

# 'Nixon's Plan to End

MIAMI BEACH — (AP) — Daniel Ellsberg said today that President Nixon had a plan to end the war four years ago — using frogmen in Haiphong Harbor and Marines in Laos to show North Vietnam he would escalate the war if necessary.

Ellsberg told a news conference that the moves were kept secret from the public but were clear to the North Vietnamese.

He said they also were clear to the Soviet Union and that President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, his foreign affairs adviser, believed the Russians could be pressured into convincing the North Vietnamese into ending the war.

## Ready to Escalate

Ellsberg, a former Rand Corp. analyst being tried by the government over public release of the Pentagon Pa-

pers, said Nixon's policy on the war in Vietnam during his first 10 weeks in office was based on the two-fold premise of demonstrating to the enemy he was ready to escalate the war up to full-scale bombing of North Vietnam and mining of Haiphong Harbor and reduction of U.S. forces in Indochina to a point that would never reach zero.

"President Nixon acted on a conscious policy that precluded any chance of peace," Ellsberg charged.

## Haiphong

He said that sometime between Nixon's fifth and tenth week in office in 1969 the President:

- Sent Navy frogmen into Haiphong Harbor ostensibly to chart it for future mining.

- Sent U.S. Marines into Laos.

- Ordered B-52 bombing in then neutral Cambodia.

Ellsberg said he learned of the policy by mid-1969 through dealings with Kissinger's office on a Vietnam war options paper Ellsberg was in charge of preparing for consideration by the President and the National Security Council.

## Visual to Reds

"Nixon had made a credible threat to end the war — secret from the American people but visual to the other side," Ellsberg said.

He said he was not passing judgment on whether Nixon's plan was good or bad but said he wanted to disclose it before the President's nomination for reelection.

"Maybe if he had disclosed that policy," Ellsberg said, "the American people

may have supported it, knowing it meant indefinitely maintaining the war at a low level."

## McCloskey

Ellsberg's news conference was sponsored by Rep. Paul N. McCloskey, the San Mateo County Republican who was an early challenger for the GOP presidential nomination and campaigned against Nixon's war policy.

McCloskey said he called the news conference because "the issue of whether it is immoral or unconscionable to carry on this devastation . . . is not even going to be debated" at the convention.

## Dobrynin

Ellsberg said that after May, 1969, the President's efforts shifted from trying to obtain Soviet intervention with Hanoi to demonstrating to the North Vietnamese the U.S. willingness to escalate the war.

Ellsberg said Kissinger called Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin on May 14, 1969, to tell him the United States would escalate the war if necessary.

From that time, Ellsberg contended, the Soviets knew that the bombing and harbor mining policy Nixon announced last May 8 was a possibility.

Ellsberg said at the outset that speculation by Nixon's critics that he never had the secret plan he talked of during the 1968 presidential campaign was wrong.

"At least by the time he came to office Richard Nixon did have a plan," Ellsberg said. "And it was a secret plan — not to the Russians, not to the North Vietnamese but to the American public."

# War'