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INDONESIA

- I. President Sukarno is apparently attempting to bring down the Masjumi-led coalition of Prime Minister Harahap.
  - A. Sukarno opposes disciplinary action-- proposed by Harahap and vice-President Watta--against Air Force officers responsible for (14 Dec) public defiance of government's authority.
  - B. 14 Dec incident took place at swearing-in ceremony for new cabinet-appointed deputy air chief.
    1. Sukarno had approved appointment, but apparently not agreed to early installation of new deputy.
    2. Air Force personnel made show of arms and broke up ceremony.
    3. Air Force (17,000) has not previous-

lines now drawn are same as in

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earlier crises (Masjumi, Army,

Matta on one side; National Party, Communists and Sukarno on the other).

C. Another example Sukarno siding with  
PKI is 14 Dec speech, when he said  
*WOULD BE "ILLOGICAL" TO*  
^ exclude Communists from next Indonesian  
government, since supporters their  
ideology had polled 6 million votes.

II. In address to an Air Force formation on  
19 Dec, asking for "calmness and unity,"  
Sukarno had at his side Air Force chief  
Suryadarma, who engineered incident;  
earlier, he had refused Suyadarma's  
resignation.

A. Cabinet weakening on earlier decision  
to take "strong measures"; no arrests  
yet made.

III. Sukarno has strong motive for bringing  
down government in near future.

A. Some 20 members will be appointed to

new parliament (to represent national minority groups); these 20 may hold balance of power.

1. Provisional constitution states these shall be appointed by "the government": both Harahap and Sukarno claiming privilege.
2. If Sukarno got a rubber stamp cabinet, dispute would become academic.

IV. Harahap will resist pressure to resign, is backed by Hatta and the Army.

A. But as head of a many-party coalition government (due to resign when new parliament meets in Apr '56) his political position is weak.

B. He cannot count on full support of small-party coalition members when present parliament reconvenes (10 Jan).

C. Moreover, early returns from 15 Dec

voting for Constituent Assembly

further tending to weaken his position.

1. These show National Party,  
Communists and Moslem NU all doing  
better than at comparable point in  
counting of September vote.
2. Harahap's Masjumi Party doing  
worse.

INDONESIA BACKGROUND  
LATEST ELECTION FIGURES

I. Latest available figures on Indonesia's  
29 Sep elections for Parliament (unofficial,  
published 1 Dec) show the following:

- NATIONAL PARTY (PNI) . . . . 8,078,000
- MASJUMI . . . . . 7,853,000
- COMMUNISTS (PKI) . . . . . 6,451,000
- NAHDLATUL ULAMA (NU) . . . . 6,006,000

A. Although these figures are unofficial,  
they were published after completion  
of the official count (29 Nov).

II. Early returns from Indonesia's 15 Dec elec-  
tions for a constituent assembly (to frame  
constitution) show a drop in Masjumi strength  
when compared with similar returns from the  
Sep voting, as follows:

<u>DEC VOTING</u> (as of 20 Dec)	<u>SEP VOTING</u> (as of 3 Oct)
PNI . . . .3,563,000 (34%)	--5,788,000 (32%)
NU . . . .2,870,000 (27%)	--4,399,000 (24%)
PKI . . . .2,567,000 (24%)	--4,089,000 (23%)
MASJUMI . .1,563,000 (15%)	--3,648,000 (20%)

FRENCH ELECTIONS

- I. Campaign for 2 Jan '56 elections being marked by increased registrations, quickening tempo.
  - A. Over 1,200,000 new voters registered.
  - B. Candidates are drawing record crowds at record number rallies.
  - C. Poll indicates more Frenchmen than ever before intend to vote (88% of electorate, compared with 80% in '51).
- II. Basically, a three-cornered race, which reduces possibility of elections producing stable majority: the three majors are--
  - A. Communists, who are playing up worker solidarity, pressing for left government:
    1. Confident this time that "alliance" mechanism--which worked against them in 1951--will be unable to deprive them of seats in proportion to their popular strength.

2. 21 Dec estimate reported by Embassy

PCF will gain 35-40 seats, for total about 135 of 596(30 Algerian seats will not be filled now) at stake.

B. Mendes-France Republican Front (coalition of Socialists, most Radicals and minority of ex-Gaullists), is attacking Right-Center "stagnation," advocating parliamentary, electoral reform to strengthen French executive.

1. Republican Front hopes to win protest vote (usually given to Communists), and youth vote.

2. Front expected to win about 150 seats.

C. Third major group is Faure-Pinay coalition (includes Popular Republicans, a bloc made up of Independents, Peasants and most ex-Gaullists, and also those right-wing Radicals who have split from



1. This group is playing up current

prosperity, promise of higher living standards; also aiming at youth by advocating cut in military service.

2. Faure-Pinay group may win close to 300 seats of 596 total. Nevertheless, little likelihood of stable coalition.

III. Among smaller splinters are anti-tax

rightists (Poujadists) who are running negative campaign against both Mendes and Faure candidates.

A. Their activity responsible for some violence so far.

IV. Contest between Mendes and Faure-Pinay blocs

confused by fact that both blocs include wide spectrum of views, yet share basic ideology (differing mostly on method).

A. Formal platforms similar: only clear-cut issue separating them is state aid

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1. Mendes-France attempting create  
foreign affairs issue by attack on  
Pinay for accepting 19 Dec NATO  
Council statement on Soviet Middle  
East tactics.

V. Both Pinay and Mendes pessimistic:

- A. Pinay fears loss of votes to anti-tax rightists, thus forcing use of proportional representation in many areas (which will help Communists).
- B. Mendes-France's private opinion of Republican Front chances is only about 150 seats. ~~(same as Interior's forecast).~~

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