

it. It does not want the two to fight their bitter feud in Indochina. And it has its own dreams for the region that do not include any political role for either Peking or Moscow.

This should explain why Hanoi so readily agreed to allow the United States to help rebuild the devastated North. Normally it would have looked only to its Soviet and Chinese friends to do this. But it now sees in the U.S. presence a way to offset the pressures of its two giant friends. No one would have expected Hanoi to be a Chinese or a Soviet principality. But the U.S. involvement in Vietnam's tomorrows is almost a guarantee of Hanoi's fierce and continued independence.

Dr. Kissinger, who plays the political game with the dash and brilliance that Bobby Fischer displays at chess, has obviously made very careful calculations. The North Vietnam of the Seventies will not be easy to live with. Its influence will spread wide, and will inevitably clash with the U.S. interests in the region. But this will be more than offset by the continued U.S. involvement in Vietnam — now not only in the South but in the North as well.

What are the prospects? At the time of the writing (December 1), they seem to hold little hope of genuine peace soon. The conflict between the two irreconcilable enemies, the Communists and the rightists, will go on. Both sides will continue to receive aid from their friends, though on the sly and on a reduced scale.

Each of South Vietnam's 10,000 hamlets is likely to become a battlefield, at times political, at other times military. The control of each hamlet will even depend on the time of day, for the reinforced network of Communist cadres will prevail in the night, even as Saigon's officials will govern in daylight. Saigon has been preparing for the conflict of to-

morrow by giving nearly absolute to its military administrators, by oning all possible opponents, by the people to commit themselves the display of flags and through pledges.

One should not underestimate gon's staying power. Its administ may be corrupt and heavy-handed leaders may be deposed in military But there is a substantial layer of South Vietnamese society which personal stake in resisting the Comnists. It includes the Catholics and minor religious sects; the tens of sands of small shopkeepers and Mekong Delta peasants who have given a patch of land and mean to it; the huge bureaucracy, which wish preserve its income and prerogatives a good part of the army.

War-tested network

But this old-fashioned alliance may better against the Communists than the large but fragile coalition put together by Chiang Kai-shek a quarter of a tury ago. The Communists in Vietnam have a war-tested network organizers, administrators, agitators tax-collectors. They will offer the incorruptible government, strong for social welfare (one of the first the Communists have been doing offering a hamlet has been to offer service, however rudimentary), and tionalist dreams of reunification and ness. The appeal of all this to the of the young, the disenchanting and dispossessed also should not be estimated.

Thus the signing of a cease fire agreement is not likely to bring peace to the ravaged land. And, when the Obs Force of the proposed supervisory mission is brought into being, it will

Negotiations between the United States and North Vietnam on the terms of a ceasefire agreement were broken off on December 13 after nine days of meetings. U.S. presidential adviser Henry Kissinger subsequently said the negotiations had failed to reach what President Nixon regarded as "a just and fair" agreement to end the Vietnam war. Mr. Kissinger said the North Vietnamese Government must accept the largest share of blame for the failure to reach an accord. Hanoi denied it was to blame for the delay and maintained the breakdown was due to an American effort to reopen issues that went to the

heart of the agreement.

On December 19, President Nixon authorized resumption of U.S. bombing raids throughout North Vietnam.

On December 30, the White House announced a halt to the bombing North Vietnam above the 20th Parallel and said that Mr. Kissinger would resume negotiations for a Vietnam settlement with Le Duc Tho, Hanoi's chief negotiator, in Paris on January 1. On January 23, President Nixon announced a ceasefire agreement had been negotiated and would become effective on January 27.

Hanoi now sees in U.S. presence a way to offset the twin pressures of its giant friends