

Ed  
1

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

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.

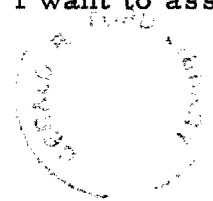
The President: That was good of you. We have a great interest in developments in your country. We are encouraged by what has happened recently. We congratulate you on the strong stand that you and your associates have taken and we think it is very important to the West.

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.

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

~~SECRET~~ - XGDS (3)  
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/88, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Div. on 3/11/04  
BY: [Signature] MARA. DATE 6/4/04



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 all are 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.

SECRET

P/Antunes/K/Methodo

10 Oct 75 12:15 p.m.

(Pers in)

(Discussion of K-Antunes's visit in  
Cannes, Antunes 1st visit to US)

(K was out)

P How long he here?

A I will be returning right away, there  
are many things pending in Lisbon, I am  
staying over a day, tho, because you are  
hard to get to visit me.

P That was good for you. We have a great interest  
in Algeria in your country. We are impressed  
by what has happened recently. We congratulate  
you on a strong stand you & your  
government have taken & we think it is  
very important to West.

A Thank you. I sure you know this are  
important things of West & I personally know  
of importance of this to West & I know  
you know of a role I & my group have  
played in a building of ideas. Want to  
discuss you are with countries.

P We want to support that in a <sup>proper way</sup> ~~people~~  
& we sure Port people want to support  
that development.

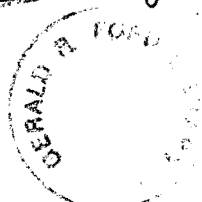
A Regarding those sentiments of Port people - I personally  
suspect of Port people is adequate to the  
task & I think a sentiment of people will  
be necessarily expressed in coming elections.  
I think a people will justify a commitment of

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES state rev. 3/11/04

BY                     , NARA, DATE 1/14/05



Get K train w/ Pels on Saturday

the West.

I was pleased by a letter last spring & pleased to see a most excellent internet web site to limited Coast participants.

It is not as if you later today, but I want to say we are increasing our assistance to you, both for a ~~refugee~~ + to rebuild your home.

start → A. Of regard to parties of Coast in part, a recent prolonged visit has revealed Coast party does not represent a representative of people. In another visit I estimated they could get only 6-7%. The main role in a quest represents that main role. We appreciate your amount of our help. We are very grateful, but you should know our envelope documents - both as result of past quest + a recent revelation parts. I will be talking to K

P. We are pleased <sup>with</sup> ~~to~~ <sup>help</sup> ~~to~~ help further w/ some of refugees + I understand that is on basis you will not have met eyes in Angola when you leave for a M.P.H.A.

A. We are very grateful for refugee assistance. It has been extremely anything you can do will be vital help in stabilizing set in part. I have only told you that we won't help any of the factors in Angola so we won't have any eyes at all, based on our policy of neutrality among them.



P We deplore a feigning of closeness & respect  
of a settlement prior to unilateral acts of  
Nov 11?

A As I said of UK, one position remains in force  
of any of c 3 movements, together w/ us & rep-  
of Africa shown by c 3 to settle c 3 in  
accordance w/ this conf. Should be a settlement  
which would preserve that unity & :- should be  
a part formal which even reserves these powers.  
This our last effort in Angola, but I not optimistic  
even if pol solution is achieved as result of this  
conf. I think civil war will continue

K Do you think Neto a Communist

A I think he pretty close on the edge. Classify him  
as orthodox Communist. We all aware of support  
he has rec'd from S U & other Socialist countries,  
primarily from S U.

P What about Roberts & Samirini,  
(K leaves)

A In regard to Roberts, he has no solid pol. back-  
ground. He really corruptible & dependent on  
Africans. Of c 3 factors would say Samirini  
is most vital, most able & strongest  
politically. Some question his pol judgement.  
He has played on all sides & has switched  
supporters from outside. I think he will  
lead by losing popularity because of these  
actions. But at present moment he has  
considerable support from France & America;



with Nato, because of his bullheadedness has  
lost some of that support.

P Have all been involved in decolonization

A Yes, so all been involved in fighting against  
Port regime

P w/c uprisings leaving, do they have capability  
of running economy?

A From what I know of Angola - & I know in  
depth - we will see a drawn & even chaos. They  
don't have # to maintain it.

P What will happen to Cabinda

A Cabinda is now characterized by separatist  
tendencies, aided by native Cabindians, supported  
by Zaire & Congo (B). So it will not be  
separated, w/ great consequences to Angola's  
future economy.

P We very support w/ what you are doing & I hope  
you will convey our support for what your  
group is doing & we dream best to help. What  
you bring is in best interest of what &  
~~the~~ the people's interests around the world.

A Thank you for your expression of support. Our  
struggle is truly a difficult one. We will go  
on what we can to return a free society. We  
facing a real struggle against obstructive  
groups & we need all your help.

P This entry w/ you is much more meaningful  
than that in Brussels w/ the Circles. It  
appeared from that world of Port regime





being expressed. We will help all we can  
& I ~~regret~~ give you my very best wishes  
to those of our people.

A Thank you Mr. P. Went to ~~your~~ ~~response~~  
I appreciate your visiting me & your  
offer of help. This has been a fruitful  
dialogue which should lead to new  
~~fruitful~~ ~~working~~ ~~to~~ ~~new~~  
cooperation.

