

TERMS ON U. S. AID TO HANOI DEPICTED

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Requirements Said to Be an
End to Vietnam Infiltration
and Pullout From Laos

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WASHINGTON, March 11 —

The White House will ask Congress to approve postwar aid to North Vietnam only if Hanoi begins living up to its part of the Paris agreement, Administration sources said this week-end.

Specifically, one well-placed source said, the Administration will go ahead with the request only if the reports of North Vietnamese infiltration into the South cease and only if North Vietnamese troops in Laos are withdrawn.

So far, according to American officials, Hanoi has met neither of these requirements of the cease-fire agreement.

In Trouble With Congress

No decision on whether to press forward with the controversial program will be made until middle or late May, the sources said. That would be six weeks after the deadline for the withdrawal of all American troops from South Vietnam and the release of all American prisoners of war.

The postwar aid plan is in considerable trouble on Capitol Hill even before its presentation. One Senator said recently he thought that no more than 10 of his colleagues were prepared to support it, and that such Senators as Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and George McGovern of South Dakota, who once supported it, had lately soured on the idea.

Nonetheless, the sources said,

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the Administration is prepared to fight hard for postwar aid. One White House staff member said that the President has "a gut commitment to this and is prepared to make a hell of a fight."

Whether he does or not will apparently depend entirely on the North Vietnamese. It is believed that Henry A. Kissinger, the President's adviser on national security, made that point clear to the North Vietnamese leaders during his visit to Hanoi last month.

"We can't very well ask Congress to vote money now," said an official who has given considerable thought to the problem, "because we'd seem to be trying to buy the freedom of the P.O.W.'s. We can't ask them to vote it to finance a continuing war effort in May."

"It's not only a question of Congress's unwillingness to pay them to fight South Vietnam," the official continued. "We don't like the idea either."

Mr. Kissinger stated the rationale for aid on his return from North Vietnam last month. Without it, he said, Hanoi's leaders, who have known only guerrilla struggle and war, will be far less likely to become responsible participants in a more peaceful world.

The Administration is prepared to allocate, from the military and foreign-aid budgets, several hundred million dollars a year for aid to North Vietnam. The subject will first be explored by a joint economic commission, the creation of which was announced by Hanoi and Washington last week.

Administration experts, including those at the Pentagon and State Department, are uncertain whether North Vietnam will meet the two conditions. A few of them believe that a struggle is taking place within the North Vietnamese leadership on this question.

Question Viewed as Crucial

To American policymakers, the question is crucial because they think that the Saigon Government's chances for survival would be gravely undermined by infiltration and because they think that the cease-fire in Laos can work only if the North Vietnamese pull out.

Assuming that North Vietnam meets these conditions, the Administration will be faced with a huge selling job on Capitol Hill.

The selling process has already begun on a low key, with Mr. Kissinger and Secretary of State William P. Rogers — as well as White House liaison aides with Congress — talking to key members of the Senate and House of Representatives.

There has also been some talk of organizing citizens' groups to bring pressure on Congress.

But the natural constituency for an aid program is the group of Democratic liberals, whose attitudes toward Mr. Nixon, never very favorable, have been embittered by his cutbacks in social programs and his tough positions on such issues as amnesty and capital punishment.

For the moment, the President shows no signs of abandoning that tough line in the face of complaints in Congress about relations with the White House.

But a few members of the White House staff have been heard to say, entirely speculatively, that Mr. Nixon will have to give something up if he hopes to bring Congress around on aid to North Vietnam. None is willing to speculate whether the President will do that, or on what he might decide to yield.