MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION:

PARTICIPANTS: 
President Ford
Maj. Gen. Ernesto de Melo Antunes, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Portugal
Amb. Joao Hall Themido, Portuguese Ambassador
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: 
Friday, October 10, 1975
12:15 p.m.

PLACE: 
The Oval Office
The White House

The press entered for photographs. There was a discussion of the Kissinger/Antunes meeting in Bonn in May and Antunes' first visit to the United States. The press then left.

The President: How long will you be here?

Antunes: I will be returning right away. There are many things pending in Lisbon. I am staying over a day, though, because you are kind enough to receive me.

The President: That was good of you. We have a great interest in developments in your country. We are encouraged by what has happened recently. We congratulate you on the strong stand that you and your associates have taken and we think it is very important to the West.

Antunes: Thank you. I am sure you know there are important things afoot and I am eminently aware of the importance of this to the West and I know you are aware of the role that I and my associates have played in the building of democracy. I want to assure you that we will continue.
The President: We want to support that in the proper way, and we agree the Portuguese people want to support that democratic development.

Antunes: Regarding those sentiments of the Portuguese people. I am convinced that the capacity of the Portuguese people is adequate to the task, and I think the sentiments of the people will be correctly confirmed in the coming elections. I think the people will justify the confidence of the West.

The President: I was pleased by the vote last spring and I was pleased to see that the most recent Cabinet was limited in Communist participation.

Secretary Kissinger is meeting with you again later today, but I want to say now that we are increasing our assistance to you, both for the refugees and to rebuild your economy.

Antunes: With regard to participation of Communists in the government, the recent prolonged crisis has revealed that the Communist Party does not represent the aspirations of the people. In another vote I am convinced they would get only 6-7%. The minor role they have in the government represents that minor role.

We appreciate your announcement of economic help. We are very grateful. But you should know that our needs are enormous — both as a result of the past government and the recent revolutionary governments. I will be talking to Secretary Kissinger about this.

The President: We are pleased to be able to help. We plan to help further with the evacuation of refugees, and I understand that this is on the basis that you will not leave military equipment in Angola, when you leave, for the MPLA.

Antunes: We are very grateful for the refugee assistance. It has been valuable, and anything you can do will be a vital help in stabilizing the situation in Portugal.

I already told your Ambassador that we won't help any of the factions in Angola, so we won't leave any equipment at all, based on our policy of neutrality among them.

The President: We deplore the fighting. Is there any prospect of a settlement prior to the independence date of November 11?
Antunes: As I said to the UN, our position remains in favor of a conference of the three movements, together with us and representatives of Africa chosen by the three, to settle the situation in accordance with this conference. There should be a settlement which would provide national unity and therefore there should be a government formed which can receive these powers. This is our last effort in Angola, but I am optimistic now, even if a political solution is achieved as a result of this conference. I think civil war will continue.

Kissinger: Do you think Neto is a Communist?

Antunes: I think he is pretty close, although it is difficult to classify him as an orthodox Communist. We are all aware of the support he has received from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, primarily from the Soviet Union.

The President: What about Roberto and Savimbi?

[Secretary Kissinger leaves the meeting at this point.]

Antunes: In regard to Roberto, he has no solid political background. He is easily corruptible and dependent on Mobutu. Of the three factions I would say Savimbi is the most intelligent, the most able and the strongest politically. Some question his political judgment. He has played on all sides and has switched supporters from outside. I think he will end up losing popularity because of these actions. But at the present moment he has considerable support from Zaire and Zambia, while Neto, because of his bull-headedness, has lost some of that support.

The President: They have all been involved in decolonization?

Antunes: Yes, so all of them have been involved in fighting against the Portuguese regime.

The President: With the refugees leaving, do they have the capability of running the economy?

Antunes: From what I know of Angola -- and I am familiar with it in depth -- we will see administrative and economic chaos. They don't have the numbers needed to maintain it.

The President: What will happen to Cabinda?
Antunes: Cabinda is now characterized by a separatist tendency, aided by native Cabindans, supported by Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville. So it will probably be separated, with grave consequences to Angola because of its economic value.

The President: We are very sympathetic with what you are doing, and I hope you will convey our support for what your group is doing and we will do our best to help. What you are doing is in the best interest of the West, and free societies around the world.

Antunes: Thank you for your expression of support. Our struggle is truly a difficult one. We will go the whole route to achieve a free society. We are facing a real struggle against obstructionist groups and we need all your help.

The President: This meeting with you is much more encouraging than the one I had in Brussels with Goncalves. It appeared then that the will of the Portuguese people was not being expressed. We will help all we can and I give you my very best wishes and those of the American people.

Antunes: Thank you, Mr. President. I want to say how much I appreciate your receiving me and your offer of help. This has been a fruitful dialogue which should lead to new cooperation.
How long to have?
A: 2 weeks. Head returning right away. There
are many things to be done. I am
staying over a day, as we have
something to discuss.

D: That is agreed. I hope we can make a decision in
agreement. We discussed
by what has happened earlier. We recognize
agreements that you have
agreed to. In addition, we think it is
very important to be

A: Thank you. I think we know that we
agreed that things will go forward.
I do not think that I know
 anymore of a style. I have
more than played a leading role. We
to express you and with others.

D: We want to support that in every
way and to support people that agrees.

A: Requesting their assistance of that people. This
agreement of that people is adequate to the

D: I think a situation of people will
distinguish.dependent on a situation.
I think a people will get help.
Dear [Name],

I was pleased to learn that you have been involved in the relief efforts in [Location]. We were pleased to see the mobilization and commitment towards providing assistance to those in need. We understand the challenges of the current situation and appreciate your efforts in making a difference.

We recognize the importance of providing support to [specific group(s)] and believe that every effort counts. We hope that your work continues to bring hope and relief to those in need.

Please let me know if there is anything else we can do to support your activities. We are committed to helping in any way we can.

Thank you for your dedication and hard work. We wish you all the best in your endeavors.

Best regards,

[Your Name]
1. We disagree completely. Is there any question of a settlement from the British side?

2. A draft of the UK, with provision for payment of £100,000 in full, or £50,000, £25,000, £12,500, £6,250, and £3,125. A British claim by 20% to settle a deficit in accordance with this draft. Should the settlement include payments which would prejudice the interests of the poor? It should be a part paid by which can receive additional power. This is not satisfactory, but is difficult to achieve. If the agreement is achieved, it should be a compromise at this point.

3. Do you think it is a secret?

4. It seems the majority of the people are against it. We are aware of support from other socialist countries, primarily from 50.

5. What about Robb et al. ?

6. I knew Rudolf and others. In any case, solid policy guidelines are needed for the new arrangement with the dependents in Lebanon. Of course, an additional Scrocchi is most useful, and after the present political and economic situation, it is best to avoid judgment. He has played an active role in these matters. Support from abroad is needed, but as I have written, we have considerable support from France and Italy.
What do you think of the idea of building a big stage with a lot of space for that to support it?

P: Well, all this involved in coordination.

A: Yes, it all been something pretty against that regime.

P: We assure you, do they have anything to gain by maintaining it?

Q: From what I know of Angola, it's various in depth, we will see a division and chaos. They don't have a lot to maintain it.

P: What will happen to Cabinda?

A: Cabinda is more or less treated as a separate entity, separate from Angola, inhabited by various cabindens, supported by Zaïre and Congo. So it will just be separated, or even transformed into Angola, since it's not an island.

P: Do you support us? What you are doing is by your own will. They are doing it, and they do it both. What you are doing is your best interest of what is happening in the whole world.

A: Thank you for your hospitality, but our struggle is only one of many. We will go a whole way to achieve a free country. We are fighting a real struggle against dictatorial groups who would call your help.

P: This idea of doing is a much more dangerous than the war in Burundi and the genocide. It appears from that point of view.
being expressed. We will help all we can.

And I hope your very kindly but write in that of our plans.

A. Thank you. You want to appoint

I appreciate your suggestion. Your

offer of help. This has been a fruitful

exploration which should lead to the

cooperation.