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INTERVIEW WITH PRIME MINISTER SALAZAR

The following are some of the questions and answers at an interview given by Doctor Salazar to the Southam Group of Canadian newspapers. Our source is the Portugal Information Bulletin, issued by the Portuguese Embassy, London, dated December 7, 1962:

Q. Will the territories of Angola and Mozambique be fully successfully integrated into the Portuguese nation or will they ultimately follow the independent status associated with the emerging African countries that were formerly British, Belgian, etc. colonies.

A. The basis on which we work—here, as in Angola, and Mozambique, and any other overseas province—is that of the unity of the Portuguese nation, which is a principle of the Constitution. Others want us to break up that unity into as many distinct political units as there are geographically distinct territories, be they large or small, advanced or otherwise. The reasons for our attitude are not new, and they cannot be considered obsolete either. For, on the one hand it is in our historical tradition to have a sort of unifying vocation, which we have followed for over four centuries and which has led, for instance, to the emergence of a unified Brazil in contrast to the break-up of the rest of Latin America into separate states. And on the other hand, the formation of large economic and political spaces is very much an idea at large in the modern world. Thus it seems to us illogical, to say the least, when those who disapprove of our concept of a large, politically and economically integrated Portuguese space, warmly defend not only the economic integration of Europe but also its political unification. In the light of this contradiction, we find it even more difficult to understand the main argument advanced against us, of the difference in races—as if, in Europe there were not races as distinct from one another as the races of Europe or North Africa are distinct from those of the African continent south of the Sahara. On the contrary, for us the racial element, far from being an obstacle to unity, can give it more vigour and is the promise of a vitality which moreover is well apparent in multi-racial countries, like Russia, America, Canada and Brazil. Since no valid arguments have been advanced, now or in the past, to refute the legitimacy of our doctrine, we see no reason to give it up. And so little by little, we tend always to strengthen our unity which, apart from any measure of autonomy or administrative decentralization, means interdependence of the parts in the independence of the whole, and which represents the best and quickest means of raising the less developed areas and populations up to the level of the more advanced.

We see with apprehension that the new States to which you referred, are carried away by the idea that independence in itself brings with it the capacity to raise themselves to the highest levels.

But in fact, instead of progressing, they will find themselves slipping backwards, as is already happening in some of those states.

Q. Would not a continuing Portuguese Africa be a target for animosity at the hands of the negro republics?

A. The new African States and in particular those that are neighbours of the Portuguese provinces will only benefit by maintaining normal relations with us. Various territories have found this to be so. At present, admittedly, the recognition of these advantages is clouded by certain emotional factors which in those states rank as political principles. But as their Governments come to face the complexity of the problems affecting the day-to-day life of the peoples, and as they come to realise that our aims, in terms of social and material progress, are not different from those that they themselves profess, I expect that the wide range of common interests will prevail over the differences, many of which are in any case inspired by purposes having nothing to do with the true needs of Africa.

Q. Is it considered likely there will be a new outbreak of fighting in northern Angola?

A. The preparations being made beyond our borders are no secret. The Governments responsible for them make no attempt at concealment and some appear even to present them as an expression of the right to belong to the community of nations. That would seem to be the only explanation for the fact that the leader of the youngest North-African nation, on his first appearance before the United Nations, was able to reconcile his statement of adherence to the Charter with a promise to send volunteers to “liberate” Angola; and for the fact that another African Government, with which we have maintained mutually useful relations, should have been surprised when we protested because it had formally stated that it had authorised the establishment and functioning, on its territory, of a training camp for future assailants. It will be said, I imagine, that these foreign volunteers, trained and equipped on foreign soil, are genuine Angolan nationalists; and we have no doubt that the destruction and crimes they may perpetrate will be presented to the world as praiseworthy, and will be regarded by some, if not by many countries as legitimate. Thus a new outbreak of violence in Northern Angola, or in any other Portuguese territory, cannot be ruled out. We for our part will not hesitate to fight it, with all our strength, and we shall be doing so in the name of the ancient but ever valid right of self-defence, and in pursuance of the duty of safeguarding life and property of the peoples who live under Portuguese sovereignty.

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Competency

The following paragraph is extracted from an article, "Darwin's Competency" by Dr. Tudor Jones, which we printed in 1948:

It is, of course, incontestable that the progressive staffing of the 'learned' institutions of this and other countries with mediocrities who are incompetent to relate their special activities to any philosophical background, or who, indeed, recognise, in any real sense, that there is a philosophical background to either their own thoughts or to thought, makes it increasingly difficult to exclude from participation a 'public' increasingly indistinguishable from themselves in every respect but what we may call their uniforms. For the moment, the 'scientists' appear to be quite happy about that, relying, perhaps, upon a certain hang-over of prestige to facilitate the writing up of a 'score' which is not directly related to superiority, inborn or acquired. Thus the way is prepared for the transference of the higher intellectual interests of mankind to the care of the State. The broadcast 'brain-trust' set-up is an almost perfect model. When no one knows, opinion may not acquire relative importance, but it receives relatively more attention; when everyone knows, there is no room for opinion. That the entertainment of false opinions by large numbers is more generally disastrous than a false opinion here and there is ignored whenever it is not accepted as an inevitable accompaniment of 'progress' (which, of course, consists solely in increase in size; as though even bigger errors were better errors).

Hunger?

It was completely erroneous to say two-thirds of the world's population were starving, said the director of the Institute for Research in Agricultural Economics at Oxford, Mr. Colin Clarke, in a university lecture.

The best estimate of the proportion of people short of basic food requirements, he said, was about 10 per cent.

"Most of these are in China and India," he added, "where reasons for hunger are more political than agricultural—Communism in China, caste in India."

—The New Zealand Herald, Nov. 23, 1962.

In Africa

(From a correspondent in South and Rhodesia)

Since my last writing to you events have gone far to verify the ravings of Messrs. Banda, Kainda and Nkumbula about the break-up of the Federation. Banda, particularly, behaves as though it were an accomplished fact. While retaining the English Parliamentary forms in their Legislative Assembly, they increasingly ignore them. The enclosed cuttings* should cast some light on the type of people who are taking over in the "liberated" countries of Africa.

Much the same sort of thing is happening in Northern Rhodesia. In January the *Central African Post*, a Lusaka paper, published a report about a possible breakaway movement in the UNIP party (Kainda's gang). They had been given this news by certain dissenting members. Within hours of the story being printed, leading members of UNIP, including Kainda, gave vent to an amazing tirade of childish recrimination and threats, including suppression of the Press and the burning of the *Post* building, if they printed any more news like that. The men who uttered these threats are, be it noted, members of the Government!

A little later Kainda gave a hint as to which side he is on when he said he would like to see an international consortium take over the Kariba installations, Rhodesia Railways, and Central African Airways. He said he had received advice on the practicability of the scheme from an unnamed British organisation. Kainda's opposite number in the uneasy UNIP-ANC coalition, Harry Nkumbula, after revealing that UNIP had tried four times to kill him, said "I will not allow segregation in education. We want all our children to grow together from infancy," and that he intends to introduce compulsory integrated primary education. How this will work is hard to imagine.

Even after the banning of the ZAPU party in Southern Rhodesia, and the restriction of its founder, Nkomo, petrol bombings still continued. Now there is much controversy over the Government's Hanging Bill, which makes the death penalty mandatory for petrol bomb attacks. To anyone

* One of the cuttings, from a newspaper (dated March 9, 1963, but name not given), gave the following report:

"Government members of the Nyasaland Legislative Assembly broke all rules of Parliamentary procedure when they broke into song during a debate here today.

"Led by the Minister of Information, Mr. Kanyama Chiume, they sang a eulogy of Dr. Banda. 'Everything belongs to Dr. Banda,' they sang. 'The House, the Government, the Opposition, the Speaker. Everything belongs to Dr. Banda.'

"When the singing had died away the Speaker, Mr. Wenban-Smith, smilingly told Mr. Chiume, 'This is a departure from rules of the House in that it is not normal for more than one member to speak at a time. And it is normal for him to address the Speaker.'

"Mr. Chiume retorted with a smile: 'Thank you very much, sir, but I hope you will realise that there is an exception to every rule and this motion is an exception.'

"There was a second incident when Dr. Banda was replying to a motion congratulating him for the progress he had created in the country.

"He turned to address his remarks to backbenchers. He was told by Mr. Wenban-Smith that he must address his remarks to the Speaker.

"Dr. Banda retorted: 'This is our day, Mr. Speaker, and some of the rules will have to go by the board. This is the beginning of a Malawi state and we are going to do things in our own way.'

who has seen a victim of a petrol fire the punishment of hanging for the murderer must seem mild and merciful, but there was the usual outcry by all the anti-white organisations. Little protest seems to have been made when Ghana passed a law last September making death the penalty for unlawful possessions of arms.

After many years we now have a change of Government in Southern Rhodesia. People began to realise that the UFP was the party of "Big Business", which does not care what happens to the European as long as it gets its regular turnover.

The European strongholds of Southern Africa, the Rhodesias, Mozambique, Angola and South Africa, appear to be the present objectives of the enemy. An interesting clue as to the identity of the latter is given by the recent Chrome incident.

It was reported that the market for Rhodesian chrome was likely to disappear, as Russia was undercutting Rhodesia in sales to America! Also recently, it was reported that America was threatening the Rhodesian tobacco industry in proposing to release large quantities of tobacco on the world market. In between all these items we see little paragraphs about Israel extending aid to new African states because "the gap between 'haves' and 'have-nots' must be bridged as quickly as possible", according to Mrs. Golda Meyer, in Nairobi.

At the same time come reports of the chaos and corruption that are now the normal state in the Congo outside Katanga, with stories of thousands of pounds worth of "American" aid which has simply disappeared.

Here in S. Rhodesia there is a little hope for the future if the present government is allowed to remain in power, as it does represent the ordinary citizen rather than wealthy corporations, but will it be allowed to remain in power?

The "Donkey Vote" in Politics

The following letter to the Editor appeared in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 26, 1962:

Sir,—There are few things I have read with which I disagree more heartily than the "Herald's" leading article on the "donkey vote" (March 23).

I have been lodging a ballot paper for over 50 years and never in that time have I had any real choice of a candidate. I am offered one of a bunch of party hacks, carefully selected "yes men" guaranteed never to query any decision of the irresponsible mob who chose them and help with their election expenses.

What alternative have I other than to cast an informal vote, which at least exasperates the losers? I know of a past campaign, "no beer no vote", ultimately opening the pubs on election day. Even our muddled Senate system, marred by the compulsory 25 selections, has so developed that a few now dare question the omnipotence of the party bosses and cast an honest vote. Can you tell me why such vital issues as foreign affairs should be decided in party rooms free from public supervision?

Here is success to the "donkey vote" and may the numbers grow sufficiently to reintroduce parliamentary government with the elected representatives responsible to the people who pay their salaries, and not to outsiders.

B. W. CARVER.

Cremorne.

INTERVIEW WITH PRIME MINISTER SALAZAR

(continued from page 1)

Q. Portugal states the fighting in Angola was caused by outsiders infiltrating from the Congo. Is it considered that these outsiders were essentially African nationalists or communists?

A. The truth of what we assert has now been fully corroborated, not only by evidence from countless foreign sources but even by those responsible for the terrorism. This does not exclude the latter from having been assisted by some local elements. We do not know whether they were communists. But if your question, as it would seem, is intended to find out whether there was a part of communist responsibility in the events in Angola I would make the following remarks. Communism in Africa does not yet have a militant character, because neither the structure of most African societies nor their low level of political awareness is propitious to the functioning of a disciplined and efficient communist organisation. It is a mistake, however, and a very dangerous mistake, to think that, because communist parties in Africa have very limited influence and importance, international communism has been defeated there and plays no part in the evolution of Africa. The truth is that any kind of upheaval, especially in that continent, serves the purposes of the strategy defined by Lenin for the evolution of under-developed territories, which foresaw three distinct and consecutive phases: anticolonialism, nationalism, and only as a final stage, communism. Even if the facts do not come to prove this theory, the destruction of western values currently under way in Africa is in itself a great conquest of communism, perhaps a definitive one.

It is therefore possible that no militant communists took part in the savage terrorist attacks in the north of Angola. But this does not mean that in lending support to the movement even more than in preparing it, international communism does not have a significant part to play. And in fact we know that it does; and not only we, for other western powers involved in the politics of neighbouring African territories are certainly also in possession of information confirming our conviction.

Q. Is there a genuine, significant independence movement now present among the native populations of Angola and Mozambique?

A. With your question put as it is I can confidently answer "No". Let me explain. For a movement to be "genuine" it must have behind it a body of opinion, of which it is the expression. And for a movement to be "significant", its demands must make themselves felt in the political, economic and social life of the community, so as to influence the actions of the citizens or the policy of the government. Now in Angola there is no body of opinion aspiring to independence on a territorial scale. And the same is true of Mozambique and other overseas Portuguese provinces. It may be objected that this is the result of repressive measures, or of the comparative backwardness of the masses. We would say in reply that no repression can succeed in concealing a national sentiment—although it may well crush it, as happened in Hungary. But Angola and Mozambique have been open to anyone wishing to go there in good faith (in the past twelve months they were visited by more than three hundred foreign journalists and representatives of other information media), and to our know-

ledge no one has noticed the existence of such a sentiment. If, on the other hand, inexistence of a national movement is due to backwardness, there ought to be signs of it at least in the more evolved communities: in Africa this means the cities, which were precisely the places mostly visited by those foreign observers. Life in Angola and Mozambique is entirely normal and, save for one exception I shall mention, does not require any special or emergency measures on the part of the authorities since people go about their peaceful occupations as usual. I believe I have answered your question, but I should like to say a couple of things more. In every society there are people who are discontented, either because they refuse to submit to the rules of society, or because they nourish personal ambitions divorced from the real interests of the community in which they live. Many such people discover they can best operate by investing themselves with a political mission. If they happen to be in a territory said to be colonial, they immediately proclaim themselves "liberators" and, as such, find general acceptance, especially in circles nowadays so desirous of attacking certain positions or certain countries. My second remark concerns the part of Angola affected by terrorism, which is the exception I mentioned earlier. If life is not yet quite back to normal there, it is not because the people aspire to independence, but because certain groups, made up by a vast majority of outsiders, try to govern the local population. We have had difficulty in putting this fundamental difference across. But gradually many people now appear to be coming round to accept it.

Q. Is the government of Portugal aware of the speeches of the Hon. Paul Martin, Liberal member of Parliament in Canada, questioning supply of Canadian armament to Portugal because of the Angola incident? If so what are the views of the Portuguese government on Mr. Martin's statements?

A. The statements you mention did come to our notice. If I remember correctly, the speaker wanted to make sure that no aid given by Canada to the Portuguese Government should contribute to the success of operations then being carried on in Angola. I remember too that in his speech in Parliament he urged that there be a public and formal expression of "horror at the brutal measures of repression" attributed to the Portuguese. As we assumed that no member of such a distinguished body as the Canadian Parliament would speak before it on any subject without knowledge of its essential aspects, we had to conclude that the conscience of the speaker did not feel any need to express any sentiment of horror at the brutal crimes committed by the terrorists against defenceless populations, with the result that in the first few days of the attacks more than twelve hundred whites, blacks and mulattos were assassinated with refinements of cruelty avowed by the criminals themselves. I feel there is no need for me to make any further comment.

Q. What is the Prime Minister's opinion as to the future of the NATO Alliance?

A. NATO won its first battle, which was to hold out against the Russian threat to Europe after 1945. Although the danger of Soviet expansion in continental Europe persists, I believe that the political and military conditions are now such that it is unlikely that an aggression could be successfully committed in Europe and the consequences limited to this area. The creation of these conditions we undoubtedly owe to NATO and to the solidarity shown by the members of the Alliance in the defence of their immediate

objective. But precisely to the extent that it was contained in Europe, that threat moved to other parts of the world, with the very same goal of weakening what has come to be called the West. It seems to me therefore that either the Alliance extends its defences to the new danger points and makes its solidarity and strength felt in those places, or else it will end by being defeated in a different theatre of operation but by the same enemy. If that should happen, the fact of having won the first battle will no longer have any significance nor indeed will it be relevant.

Q. Has Portuguese adherence to the NATO pact been weakened as a result of lack of allied support at the time of the Indian invasion of Goa?

A. Goa had no strategic or material value, either for the Alliance or for Portugal. Its value was—and for us continues to be—as an example of what happens when a western philosophy of life is projected outside the geographical area where it originated and is fused with the spiritual values of other races and civilisations. Now NATO, in addition to its military objectives, proposes to defend the values on which western civilisation is founded. It seemed to us reasonable therefore to expect NATO to use a little of the moral force at its disposal to oppose such an outrage as the invasion of Goa by India. Had it done so, it would have saved the Indian union from the clamorous collapse of its credit as a peaceful power, in the same way as it would have saved the United Nations from demonstrating its inability to guarantee the respect of law among nations. NATO's inaction was deeply felt by the Portuguese and to that extent it must be recognised that our confidence in the Alliance could not have been strengthened.

Q. Similarly, has the traditional alliance between Britain and Portugal lost some of its solidarity?

A. Portugal has always understood the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance in the terms set out in my address to the National Assembly on January 3rd, 1962, and has always behaved in accordance with that understanding when appeals were made to her in its name. In the case you mention the basic texts of the alliance were subjected on the British side to interpretations with which we could only have agreed if we had accepted such texts to be invalid. History, or at any rate the future, will show the effects of this difference on the Anglo-Portuguese alliance.

Q. Some segments of the American press have the habit of referring to the Prime Minister as a dictator. Would he care to make an observation on this?

A. Not really. All the more so, since I believe that the American press no longer refers to me in the same terms lately. In any case, it could not be maintained since normal and even cordial designations are applied in relation to much more significant figures of the political world, for instance President Nasser, Marshal Tito, Prime Minister Khrushchev, as the same newspapers so respectfully write. This being so, to reserve for Portugal an epithet corresponding neither to the facts nor to our constitutional organisation could only mean ignorance of the facts or an inexplicable hostility towards a country fighting on the same side of the barricade. But we see contradictions such as these at every step in the world today.