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AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATEMENTS MADE BY BOTH THE WHITE HOUSE AND HANOI MAKES IT CLEAR THAT, IN SPITE OF THE MISGIVINGS EXPRESSED BY BOTH SIDES, THERE IS EVERY CHANCE OF A CEASE-FIRE BY NOV 7. THE MISGIVINGS ARE MERELY PART OF THE DIPLOMATIC GAME DESIGNED TO SECURE LAST MINUTE CONCESSIONS, WITH THE UNITED STATES PUTTING ON ALL THE PRESSURE IT CAN MUSTER, WHILE HANOI RESPONDS WITH WARNINGS THAT THIS COULD WRECK THE AGREEMENTS ALREADY REACHED.

THE MAIN POINTS OF THE AGREEMENT, REACHED PRIVATELY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH VIETNAM, SHOW THAT THE TWO PRINCIPAL ADVERSARIES WERE ABLE TO COME TO TERMS THAT WERE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH OF THEM SEVERAL WEEKS AGO. THE PRESENT DELAY IS THEREFORE DUE MAINLY TO THE OBJECTIONS OF PRESIDENT THIEU OF SOUTH VIETNAM, BUT THE SUGGESTION THAT HE IS REALLY IN A POSITION TO VETO THE AGREEMENT, AGAINST THE WISHES OF TWO SUCH SEASONED PLAYERS AS PRESIDENT NIXON AND HENRY KISSINGER, IS UNWORTHY OF SERIOUS CONSIDERATION....

THE QUESTION WHICH EVERYBODY IS ASKING IS HOW THE NIXON-KISSINGER TEAM MANAGED TO PUSH THE COMMUNISTS TO THE WALL. THE ANSWER HAS BEEN AVAILABLE SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS YEAR, WHEN EVIDENCE IN THE COMMUNIST PRESS SHOWED THAT THE WHITE HOUSE HAD SUCCEEDED IN PERSUADING BOTH PEKING AND THE KREMLIN TO SELL OUT HANOI.

SOME OF THE EVIDENCE WAS QUITE DRAMATIC. SUCH, FOR INSTANCE, WERE THE INDICATIONS BETWEEN THE LINES OF COMMUNIST NEWSPAPERS, FIRST PRESENTED IN THIS COLUMN, OF A BITTER QUARREL BETWEEN

SOVIET PRIME MINISTER ALEXI KOSYGIN AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW. OTHER SIGNS WERE LESS OBVIOUS, FOR THEY CONCERNED THE INTERNAL SPLIT BETWEEN THE HAWKS AND DOVES IN THE HANOI LEADERSHIP.

WITHOUT SUCH A SPLIT IN HANOI, THE PRESSURE FROM PEKING AND