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Options for Pressure On Hanoi

By William Beecher N.Y. Times Service

Washington

President Nixon is considering a number of diplomatic and military measures designed to put pressure on North Vietnam to reach an early cease-fire agreement, well-placed administration officials declared yesterday.

The officials said that Henry Kissinger's news conference Saturday, at which he said that negotiations with Hanoi had failed to reach "a just and fair agreement," was the first move in the campaign.

Other steps under consideration, they disclosed, include the following:

 Private diplomatic efforts to have the Soviet Union, China and other nations

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try to use their influence to get the negotiations "back on track."

- A sudden replacement by air of mines in Haiphong harbor and other North Vietnamese ports above the 20th Parallel. In some of these, officials said, North Vietnam has begun minesweeping without hindrance from the U.S.
- And, if the measures fail, a resumption of some bombing of military targets north of the 20th Parallel. The U.S. stopped such bombing in late October as a sign of goodwill, in reaction to Hanoi's conciliatory approach to peace negotiations, starting on October 8.

BOMBING

Administration officials say that a resumption of bombing north of the 20th Parallel is the least likely step to be taken because of the danger of scuttling the peace talks.

Even so, it is not clear whether the military plams are actually meant to be

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carried out or whether at this point they are designed to serve as a threat in the diplomatic process.

Much of the current Washington planning is predicated on the conclusion that it is Hanoi's shifting negotiating tactics that are primarily responsible for the continuing delay in reaching agreement. According to this view, U.S. military and diplomatic pressure must now be concentrated on Hanoi if progress is to be made.

But earlier, high administration officials had indicated that the talks were bogged down over failure of the negotiators to satisfy President Nguyen Van Thieu's requirements for a satisfactory cease-fire.

Washington officials said that a major stumbling block was Thieu's insistence that any cease-fire agreement state unequivocally that the Saigon government has the sole sovereign right to control all the territory it held before the Vietnam war began. Administration officials said that this issue, which had been introduced by the U.S. was holding up progress and that a resolution of the issue was up to Mr. Nixon and Thieu.

But according to U.S. officials interviewed in the past few days, it was North Vietnam that apparently decided to renege on certain already settled issues and proposed new ones. The North Vietnamese were said to have been acting in the belief that the Nixon administration was under so much pressure because of its own previous-

ly optimistic statements that "peace was within reach," that it might feel impelled to accept less than adequate terms to achieve an early truce.

Officials said that in October, for example, in initial discussions of the size of the international force — to be representatives of Canada, Indonesia, Hungary and Poland — the U.S. proposed a total strength of 8000 men.

North Vietnam countered by suggesting 5000 and the U.S. agreed, the sources said.

But in the most recent round of talks in Paris, lasting nine days, the North Vietnamese negotiators were reported to have insisted that the total force be in the hundreds, perhaps as low as 250, the figure that Kissinger cited Saturday.

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In addition, said, the North wietnamese maintained that the members of the truce teams should not be permitted to use their own transportation in checking on possible truce violations.

In effect, the officials said, this would mean that the Viet Cong could easily hamper supervisory activities in areas under their control by withholding means of moving quickly to points where truce violations were suspected.