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After the Treaty

The historic treaty between the United States, Britain and Soviet Russia banning all nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space is being hailed throughout the world as a promising beginning of a new epoch in East-West relations. After all the bleak years of cold war and the recurring crises that found their climax in the near-collision over Cuba, the world breathes easier today and there is new hope that it can banish the threat of nuclear holocaust.

But, important as the treaty is for what it says and what it may portend, it is at best only a start toward larger goals. President Kennedy rightly warns that it is not the millennium and that the road ahead is still long and rocky. As he pointed out, it is a limited treaty which does not even stop all tests, though it would stop further lethal fallout. Both real disarmament and the political settlements that must go hand in hand with it remain far off.

The key to a solution of these problems is largely in Soviet hands. Premier Khrushchev agreed to the test-ban treaty he had previously rejected because, as Under Secretary of State Harriman says, he "very much wanted one at this time." The Soviet ruler says he wants more agreements. If so, the West will do its utmost to reach them. But will Khrushchev? And on what terms?

The hard fact is that Soviet Russia's signature on the treaty does not mark the end of its drive toward a Communist world triumph, though it may now pursue that goal by means short of nuclear war. In fact, both the treaty and the "nonaggression pact" Russia wants may become weapons in the Soviet "peace" arsenal—to line up Asia and Africa against the "war-mongering" Chinese Communists and to soften up the West for political settlements that would impair its alliances. As Mr. Khrushchev told the Chinese: "The struggle for peace, for peaceful coexistence, is organically bound up with the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. It weakens the front of imperialism, isolates its more aggressive circles from the masses of the people and helps in the struggle for national liberation." The West is warned.

Furthermore, the treaty itself can be abrogated if "extraordinary events" jeopardize "the supreme interests" of any of its signatories. The Russians insisted on this reservation, over a narrower definition proposed by the West, as an obvious safeguard against nuclear armament by other powers. They may have Germany in mind and certainly they are concerned about

to very little? Is it not a game that every country is playing with every other? A game that nobody can win? A game that isn't worth the effort?

Adjusting to Automation

The United Steelworkers of America and the employers with whom it deals have again demonstrated that collective bargaining can produce constructive answers to the problems of technological change without tests of economic muscle or Government coercion. The contracts just reached by the union and the major aluminum producers represent an imaginative extension of the progress-sharing principles embodied in the union's agreements with the steel and can companies.

All the aluminum workers—not just those with long seniority—will qualify for 10 weeks of vacation every five years, with 13 weeks' pay to help them enjoy their sabbatical. Fringe benefits will also be liberalized, but there will be no increase in direct money wages. The changes are designed to give the workers a share in the benefits of increased productivity on a basis that will expand total employment opportunities and avoid any increase in aluminum prices.

The new contracts, coupled with those already signed by the union through its joint Human Relations Committee in basic steel and its long-range committee in Kaiser Steel, ought to serve as a spur to the deadlocked negotiators in the nation's railroads. The guidelines for a sound agreement have been laid down by two Presidential commissions, created only because of the atrophy of the bargaining process in this pivotal industry.

Any formula Congress approves for barring a rail strike through legislative compulsion will set a damaging precedent. The month-long truce agreed to by the railroads provides a last opportunity for the unions to demonstrate that their concept of bargaining is not summed up in the single word "no."

Up to now they have been gambling on the proposition that the Government will continue to retreat in the face of their obduracy, and that finally they can extort a settlement that will saddle the carriers with thousands of unneeded jobs. The trouble with this venture in brinkmanship is not only that the gamble involves a strike in which the economy would be the chief victim but that a "victory" for the unions would jeopardize all job security by pushing the railroads closer to bankruptcy.

This is the lesson the disastrous 116-day strike of 1959 taught both sides in steel. Unfortunately, there is no sign yet that the railroad unions

Topics

Diving to Tidy Up

There came a brief note the other day from the Sudan, where for a month a team of scientists had been living deep in the Red Sea in watertight villages containing such home comforts as air-conditioning and television. The wife of Jacques-Yves Cousteau, French explorer, diver and head of the group, would go below and would tidy up the place a little. This item was received with cooing sounds the world over, for as half of the world's adult population chooses to believe, no man is capable of even emptying an ash tray, either on the surface or 45 feet down under. The cooing changed to a higher, triumphant pitch as the next day or so went by, with images becoming more lifelike of a tired, wan Mme. Cousteau working her fingers to the bone with the carpet sweeper, while he just sat around, probably ogling mermaids. Half the world's adult population had the time of its life pointing out alleged similarities between itself and the Cousteaus, while the other half tried to think of other things, hoping that eventually the noise would quiet down.

Actually for a Party

There is in all newspaper work a trade expression called the follow-up story. This means that what is reported upon today will also be watched closely tomorrow, for whatever new, relevant happenings that day may bring. Those newspapermen of the Sudan are superb representatives of their craft, and no sooner did Mme. Cousteau break surface after her trip below than they were asking her questions. Immediately, a large, furry cat was let out of the bag. She had gone to the underwater village to celebrate with her husband their 26th wedding anniversary, and nothing further was said about tidying up. All about the world the cooing that had changed suddenly to a frozen silence. All about the world the other half that had tried to think of other things uttered a yelp of complete and pure delight. Down many a long and weary year, this half always has contended that the other, while casual about tidying up, could be counted upon to plunge through either hell or high water in order to reach a party, in particular an anniversary party. Here was Mme. Cousteau, not only plunging, but with the high water recorded in actual feet.

The Final Word

It is clear that only one half of the world is getting the last word on the Cousteau incident.

Physicist Backs Test Ban

Selove Declares Agreement Is in Interests of Both Sides

The writer of the following is professor of physics at the University of Pennsylvania.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

As the test ban negotiations move ahead beyond initial agreement, it is strange to see the reluctance, if not opposition, to make such an agreement shown by some members of this Government.

It is encouraging that a large number of Senators have joined in the remarkable Humphrey-Dodd resolution in support of an air-space-water test ban, and encouraging also that so highly informed and influential a Representative as Chet Holifield has indicated his feeling that such a ban should receive support.

Why is there any question as to whether such a ban is in the interests of the United States? I believe the opposition is due primarily to two mistaken attitudes. First, there are those who believe that this country can better achieve security by further nuclear weapons development rather than by "trusting" the Soviet Union to adhere to the air-space-water ban. This is a gross mistake. For one thing, no "trust" is necessary. More important, no foreseeable development (at least in the next decade, as far as can now be seen) will change the ability of each of the two nuclear giants to utterly devastate each other.

Orbiting Bombs

Indeed, if nuclear tests of large weapons continue, we would probably move closer to Herman Kahn's "doomsday" machines—perhaps with each side working toward orbiting bombs of hundreds of megatons. A very few such bombs from continuous orbit could be used to set fire to the entire eastern coast of this country. We have the judgment of Secretary McNamara that no really effective anti-missile defense is visible, and we can expect that prospect to become stronger with the passage of time.

The second mistake made by opponents of a test ban has to do with simple distrust of the other side. The question posed is essentially the following (and could be used by Soviet opponents of a test ban as well as by our own): Why should the "other" side want a test ban unless it is to their advantage, and consequently, it is implied, to our own disadvantage?

The mistake here is to think that a test ban can be or must be to the

Letters to The Times

life and his honor to be used to the best moral interests of his country. Your view [editorial July 17] would deny him any moral dignity of his own. Segregation is morally wrong, and any citizen, military or otherwise, has the right and the moral obligation to make known, even by demonstrating, his views in reference to it.

If the Brown Shirts and the German regular army and the German citizens had taken to demonstrations, rather than bowed to accepted immoral tradition, perhaps the cost to European Jewry would not have been so devastating. Historical precedent and honored tradition have their place in society, but they should not be above the individual's right publicly to make known his own moral standards.

I would have thought The New York Times would have been the first to defend such rights and obligations.

JOSEPH COLLINS.
 Rhinebeck, N. Y., July 18, 1963.

Taxing Foreign Securities

Administration Proposal Declared No Cure for Present Gold Outflow

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The Times is to be congratulated for having immediately pointed out [editorial July 19] the dangers of the Administration's proposed tax on American purchase of foreign securities. These dangers have not been eliminated by its more recent proposal to exempt new Canadian issues. Indeed, the Canadian exemption dramatizes how completely arbitrary this kind of currency regulation and manipulation is sure to be.

When the niceties are stripped away, the proposed tax is a form of exchange control, defined as an effort by Government to limit and to restrict the use of its own currency. Such restriction on foreign transactions was widely practiced by Nazi Germany and is the stock in trade of all totalitarian regimes. It is the entering wedge for other types of control over the domestic economy.

The President wants the tax in order to stanch the outward flow of American investment dollars which is augmenting the deficit in our balance of payments. But the proximate cause of this outflow is that United States interest rates are lower than in many other countries, which both encourages United States citizens to buy foreign securities and likewise encourages foreign companies to float their securities in our markets on easy terms. It is notable and regrettable that the President has no intention of curing

Founding Fathers' Intent

Citing 18th Century Leaders in Support of Religion Disputed

The writer of the following letter is Minister of Education for the First Church in Boston, Unitarian.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The current debate on your editorial page about the intentions of the Founding Fathers in drafting, enacting and ratifying the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment discloses more about the condition of American religion than it does about the historical problem of whether the clause was intended to apply to the establishment of a national religion based upon an "essential consensus respecting God, man and the moral law." Especially revealing is the zeal with which Christian leaders, lay and clerical, have clasped the Founding Fathers to their bosoms as upholders of this "essential consensus."

No matter how much we should like to re-create our Revolutionary saints in our own image, historical facts cannot be ignored without endangering both our honesty and our sense of history's vicissitudes. Recent research indicates that John Adams, Jefferson, Washington, Paine, Madison and Franklin were deists. While they differed on particular points of doctrine, they agreed that, in Franklin's words, "there is one God, who made all things," and that "the most acceptable service of God is doing good to man."

In short, the religion of the most eminent Founding Fathers was based largely on Genesis i, 2 and Matthew iv, 7. The deist position is clearly embodied in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, where he refers to "the laws of nature and of nature's god."

Deist Theology

A comparison of the essentials of deist theology and the doctrines of Judaism and Christianity shows that the West's two great religions have properly regarded deism as their enemy. For, as expounded by most of its followers, deism denies the possibility of a covenant and of a savior.

I can but marvel, therefore, at the industry of Christian leaders in finding champions in the Founding Fathers and in treating their religious testimonies as if anchored in the bedrock of theological orthodoxy. If we are to believe that America's "essential consensus" is embodied in the ideas of Jefferson and his friends, we must admit this nation is not and never has been rooted in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

break the "white" nuclear monopoly. They may also mean France, busily building its own nuclear force.

President Kennedy is trying to persuade President de Gaulle to adhere to the treaty, but success is unlikely unless France, an acknowledged nuclear power, is put on a par with Britain and supplied with the same nuclear information we now give the British. If we did so, the purpose would not be to "cause, encourage or participate in" further French tests, which is forbidden by the treaty, but to make such tests unnecessary without hampering France's nuclear development.

French adherence to the new pact might prove a preliminary to agreement by France to join in building a NATO nuclear force and to restore Western solidarity. That is still an essential safeguard of peace.

The Art of Spying

Do not implicitly trust anything you read about spies and spying even if the source is impeccably official. By the accepted rules of the game, government statements may be deliberately false in order to mislead "the enemy." But, of course, they may be true. Naturally, truth is often very confusing.

The layman can be excused for ruminating in this fashion as he reads his morning newspaper. The cast of characters needs a Dickens or a Dostoevsky (not a historian, of course) to do justice to the parade of diplomats, scientists, journalists, homosexuals, prostitutes and—best of all—intelligence agents who betray their outfits and their fellow spies. Nothing could be more devious or fascinating than a double agent.

At least, it is comforting for the layman to contemplate the bungling and blindnesses of the professionals. Devotees of the whodunits surely could do better. Trained by Eric Ambler, Georges Simenon and Ian Fleming, they would never have permitted a Bay of Pigs invasion; a successful Christine Keeler; a fantastic 10-year career of ex-Nazi German intelligence officers providing the Russians with 15,000 photographs, 20 spools of tape and many a secret of the West Germans and NATO. Not that the Russians should boast; they had Penkovsky.

Even though the real spy cases may be stranger than fiction, you don't get the solutions as you do in the thrillers. Nothing could be more fascinating than the stories of the British journalist H. A. R. Philby, or the Swedish Air Force Col. Stig Wennerstrom; but at their most interesting points the volumes are snapped shut and put away in secret places where even intelligence chiefs, like characters in a Kafkaesque tale, probably cannot find them.

The outsider must be forgiven for believing that any time any government wants to arrest and/or expel X-number of spies, it digs into its files and comes up with the requisite quantity. When spies are under surveillance they are, unbeknownst, spying for the country they are spying on. The most dangerous spies of all are, to be sure, the ones who are never caught. There is nothing that the C.I.A., MI-5, K.B.G., Sureté and all the other intelligence and counter-intelligence organizations can do about them.

Is it not possible, in fact, that all this espionage and counter-espionage; all these agents and double agents, intelligence officers, counter-intelligence officers, plots and paraphernalia from infinitesimal microphones to beds, add up

Atlanta's Mayor Speaks

On rare occasions the oratorical fog on Capitol Hill is pierced by a voice resonant with courage and dignity. Such a voice was heard when Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta testified before the Senate Commerce Committee in support of President Kennedy's bill to prohibit racial discrimination in stores, restaurants and other public accommodations.

On the basis of the very substantial accomplishments that his city of a half-million, the largest in the Southeast, has made in desegregating publicly owned and privately owned facilities, he might have come as a champion of "states' rights" and of the ability of localities to banish discrimination without Federal law. Certainly, he would have had much more warrant to espouse that view than the Barretts, the Wallaces and the other arch-segregationists who raise the specter of Federal "usurpation" as a device for keeping Southern Negroes in subjection.

But Mr. Allen was not in Washington to boast. He was there to warn that even in cities like Atlanta the progress that had been made might be wiped out if Congress turned its back on the Kennedy proposal and thus gave implied endorsement to the concept that private businesses were free to discriminate. He left behind this charge to finish the job started with the Emancipation Proclamation a century ago: "Now the elimination of segregation, which is slavery's stepchild, is a challenge to all of us to make every American free in fact as well as in theory—and again to establish our nation as the true champion of the free world."

The Fiddlers

The long-legged, rasp-winged insects now come into their own, and we won't hear the last of them till hard frost arrives. They are the leaping fiddlers, the grasshoppers, the crickets and the katydids.

Grasshoppers are spoken of in the Bible as "locusts," and their hordes have contributed in many lands, including our own West, to the long history of insect devastation and human famine. Walk through any meadow now, or along any weedy roadside, and you will see them leaping ahead of you, hear the rasping rattle of their harsh wings in brief flight. But they do little real fiddling. The fiddlers now are the crickets.

Listen on any hot afternoon or warm evening, particularly in the country, and you will hear the crickets even though you seldom see them. In the afternoon you will hear the black field crickets, chirping as we say, and often into the warm evening. But in the evening, from dusk on through the warm night, the more insistent sound will be the trilling of the pale green tree crickets. Individually the tree cricket's trill is not so loud, but because all those in the neighborhood synchronize their trills the sound can be as insistent as were the calls of the spring peepers back in April.

The loudest fiddlers of all are the katydids, which look like green, hunch-backed grasshoppers. Night after night they rasp wing on wing and make that monotonous call, shrill and seemingly endless. But the katydids won't be heard for another two weeks or so. Meanwhile the crickets possess late July, chirping and trilling the warm hours away as though summer endured forever.

which is accustomed to getting it. Whether the other half will learn anything from the incident is doubtful, of course, because a setness of way began a long time ago in a certain garden, a snake and apple being present. But it is July now, and throughout the world there are thousands of summer bachelors. To hear those who are away talk about it, these bachelors, having made a hovel of the house, are continuing to live begrimed lives, surrounded by overflowing ash trays, inch-thick lint on the rugs, unwashed dishes mounded high in the sink. Everywhere are the sisters of the Mme. Cousteau of the first-day story, who say they are going down to tidy up the place a little. Do they?

A party, particularly an anniversary party—as that becomes another matter. Although it cannot be proved, of course, it may be assumed that quite possibly M. Cousteau—with his eye on scientific affairs—may have failed to remember the anniversary until reminded by ocean-floor-to-shore telephone. This has happened, and that half of the world to which it has happened has a sympathetic picture of him darting out to cool the wine in some far subsurface cave, on the way home cutting clusters of sea flowers for the table. Summer bachelors know something further, and since this is the last day that half of the world gets the last word, let it be set down so. It's dollars to doughnuts M. Cousteau himself cooked the meal, from shrimp cocktail with plankton sauce to whale steak à la mèr rouge. When they do drop in, it is not to tidy up, as the first-day story has it, but to attend a party, witness the follow-up. As guests, of course, as half the world well knows.

EMERALD ISLE

Truly this isle is green, though heather and gorse
Wreath its rolling fields with moderate rainbows;
Though where the land is low, the endless moors
Roll out mahogany earth; though nature raise
Most silver barriers with all the rocks
Of Ireland against the sparkling air.
And gray
The sheep, all summer unattended, relax
Or clamber without effort on their lonely
And sustaining hillsides. Near the peat bogs,
Where the early sun beats off the chill
Of night, an errant donkey, forefeet tied with rags,
Brays at the Irish morning his animal
protest against life's cruel curtailments,
And comprehending no guilt, cries penitence.

LORA DUNETZ.

of the other side. The fact is that a test ban is in the interests of both sides. Not only as a step toward other tension-reducing measures, and not only for economic reasons, but because neither side can achieve security by its efforts alone.

A test ban will probably contribute to the understanding of that fact by both Governments and both peoples. It could indeed be a major step forward toward sanity. Public polls show that the United States public understands that fact. The test ban needs and should receive the same strong support from the Senate.

WALTER SELOVE.
Havertown, Pa., July 25, 1963.

Weaning Cuba Away

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

It is good when The New York Times suggests the wisdom of "a more relaxed relationship" with Cuba, as you did in your July 19 editorial "Coexisting With Cuba."

I would think that an improvement in our attitude about Cuba and our actions toward her would inevitably bring about a decrease in Soviet influence there and have Cuba back with the other American countries.

As a small stockholder in one of the companies involved in the Cuban "take-over," I do not find my company very much concerned or its Cuban holdings very much of a financial issue. Some reimbursement would probably be made by Castro if the United States Government worked on the matter under "a more relaxed relationship."

What you have suggested in your editorial would seem a first step toward the United States regaining its position in Cuba and Soviet withdrawal.

CHARLES H. ALSPACH.
Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y., July 19, 1963.

Demonstrating in Uniform

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Followed to its logical conclusion, Defense Secretary McNamara's directive on servicemen and civil rights demonstrations would bring to our armed services the same spirit, restraint and blind "I-follow-orders" obedience that permeated the German Army during Germany's "Jewish trouble."

A man may volunteer to serve his country. By so doing he offers his

interest rates to rise.

Unemployment's Cause

On the contrary, the President states that such a rise in long-term rates would "throw our economy into reverse" and increase unemployment. His reasoning may be doubted. The persistence of unemployment in the United States is due to continuing upward pressure on wages, to misguided efforts to hold "minimum wages" at artificial levels, and to extortionate corporate and progressive income taxation which the Administration's proposed domestic tax program will do little or nothing to cure.

If Washington wishes to promote further economic expansion and at the same time right the United States balance-of-payments position, it must abandon its blind faith in easy money and deficit spending as a cure-all.

The proposed tax on American purchase of foreign securities will not restore faith in the American dollar, the lack of which is at the root of our difficulties. It is a sign of continuing weakness, not of strength. It is also, as The Times points out, a blow against developing a true international order where currencies must be fully convertible and free.

On international no less than domestic grounds Congress should vote the proposal down as a dangerous statist measure.

JOHN DAVENPORT.
New York, July 23, 1963.

Worthier Goal Than Moon

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

A leading space scientist was recently asked: "Is it worth 10 billion dollars to put an American on the moon?" He replied: "Possibly not. But it might be worth that as a national goal."

Surely there are much more worthy and urgent projects on earth in which our citizens would unite. General human welfare is an appealing and challenging national goal that for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as well as for world prestige far surpasses a moon shot.

GEORGE T. SCOTT.
Upper Montclair, N.J., July 24, 1963.

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reading in the public schools extracts from the religious writings of the Founding Fathers, Christians who believe that they are thereby preserving our "spiritual heritage" had best recognize that their device for circumventing the Supreme Court also undercuts their own doctrines.

The confusion in the minds of so many Americans concerning the tenets of their own religious traditions and the beliefs of our 18th century leaders suggests that the total separation of church and state is long overdue.

As Madison wrote, "The tendency to a usurpation on one side or the other, or to a corrupting coalition or alliance between them, will be best guarded against by an entire abstinence of the Government from interference in any way whatever, beyond the necessity of preserving public order, and protecting each sect against trespasses on its legal rights by others."

ROBERT W. HANEY.
Boston, July 22, 1963.

Immigration Proposal

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The belief that immigration under President Kennedy's proposed new immigration law will be limited to 165,000 persons a year is inaccurate.

Under the proposed law, there is to be unlimited immigration from such places as the West Indies, Mexico, Haiti, Latin America and the Western Hemisphere. In contrast to this special privilege granted to these countries, the only limitation is on European countries, and therefore there is no reason why practically the entire populations of some of the Latin and Caribbean countries may not eventually immigrate here, in accordance with a growing trend.

Previous reform bills introduced by former Senator Herbert Lehman and Representative Celler proposed to eliminate these special privileges for Western Hemisphere countries and put every country on an equal basis, but President Kennedy's bill is not one of these. ALBERT MAYER, Chairman, Immigration and Naturalization Committee, Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.
New York, July 25, 1963.

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