow is the reason why."

William J. Hoffman
Cleveland

Surely we fought so long in South Viet Nam because we believed that *all* its people would suffer under Communism. I therefore propose that we evacuate the entire nation. Let them all vote with their feet and come to America!

To preserve their national identity the Vietnamese would have to be settled in one area. We have plenty of room —in Alabama, for example, where they would feel at home in the lush vegetation of that sub-tropical climate. Why must we give up on Vietnamization? It was not the policy but the place that was wrong. Vietnamization could work in Alabama, given the proper leadership. Mr. Nixon was correct in ranking Mr. Thieu among the top leaders on this planet. I nominate Thieu as the first governor of the new state of Vietbam.

David Winter
Scottsville, Va.

In your Essay "How Should Americans Feel?" [April 14], Sir Robert Thompson's assessment of America's Viet Nam policy as abject surrender is repudiated as "wild-eyed." In your own "calmer reckoning," Saigon should have been "prodded into a compromise with the Communists." Both the prodding and the compromise were accomplished by the Paris agreements, with predictable results: abject surrender. How should Americans feel? Doubletalked to death.

Michael Thaler
Rehovot, Israel

How come, when we engage in humanitarian activities re South Viet Nam, we are atoning for our collective sins? Is it possible that China, Russia, etc., do not engage in such humanitarian activities because they have no guilt in connection therewith, or because they have no conscience?

(The Rev.) Ben G. Hoffmann
New Orleans

Jimmy Who?

Billie Jean King did more for tennis than Jimmy Connors [April 28] could ever do. By the way, Chris Evert was the one who turned the public on to Jimmy Connors. Before they got together, it was Jimmy Who?

John Burkart
Palo Alto, Calif.

There must be someone more deserving to be featured in your magazine than Jimmy Connors.

As a tennis enthusiast, I cannot see how he has contributed anything but bad publicity to the game. Anyone who thrives on the antagonism of the crowd and shuns his fellow players has deep

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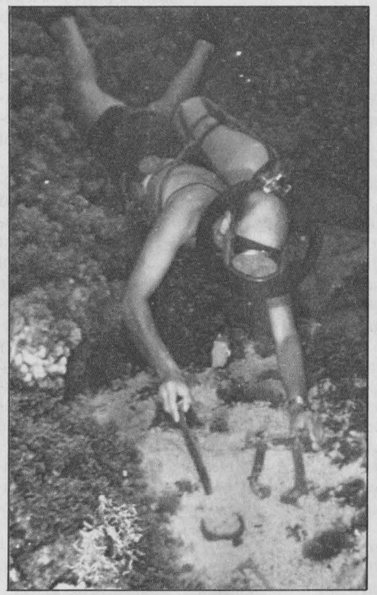
When Luis Marden found the Bounty...

After Captain Bligh and 18 loyal men had been put into a boat and cast adrift, Fletcher Christian sailed away in the Bounty—and disappeared. Eighteen years later, in 1808, an American ship called at Pitcairn Island and uncovered the grim fate of the Bounty and her crew.

Mr. Christian had run the ship ashore and burnt her. Of the crew, all but one died violent deaths.

Pitcairn Island is 1,300 miles south of Tahiti. Luis Marden went there to see if he could find the Bounty. He knew some of her charred timbers had been found in 1841 and that her rudder was found in 1933. It seemed likely that the shallow water round that totally exposed coast would have swept away every trace of the Bounty, but Marden felt there was a chance.

He dived again and again in the rough seas in Bounty Bay and found nothing, but his luck turned and one day he and Len Christian, descendant of



Fletcher Christian, came upon what Marden believes to be the complete keel line of the ship. All around were fragments of the copper that had sheathed the Bounty's hull, as well as a pintle, an oarlock and fastenings and nails, all covered in hard limey growths.

Marden has dived all over the world in his work for the National Geographic Magazine. He always wears a Rolex.

A Rolex Oyster case is carved from a solid block of 18ct. gold, platinum or stainless steel; so you'll find no seam around its elegant circumference. In all other watches the winder is a weakness. The patented Rolex winding crown holds a unique strength, screwing down onto the case rather like a submarine hatch, to provide a perfect, impenetrable seal. The Rolex crystal is another unique device and becomes even tighter under pressure.

Luis Marden has been wearing his Rolex Submariner for over 16 years. He still calls it his new watch. But then he expects to be wearing it for a long time to come.

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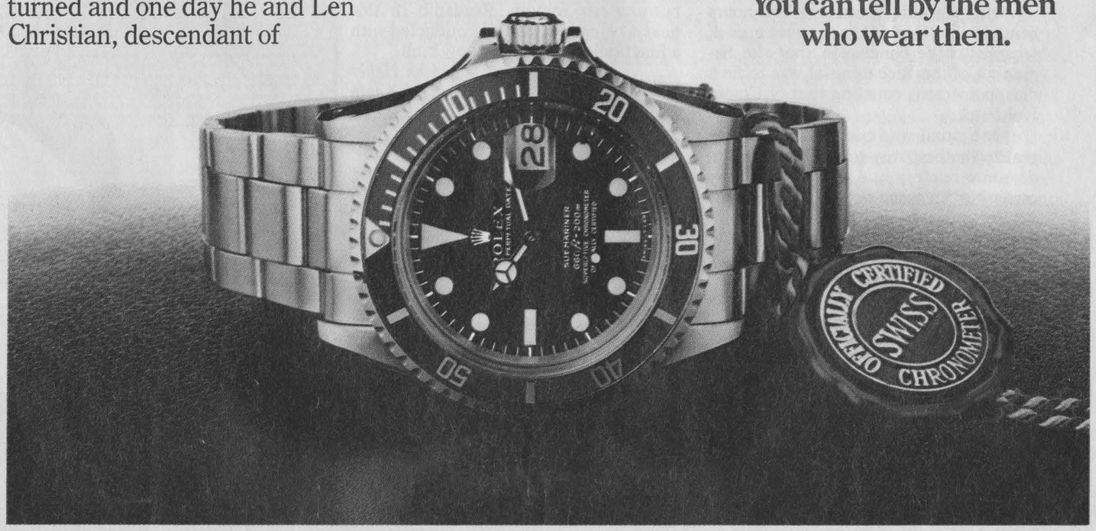

Pictured: The Rolex Submariner. Available in 18ct. gold or stainless steel with matching bracelet.

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psychological problems, not to mention a total lack of social amenities.

Karen L. Davidson
Fairfax, Va.

Win or lose against Newcombe, Jimmy will still be No. 1 for what he has done for tennis. His fellow pros owe him at least a "Good morning" for all the money he has brought into the game and their pockets.

Cynthia R. McGinnes
Chestertown, Md.

As a professional sport, tennis has taken a gigantic leap in popularity. Credit has to go to the great players who are so much more numerous now than in the days of amateurism that we can expect first-class tournaments simultaneously on three continents.

In professional tennis, there is no longer the easy draw or easy first round. Anyone, on his day, might beat anyone else. That the top-ranking pros can keep their games at championship peak throughout the year continues to astound many of us who paced ourselves in a more leisurely way toward the major tournaments.

The explosive game of a Jimmy Connors or a Margaret Court might be expected to sap too much energy for consistent performances on grueling schedules. But the quality of play seldom seems to lose its edge.

Helen Hull Jacobs
East Hampton, N.Y.

U.S. women's singles champion four years in a row (1932-35), Helen Hull Jacobs beneficently popularized women's wearing shorts for tournament play.

Bicentennial Kohoutek

After standing around for two hours being sandwiched into a massive crowd, I came to the conclusion that the beginning of the Bicentennial was to be a disappointment equaling that of Comet Kohoutek.

One ritual was enough to make me realize the best way to celebrate was to do some reading and exploring on my own. No crowds, no politicians—just Boston and its splendid history.

Barbara Licari
Boston

Your article states that many Midwestern communities "have had to draw on events of a century after the Revolution," citing as an example the George Rogers Clark Exhibit that opens next February at the Indiana State Museum in Indianapolis.

May I point out that George Rogers Clark captured the British fort at Vincennes, Ind., in February of 1779.

If it hadn't been for Clark and his small band, the Midwest edition of TIME might require foreign postage today.

Jan Finney, Curator of Education
Indiana State Museum
Indianapolis

As a resident of a state rich in Revolutionary history, I was interested to read how Americans would be celebrating the nation's Bicentennial. Conspicuous by its absence was any mention of the role of women.

American women should be recognized for the vital role they played in the development of our nation. Linda Grant De Pauw, author of the first Bicentennial work on the women of New York State, cites examples of the diverse roles played throughout the colonial era. While Iroquois women determined important Indian issues, early Dutch settlers respected and encouraged their women's skills as traders. Revolutionary women not only accompanied their husbands into battle but often took up the musket themselves.

In TIME's subsequent issues, attention might be given to the many Bicentennial activities focusing on the integral part women played in history.

Mary Anne Krupsak
Albany, N.Y.

Miss Krupsak is the nation's first woman Lieutenant Governor.

Hydrogen Power

A very real energy alternative [April 14] is the use of hydrogen. Nuclear power can break down water into hydrogen and oxygen. The hydrogen gas can be distributed in bulk through the existing natural gas lines. It can then be bottled and sold to the public at gas stations.

Pollution is zero from hydrogen-burning car motors. Research in this field is being successfully conducted with a functioning car engine now built.

John Helfer
Valladolid, Spain

Defying Atlases

With the stroke of a pen, Robert Hughes turns Ukraine into Russia. In the article "Gold of the Nomads" [April 21], he defies most atlases in the modern world and refers to the area north of the Black Sea as Russia.

G. Bohdan Kolos
London, Ont.

Breathless

How thrilling to read that "Quality People," according to John Fairchild, are "people who do things, not people who lead idle lives" [April 21]. I am waiting breathlessly for Mr. Fairchild to disclose what Jackie O. *does* that makes her one of the "Quality People" to the extent of rating six covers in *W*.

Lucretia Austin
Cincinnati

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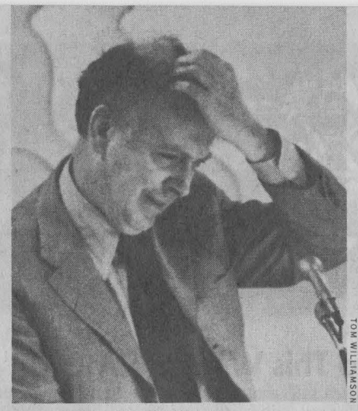

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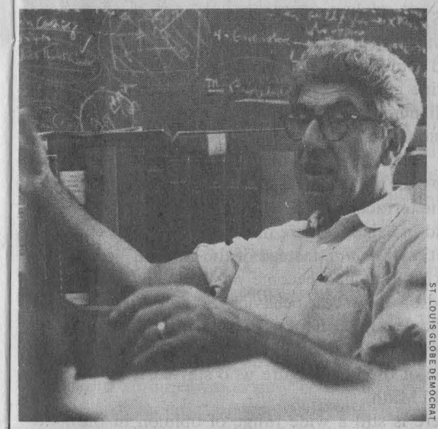

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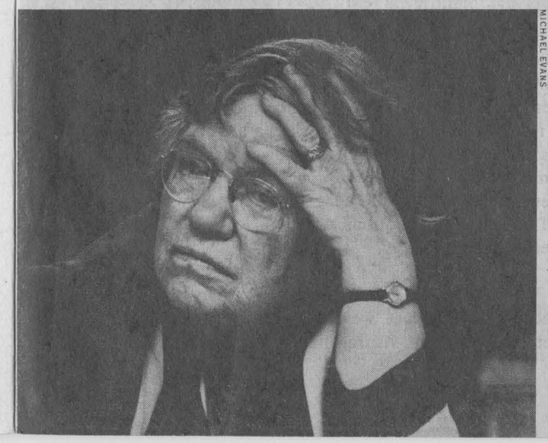

MICHAEL EVANS

ANTHROPOLOGIST MARGARET MEAD

The Visible Scientist

B.F. Skinner. Margaret Mead. Linus Pauling. Isaac Asimov. Paul Ehrlich. James Watson. What do these people have in common? All are scientists, and their names are more or less household words. They are also included in a group of some 40 scientists* studied by Dr. Rae Goodell, a postdoctoral fellow at M.I.T., for her doctoral thesis at Stanford University's department of communication. She picked them because they have an ability that is rare in the scientific community: to communicate effectively with the public and make headlines.

Goodell's thesis—appropriately entitled "The Visible Scientists" and made public last week—concludes that it is not their discoveries, their popularization of science or their leadership in the scientific world that makes scientists visible. Rather, it is their public involvement, their "activities in the messy world of politics and controversy."

Thus Paul Ehrlich, an accomplished researcher in entomology (the study of insects), has become well known by speaking and writing about the population explosion. Biologist Barry Commoner is one of the leading spokesmen for the environmental movement. Linus Pauling, who won a Nobel Prize for his explanation of the nature of chemical bonds, is famous as a peace activist and, more recently, for promoting vitamin C as a cure for the common cold. James Watson, the co-discoverer of the structure of life's master molecule DNA became a public figure only after the publication of his book *The Double Helix*, a frank and often unflattering view of how scientists choose and achieve their goals.

Colorful Images. Yet it takes more than making a dramatic stand or picking a controversial issue to make a scientist visible. Most of the scientists that Goodell studied are masters of the art of mass communications and are frequently sought out and publicized by the press. Paul Ehrlich, for example, admits that he is using Madison Avenue techniques to sell the public on halting the population explosion. "If they can sell flavored douches," he says, "we can sell anything." Ehrlich and most of Goodell's other subjects are articulate, can readily translate scientific jargon into understandable English and are at ease in public. In addition, they all share colorful images. Most of them already have established reputations within their own disciplines. That, says Goodell, makes them more attractive to reporters who are generally reluctant to use unknown scientists as sources for stories. The average age of the scientists on the list at the time of the study was 59 and only one, Astronomer Carl Sagan, was under 40.

Being visible does not help the scientists' research careers. Other scientists see them, Goodell says, "as a pollution in the scientific community," as publicity grabbers who depart from normal scientific channels to communicate their views. These critics complain that their better publicized colleagues may mislead the public because they often speak outside their area of expertise. Biologist George Wald, a Nobel Laureate and vociferous antiwar spokesman, disagrees. "If the scientist is good," he says, "his field is reality, and that covers an awful lot of ground. I think that the scientist can be that rare, disinterested person who calls it the way he sees it."

*Some of the other most recognizable scientists: Jonas Salk, Wernher von Braun, William Shockley, Edward Teller, Rene Dubos, Glenn Seaborg, Carl Sagan.

No Pictures, Please

In Russia for the final round of joint training exercises for July's space linkup of an Apollo and a Soyuz spacecraft, U.S. Astronauts Tom Stafford, Deke Slayton and Vance Brand visited a site never before seen by Americans: the secrecy-shrouded Soviet space-launch center, located in low, rolling hills some 1,300 miles southeast of Moscow near the city of Leninsk in Kazakhstan.

Last week in Moscow, the astronauts expressed confidence that the joint mission would take place. They noted that the Soviets had two Soyuz craft ready at the space center, one a stand-by that would be launched if the first had technical difficulties. The astronauts also discovered some basic differences between the U.S. and Soviet launch techniques. Unlike U.S. rockets, which are restrained on the ground until close to maximum thrust is developed, Russian launch vehicles leave the pad as soon as they have achieved the minimum thrust needed for lift-off. Also Soviet rockets are aimed to go into orbit from a launch pad that can be revolved into the proper position, while U.S. rockets are electronically guided into orbit after they are airborne.

The Americans also found that their hosts, Cosmonauts Aleksei Leonov and Valery Kubasov, enjoy more luxurious living quarters than U.S. astronauts use at Cape Canaveral. For now, the world will have to be content with the astronauts' verbal descriptions of the little they saw at the space center. The Russians scheduled the visitors' arrival and departure to occur after dark, and requested that they leave their cameras in their hotel rooms.

A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

With North Vietnamese rocket and artillery fire raking their converted tennis-court helipad, TIME Correspondents Roy Rowan and William Stewart, along with Photographers Dirck Halstead and Mark Godfrey, chappered out of Tan Son Nhut airport last Tuesday shortly before Communist advance units entered downtown "Ho Chi Minh city." Rowan's and Stewart's accounts of the final American evacuation, cabled from the U.S.S. *Blue Ridge* in the South China Sea, appear in this week's Indochina cover section.

Already safely out of Indochina were the other men who had covered the disintegration of Cambodia and South Viet Nam for TIME: Peter Range, William McWhirter, David Aikman and former Phnom-Penh Stringer Steven Heder. All looked back on two months of dangerous work during which they often dodged rocket-borne shrapnel while moving among insurgent armies and panicked refugees; they took sad professional satisfaction in being able to report the end of the tragic story. News of the evacuation also stirred memories among the correspondents who have reported Indochina's wars for TIME since our Saigon bureau opened in 1966. Their recollections of the fallen capital, and the lost American crusade headquartered there, begin on page 20.

On the receiving end of the cables from Indochina, writers, editors and reporter-researchers in New York have also shouldered an exhausting work load. Since the South Vietnamese rout began in mid-March, the special Indochina section has logged 70- and 80-hour weeks, producing the articles that went with seven of the past eight TIME covers. The staff, under Senior Editors John Elson, Jason McManus and Ronald Kriss, has consisted of members of both our U.S. and World sections. The principal contributors: Associate Editors Frank Merrick, Burton Pines and William Smith, Reporter-Researchers Marta Dorion, Sara Medina, Betty Suyker, Susan Reed and Genevieve Wilson. Staff Writer Richard Bernstein, our resident China-watcher, who traveled through the putative "domino" nations of Southeast Asia before joining TIME in 1973, has written many of the main narrative stories during this period.

Ralph P. Davidson

The Cover: *Illustration by Jim Sharpe.*

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A Guide to This Week's TIME

COVER STORIES/INDOCHINA: p. 10. Suddenly, anticlimactically, the war in Viet Nam was over. The last helicopters had lifted Ambassador Graham Martin and a detachment of Marine guards from the roof of the American embassy a scant five hours before Communist tanks arrived at Saigon's presidential palace. The tricolored flag of the Communist Provisional Revolutionary Government promptly went up over the palace. Viet Cong soldiers sipped orange juice on the terrace of the Continental Hotel. A new life-style took hold in Saigon, where most of the women put on subdued, traditional *ao dai,* instead of the colorful Western-styled miniskirts that had become popular. Viet Cong soldiers continued on their best behavior. Some garlanded their rifles with flowers and offered children rides on their tanks. Wild celebrations erupted in Hanoi where thousands chanted the name of the uncle-figure who started it all 30 years ago—Ho Chi Minh.

p. 24. While there is still a wide range of opinion in the U.S. about America's ill-fated participation in the Viet Nam War, most Americans appeared to be relieved that the bloodshed was finally over. Senator Hubert Humphrey, a former Vice President and a onetime presidential candidate, urged Americans to avoid feelings of guilt about the outcome. "We shouldn't feel that we've let anyone down," he said. "No outside force can save a country that lacks the will or political leadership." Other thoughtful Americans interviewed by TIME correspondents last week urged that the nation begin a period of self-examination that could help diminish the likelihood of future Viet Nams.

ASIA: p. 8. U.S. involvement in Asia will change in the wake of the Communist takeover of South Viet Nam. The mood at the State Department is to look closely at what really matters to the U.S. in Asia: the future of Japan will certainly continue to be a prime American concern, and for that reason, the U.S. is not likely to greatly weaken its commitments to South Korea, which is viewed as being vital to Japanese security. U.S. interest in the Philippines and Indonesia is also likely to remain high because of their rich natural resources. Singapore and Malaysia are astride vital sea lanes. "The U.S. is still a Pacific power," says a State Department official. But Asian countries are likely to have somewhat less faith in the U.S. and are already moving toward new accommodations with the leading Communist powers in Asia.

THE WORLD: p. 27. Only a few years ago, the ships of America's Sixth Fleet were a potent advertisement for American seapower, visiting Mediterranean ports and often giving guided tours to visitors. But the Sixth Fleet is increasingly threatened by a less hospitable political environment in the Mediterranean and by the rapidly growing Russian fleet that roams the inland sea. By September the U.S., under pressure from Greece, will have given up one of its most important eastern Mediterranean bases, at Elefsis in Greece, where 1,700 crewmen and 1,100 dependents have been stationed. In spite of its problems, though, the capabilities of the Sixth Fleet remain impressive. TIME Correspondent Jordan Bonfante recently watched Task Force 60 go through operational exercises at sea and found that the fleet's ability to mix air- and seapower is still an awesome spectacle.

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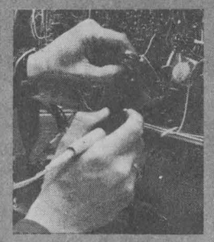

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p. 29. A stream of high-level Israeli leaders have been visiting the U.S. in recent weeks in an effort to convince the American public and key policymakers that it was not Israel's fault that Henry Kissinger's latest round of Middle East shuttle diplomacy broke down. Israelis fear that the Ford administration may be about to reduce its economic and diplomatic support. A decline in such aid could alienate America's small but influential Jewish community.

THE UNITED STATES: p. 30. The U.S. plans to resettle most of the estimated 100,000 Vietnamese refugees, but there were disquieting signs last week that the newcomers would be less than fully welcome. Some Americans begrudged the fact that the U.S. would have to take on another Viet Nam–based burden at a time when the U.S. economy is in its worst recession since the 1930s. Others argued that the refugees would be better off in their own country. But responsible public leaders tended to recognize that there is an obligation to the new arrivals. "Their situation is not voluntary," said Harvard Professor Nathan Glazer. "They worked with us in a policy that we are at least equally responsible for."

PRESS: p. 35. South Viet Nam's new government has shown notable sophistication in dealing with foreign reporters who remained behind after the American evacuation. The government allowed reporters in Saigon to wander about freely, and it even granted two American correspondents permission to visit Danang. Most of the reporters representing U.S. publications were helicoptered out of Saigon a few hours before the Provincial Revolutionary Government takeover, but a few, including some who had been covering the war for years, elected to stay on. A number of French, Japanese and British reporters are also in South Viet Nam.

ECONOMY & BUSINESS: p. 38. President Ford and the Democratic-controlled Congress are heading toward a showdown over the shaping of a national energy policy. Ford prefers a market-system approach whereby prices would be allowed to rise, and the cost of oil would ultimately determine who would be able to buy it. But Democrats in Congress claim that such a policy would be "inflation on the installment plan." While the Democrats appear to have enough votes to hobble Ford's market-system approach, they seem to lack the cohesiveness necessary to construct a program of their own. Some favor a strict system of rationing, while others want to try a modified free-enterprise approach by taxing gasoline alone. The divergence of viewpoints is so wide that the U.S. might fail to enact any energy program at all, which would only serve to continue the nation's dependence on foreign sources of oil.

p. 41. American manufacturers are increasingly plagued by the necessity to recall products that government agencies deem to be potentially defective or possible safety hazards. The U.S. auto industry, which has had to recall more than 45 million cars for inspection or repair since 1966, has been the most heavily hit, but appliance makers and the manufacturers of other products are also being subjected to recalls in rising numbers. Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. was recently ordered to take back 400,000 Panasonic color-television sets, which were thought to be possibly emitting radiation. The company estimates that the recall order could cost it $11 million.

EDUCATION: p. 44. Transcendental meditation is one of the main offerings of Maharishi International University, a new American university located in Iowa and currently catering to 500 students. Founded in 1973 by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, M.I.U. requires a one-month course in transcendental meditation along with its regular liberal arts offerings. "Beyond waking, dreaming and sleeping there is a fourth state of consciousness, another realm of experience," says M.I.U. President Keith Wallace grandly. "What we are saying is that an experience heretofore reserved for men of genius like Einstein can be taught on a mass scale."

BOOKS: p. 46. Five new books recounting America's Watergate scandal have just been published. The best of the lot is Jimmy Breslin's *How the Good Guys Finally Won,* which offers fresh details on the processes that led to Richard Nixon's downfall. In particular, Breslin focuses on the role of House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill, who began to subtly work for Nixon's impeachment after he learned that Nixon's aides had pressured a Democratic businessman into contributing $100,000 to Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. Also of interest is *Watchmen in the Night* by Theodore Sorensen, a former top aide to President Kennedy. Sorensen outlines his concept of the qualities required for an effective President. High on his list are a good sense of humor, a delight in the give and take of politics, and an ability to admit mistakes.