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DECLASSIFIED - E.O. 12358, Sec. 3.4
With PORTIONS EXEMPTED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 1.5 (a) (5)

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE 3749
INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA IMMEDIATE 1119

MR 92-16, #5, State letter 8/20/92

By KOH, NARA, Date 9/23/92

~~SECRET~~ STATE 285276 TOSEC 230151

NOFORN
E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, ID, PD, PT, AS

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMO: LATEST PORTUGUESE TIMOR DEVELOP-
MENTS
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EA - ROBERT H. MILLER, ACTING
WARNING NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND
METHODS INVOLVED

1. CURRENT SITUATION - THE UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE BY THE LEFT-WING FRETLIN PARTY ON NOVEMBER 28
HAS PRODUCED STEPPED-UP PRESSURE ON PRESIDENT SUHARTO,
PRIMARYLY FROM HIS CHIEF MILITARY ADVISORS, FOR AN INCREASE
IN INDONESIAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN PORTUGUESE TIMOR.

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..... OUR JUDGMENT IS THAT
NO DRAMATIC STEP UP IN INDONESIAN INTERVENTION WILL TAKE
PLACE AT LEAST UNTIL PRESIDENT FORD HAS DEPARTED INDONESIA

AND THAT SUHARTO REMAINS SENSITIVE TO THE PROBLEMS OF
POSSIBLY EMBARRASSING THE UNITED STATES. (WARNING
NOTICE - SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS IN-

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VOLVED).

2. MILITARY BALANCE - PART OF SUHARTO'S DILEMMA APPEARS TO BE OCCASIONED BY THE FACT THAT FRETILIN FORCES HAVE SO FAR PROVED MUCH TOUGHER IN BATTLE AND THE INDOONESIAN-SUPPORTED TIMORESE ELEMENTS (AS WELL AS THE INDOONESIAN FORCES THEMSELVES) MUCH LESS COMBAT EFFECTIVE THAN JAKARTA HAD ORIGINALLY EXPECTED. FRETILIN'S UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE RAISES THE FURTHER SPECTRE IN JAKARTA'S EYES THAT IF THE FIGHTING GOES ON MUCH LONGER, FRETILIN MAY GAIN CREDIBILITY AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT.

3. DIPLOMATIC DEVELOPMENTS - AS A DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE FRETILIN'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE APPEARS SO FAR TO HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT. ONLY MOZAMBIQUE HAS RECOGNIZED THE NEW REGIME. AUSTRALIA HAS CALLED FOR AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE CONTESTING PARTIES AND AN ORDERLY PROCESS OF SELF DETERMINATION. THE INDOONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLICLY ACCUSED LISBON OF ABANDONING ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR TIMOR BY ITS PASSIVE ATTITUDE, WHICH THE GOI INTERPRETS AS AN ENDORSEMENT OF FRETILIN'S ACTION. JAKARTA HAS PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO ORGANIZE, PRESUMABLY UNILATERALLY, A REFERENDUM IN THE FUTURE. PORTUGAL ACCUSED FRETILIN OF UNDERMINING ITS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT AMONG ALL TIMORESE FACTIONS, THEREBY BLOCKING AN ORDERLY TRANSITION OF POWER, AND BLAMED INDONESIA FOR IGNORING PLEDGES OF NONINTERFERENCE. ON A MORE HOPEFUL NOTE, WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE INDOONESIAN, PORTUGUESE AND AUSTRALIAN DELEGATIONS IN NEW YORK ARE NOW TRYING TO WORK OUT A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON TIMOR TO BE PRESENTED TO THE UN FOURTH COMMITTEE ON DECEMBER 4. WE ASSUME IT WILL ECHO EARLIER CALLS FOR AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND A RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE CONTESTING TIMORESE PARTIES (WHICH WOULD FAVOR INDONESIA DUE TO ITS DE FACTO CONTROL OVER FRETILIN'S RIVAL PARTIES.)

4. TALKING POINTS:

TO COVER THESE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS, WE SUGGEST THAT THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS BE SUBSTITUTED FOR THOSE ON PAGE 17 OF YOUR MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE VISIT TO JAKARTA:

-- WE RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEM THAT PORTUGUESE TIMOR

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PAGE 02

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POSES FOR INDONESIA, ESPECIALLY THE NOVEMBER 28 FRETILIN
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. WE APPRECIATE THE RESTRAINT
THAT INDONESIA HAS EXERCISED TO DATE.

-- THE PROBLEM ESSENTIALLY IS ONE FOR THE PARTIES
DIRECTLY CONCERNED -- INDONESIA, PORTUGAL, AUSTRALIA
AND THE TIMORESE PEOPLE -- TO WORK OUT. IF, WITH THE
ASSENT OF ITS PEOPLE, THE TERRITORY WERE MERGED WITH
INDONESIA, THIS WOULD BE A REASONABLE SOLUTION.

-- WE DO NOT SEE A ROLE FOR THE US IN THIS PROBLEM.
OUR CONCERN IS THAT THERE NOT BE UNNECESSARY BLOODSHED
AND THAT THE SITUATION NOT ADVERSELY AFFECT OUR FRIENDLY
RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED. ROBINSON
BT

