

REAGAN ARMS PLAN DEBATED IN EUROPE

Some Leaders Praise Proposal to Defend Against Missiles, but Many Criticize Idea

LONDON, March 25 (Reuters) — President Reagan's proposal for a new defense system against Soviet missiles drew cautious praise and considerable criticism in Western Europe today.

Many of the critics suggested that the plan could hinder talks to reduce nuclear weapons and speed up the arms race.

The Reagan plan won a guarded welcome from the British Government for what a spokesman called its "indication of American determination to remain fully effective."

West Germany's Defense Minister, Manfred Wörner, said the idea of moving from nuclear deterrence toward a purely defensive system "would be a considerable moral improvement."

But in a comment in West European newspapers, Mr. Wörner added, "This is a program for the next century, wholly a distant one."

Mr. Reagan called Wednesday night for major efforts to develop a United States missile defense system using lasers, particle beams and other advanced technology to destroy incoming Soviet nuclear missiles.

"Billions Could Be Better Spent" — The German daily Süddeutsche Zeitung said, "The immediate fear will be that America is merely beginning a new race in the arms race."

The conservative German daily Die Welt said Moscow would be at a disadvantage if the Americans turned to electronics.

"In anticipation of future U.S. supremacy, the U.S.S.R. could be tempted to make the most out of the superiority it has gained during détente," it added.

The Times of London said Mr. Reagan's proposals were more likely to alarm United States allies than comfort them.

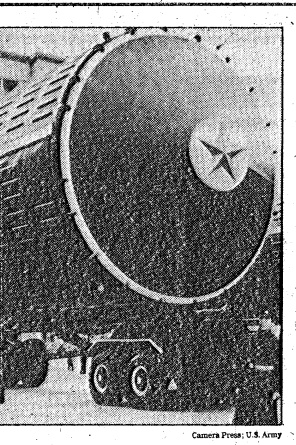
"People are calling for the arms race to be halted, not for it to be diverted into new directions," it said.

The Guardian said Moscow would try to match the proposed American system and both sides would "throw more billions into finding ways through them."

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Camera Press: U.S. Army

The Soviet Union's Galosh antimissile missile, above, is deployed around Moscow. At right, a mockup of a U.S. Safeguard antimissile missile.

U.S. ABM's Held Back by Problems and Treaty

WASHINGTON, March 25 — Both the United States and the Soviet Union have tried to develop land-based defenses against ballistic missiles, only to find themselves constrained by technological problems and a treaty.

Starting in the Johnson Administration, the United States began deploying an antiballistic missile system, first called Sentinel and then Safeguard. The system relied on radar-directed missiles to intercept and destroy the warheads of ballistic missiles as they entered the earth's atmosphere.

The Soviet Union, meanwhile, was developing a somewhat less advanced ABM system around Moscow that the West refers to as Galosh.

From the start, the ABM system ran into criticism that it could be overwhelmed, either by blinding the radar or by throwing in missile warheads until all the defensive missiles were expended. A doctrinal objection was also raised

that development of a defensive system would upset the deterrent balance since it would appear that one side was trying to get itself into a position where it could launch an attack and then defend itself against a retaliatory blow.

In 1972, after years of negotiation, the United States and the Soviet Union entered into a treaty in which each side agreed "not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile land-based."

The treaty initially permitted each side to maintain two ABM sites, one around the national capital, the other at a site to protect a field of intercontinental ballistic missiles. This provision was subsequently amended to restrict each side to one ABM site, armed with no more than 100 interceptor missiles.

The United States never deployed an ABM defense around Washington, largely because the politicians did not want to give the impression that they were defending themselves while leaving the rest of the nation undefended.

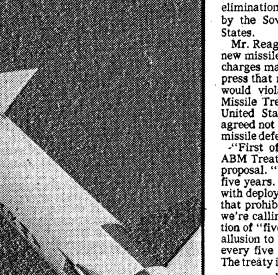
Instead, the Army constructed a Safeguard site at Grand Forks, N.D., designed to protect Minuteman intercontinental missiles in the area. The Grand Forks site was closed down in 1975 before it had gone into operation and after an investment of \$5.7 billion in the Safeguard system.

The Soviet Union has continued its Galosh system around Moscow, but the Defense Department has said that it "cannot presently cope with a massive attack."

In its latest booklet on Soviet military power, the Defense Department said the Soviet Union was "upgrading" the Moscow ABM system with additional missile launchers and improved radar. The improvements, which are expected to be completed by the mid-1980's, are permitted under the treaty as long as the number of missiles at the site does not exceed 100.

REAGAN SAYS PLAN WILL PREVENT WAR

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Camera Press: U.S. Army

elimination of such missiles deployed by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Mr. Reagan, discussing his plan for a new missile-defense system, dismissed charges made Wednesday in the Soviet press that research into such a system would violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

"First of all, it doesn't violate the ABM Treaty," Mr. Reagan said of his proposal. "We've just extended that for five years. The ABM Treaty has to do with deployment. There is nothing in it that prohibits research, which is what we're calling for."

What Treaty Says — Article V, Section 1 of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty states that "Each party undertakes not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based or mobile-land based."

Mr. Reagan said that he was "quite sure" that whenever the defensive system became practical "it may be 20 years down the road" — the Soviet Union and the United States would then be forced to "dispose of" their ballistic missile arsenals since they would be "rendered obsolete."

Mr. Reagan was then asked to comment on the Soviet suggestion that his Administration had "blown down the gauntlet" and escalated the arms race.

"Maybe they're looking at us in a kind of mirror image," Mr. Reagan said with a smile. "They're having us think like they think."

Challenged by Church Groups — The President's proposal comes at a time when the doctrine of mutual deterrence has been under challenge by church groups, such as the National Council on Catholic Bishops. Questions also have been raised about the so-called counterforce concept, in which the United States would have presumably invulnerable missiles for use against MX, capable of striking at Soviet missile silos.

Ever since the 1972 treaty limiting ballistic missile systems, both the United States and the Soviet Union have accepted, at least implicitly, the concept that defensive systems would destabilize the deterrent balance by raising fears that one side was preparing to attack and then defend itself against a retaliatory attack.

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Transcript of Reagan News Session on Social Security and Missile Defense

Following is a transcript of President Reagan's news conference in Washington yesterday morning, as recorded by The New York Times.

OPENING STATEMENT

Good morning. It's a short statement. I'd like to thank the members of Congress on both sides of the aisle for helping us address two issues of great significance to the American people.

For all our senior citizens who worry about receiving their Social Security benefits, and for the present-day workers concerned about the solvency of that system, I think a hard day has been lifted.

Shortly after 10 o'clock this morning, the Congress completed action on the bipartisan Social Security reform program. And by working together in our best bipartisan tradition, we have passed reform legislation that brings us much closer to insuring the integrity of the Social Security System.

As you know, I've pledged repeatedly that no American who depends on Social Security would ever be denied his or her checks. But I warned those who were making this issue a political football that the system did have real problems, and that only through hard work — not demagoguery — would we be able to solve them.

For the sake of our people, I'm gratified that the great good news did prevail over partisan concerns.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Butter for Peace

REAGAN: And now, because I believe in the sanctity of contracts, where is Sarah McClendon?

McClendon: Right here. REAGAN: Right here. Q. Thank you so much for recognizing me. Sir, you're about to embark on a long and complicated scientific exploration for what are called butter canyons. We have just as concentrated a program on trying to solve the mess by seeking better human relations. U.S.A. style with the Soviet Union and other countries? Why don't we sell for cash some of the 100 tons of butter we pay to store daily and send to the Soviets seek butter des-

With regard to the food, the only restraint on that — we are adding to the commodities that we've held in storage under our own laws and regulations here — we're adding a number of those, the amount of those that is going to be redistributed to the people of need, whether here or worldwide. But the one restraint that I mentioned is we have to be sure that in doing that we don't just add further to the burden on the national community by in that disposing interfering with, or wiping out, their potential markets. So it's a delicate balance, and we've been very careful with that. We have internationally made some of these things — and these dairy products available — but at each time we have had to work very carefully so as not to either deprive our own farmers or deprive other allies and friends of ours of their commercial markets.

Nuclear Missile Defense

Q. Mr. President, why did you make that proposal now? In the light of the arms race that is going on with the Soviet Union, so to speak, and the negotiations over in Geneva, at a time when the balance is being tipped in favor of the Congress because of the higher defense spending that you want, why did you put that proposal on, sir?

A. I put it on now because that better time? I've been having this idea for some time here recently. And constantly I have thought about it. And that the nuclear missile seems to be one of the only major weapons systems in history that has never preceded or brought about a defense against itself. And I brought this up one day in a meeting at which the chiefs of staff were present, and we talked about it and discussed it, and then discussed it some more.

And since we don't know how long it will take, or if or forever, that we have to start. The quicker we start the better. But it is inconceivable to me that we can go on thinking about the future — not only for ourselves in our lifetime but for other generations — that the great nations of the world will sit back and let us be the only ones to be protected across a table with a coked gun, and no one knowing whether someone might tighten the trigger on the trigger. And there's one way, and the way we're pursuing, which is to see if we can get mutual agreement to reduce these weapons, and hopefully, to eliminate them, as we're trying in I.N.F.

This is another way, and that is if we could — the same scientists who

advisers aimed at disrupting the Soviet Government.

"To force the U.S.S.R. into an arms race in the style of 'Star Wars' would, they think, have a catastrophic effect on its economy," the paper said.

Walkout at Italian Airports

ROME, March 25 (AP) — A 12-hour strike by airport administrators and control tower employees crippled air traffic in Italy today. Alitalia, Italy's national airline, canceled most of its flights. Unions called the walkout to press the Government for a new contract.

Q. Mr. President, with all prices declining, would you support some sort of energy tax increase?

A. Well, we have one right now. The 5 percent tax that's in the Energy Tax Act. I don't believe that we should be looking at tax increases right now. With this recovery at the stage it is, I think we've proven our point, that our system — in spite of all the malingering that took place before it was even under way and having a chance to operate — has proven a success. We are definitely into a recovery. And to pick this time now to raise taxes in any way is risks setting back this recovery.

The Soviet View

Q. Mr. President, the Soviets don't see it your way at all. They say that you are, in fact, accelerating the arms race. And I don't know how long it's going to take, but we're going to start because I'm going to be signing the treaty in five or six months, when I get out of here. Helen?

A. Yes, but that's it. It's really looking at it in a kind of a mirror image. Having us think like they think. First of all, it doesn't violate the ABM treaty, we've just extended that for five years. The ABM treaty has to do with deployment. There is nothing in it that prohibits research, which is what we're calling for. I'm quite sure that that's what it would take, and whatever President would be in the White House when maybe 20 years down the road somebody does come up with an answer, I think that that would then be the time to look back and how long, why not now dispose of all these weapons, since we've proven that they can be rendered obsolete?

Mutual Deterrence

Q. But the mutual deterrent has kept the peace, the mutual destruction of each other for 40 years. And now we're moving away from that? The fear of mutual destruction.

A. Well, that's it. It's as I say, it's like those two fellows with the coked guns, cocked and ready. Yes, we have. I think — but remember that for a great part of that period we proved, I think pretty definitely, that we're not aggressive. Because we had, to begin with, a monopoly and then, for a number of those 30 years, we had such a superiority, as witness the Cuban missile crisis. When they blinked, and we're moving away from that? The fear of mutual destruction.

Q. And if you recall, the Russian involved in those — or very high up in the Politburo, involved in that particular incident — said in the hearing of his counterparts on our side that they would never again be caught in that position. And they started their dramatic military buildup.

So you carry forward, we have met here, even with the great amount of weapons that both sides have today, for those 30 years, for a long time — and, as I say again, we proved — you

E.P.A. Resignations

Q. Mr. President, we learned today of five more top-level resignations from the Environmental Protection Agency — these were all people who have been part, in one way or another, in the Congressional allegations. Doesn't this really look bad? And how can you reassure the people that the agency is operating properly?

A. I don't think it necessarily looks bad. I think what is happening there is with a new director coming in there are some of these individuals that have been through this whole thing, and I know that some of them, just as Anne Burford did — and all of you — it implies that some way this was engineered, know I never would

POLICE ARREST 250 IN CHILEAN RIOTING

Water Cannons Drench Crowds Who Block Downtown Area — 9 Bombs in Santiago

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER
Special to The New York Times

SANTIAGO, Chile, March 25 — Nearly 250 people were under arrest here today after violent protests Thursday night against the military Government of President Augusto Pinochet.

Policemen used water cannons to battle hundreds of rock-throwing protesters for more than an hour in a 20-block area. Diplomats here said it was the first time the cannons had been used since 1973, when General Pinochet overthrew the Marxist Government of President Salvador Allende Gosses.

The protests reportedly were organized by the Communist Party Youth, an outlawed organization, and the police said most of those arrested were youths. But many office workers and shoppers joined in jeering the police, chanting, "Pinochet, assassin" or "Work, bread, justice and liberty!"

Explosions Wound Two

Hundreds of youths later blocked rush-hour traffic on the Alameda, a central boulevard, tearing down street signs, starting bonfires and hurling policemen with stones in a brief skirmish. They were dispersed by riot policemen and a machine-gunner firing pistol shots in the air.

The demonstrations followed the

Former West German Leader Named Co-editor of Die Zeit

HAMBURG, West Germany, March 25 (Reuters) — The former West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, who was toppled in a parliamentary vote in October, will become co-editor of the authoritative political weekly Die Zeit on May 1.

The newspaper's publisher, Gerd Buchner, said today that Mr. Schmidt had been entrusted with the job because of his "exceptional talents and his great achievements for West Germany."

Mr. Schmidt, who served as Social Democratic Chancellor in a left-liberal government for eight years, would work alongside the present editor, Marion Dönhoff.

In the first quarter of this year, Die Zeit pushed its circulation above the 400,000 mark for the first time.

CHILEAN POLICE QUASH PROTEST: Demonstrators seeking cover as water cannons moved through a Santiago street breaking up anti-Government rally.

Tear gas was also used. Two hundred people were arrested, and officials said punishment would be severe. Protesters were denouncing rising cost of living and economic policies of the military government of President Augusto Pinochet, who seized power in a 1973 coup.

detonation of nine explosive devices around this city Wednesday night and early Thursday morning. The police said the blasts slightly wounded two people, damaged a bridge and cut off the water supply to a workers' neighborhood.

Brig. Gen. Enrique Montero Marx, the interior minister, said the Government would use "maximum energy" against those responsible for the bombings, which he said appeared to be part of a joint operation with the demonstrators.

The protests were called through leaflets distributed in Santiago criticizing the Government's handling of the Chilean economy. General Pinochet's rule was extended in 1980 by a national plebiscite until at least 1989, but since the vote the country has plunged into a depression. Protest demonstrations have been increasing.

Church Says 1,400 Detained

The Government reports that unemployment has nearly doubled over the last year to more than 20 percent in the greater Santiago area and higher in the provinces. In addition, 12 to 13 percent of the work force is in low-paying makeshift public works projects similar to those of the 1930's in the United States.

"With this unemployment, we're sitting on a volcano," Genaro Arrigada Herrera, a Christian Democrat leader said.

The Roman Catholic Church here reports that during protests last year, more than 1,400 people were detained, compared to 1,000 in 1981.

The economic pressures have caused splits in the coalition of businessmen, rightwing nationalists and the military that has supported General Pinochet. But the debate has been mostly over economic policy and the methods of transition, and not over the General himself.

He remains firmly entrenched in power, enjoying what appears to be the complete loyalty of the armed forces, according to even opposition leaders and the church. General Pinochet and the church's leader, Raul Cardinal Silva Henríquez, Archbishop of Santiago, have been locked in a dispute since the Government ordered three foreign priests out of the country two weeks ago. The three had been working to organize poor people to demand greater social welfare, church workers said.

Two more priests and two seminarians were among those arrested Thursday, church leaders said. The priests were reportedly released today. It was

rested, and officials said punishment would be severe. Protesters were denouncing rising cost of living and economic policies of the military government of President Augusto Pinochet, who seized power in a 1973 coup.

not clear how many others had been freed; the police can hold those seized for five days without charges.

Interior Minister Montero met today with the Papal Nuncio, Msgr. Angelo Sodano, and said afterwards that the participation of the priests in the demonstrations added to the church-state tension.

But Enrique Palet Claramunt, executive secretary of the human rights and social welfare arm of the church, said the churchmen were arrested as they were leaving a memorial mass for the late El Salvador Archbishop, Oscar Romero, who was assassinated two years ago. He said they were not a part of the demonstrations, though they and about 60 priests in the mass did allow a people from the street to seek refuge in the church during the police crackdown.

Most opposition political parties have opposed street demonstrations, fearing violence and seeing them as futile. Some said the Communists were taking advantage of the situation, and diplomats said the demonstration had even been advertised on the Moscow radio's Spanish-language broadcast, "Listen Chile."

Demonstrations were called also in other cities, but they reportedly were smaller.

Reagan Declares 'You Bet He'll Stick With Adelman'

By FRANCIS X. CLINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 25 — President Reagan emphatically defended Kenneth L. Adelman, his nominee to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency today and said Mr. Adelman's Senate critics were "smaller than the person they're attacking."

In a statement by Mr. Adelman, the President said in response to a question at a brief White House news conference.

The nomination has been bogged down in the Senate by weeks of controversy about Mr. Adelman's qualifications with Democrats and Republicans charging that his private use of a contracting firm at his Senate testimony on the subject of a possible personnel purge at the disarmament agency.

"Excellent Qualifications"

"I think he is excellently qualified," the President said of his nominee, "and I think that the fuss that has been raised about him is, smacks of people smaller than the person they're attacking."

On a second question the President, asked whether he would soon offer a proposal for an interim reduction in medium-range nuclear missiles, said, "Tune in next week." He plans to make a speech on the subject next Thursday in Los Angeles.

This was the second time in four weeks that Mr. Reagan has complained of the delay and controversy in the Senate's consideration of Mr. Adelman. Last week, the Senate Foreign Relations committee forwarded the nomination to the Senate floor with a recommendation that it be rejected. The President then denounced Senate critics of the nomination as "irresponsible" and defended his right to choose his own nominee to run the arms agency.

The latest dispute over Mr. Adelman focuses on his testimony that he had not thought "at all" about personnel changes at the agency. Private memos by Mr. Adelman, subsequently released, depict him as having begun an inquiry for more qualified personnel at the agency and having referred to a memo received from Edward L. Rowley, chief strategic arms negotiator, that called for a "housecleaning" at the agency.

President Reagan, commenting on those memos today, defended Mr. Adelman's behavior as "perfectly natural."

"How someone can be hung out to dry for having received a letter from someone else," the President said, "He didn't write the letter, he received it."

"Isn't this natural," the President continued, "that someone who is in the position of assuming the directorship of

All Is Forgiven, Peking Tells a Tennis Defector

PEKING, March 25 (AP) — A Foreign Ministry spokesman said today that a 19-year-old Chinese tennis player, who defected to the United States last summer would not be prosecuted if she returned home.

The player, Hu Na, said last week that she had been threatened by Chinese Communist Party officials frightened her into seeking asylum.

The spokesman said that if Miss Hu returned to China, she would be sent soon to play in an international tournament in Switzerland.

Miss Hu is still awaiting formal United States approval of her application for political asylum.

She said earlier this week that just before the left China to play in the Federation Cup tournament in Santa Clara, Calif., last summer, high-ranking party officials told her she was "embarrassing" the Communist Party by refusing to join.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said in a statement: "In recent years Hu Na frequently went abroad to take part in international competition since she was trained as a tennis player. The Chinese Tennis Association has declared that so long as Hu Na makes up her mind and returns home, the association will still send her to participate in an international tournament to be held in Switzerland in June this year. Therefore the question of prosecuting her did not exist in the past nor will it arise after her return to China."

Nicaragua Says Hondurans Were Driven Off in a Battle

Continued From Page 1

Government.

At the same time, in the view of many diplomats, reports that the United States Central Intelligence Agency is arming and training these rebels have also emboldened the Sandinistas to stir up nationalist sentiments and consolidate their control over the country.

State of Emergency

Last March the Government declared a state of emergency involving controls on political activities as well as press censorship.

In this period the Sandinistas have been able to strengthen their political party apparatus, which includes a network of grass-roots Sandinist "defense committees." Many political Nicaraguan parents have also been forced to take sides against the rebels in that their teenage children have been sent to northern combat zones as part of reserve militia battalions.

One casualty over the last year, diplomat said, has been credibility in the Sandinistas' pledge to maintain political pluralism. Although the Government has reiterated its plan to hold elections in 1985, interviews with officials suggest that the mood of the country is now so polarized that even existing democratic opposition parties are viewed by many as a part of a broad "counter-revolutionary" strategy.

Opposition Is Divided

"But while the Government insists that 'there is only one counterrevolution,' opposition groups are still divided, not only between those operating out of Honduras and Miami and followers of Mr. Pastora in Costa Rica, but also between those abroad and the business political and church critics of the Government still in Nicaragua.

The Government has been able to demonstrate that most armed actions have been carried out by former national guard members, reviving memories of a military irruption that served the counter-revolutionary corruption of the Somoza Government.

As a result, the first politicians and businessmen who broke with the Sandinistas in early 1982 avoided alliances with either the National Liberation Army or the 15th of September Legion because of their links with the past. Instead, a former foe of General Somoza, Fernando Chamorro Rapacioli, formed the Nicaraguan Democratic Union.

In 1980 and 1981 these groups enjoyed the support of the Honduran Army and Argentine military advisers, but the Sandinistas saw them as little more than military irritants that served the counter-revolutionary purpose of creating the specter of an outside enemy.

U.S. Aid to Rebels

But in early 1982, according to both Nicaraguan and United States officials, the Reagan Administration became directly involved in the "counter-revolutionary" movement, playing a key role in uniting several exiled groups into the Nicaraguan Democratic Force. Through the C.I.A., Wash-

Honduras Denies Sandinist Charges

BY STEPHEN KINZER
Special to The New York Times

TEGUCIGALPA, Honduras, March 25 — The Honduran Foreign Ministry today denied Sandinist charges that Honduran troops had crossed into Nicaragua in recent days.

"This is totally false," said Juan Serra Fonseca, spokesman for Foreign Minister Eduardo Paz Barricba. He said Nicaragua's Sandinist Government had tried to provoke a Honduran incursion by moving 20 truckloads of soldiers to "strategic positions" near the border.

"The Government of Honduras has no plans to send reinforcements to the border area," Mr. Serra Fonseca said. "We are continuing to seek resolution of this matter through purely diplomatic channels."

A military source close to the Honduran Army said that there were no reports of Honduran soldiers guarding the 475-mile border with Nicaragua and that there was no indication the number had been increased in the last week.

Honduran to Visit U.S.

The Honduran Government announced this afternoon that Mr. Paz would visit the United States this week to present his country's position to the United Nations Security Council and the Organization of American States.

After an eight-hour meeting Thursday of the Honduran National Security Council, which includes the nation's top military and civilian leaders, Mr. Paz said Honduras was "ready to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country."

He said Honduras was not involved in the fighting inside Nicaragua, which he described as "an internal conflict."

Military analysts and diplomats here said they doubted the two countries would go to war because neither possesses the logistical capacity to sustain a military offensive. On the streets of Tegucigalpa, however, nationalist demonstrators were seen and people said they expected the current dispute to fade away soon.

Diversionary, U.S. Envoy Says

The United States Ambassador to Honduras, John D. Negroponte, dismissed Nicaragua's assertions that it was under attack as "a diversionary tactic." He said it was designed to shift attention away from what he called more important regional questions, like the presence of Cuban military advisers in Nicaragua and the buildup of Sandinist military forces.

Mr. Negroponte asserted the fighting said to be under way in Nicaragua was well inside Nicaraguan territory, "don't think the situation on the border is any different from what it has been at any time in the recent past," he said.

Mr. Negroponte refused to comment on Nicaraguan charges and press reports that the insurgents have been organized, trained and financed by the United States.

The rebel radio station said today that insurgents had inflicted 450 casualties on Nicaraguan Government forces and had destroyed "dozens of vehicles including a Soviet tank." It predicted that the Sandinist regime, which it called a "Marxist dictatorship," would fall within six months.

Nicaraguan Welcomes Talks

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., March 25 — Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco of Nicaragua told the Security Council today that his country would welcome direct talks with Honduras over Nicaragua's charge that 2,000 insurgents had infiltrated from Honduran bases.

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