INVITATION TO ATTEND SECOND STAGE OF "SELF-DETERMINATION" BY THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR

1. The Indonesian Government have invited our Embassy in Jakarta (and other missions there) to send observers to accompany an Indonesian mission to East Timor on 24 June, 'to make an on-the-spot assessment of the situation in consultation with the people of the territory'. The Embassy have requested an indication of our views by Monday, 14 June.

2. The Indonesian mission will be the second stage in the process of assimilating East Timor to Indonesia. On 31 May the Provisional Government of East Timor (PGET) invited observers to witness "the act of self-determination" by the People's Representative Council there. Because we were not prepared to accept a communication from the PGET, which we do not recognise, and because of the lack of UN involvement, we did not acknowledge the communication or attend. Partly at our instigation, no other EEC country sent representatives - nor did the US, Japan or Australia. Of ASEAN powers, the Singaporeans and Filipinos did not attend. The proceedings were heavily stage-managed by the Indonesians.

3. As the latest invitation is from the Indonesian Government, we shall not be able to adduce non-recognition as a reason for not accepting. But the UN point is still valid: we know from New York that the UN are unlikely to be willing to participate - even if invited. UKMIS New York would rather that we did not participate without the UN. But other countries who boycotted the first stage (possibly including Japan and the US) may well attend this time.

4. If we are conspicuous by not attending, the Indonesians would doubtless take this amiss, but they have known of our unhappiness at the way matters were developing. Nonetheless, we
do not want to fall out with them; this could happen if they got wind of the fact that it was we who had acted as "whippers-in" for countries declining their invitation.

5. On the other hand, by attending, we should inevitably become associated with the Indonesians' incorporation of East Timor. That is why we (and others) are being invited: the element of blackmail should not be overlooked. But we may be held to have undermined UN authority by associating ourselves with a procedure which ignores the recommendations of two Security Council resolutions (which, it is true, pay no regard to the unrealism of conducting an 'act of self-determination' in a primitive territory).

6. My view is that the invitation should be declined, as a consequence of the failure to associate the UN with the proceedings. (There is an important UK point here, connected with our attachment to the proper conduct of self-determination exercises; we have Belize and the Falklands in mind.) But we should try not to be isolated on the East Timor issue. An opportunity to canvas support will be on 15 June, when I attend the EEC's Asia Working Group, and we can learn the sense of the majority of our EEC colleagues.

7. I attach a draft telegram to HM Ambassador in Jakarta informing him that he cannot have a reply before 16 June, but that we tend to attach emphasis to the UN aspect. There is no need to send a COREU telegram, as East Timor is already on the Agenda for 15 June.

8. UN Department concur.

A M Simons
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Department

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cc: Mr Cortazzi
Mr Tait (UN Dept)