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Cease-Fire Shuffle Continues

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Accelerated plans are being made by both sides in the Vietnamese war to continue the political-military struggle after a cease-fire is ordered.

The Nixon administration, while adhering to its official expectation that the anticipated cease-fire in South Vietnam will produce "peace" and a shift from "hostility to normalcy," indicated yesterday that it

wants to keep a very close watch on its hopes.

"Contingency plans" have been made, the State Department acknowledged, to send up to 100 Foreign Service officers to posts around South Vietnam after a cease-fire agreement.

State Department spokesman Charles W. Bray said the purpose for alerting young diplomats with experience in South Vietnam for possible new duty there is "to move toward a more classic diplomatic presence" as "we move from a war-time situation to a peacetime situation . . ."

There is "no organic connection" between the projected diplomatic postings and the planned cease-fire supervisory groups to be stationed in South Vietnam, an official said.

Nevertheless, the assignment of diplomats to new consular posts around South Vietnam for an initial duty tour of six months will give the United States additional eyes and ears in the countryside to report what is actually happening during the sensitive early months of a cease-fire. Experts expect trouble in enforcing the cease-fire.

A new vocabulary to fit a twilight zone between all-out war and genuine peace in South Vietnam already is evolving, even while the negotiating search continues in Paris for the planned "peace settlement"—which many specialists believe should more accurately be called a cease-fire arrangement.

South Vietnam produced a new term yesterday to describe what American intelligence reports agree is the North Vietnamese plan to subdivide many of Hanoi's regular units, in order to meld them covertly into the Vietcong's forces: "South-ernizing" the North Vietnamese army.

North Vietnam, in turn, charged anew that "the Nixon administration" is "plotting to leave many U.S.

military advisers and personnel disguised as civilians in South Vietnam on a long-term basis . . ."

At the same time, Hanoi broadcasts repeated the continuing accusation that the government of President Thieu is pursuing a "white terrorist campaign aimed at liquidating patriots and peace-lovers" in South Vietnam.

What is probably most significant about these accusations on both sides is that they show no signs of being carried to the point of aborting the cease-fire negotiations. On the contrary, U.S. specialists noted yesterday, each adversary is treating the misdeeds of the other as virtually the new norm—the emerging pattern of cheating to continue, or intensify, under a cease-fire.

American public attention is fixed on disengaging U.S. forces from the war and initiating the release of American prisoners, hopefully by Christmas. But the Vietnamese antagonists are positioning themselves for the struggle that will follow.

For this reason, informed American officials, and their South Vietnamese counterparts, privately recognize that there is no prospect whatever that North Vietnam will agree in the Paris negotiations to withdraw all its troops from South Vietnam, as Saigon officially demands.

Although North Vietnam reportedly indicated to presidential envoy Henry A. Kissinger that it is prepared to withdraw some of its troops from the northern portion of South Vietnam, Hanoi is determined to keep many troops in the South for the impending political struggle over who shall rule in Saigon.

So far as North Vietnam is concerned, the core of the cease-fire compromise is "that there exist in South Vietnam two administrations, two armies, and other political forces."

An article in the authori-

tative North Vietnamese Communist theoretical journal, Hoc Tap, that reached Washington yesterday, described the expected accord on the war as a temporary agreement.

In "revolutionary struggle," the article said, "there is a time for us to advance, but there is also a time for us to step backward temporarily in order to advance more steadily later. We cannot exterminate imperialism at one time and in a single battle, we drive it back step by step and destroy it part by part.

"For this reason," Hoc Tap instructed, "when temporarily coming to an agreement with the enemy, we must further heighten revolutionary vigilance."

No ranking American official so far will discuss the extent to which the Nixon administration is prepared to provide physical help to the regime of President Thieu in its struggle against the Communists after a cease-fire, and the withdrawal of all U.S. troops.

However, American officials in South Vietnam have acknowledged that the United States plans to have about 10,000 American civilian advisers and technicians operating in South Vietnam after a cease-fire. This would double the number of American civilians in these categories now working in South Vietnam, at an annual cost of about \$150 million a year, paid out of military aid, with most of them under Defense Department contract.

The American rationale is that the expanded force of U.S. civilians, ranging from aircraft maintenance workers to computer experts and logistic specialists, will be working for the South Vietnamese government and are not "military advisers" barred under the language of the proposed cease-fire agreement. North Vietnam scoffs at this distinction—but has avoided any all-out attack upon it.