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WASHINGTON, WASH.  
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OCT 25 1965

ANDREW TULLY

## CIA Forced Reds' Hands in Indonesia

CPYRGHT

WASHINGTON—Thanks to a gaggle of coldly competent Central Intelligence Agency spooks, Indonesia will never be quite the same regardless of the fate of its loutish, latter-day prophet, Sukarno.

Anything can happen in that implausible conglomeration of islands with its 105 million confused citizens, but the CIA can savor one solid achievement. Communism, at least of the Red Chinese variety, has suffered a resounding defeat in a country Peking had counted as a solid, almost captive, ally.

The Reds can still make a comeback, because the whims of Indonesia's haggling clique of military and politicians are unpredictable. But they are now the underdog on the morning line. Their gains, so patiently and painstakingly built up under the vulgar and egocentric Sukarno, were dissipated by the failure of their Sept. 30 coup, and a Communist takeover is no longer regarded as inevitable.

### Hand Forced

It is now agreed by all the experts here that the coup failed because the timing was off and because the Reds — with or without Sukarno's connivance — were forced by uncertain circumstance to stage a brutal purge of six Indonesian generals. There was no time for a mock trial and the orderly inevitability of the firing squad. The generals were murdered and their bodies horribly mutilated.

All this happened, according to the best possible intelligence available here, because CIA agents forced the Reds' hand. Thanks to CIA influence, bolstered by American dollars, the army had reached the point where it could challenge the Communist apparatus to a showdown, and the agents of Peking were forced to act before they were ready, before their plot had been perfected.

For more than three years, the CIA had been working toward this moment in Indonesian history. Its agents had made friends and influenced people in the army by promising American support for any movement designed to undermine the partnership between Sukarno and communism. Some sources here say Uncle Sam spent as much as \$15 million sweetening the kitty, largely through the establishment of numbered bank accounts for certain military leaders in Switzerland.

### Rusk Gave Support

There was a hot argument in Washington over this cloak-and-dagger strategy. Some officials in the State Department opposed any policy which might expose the U.S. as a meddler in Indonesia's internal affairs, a peddler of subversion. But Secretary of State Dean Rusk was won over by the CIA and Pentagon. Funds previously earmarked for economic aid were diverted to CIA's account and

the boys were told to get cracking.

As of this writing, Sukarno has had no choice but to go along with the army, although he had prior knowledge of the Communist's attempted coup and gave it his tacit approval. The army was quite capable of doing Sukarno in and blaming it on the Reds, because it had the troops and it controlled the nation's communications. An anti-Communist, Maj. Gen. Suharto, was named commander of the army, anti-Communist demonstrations were staged, and the military's vigilantes took off in hot pursuit of D. N. Aidit, Indonesia's Communist boss.

And so the U.S. won the first round in its underworld battle with Peking. For the first time in a decade, it has a chance to win the war.

# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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KARACHI PRESS OCT 22

EXAMPLES INDIAN INTRANSIGENCE KASHMIR DOMINATED KARACHI PRESS  
OCT 22. PAPERS ALSO CARRIED FEW ITEMS INDICATING PAK WILLINGNESS  
REACH ACCOMODATION. HEADLINES PROCLAIMING FURTHER CEASE-FIRE  
VIOLATIONS BY INDIA AND CONTINUING UNREST SRINAGAR GIVEN  
FRONT-PAGE PLAY. ARTICLES EMPHASIZED INDIAN ARREST OCT 21  
OF KASHMIRI LEADERS MAULANA MASOODI, MOHIUDDIN KARRA, AND  
24 OTHERS. PRESS NOTED THAT SO FAR POLICE HAVE CAUSED DEATH  
OF 148 KASHMIRIS AND HAVE PLACED 1,200 IN JAIL.

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FRONT-PAGE PLAY ALSO GIVEN BHUTTO ANNOUNCEMENT OCT 21 THAT  
AYUB LIKELY VISIT US BEFORE END YEAR. PRESS FURTHER QUOTED  
BHUTTO AS SAYING THAT UNLIKELY THAT AYUB AND SHASTRI WOULD  
VISIT US AT SAME TIME BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

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MORNING NEWS EDEF RIAL HAILED AIR MARSHAL NUR KHAN'S  
REJECTION OF INDIAN AIR FORCE CLAIMS CONCERNING NUMBER OF PAK  
PLANES DESTROYED. EDITIORIAL ALSO SAID LYAT PAK AIR FORCE  
READY REPEL ANY INDIAN ATTACK IF NECESSARY BUT THAT PAK HAD  
ACCEPTED CEASE-FIRE AND MENT TO STICK BY IT.

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AFTERNOON PRESS GAVE WIDE PLAY, IN ONE INSTANCE WITH BANNERS  
JUWU RESTON NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE SUGGESTING UN TRUSTEESHIP  
FOR KASHMIR.

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-2- 904, October 22, from Karachi

BACKPAGE DAWN ARTICLE GAVE FULL COVERAGE FRENCH FONMIN-COUVE DE MURVILLE SPEECH PARIS OCT 20 IN WHICH HE QUOTED AS SAYING THAT CEASE-FIRE MUST BE THOROUGHLY ENFORCED AND FOLLOWED BY THOROUGH DISCUSSIONS ON FATE OF KASHMIR.

FRONTPAGE COVERAGE ALSO GIVEN AYUB SPEECH PINDI OCT 21 IN WHICH HE QUOTED AS SAYING THAT INDIAN ATTACK HAD FORGED NEW BONDS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN AND THAT HE HOPED THIS NEW SPIRIT WOULD CONTINUE DESPITE MINOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO WINGS.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT ITEMS COVERED: A) RESOLUTIONS OF ANTI-FOREIGN BASES CONFERENCE SINGAPORE OCT 21 WITH PRIMARY ATTENTION GIVEN RESOLUTION CONDEMNING INDIAN AGGRESSION AGAINST PAKISTAN AND RESOLUTION DEMANDING US WITHDRAWAL FROM VIET-NAM. B) AMJAD ALI ALLEGATIONS UN OCT 20 THAT INDIA PLANNING ATTACK ON RAJASTHAN SECTOR AND THAT AIRLINES BEING ROUTED AWAY FROM NORMAL FLIGHT PATHS OVER THIS AREA SO THAT THEY WOULD NOT DETECT TROOP BUILDUPS. C) EJAZ HUSAIN ARTICLE CLAIMING BIG POWERS ARE REJECTING PAK DEMANDS THAT WITHDRAWAL AND MOVEMENT TOWARDS KASHMIR SETTLEMENT TAKE PLACE SIMULTANEOUSLY.

INSIDE PAGE COMMENT PAPERS CARRIED US SENATOR STEPHEN YOUNGS ALLEGED STATEMENT THAT CIA-OFFICIAL HAD TOLD HIM CIA AGENTS IN VIET NAM DRESS UP AS VIET CONG AND COMMIT ATROCITIES AGAINST PEOPLE TO STIR UP HATRED.  
MCCONAUGHY

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