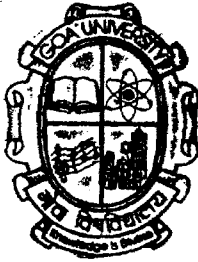


# Goa Wins Freedom

Reflections and Reminiscences



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## INTRODUCTION

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**T**HE story of Goan struggle for freedom is unique in the annals of India. At one stage it touched global proportions. It excited heated debates at the headquarters of UNC, at the International Court of Justice and in the numerous chanceries world over. A tiny spot was locked in political complications of even SEATO and NATO. It was dragged into the cock-pit of power-politics of the cold war. It rocked the mighty brains of the east and the west. Dr. Salazar left no stone unturned to prolong the agony in Goa and to intensify the embarrassment to India. He prompted Pakistan to press its claim to Kashmir. He increased the supply of atomic raw material to USA to gain the support of that Super Power. He invoked the Portuguese membership of the Atlantic Pact to brow beat India. He misused the traditional Anglo-Portuguese cordiality to make Britain warn India against any action on Goa. Taking advantage of a statement of Khrushchev and Bulganin in favour of India, he excited Foster Dulles to range Western Block against India. Dr. Salazar failed to see the writings on the wall that the freedom of Goa lay in the logic of history. Like the Bourbons of France he learnt nothing and forgot nothing, and thus the issue of Goan freedom, once considered a simple affair for free India was brought into the vortex of International politics and cold war.

If this is the record of events of a decade prior to liberation, how much worse the situation must have been during the long period of 450 years of Portuguese rule could well be imagined. The Goans were fired by national sentiments to respond to the challenge in a mighty way. Nationalism itself is a historical process that emerged in Goa out of the tribal and feudal phases of the past. It is the culmination of a stage whereby a society experiences common social, economic, cultural, and psychological identity. In such a society the strong desire to form a government suitable to the genius of the people persists as a reality. It results in the existence of such a government either in the present or in the past or remains as an aspiration for the future. Social solidarity, common economic interests, linguistic affinity and political objectives bring its members closer together, and they develop common feeling or will associated with a picture of the nation. The Goans had certainly reached this level of development by the close of the 19th century.

The sentiments of solidarity became stronger in Goa as a result of the Portuguese rule. Numerous subjective and objective forces worked on Goan society both because of the conditions of the foreign rule and the impact of world forces. Pre-Portuguese Goa had an economic and social base different from what prevailed in Europe, and hence the attempt to impose foreign structure on Goa naturally attracted strong resentment. The Portuguese for their own interests radically changed the social, political, economic, religious and cultural structure of the Goan society, established a centralised government with all effective powers in foreign hands, and unleashed numerous other measures which were totally unacceptable to Goans. The natural result was a reaction, conflict and confrontation, which became the basis or the motive power for the rise of Goan nationalism.

Several other factors also helped the growth of nationalism in Goa. The socio-religious reforms of the 19th century in British India, the new ways of thinking and criticism, the introduction of large scale trade and industry, the means of transport and communication, and radical changes in legal, social, educational, political and administrative set up in Goa generated unique ideas among the Goans. A reflection on how the Portuguese had built up their power in India, how they had killed

the Goan economy, how they had damaged arts and crafts, how they had disturbed social balance, how they had exploited the resources of the land and how they had affected the economy, set ablaze a new process of thinking which led to national consciousness. The attempt of the imperialists to use Goa as a power in their game of power politics further excited national sentiments in Goans, who were up in revolt to end the foreign rule.

(The character of Portuguese rule excited Goan struggle for freedom. The nature of their rule was such that it could not accommodate the local interests. The conflict of interests related to colonial versus national objectives, subjugation versus patriotism, and exploitation versus progress. Goa had become an excellent market for the purchase of spices, gold, pearls, corals, diamonds, muslins, brocades and other commodities which fetched lucrative price in European market. Trade from these goods had enriched the Portuguese coffers, who grew from strength to strength in the 16th century. In the post-industrial era the Portuguese took from India raw material and dumped finished goods in Goa which affected the art and craft of the region, and further impoverished the people. Milburn in his book *The Eastern Trade* says that each Viceroy returned from Goa with £ 100,000, and every other small official with anything between £ 50,000 and £ 20,000. All commercial and political decisions were made in Lisbon which had little knowledge of local conditions.)

(The religious policy of the Portuguese was a sensitive point which greatly offended the people. Christianity is no doubt one of the greatest and the noblest of the religions of the world, but it had mixed impact, positive and negative, in Goa. Jesus Christ taught that brotherhood and love, service and sincerity, humanity and compassion must be the law of life, and that his gospel should turn enemies into brothers. The Church in Goa which was strongly under Portuguese influence neutralised these principles of Christianity, and brought about an indissoluble union of the Cross and the Crown, Things spiritual and temporal were not separated, and it was made abundantly clear that the Portuguese had come to India both in quest of spices for the King of Portugal and souls for the King of Heaven. Things of Caesar and things of Paul were so inextricably mixed

as to cause confusion in Goa. (The church belief that the city of man, the state, was an evil, and that the city of God, the church, was the seat of celestial kingdom presented a different picture in this region.)

According to a contemporary chronicler, Joao de Barros (1496-1570), the church authorities declared "..... as the souls of unregenerate Muslims and heathens are doomed to hell fire, their bodies cannot plead the benefit of Christian laws, nor have they any real right to the lands in which they live. Not belonging to the Christian faith, they can therefore be lawfully conquered and subdued". (The main line of missionary policy was laid down by successive Ecclesiastical Councils periodically convened in Goa under the presidency of the local Archbishops from 1567 onwards. The decisions of these councils were later modified either at Rome or at Lisbon where the crown had an Advisory Board called the "Council of Royal Conscience". The council of 1567 took two major decisions. One, all religions other than the Orthodox Roman Catholic Faith are intrinsically wrong and harmful in themselves. The other, the crown of Portugal should use the secular power to support the spiritual power of the church. Other decisions of 1567 were: all heathen temples in Portuguese controlled territory should be demolished; the name of Prophet Muhammad should not be invoked in the Muslim call to prayer; all non-christian priests, teachers and holymen should be expelled and that their sacred books such as the Koran should be seized and destroyed; Hindus and Budhists should be prohibited from visiting their respective temples and that a ban put on their ritual bathing ghats; non-christian marriage ceremonies should be prohibited; all orphaned children should be given christian foster-parents; and non-christian were not to live or lodge with the christians. In short the message of love and compassion was confined only to a section of the Goan society.)

This was not the intention of Christianity, and the Goan church had departed from the early history of the Christian religion when it was made abundantly clear that there was no conflict between loyalty to Christ and loyalty to one's society and culture. It is a refreshing far-cry from the decisions of 1567 council to that of 1955 when Fr. H. Staffner asserted. "No custom is to be avoided because it is Hindu ... it is wrong

to speak of the Hindu Dharma as opposed to the Catholic faith. The Hindu Dharma in fact represents a high ethical ideal. Manu divides the duties contained in the Dharma into Sadhana Dharmas and Visheshadharmas. The Sadharana dharmas are: steadfastness, forgiveness, avoidance of theft, cleanliness, control of the senses, wisdom, learning, veracity, restrains of anger. The Visheshadharmas are the special duties relating to the various castes and to various stages of life. It is hardly true to say that following Christ means renouncing this ethical ideal".

It would be unjust to ignore the brighter side of the church activity. <sup>It</sup> propagated the faith not merely with the support of the state but also by means of sermons, retreat, works of Charity, education and intensive crusade against the age-old enemies such as hunger, poverty, ignorance, superstition, inequality and caste-rigidities. Although the church was a docile and condescending collaborator of an imperial power, it was also an instrument of socio-economic change, the agent to promote knowledge and learning, the path-finder of a moral code and the harbinger of a new era of enlightenment) which ultimately produced men of Fr. Staffner's type whose statement we just glanced through. St. Francis Xavier, Fr. Jose Vaz, Fr. Agnelo d'Souza and Fr. Robert de Nobili worked intensively among the people to relieve the distress. <sup>They</sup> mingled with the lowliest of the low, tended the sick, <sup>nursed</sup> the lepers, suffered privations and lit the light of Christianity in such a way as to win the hearts of the people.)

It must be said to the eternal glory of the Christians, that their role was second to none in the fight for freedom. The zeal with which they involved themselves in the struggle, the kind of leadership they provided to defeat the intentions of the foreigners and the sufferings and the sacrifices they incurred for the liberation would all redound to their credit. All flimsy pretexts of Salazar such as "Preservation of Portuguese Goa is an indispensable base for conservation and spread of Christianity in India" were all effectively refuted by the Christians themselves by saying that India has the largest Christian population in Asia, that it is a minority well-integrated with the majority, that it enjoys all the privileges of civic liberties, freedom of conscience from the earliest days of Christianity,

that it came to India much earlier than it did to Portugal, and that there was absolutely no apprehension of their interests being adversely affected with Goa's union with India.

When Dr. Salazar made an unbelievable statement that if the Portuguese left India, the relic of St. Francis Xavier would be unsafe, the Archbishop of Bombay, Cardinal Valerian Gracias, is on record, "Have we no shrines of national importance in various parts of India? And has there even been any cause for misapprehension regarding them? I ask further — do we not enjoy freedom of worship and religious life?" To all fictitious obstacles Dr. Salazar raised the Christians simply replied, "the die is cast; we would fight to the finish". Dr. Salazar was like Vincent Smith who shuddered to imagine what India would be again "if the hands of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp, should be withdrawn". It is a pity that Smith did not live to see the day when an Indian proved to be the architect of the Commonwealth and presented to the British crown its titular headship. But Dr. Salazar was certainly alive to see the day that it was all a figment of his imagination to think that Christianity would disappear from India, if the Portuguese were to quit the land.

In a way the Goan struggle for freedom started on the very day the Portuguese entered Goa in 1510. The whole history of this region is replete with revolts against the Portuguese rule. As early as 1543 there were revolts in southern Goa, in Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim, Veroda and Ambelim. In the skirmish that followed in 1543 when the Portuguese soldiers and the Jesuit missionaries marched into Cuncolim, five Jesuits were killed and Fr. Aquaviva was one of them. The youth of villages fought so well at Zuza Galli that the Portuguese infantry was routed. Only with fresh reinforcements the Goans were overpowered. Several such revolts took place which created legends of patriotism. In 1653 Don Mateus de Castro Mahale planned organised resistance against the Portuguese. In 1755 a campaign not to pay taxes was set on foot. In 1780 the Goan garrison in Daman mutinied and defied the Portuguese. In 1787 the historic rebellion of the priests took place.)

The local clergy found that the foreign missionaries were monopolising the higher ecclesiastical positions. Even those

Goans who distinguished themselves were not promoted to higher cadres. Fr. Caetano Victoria de Faria, father of the celebrated Abbe Faria, tried to secure justice for the Goans in Lisbon, but when failed, he advised revolt to expel the Portuguese. The priests conspired to promote a general insurrection but the plot was found out and was crushed before it hatched. Forty seven persons were arrested of whom sixteen were priests. (The aim of the conspiracy according to the official records was, "to create a new republic in which the so-called natives through a council of the General Chamber might govern and enjoy sovereignty")

(Revolts continued in the 19th century as well. They became more intensified resulting in relentless battles to overthrow the Portuguese. In 1833 Bernardo Peres da Silva organised a revolt with the support of Goan exiles in Belgaum, Dharwar, Poona and Bombay. Da Silva was deported to Lisbon. But the most challenging resistance to Portuguese authority came from the Ranes of Satari. In 1852 Dipaj Rane led a revolt which lasted for three and a half years. This revolt was brutally crushed. In 1869 Cushtoba Rane raised the banner of revolt and caused considerable harassment to the Portuguese. Cushtoba was chased and shot dead. Dada Rane launched a relentless fight in support of the Hindu sepoys who did not want to be sent to Africa. He was crushed.)

(A question could be asked whether these revolts could be linked to the national movement, whether those who organised the revolts were aware of what nationalism means, and whether the consciousness to form a national government was ever present in India before the Indian National Congress was founded. Was it not a fact that the local clergy were fighting to protect their own interests against racial discrimination, the landed-gentry to preserve their own privileges, the educated laymen to prevent top military, political, civil and judicial posts being reserved exclusively for the Europeans, and the sons of the soil and the peasantry against the exorbitant land taxes and other oppressive measures imposed upon them?) Would the Goan scenario have been different, had the Portuguese been more liberal, more humane, more accommodative and more enlightened? It is difficult to react in a positive way to these problems. However, history tells us that change is



the law of nature, and that even if the Portuguese had been benevolent, they would not have been masters of Goa for ever. The negative aspects of the colonial rule, however sugar-coated it might be, would have become apparent sooner or later. As for the point whether the petty revolts and constant resistance to foreign rule could be characterised as struggle for freedom, at a time when the concept of freedom itself was not clear, it must be acknowledged that the goal of both regional revolts and national struggle was the same, namely elimination of the foreigners. When the purpose was the same the question of semantics does not arise. (Whether we call the events a 'revolt' or 'rebellion' or 'upsurge' or 'national struggle' or 'freedom fight', all have one common factor, namely resistance and opposition to established authority and that is what happened in Goa from 1510 to 1961))

In British India too there was a heated debate whether what happened from the battle of Plassey to the founding of Indian National Congress could be called strictly as struggle for freedom, whether the several Maratha or Mysore wars, the Revolt of 1857 and many other events could be brought under the category of national struggle for freedom. No one could deny that they aimed at weakening the British power although the motives could have been different. This relates to interpretative part of history, where the discussion is more on the intentions of those who organised the revolts, forgetting the fact that they aimed exactly at the same goal as was fixed by the nationalists in the late 19th century. The same thing is true of Goa where [the revolts were either from the local clergy or the Ranes or the peasantry or the educated laymen]. This discussion is necessary to remove some doubts whether we could call the early revolts against the Portuguese as struggle for Goan liberation. When we say child is the father of man, how can we exclude the organic growth of a movement from its final phase of maturity? Consistent resistance was there in Goa from 1510 by the priests, the military, the Hindus and the Christians who fought pitched battles to overthrow the Portuguese. Harsh punishments, beheading and deportation did not deter the patriots from the zeal to continue the struggle. The failure of one revolt sowed the seed for another, and thus the pressure was constantly present to remind the colonials that they could rule over Goa only by force. ))

(Even during the era called Liberal Regime from 1822 to 1925 there was no let-up in the demand for rightful place for Goans. A catholic priest, Jeremias Mascarenhas, expressed the same sentiments which had the touch of Lokmanya Tilak's assertion, 'Swaraj is my birth right'. Addressing the Portuguese Parliament in 1852 the priest said, "Gentlemen, love for independence is the inherent right of man which should enable a people to live without domination. It is no wonder that Portuguese India should clamour for independence. It is an uncontested principle of political science, and history shows us the example of America and Brazil which emancipated from the British and the Portuguese domination and as a result have improved their commercial and cultural relations. Emancipation is a natural evolution common to individuals and colonies." Poets, novelists, thinkers, scientists, economists all joined in the cry that Goa should be free. Francisco Luis Gomes, an intellectual wrote a novel *Os Bramanes* in Portuguese in which he said, "... the fatherland of Manu after passing like a coin in the hands of Alexander, Tammerlane, Dupleix and Clive should return to his ancient lords." In 1910 when the Republic was established in Portugal, a great patriot, Menezes Braganza demanded autonomy to the Goans. Thus the trend took a different turn, and peaceful and constitutional means were adopted to achieve the same goal of obtaining for Goans what belonged to Goans.)

(The advent of Dr. Salazar at the helm of affairs heralded an era of oppressive measures. He curtailed all civil liberties, freedom of press, spech and association and placed Goa under virtual dictatorship. But the Goans never deviated from their goal, and never compromised their principles, and became more determined and more sophisticated in their strategy to reach the goal. They asserted. "The principle of self-determination is as organic to the life of peoples as the principle of freedom to the life of the individual." They founded in 1928 a Goa Congress Committee of the Goans under the leadership of Tristao Braganza Cunha, which was affiliated to the central committee of Indian National Congress, but later on it was disaffiliated as the Congress decided to limit its scope to British India. The strong censorship of the press, the shrewd policy of Salazar to use the Catholic patriarch to retain power, the exile of the intellectuals, the lack of an industrial base

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in Goa to absorb the talented and skilled persons, their exodus to British India and abroad in search of sustenance and the World War II created a situation in which Salazar was left free to rule as he wished. Artisans, skilled labour, intellectuals, lawyers, doctors and thinkers, who usually form the middle class and the backbone of social and political movements were most of them outside Goa, and those who were left within the region were mostly women-folk, retired persons, youngsters in their teens and the poor peasants. Such a situation was of great advantage to the Portuguese government, but it did not mean that the movement had lost any of its fire.)

(In 1946 the lava burst out. The first-civil disobedience movement triggered off. Ram Manohar Lohia, was the brain behind it. June 18 was the historic day. The accumulated explosives of suppressed aspirations of centuries were ignited. The campaign entered into its last phase. When the British lion was tamed by the Gandhian technique of satyagraha, what was Salazar's tiny puddle? But the gang of imperialists and colonialists were still in their hey-days, although the Second World War had unnerved their backbone. It was into this scenerio the Goans had to intensify their struggle for another decade and a half, and this was the most crucial phase. The lamp appeared to flicker more brightly before it was put out. Salazar used all his ingenuity to postpone the fateful day. But never were the Goans more determined, more united and more skilful in their strategy. They had one great advantage now which they did not have before.

Mother India was free, and the Goans were hopeful of her protective care. How can the mother desert her children? Before 1947 Salazar had to face only a few hundred thousand Goans, but now, the upsurge of the teeming millions of the whole of India were up against him.) Earlier, mother India was herself a captive in the hands of the foreigners, but now free, vibrant and all pervasive, she was in a mood to challenge oppression in any part of the world, but within the framework of her own principles. Her maturity and moral fibre ingrained in her bone and marrow would not permit the excited Goans to adopt any means but the peaceful to achieve the purpose. Nehru, a disciple of Gandhi and a lover of Buddha, would not

precipitate the issue. He had become the prophet of peace, the preacher of new world order, and the architect of Asia-African solidarity, and hence he desired to rule out force for liberation, lest others should point finger at him. This enhanced the agony of the Goans, and increased the impunity of Salazar, but mother India, committed to principles, was less anxious to freeze Gandhian ideals.

(Events moved fast from 18 June 1946 when the historic address of Lohia in Margão turned a new leaf in the struggle. Repression followed; and jails were filled with patriots. One by one all leaders, T.B. Cunha, Ram Hegde, Purushottam Kakodkar, Laxmikant Bhembre, were all put behind bars. They were court-martialled and sentenced to long rigorous imprisonment and deportation.) Gandhiji remarked "A small power because of its smallness acts with impunity where a great power cannot." The reign of terror seemed to be unending. Hundreds of people were arrested and deported. Salazar had a field day in Goa. (The post-independence preoccupation of India, the refugee problem, the integration of native states, the Kashmir war and several other pressing issues of the newly-emerged free India offered a golden opportunity to Salazar to intimidate the patriots within Goa. Hence, the movement had to be kept alive outside Goa, in Bombay, in England, in Portugal and in East Africa.) Like Zionism, Goan struggle had become global in character.)

(The Goan struggle in Bombay deserves to be written in letters of gold. Political refugees found Bombay a haven. After 1947 they organised numerous political parties, the National Congress (Goa), the Azad Gomantak Dal, the Goa Liberation Council, the Goan People's Party and the United Front of Goans which were all instruments for the one and the only objective, to liberate Goa. It is interesting to note the mushroom growth of these political parties which competed with one another in bringing pressure on Government of India to solve Goan problem. This struggle had the romance of the Italian unification seeking support from outside agency; likewise, the Goans concentrated on Nehru to convince him that the only language Salazar knew was force.)

The numerous organisations in Bombay used the media of the press to drill into the ears of the higher authorities that there was no alternative to force, that the delay would add to the agony of the Goans, and that hesitancy would further complicate the situation. (The <sup>Americans</sup> organisations raised their own newspapers to make their voice heard both in India and abroad. The Konkani "*Amchem Goem*" '*Porjecho Avaz*' and the Portuguese '*Resurge Goa*' and the English '*The Goan Tribune*' and "*Free Goa*", besides numerous other pamphlets and memoranda projected the Goan issue before the national and international forums, even upto the portals of the United Nations. Not only Goans but also other patriots, such as N. G. Gore, Jayantrao Tilak, Mohan Ranade, Sudhir Phadke and Babasaheb Purandhare, plunged into the fray.)

(A very significant feature of this struggle was the underground movement which was launched in Goa itself. The Azad Gomantak Dal was in the fore-front of this strategy which kept the Portuguese authorities in constant alarm.) From the secret societies of Mazzini's time in Italy to the present day, underground activity has become an effective means to redress grievances. Even today the most powerful nations of the world feel helpless in dealing with it. When a handful of committed souls are prepared to risk their life for a cause, and if the cause is a righteous one, nothing would stand in the way. The same thing happened in Goa. (The sufferings and sacrifices of those selfless souls who offered their blood to win freedom would ever remain a glorious chapter in the history of Goan liberation.)

(Meanwhile, the movement became quite active in Bombay. In 1953 a Goan Action Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of T. B. Cunha who having escaped from the term of exile took up the difficult task of forcing the Portuguese to see reason, and of convincing Nehru to make them see reason. Nehru was adamant, "It is not a hard job to throw out the Portuguese from Goa. But the question is, should we take to such means? Then more problems would arise. Wars and armed actions have never solved any problems anywhere in the world". This attitude depressed the Goans a bit, but they kept the pressure on. From 1955 batches after batches of satyagrahis marched into Goa. Hundreds of

meetings were held. Students, teachers, doctors, lawyers, men and women, all joined into a mass movement. The mood was that Nehru might wait, but not the people. Before the upsurge of the human tide, nothing would stand. The whole of India was electrified with the single motive that patience had limits.)

{ In 1956 the Goan Doctors in Bombay in an emotionally charged meeting served 'Quit Goa' notice to the Portuguese. In 1958 hundreds of Goans signed a manifesto to the same effect. A Goan political convention was formed, and in 1959 its President, Fr. H. O. Masacarenhas, focussed attention on the national and international front to seek the active aid of the Afro-Asian countries to fight colonialism in any part of the world. Thus the Goan issue was internationalised. Bombay became the hub of all political activities. Every conceivable means was adopted to hasten the process of liberation. Nehru's policy to solve all issues peacefully through negotiations seemed music to the deaf ears of the Portuguese.}}

{ Paradoxically the drama of Goan fight was carried to the very door of Dr. Salazar. Goan intellectuals were visiting Portugal from a long time for higher education. There were nearly 200 Goans in Portugal when the struggle reached its climax. These intellectuals as early as 1926 had founded the Indian Nationalist Centre to win the support of the liberals in Portugal for Goan independence and integration with India. They founded a newspaper 'A India Nova' and published many books on India, on Mahatma Gandhi, on Tagore and others. Many enlightened Portuguese sympathised with the cause, and many writers, thinkers, novelists and literateurs supported the movement. One of them, Mario Domingos, went to the extent of saying that the Portuguese were "perfect Intruders." But the pity is Portugal itself was in the grip of a dictator, and dictatorship kills the moral fibre of a nation's soul. Dr. Salazar failed to see that political injustice was worse than crimes; that ambition lured to destruction and that retribution spared no man. Despite his knowledge of the fate of dictatorship in Germany and Italy, he was persisting in his policy of clinging to the empire.}}

The Goans did not limit their activity to Portugal in Europe. They were as much active in England. (In 1954 the Goan residents and students formed a Goa League to refute the Portuguese propaganda. England has always been the home of liberals, and its record to help the democratic and nationalist forces in Europe, particularly in East Europe, encouraged the Goans to hope that the enlightened Britons would see the futility of Portuguese policy when Britain herself had withdrawn from India.)

(Nor did the Goans confine their mission to Europe and Asia but became quite active in East Africa as well. They formed the East African Goa League which functioned from Nairobi. It had nearly 350 members who were emigrant Goans. The idea was to bring pressure, from all directions, and to create a situation when the issue could be solved without force.) It speaks volumes to the Indian psychosis which tries to avoid confrontation through force until it is inevitable. Not a day or month but for decades and centuries the Goans had waited hoping peaceful methods would deliver the goods, but the Portuguese were of a different mettle who believed in using bullet in Goa and diplomacy abroad.

(Dr. Salazar intensified his propaganda and used all sorts of specious arguments that Goa was a province of Portugal, that it was associated with some of the greatest names the Portuguese had given to world history (that Goa was necessary to preserve christianity in India; that the Portuguese were emotionally attached to it as a memorial to their discoveries in the East; and that it served as "a small hearth of the spirit of the West in the East") But he could not fool the Indians any longer.)

(The cup of Indian patience was full. Even Nehru was convinced that the issue could brook no further delay.) History could offer no parallel where so small a power so effectively defying for such a long time the wishes of so large a number of people. Free India had become a force to reckon with. Even super powers like Russia and America respected her counsel. (It was only her deliberate peaceful policy that had kept her from military action to decide the issue.) In the light

of (the excited mood of the Goans, and in the absence of any other alternative, India had to take most unwillingly the step to redeem its commitment to the Goans.)

(The final phase was of course military operation. The curtain of the last scene of the drama was lifted on 18 December 1961 and in less than 36 hours "the spirit of the west" merged with the "soul of the East". It was indeed a great day, not in the military sense, but in moral victory of ending the long agony of the suppressed people. On 19 December 1961 at 22 hours Governor General Vassalo e Silva undid what Afonso d'Albuquerque had done in 1510. He handed over to Brigadier Dhillon the document of surrender of his forces in Goa.)

(Goa was now free. The accumulation of centuries was washed off in two days. If the entry of the Portuguese in Goa was dramatic, their exit too was as dramatic. They conquered Goa by force, consolidated it by force, ruled it by force, and were expelled by force. They were the first to come and last to go. Theirs was the longest rule, and the nature of their rule was harsh. No where the Biblical saying "those who live by sword shall perish by it" was more applicable.)

(Notwithstanding whatever is said of the Portuguese, there is a silver lining to the dark cloud, which should be acknowledged with grace when the Portuguese are not here in India. They became the first instrument for creative cross fertilisation of ideas of the West on India. They had come to India not merely for spices and for evangelical work but also for enculturation, which they did more effectively than any other European power. The impact of their long rule was deeper in political, economic, social, religious and cultural areas than that of any other western power. The type of transformation that took place in the value system of Indian life was indeed unique. It became a proverb that he who sees Goa need not see Lisbon. The golden Goa had become Rome of the East.)

The little paradise is now on its own to charter its destiny. Let that destiny be towards knowledge and wisdom, love



and peace, happiness and gentleness of the mature mind. Let Goa weave a mosaic of unique pattern, mixing the best strands of the west with the finest of the east, and let it stand as a shining memorial as much to the unifying soul of India as to the exploring, expanding zest of the Portuguese. Goa University finding its birth in the silver jubilee year of the liberation, thanks to the imaginative efforts of our leader and scholar, Dr. Gopal Singh, Lt. Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu, and of Shri Pratapsingh Rane, Hon'ble Chief Minister of Goa, Daman and Diu, is anxious to have the privilege of sharing a tiny bit in the mighty task of making Goa a bright star on the firmament of enlightened societies, and we do hope at least in the realm of ideas this temple of learning would have the honour of throwing a significant ray of light.