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The Invasion and Occupation of Goa by the Indian Union

(Continuation of the speech delivered by the Prime Minister Prof. Doctor Oliveira Salazar, during the Session of the Portuguese National Assembly held on January 3, 1962, issued by the Secretariado Nacional da Informacao.)

We thus believe we have a right to hear whether our presence and our collaboration are already useless. Even if we do not, I do not know whether we shall be the first country to abandon the United Nations, but we shall surely be among the first. Meanwhile we shall refuse them our collaboration in everything that is not in our direct interest.

III

The Government's military policy regarding the problem of Goa has always been based on the following elements: in view of the distance and the overwhelming superiority of the Indian Union we could cherish no hopes of saving Goa from any enemy invasion without the aid of allies; there was the need to maintain sufficient forces to prevent a so-called police action and, if possible, to dissuade the Union from attacking; in the last analysis, we had to defend that sacred portion of national territory with the sacrifice of lives and possessions as the Portuguese tradition in India demanded.

We have kept up this effort, with larger or smaller forces at various periods, according to the seriousness of the threat, but always at a level sufficient to attain our objective of leading the Indian Union either to give up its idea of absorbing Goa or to mount a spectacular war operation which would grievously harm its moral credit and would bring its army neither credit nor glory. Our forces were also to gain enough time for Portugal to protest to the United Nations against the Indian aggression.

A handful of men, 3,500 officers, sergeants and soldiers from Portugal proper and 900 Indo-Portuguese, forced the Indian Union to mobilize an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, supported by numerous formations of heavy artillery and armoured vehicles, aided in their attack by various squadrons of bombers and fighters and a naval flotilla. Even with a superiority in men of at least ten to one and a far greater material advantage, the occupation of about 3,500 square kilometres, dispersed among four territories and no deeper than thirty miles in the district of Goa, took several days. This fact alone characterises the firm resistance that the Portuguese must have put up. My greatest concern was that the disproportion of forces and the violence and plan of attack might be so great that our forces, in view of the narrowness of the ground, might not even be able to fight suitably and defend that Portuguese land on a par with their merit and spirit of sacrifice.

In my last message to the Governor-General, written with Heaven knows what agony in my soul, I said that we were

quite aware of the modest size of our forces but that since the Indian Union could at will multiply its attacking forces there would inevitably, in the last resort, be a great disproportion between the two sides. Given the impossibility of assuring by its own means a fully effective defence, the Government had always adopted the policy of maintaining such forces in Goa as would oblige the Union, as was visible at that point, to set on foot a large military operation which would shock the world and would prevent it from entrusting the success of its ambitions to mere police action. The facts showed that the first mission had been fulfilled. The second mission was not to disperse our energies against terrorist agents masquerading as liberators, but to organise the defence in a way that would best stress the value of our men, according to the old tradition of India. For me it was horrible to think that this might mean a total sacrifice but I recommended and expected it as the best service that could be rendered to the future of the Nation.

The Governor had time to reply and thank us, on behalf of the forces under his orders, for the confidence we were placing in them, which they would wish to honour through all sacrifices.

We do not possess enough information to enlighten us on the way in which the land and sea operation went on, how resistance was maintained, how the defence was assured. In due course the country will be informed in detail about these operations and due tribute will be paid to those who were honoured by being called to fight or die for Goa.

IV

The warlike preparations of the Indian Union and its subsequent aggression against the Portuguese State of India called forth a violent reaction on the part of world public opinion. We should exclude from this statement the official informers and press of some communist and Afro-Asian countries which manifested their approval and solidarity with the aggressor. In the countries of Western Europe, the two Americas and even in some African and Eastern countries sharp indignation and great concern were shown. Press organs of all shades of opinion, whether represented in their respective governments or not, have discussed the matter independently of the official policy of the countries concerned, sometimes in opposition to it as the free expression of a worried public opinion. Why? Because Goa is a typical case which showed no complications or difficulties of interpretation. It was a question in fact of a small territory which had been politically incorporated for four and a half centuries in Portuguese sovereignty, recognised

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The U.S.A.

So far as it is possible to judge such a matter, the elevation of the United States of America to the position of the protagonist of Western Civilisation is a major calamity from almost every point of view. So much is this so, that the triumph of Asia might almost be predicted as a consequence.

There is a considerable body of U.S. citizens who as individuals inspire both respect and liking. But it is sheer ignorance, or worse, to suppose that this type is effective in the corporate policy, and particularly foreign policy, of the U.S.A. considered as a world Power. If there is any quarter of the world except Palestine and Johannesburg in which the U.S.A. has inspired either respect or affection during the past four years, we have not heard of it. And the general explanation of this is precisely that the civilisation, if that is the correct term, of North America, is North American, not Western or European.

The root difference is one of faith. The very aggressiveness of the less attractive type of "American" (an attribute which the New Order is introducing into "Britain") is the outcome of uncertainty—a lack of confidence in the rightness of action. Hence the violent shifts of policy under sectional pressure, the adulation of success, however temporary, and the pathetic acceptance of veneer as being "just as good" as sound wood.

—C. H. Douglas in "Week to Week" notes,
Nov. 20, 1948.

Unity and Equality

These people who have been persuaded to work for the unity of all peoples in the form of one centralised World Government, do not realise that they are moving rapidly in the opposite direction to their cherished beliefs. Centralised control of policy demands the abolition of local sovereignty, of local diversity, or of any individuality not permitted by those in control of legal, military and economic sanctions.

The question may well be asked "whence comes this elaborately organised drive to remove all diversities?" i.e. to remove all these things which differentiate one person from another? What law human or divine demands that all people should be brought to the same level?

It is instructive to realise that there is such a Law in the physical world which states that all diversities are gradually brought down to the same level. This is the Law of the Degradation of Energy—the degradation of form; whereby energy of a high potential is gradually reduced to the lowest possible level.

In the biological world we see a similar law of degradation in the statement that "The majority of the species have degenerated or become extinct." It is an established fact that the members of a pack or mob behave at a vastly lower level than they would as individuals. To achieve equality we descend into the pack; to achieve quality we ascend from the pack and become what we really are—unique individuals.

Fortunately for us there has been a creative power operating in this world which enabled unique individuals to defy the leaders of the mob and form minorities which gradually built up that complex structure which became known as Western Civilisation.

Today, the destruction of minorities is progressing rapidly under a very effective smokescreen; it is being done under the sacred name of "Democratic Government". It has been known for a good many years that what is called Democratic Government or "Rule by the Majority" is rule by a power-gang who use the majority vote to give them legal power to victimise each minority in turn. (Each of us, at one time or another, is a member of a minority group). The bigger and more centralised the government organisation becomes the more helpless become the minorities. One particularly fine man who was head of a large organisation said this to me: "As our organisation becomes larger it becomes absolutely necessary to prevent any exception to our regulations."

It is just here we begin to see the Big Idea behind the political trap that goes under the name of the European Common Market. Not only will what is left of British character and sovereignty be ruthlessly and vindictively destroyed, all the other nations involved will suffer a similar fate—all in the name of unity and equality.

The majority vote in the United Nations, with the help of stone-age savages and New York money, is being manipulated to destroy each nation in turn.

The following thought-provoking statements are extracts from *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* by T. S. Eliot.

—J.G.

"It is a recurrent theme of this essay, that a people should be neither too united nor too divided, if its culture is to flourish. Excess of unity may be due to barbarism and may lead to tyranny; excess of division may be due to decadence and may also lead to tyranny; either excess will prevent further development in culture. The proper degree of unity and of diversity cannot be determined for all peoples at all times. We can only state and illustrate some departments in which excess or defect is dangerous: what is necessary, beneficial or deleterious for a particular people at a particular time, must be left to the wisdom of the sage and the insight of the statesman . . .

"It would be no gain for English culture, for the Welsh, Scots and Irish to become indistinguishable from Englishmen—what would happen, of course, is that we should all become indistinguishable featureless 'Britons', at a lower level of culture than that of any of the separate regions. On the contrary, it is of great advantage for English culture to be constantly influenced from Scotland, Ireland and Wales . . .

"Now the zealots of world-government seem to me sometimes to assume, unconsciously, that their unity of organisation has an absolute value, and that if differences between cultures stand in the way, these must be abolished. If these zealots are of the humanitarian type, they will assume that this process will take place naturally and painlessly: they may, without knowing it, take for granted that the final world-culture will be simply an extension of that to which they belong themselves. Our Russian friends, who are more realistic, if not in the long run any more practical, are much more conscious of irreconcilability between cultures; and appear to hold the view that any culture incompatible with their own should be forcibly uprooted.

"The world-planners who are both serious and humane, however, might—if we believed that their methods would succeed—be as grave a menace to culture as those who practise more violent methods. For it must follow from what I have already pleaded about the value of local cultures that a world culture which was simply a uniform culture would be no culture at all. We should have a humanity dehumanised. It would be a nightmare."

Unity and Diversity

"A diversification among human communities is essential for the provision of the incentive and material for the Odyssey of the human spirit. Other nations of different habits are not enemies: they are godsend. Men require of their neighbours something sufficiently akin to be understood, something sufficiently different to provoke attention, and something great enough to command admiration."

—A. N. Whitehead: *Science and the Modern World*.

In the U.S.A.

In the English *Plastics Journal* for December 1961 Mr. T. S. Kirby gives "a few impressions gained during the Plastics Study Tour" in America during June 1961. The study group was composed of 3 Englishmen, 1 Irishman, 1 South African, 2 Swedes, 2 Frenchmen and 16 Germans.

The following were among these impressions:

"... As the tour progressed one salient feature began to show. The whole group found itself to be of one opinion, and that was that we had seen nothing in the American plastics industry that was new, revolutionary or which supported the widely held view that the industry was in advance of Europe. Only once were we diverted during a factory tour as there was something that the owners did not wish us to see. The rest of the time we were allowed to watch as many processes and operations as we wished, and all of our questions were answered fully and willingly.

"As for America's much vaunted efficiency and automation, we saw nothing in their plastics industry that was better than at home. In fact, I saw a few instances of waste of time that a time and motion man would never have allowed in any average English works. But they do have one basic advantage that is very well exploited, and that is space. The out of town factories seem to spread and spread, all at ground level, as the business expands. This allows them to plan their works from the beginning with wide alley ways between machines, spacious loading bays with easy access and very pleasing office blocks, much of which would be the envy of many an English firm suffering from slow land starvation. It was very noticeable that many of the employees' car parks were bigger than the factory.

"The Plastics Exposition in New York was a mere shadow of our own, or that of the Germans in Dusseldorf . . ."

Mr. Kirby later refers to automation which had not hit the plastics industry but its introduction in other fields was expected to put 7,000,000 people out of work during the next five years.

THE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF GOA BY THE INDIAN UNION

(continued from page 1)

as such by the international community and even by the aggressor. Everybody thought it protected by a decision, favourable to Portugal, given by the Hague Court, the competence of which had been accepted by the two States concerned. It possessed the guarantee of long established alliances and undertakings. It should have been able to consider itself protected by the machinery of collective security through the United Nations. And in this case, politically and legally crystal-clear, which was never a problem and never would be, the world saw that everything had been tried, in vain, to avoid an act of aggression and prevent a conquest. Either this situation is remedied and healed or Goa will turn over a new leaf in the life of the societies of our time.

Thus a general problem was posed.

In the world there are no more than three or four, or at most half a dozen, nations which do not fear, or do not need to fear, attack by other powers. All the rest, however, either live by unanimous agreement that their independence and integrity will be respected or they are at the mercy of more ambitious and stronger nations. The difficulty and the danger can only be avoided by the classical method of alliances which set up systems of balanced forces, or by some organisation which seeks to include all peace-loving nations. In the first case, however, the Treaties must be fulfilled as an essential condition; in the second fidelity to Pacts must be maintained, but the moral crisis in which we find ourselves does not assure

us of either.

In the most favourable hypothesis the United Nations are centuries ahead of the minds of men and of societies; moreover they have allowed themselves to be invaded by a clamorous multitude of States which have no spirit of peace, so that not merely has it been difficult to defend the rights of Nations within the organisation but parties and alliances of interests have been formed there to substitute old alliances and pacts and to further the interests of each group with scant attention to the justice due to all. When the notion disappears that to preserve the peace we must be ready to fight for it; when the fate of the international community is entrusted to majorities which define the policy which the others must pay for and must suffer its consequences; when it becomes a system to compromise and to withdraw before those who have neither experience nor responsibilities and so can be daring with impunity and revolutionise whole continents, then we must seriously ask ourselves whether we are taking the right road. What has just happened to us does in fact justify the anxiety of consciences and the concern of the more healthy societies. The man in the street cannot rise to the high congeminations of philosophers and politicians, but his ambition is to earn his living and maintain his home in peace and he sees the problem with the simplicity of common sense, which tells him that things are seriously wrong when criminals become judges and even dare to condemn the innocent and the law-abiding.

It is in this awakening of the world conscience, faced with the unholy alliances engaged in destroying the peace and others' sovereignty that we catch sight of a gleam of hope in the shape of a revision, before it is too late, of the methods used in conducting the international community. Before it is too late, I repeat, because we can now see that when an act of violence is not atoned for it gives rise to greater violence still. And this is the basis of my final reflections.

V

Since we do not accept the validity of the "fait accompli" the Goa question has still not ended, and we might truthfully say that it is only just beginning. The reasons which prevented us from negotiating the cession of the territories of the Portuguese State of India are the same that absolutely forbid us to recognise the act of their conquest. The Indian Union has been able to wage war on us but without us it cannot make the peace. In the same way that there has been no surrender of forces or handing over of ships there cannot be any treaty to recognise the sovereignty of the Indian Union over these territories. We shall have to wait for the international community to redress the offence done to Portuguese sovereignty and restore it to its legitimate rights before a normal situation can be re-established. That is why a Bill is to be submitted to the National Assembly to assure the functioning of the organs of Government of the Province of India in the present circumstances.

The first consequence of this is that the parliamentary representation of the State of India will continue to be held by those elected by the people of Goa, Damao and Diu. The House will not object to this in the present parliament and in future a means will be found of giving a practicable right of choice to those Goans who live outside the territories occupied by the Union and who maintain their devotion to the Portuguese Homeland. Everywhere they have shown them-

selves to be as genuinely Portuguese as the best of us and have undergone enormous difficulties to maintain their fidelity, and it is no more than an obligation on our part to recognise a right which honours them and assures their presence among us.

The second consequence is that Portuguese citizenship should continue to be recognised in law and in fact to Goans, whether or not they are given a double nationality by the unilateral imposition of the Indian Union. We cannot forecast what will be the procedure of the Union as regards this and many other questions which will arise from the de facto occupation of the Portuguese territories. It is quite likely that at first the occupying authorities will adopt a policy of allure-ment and ingratiating. Difficulties will arise for both sides when the programme of the indianization of Goa begins to clash with the Goans' culture and when the Prime Minister discovers that a definite individuality has been formed there down the centuries by inter-penetration of cultures and by the crossing of various races. I believe that violence will be exerted in direct proportion to the difficulties which make themselves felt and that if the reintegration of Goa is not effected soon spoliation and forced equality in poverty will be followed by a loss of liberty which will lessen the Goans in their language, their religion and their culture. It is therefore to be expected that many will wish to escape from the inevitable consequences of the invasion, and all will be made welcome at any point of national territory.

We should cherish no illusions on the obstacles and difficulties of all kinds which will beset our programme for the Goans who live outside Portuguese territories. The pertinacity and rage with which the Indian Union has sought to captivate Goans on its territory since it became independent will increase towards those who live in foreign lands, where our action may well be hampered by the Union's influence. But it is our duty to fight for the Goans and for Goa without thought of sacrifice, as we have done so far.

I should like to put one further question: in view of the facts is it not licit to doubt the merit of the paths which our policy towards the Indian Union over Goa has taken? I would reply with another question: what results would the other solutions open to us have brought? Negotiation, cession; independence and the loss of the little State with its subsequent integration; the constitution of a federation with the independent State of Goa would bring the question back to its beginning, because this formula would be considered as a continuation of our colonialism in India. In either case there would be irreparable, hopeless loss. We must continue to wait.

From the reactions which have been manifested throughout the Portuguese world and in all countries where there live groups of Portuguese we may conclude that their feelings did not call for false negotiations to cover up our deprivation but the affirmation of our right, denunciation of the act of aggression and a struggle in all spheres to have it recognised as such. The national feeling on the matter has been so vibrantly stressed through all our means of information that it would not be licit to ignore it and it would be unpardonable to doubt its genuineness. The whole Nation feels in its flesh and in its spirit the tragedy that we have experienced and that it should live on in its heart is a small consolation, but consolation nevertheless, for those of us who would wish to die with it.

(Concluded)