

GOA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, 1946-1961:

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF
NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA) AND AZAD GOMANTAK DAL**

THESIS

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HISTORY

by

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Under the guidance of

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DECLARATION

[Under 0.19.8(ii)]

This thesis is based entirely on the original work carried out by me under the guidance of Dr. Pratima Kamat. To the best of my knowledge, the present study is the first comprehensive work of its kind from the area mentioned. The literature related to the problem investigated has been surveyed and list of references is appended. Due acknowledgements have been made wherever outside facilities and suggestions have been availed of. I hereby declare that the thesis or part thereof has not been published anywhere or in other form. It has not been previously submitted by me for a degree of any university.

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Guide

CERTIFICATE

[Under 0.19.8(vi)]

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "GOA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, 1946-1961: THE CONTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA) AND AZAD GOMANTAK DAL" submitted by Seema Suresh Risbud for the award of the degree of Ph. D. in History, is a record of the original research work done by the candidate under my supervision and to the best of my knowledge, the thesis or any part thereof, has not been previously submitted for any other degree or diploma in any university or institution. I hereby certify that Seema Suresh Risbud has satisfactorily pursued her course of research under the conditions prescribed by Goa University.

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Guide

DEDICATION

This Thesis is dedicated to my beloved father,
Late Shri Suresh M. Risbud, and to my
loving mother, **Smt. Smita Suresh Risbud**,
for their unwavering support and guidance.

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PREFACE

My thesis is the product of six years of painstaking work that led me to various libraries, archives, freedom fighters and eyewitnesses. Although officially I registered for the Ph.D. degree in 1996, my interest in the field had commenced at a much earlier date. I recall that even as a child I was exposed to the idea of freedom and decision-making and was never brought up in a cloistered atmosphere. I would like to extend my deep thanks to my father who gave me freedom of choice to take up the challenges that I wished to take and who always supported and encouraged me in my endeavours. I am indebted to him for inculcating in me the concept of freedom rarely given to a girl child in a typical middle class Brahmin family. As I recollect, even during my school days we had very thought-provoking discussions at home on the history of the Indian national movement, as well as Goa's struggle for freedom and the political situation that existed in Goa in 1970-80. No words can describe the immeasurable debt that I owe to my mother's blessings, help and encouraging words and patience that have showed on me.

It was just a coincidence that Dr. Narayan Bhembre, who became president of National Congress (Goa), a brother of Laxmikant Bhembre who staged the first *Dash dainik satyagraha*, happened to be my childhood friend Swati Thali's grandfather. My close association with the Thali family and the stories narrated to us by Dr. Bhembre must have left a powerful imprint of Goa's struggle in my subconscious mind.

Moreover, my father's personal contacts with Mr. Madhav Bir, Mr. V. N. Lawande, Smt. Jyoti Deshpande and Mr. Pandurang P. Shirodkar who stayed in our neighbourhood gave me opportunity to discuss with them various facets of Goa's nationalist aspirations.

Later as a student of history, I had an opportunity to discuss the relevance of *satyagraha* with Goan freedom-fighter, Mr. Madhav Bir, while doing my post-graduate

course in the Department of History at Goa University. Bir had strong conviction that the struggle through this medium could lead to the ultimate goal, though success is slightly belated. He introduced me to the role of the “moral force” in the context of Goa. My discussions with him on this topic proved to be fruitful as it increased my curiosity to study Gandhian philosophy with significance to Goa’s struggle for freedom. I further learnt from him that Gorbachev, the then president of U.S. S. R., while facing problems and witnessing violence in his own country, had asked for Mahatma Gandhi’s book entitled *Non-violence in Peace and War*. When I was informed about this fact my interest in this subject increased. As a post-graduate student of history, I decided to work on dissertation that would analyse the application of *satyagraha* technique in Goa’s struggle against the Portuguese colonialism. Moreover Dr. Pratima Kamat’s thought-provoking lectures on history of Goa, especially on freedom struggle launched by the Goans, proved a source of inspiration that led me to investigate and inquire into the topic in more detail.

While researching on “*Role of Satyagraha in Goa’s Struggle For Freedom, 1946-61*” for my M. A. degree, I realised that along with the Gandhian ideology of non-violence that had tremendously influenced the national movement in Goa, Goans drew commendable inspiration from the revolutionary ideology of militant nationalism that had dominated the pre-Gandhian protest movements in India as well as in the period when Gandhi was propagating his non-violent method to achieve self determination for Indians. With this research base at my command, I initiated a more detailed inquiry into the contribution of the National Congress (Goa) that was committed to the use of peaceful means to achieve the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu but also of the *Azad Gomantak Dal* that made use of militant methods to challenge the dictatorial regime of Salazar.

I would like to mention here that Dr. Pratima Kamat gave me the opportunity to work as a research assistant at the Centre for Women’s Studies, Goa University, on a

project that aimed to study the role of women in Goa's struggle for freedom. This enabled me to collect oral history documentation about the struggle and the contribution of women towards it. I would like to place on record my thanks for having included me in her project that proved to be an academically enriching experience. Moreover, in addition to the valuable guidance that I received from her in the completion of the present thesis, I also thank her for motivating me to investigate and inquire into the primary documents that were scattered in India as well as abroad.

Although a lot of literature has been produced on decolonisation of Goa, no analytical exposition has yet been comprehensively undertaken. In this context which may be the reason that the Government of Goa decided to produce a documentary on Goa's Struggle for Freedom I was invited on the committee in my capacity as a research scholar. This experience also proved to be very valuable to me to investigate on the topic.

Smt. Jyoti Deshpande's continuous moral support and backing through my studies and also at a critical phase in my life has proved to be very valuable. She had undertaken a lot of trouble to introduce me to freedom fighters during the course of my M. A. dissertation that proved to be of major value in the completion of my thesis. Moreover, she offered me immense help in translating the archival material from the Portuguese language. Besides engaging in long enlightening discussions on the topic, she was always there for my queries and questions that I raised that enlightened me on the topic. Being daughter of late Raghuvir Kamat, one of the leading nationalists in Goa's struggle as well as the wife of Late Dattatreya Deshpande, a founder member of *Azad Gomantak Dal*, her eyewitness insights into the process of decolonisation proved invaluable.

I would also like to thank Dr. Sadashiv Gorakshkar, former director of Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai, and a project consultant for Department of Museum,

Government of Goa with whom I worked as a Lecturer in Education. Dr Gorakshkar entrusted me with an additional opportunity to work on a blue print on a gallery on Goa's struggle. This task proved to be very valuable for my research. Moreover his encouragement enabled me to take up a project on museum studies with Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon. His continuous moral support and encouragement especially during the critical phase of my life after the untimely accidental death of my father gave me courage to face the reality and pursue my research in the field of museum studies. Dr Gorakshakar deserves special thanks for giving me continuous support.

I would also like to place on record my special thanks to Bhai- Advocate Ramakant Khalap, former MLA, former minister of Law and Justice, a family friend who extended his timely help and moral backing to me and my family.

I am especially grateful to Dr. Shankar Mhamai Kamat, former Director of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, for giving valuable assistance and guidance with regard to the documentation located in Goa Archives and also for all his constant support in my academic endeavours.

My sincere thanks to Mr. Flaviano Dias who took genuine interest in my studies, gave me useful insights on the topic and the long discussions that we had on the Goan movement helped me to get a correct perspective on the struggle.

I would like to thank Mr. V. N. Lawande for associating me with the writing of his memoirs on *Azad Gomantak Dal* and handing over to me his personal tapes on the topic for transcription that proved to be valuable for my work. Unfortunately, his untimely death left the work undone. In addition to this Lawande always encouraged me to evaluate the role of *Azad Gomantak Dal* by lending me various books, documents, files and official reports of the organisation. Since he personally took pains to provide me relevant material on the topic, it was difficult for me to get the correct file number or

catalogue number of his personal collection. Later, though I tried to trace the details of the documents that he had provided me with his heirs, my efforts did not meet with success.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Shri Sahastrabuddhe for his spiritual guidance and continuous moral backing throughout my life and especially at critical junctures. Without his blessing this work would not have been completed. I wish to express my deep indebtedness to him for his invaluable and constant guidance.

I would like to thank my best friend Loretta Gomes Pawar (Lolly) for lively discussions that we had on the subject and valuable suggestions that she offered me.

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I thank Indian Council of Social Science Research, Western Regional Centre, Mumbai, for sanctioning a study grant, to consult documentation located in various libraries and institutions in Mumbai.

I would also thank Goa University for granting me research studentship for the academic year 1999-2000.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to the staff of library and institutions located in Goa, Bombay Delhi as well as in Lisbon Portugal. They are as follows: Goa University Library, Department of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, Panaji; Central Library Panaji; and Museum of the *Azad Bhavan*; Xavier Centre of Historical Research; Library of the Goa Legislative Assembly Kala Academy Library; Gomantak Marathi Academy; Library of Maharashtra Information Centre and other

institutions. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library , New Delhi. Mumbai University library; library as well as archives section of the State Archives of Maharashtra, Mumbai; The Goa Hindu Association Library and Library of Maharashtra *Vidhan Sabha* ; The National Archives of Lisbon, National Library, Library of Art, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation other institutions.

I also put on record the help extended by various Governments departments during the course of my research: Goa Gazetteer Department; Department of Information, Government of Goa and others.

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No words can describe the immeasurable debt that I owe to Vinette, Alvita, Shabana , Sunderesh and Ravi^{Uthas} for their timely help and lot of moral support.

Finally I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to brother, my relatives, and my well –wishers for completion of my work.

Date:

SEEMA SURESH RISBUD

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Goa's struggle for freedom is an unique experience not only in the history of the Indian National Movement, as it paved way for national integration, but also in the history of the world. The movement of Goans to liberate themselves from the clutches of Portugal's dictatorial rule shattered the last remnants of European colonialism in India and at the same time heralded the freedom of African colonies such as Angola and Moçambique. Its significance can be perceived from the fact that it not only proved inspirational to the nationalist struggle in other Portuguese colonies but motivated the fight of Portuguese citizens to attain democratic rights and gave strength to the ushering of a democratic revolution in Portugal, which materialised on 25th April 1974.

The urge of freedom against colonial rule that was created in the hearts and minds of the Indians by the Indian National Movement finally and completely triumphed on 19th December 1961, when the Indian Government with its military action, 'Operation Vijay,' liberated the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu that had been under the control of Portugal for nearly 451 years. This army action of the Indian military put an end to the last battle in the process of India's decolonisation and strengthening the fight against the Portuguese colonialism in the world.

The army action of the Indian Government was prompted by the continuous and consistent struggle that the Goans launched to pronounce to the world their ardent desire to dismantle the artificial political barriers created by European colonial powers between Goa and the rest of India and to achieve the goal of political unification with the Indian Union.

The basic colonial character of the British rule and its grinding impact on the lives of the Indian people had led to the rise and development of an anti-British

movement in India. Indians, stirred by the spirit of patriotism, constituted a strong nationalist political struggle against the prevailing British imperialist regime.

The Indian national struggle, in its various phases, that included strong currents of militant nationalism that had manifested itself right from the revolt of 1857, and also Gandhian non-violent *satyagraha* struggle, continued unabated till India emerged as a free and sovereign nation in 1947.

While the rest of India was enjoying the fruits of liberation, that was the result of their successful tenacious struggle against the British colonial rule, Goa, located on the western coast of the Indian subcontinent, was still struggling to liberate itself from the stifling regime of the Portuguese dictator, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar.

The dictatorial regime deliberately followed a policy to keep Goa de-linked from the rest of India, with its fascist measures. However, in spite of these tactics, on account of Goa's geographical, socio-cultural as well as economic proximity with the rest of India, the impact of the national struggle was felt very strongly on these territories.

On 18th June 1946, the Indian socialist leader, Ram Manohar Lohia, decided to break down the unnatural political boundaries between Goa and the rest of India by launching non-violent direct action to defy the unjust laws of the Portuguese Government that denied to the Goans their basic civil rights. The Goans, spurred on by the urge of freedom against the despotic colonial rule, now spontaneously plunged into this non-violent struggle.

Thus, began the saga of challenge, in the form of non-violent direct action launched in 1946 when India was on the threshold of independence. The struggle reached its peak when the National Congress (Goa) [=NC (G)], a political organisation, was formed on 18th August 1946 to provide a platform for Goans to articulate their demands against the unjust rule of Portugal.

Accepting the Indian National Congress as a model organisation, the NC (G) modestly began its fight for the restoration of civil liberties. In course of time, it assumed the broad-based national objective of complete independence of Goa, Daman and Diu and its re-integration with the Indian Union through non-violent means. The National Congress (Goa) also based its objectives on those of the Indian National Congress that had formulated a broad-based social, economic and political vision of the nationalist struggle in India.

However, the non-violent civil disobedience movement considerably slowed down within a year and the Goan struggle acquired two more dimensions: the underground resistance launched by the *Azad Gomantak Dal*, [=AGD] a revolutionary organisation, and the deliberations of Government of India to solve the Goa issue through bilateral talks.

While researching on "The Role of *Satyagraha* in Goa's Struggle for Freedom," for my M.A. dissertation, I realised that along with the Gandhian ideology of non-violence, that had tremendously influenced the national movement in Goa, Goans drew commendable inspiration from the ideology of militant nationalism that had dominated the pre-Gandhian protest movements in India as well as in the later period when Gandhi was propagating his non-violent method to achieve self-determination for Indians. With this research base at my command, I initiated a more detailed inquiry into the contributions of the National Congress (Goa) that was committed to the use of peaceful means to achieve the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, and that of the *Azad Gomantak Dal*, which made use of militant methods to challenge the dictatorial regime of Salazar.

A critical evaluation of these organisations, that played an important role in the Goa liberation struggle and its re-integration with the Indian Union, is the main objective of this study. An analysis of the ideas and passions of liberty that were expressed and the nationalist sentiments that predominated both these organisations is definitely one of the most valuable aspects of the nationalist movement.

This study, I am sure, will certainly lead to the unfolding of the secrets of the nationalist struggle that are still unexposed to us and simultaneously explain to us in great detail the process of self-determination in these territories. This will definitely instil in us a faith in democratic ideals in facing the challenges that are before the Indian nation today.

Nature of the Research Problem and Its Objectives

The thesis, has made an attempt to inquire into the factors responsible for the formulation of the ideologies of the organisations that worked to liberate Goa and inquire into the nature of their activities as well as their impact on Goa's struggle for freedom. An exhaustive analytical assessment of the contributions of the National Congress (Goa) and the *Azad Gomantak Dal*, to the struggle of Goa for liberation from the Portuguese colonial rule, is the main objective of the current study

While examining the contribution of these two organisations to Goa's struggle for liberation, an inquiry has also been conducted into the need for the Indian Army's 'Operation Vijay' that was ultimately responsible for liberating Portuguese India from the colonial rule.

In the present study, I have concentrated on two organisations and studied in detail their role. In history as is well known such micro studies are always undertaken to lay bare more detailed accounts which never form a part of generalised works keeping this aim in mind, I have attempted to form an estimate of the process of decolonisation that led to complete political transformation of the Goa, by

- undertaking a critique of the Portuguese colonial regime in the context of which the struggle was launched;
- analysing the multi-faceted responses of the National Congress (Goa) and *Azad Gomantak Dal* to the colonial regime;

- making an evaluation of the reaction of the Salazarist dictatorial regime to the struggle;
- forming an assessment of the impact of the activities of the nationalists on the Government of India and
- examining the factors leading to the final liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The nationalist literature of the period, which was in abundance in English, Konkani, Marathi, and Portuguese languages, came to Goa in different forms, such as pamphlets, journals, newspapers and other propaganda material. This was designed to arouse political consciousness in the Goans to rise against the Portuguese as well as to carry the message of the struggle to the world. Besides this, there are memoirs, first hand accounts by eye-witnesses and participant in the struggle, fictions, novels and poetry that contribute to our knowledge of the final act in the long history of Portuguese colonial rule. The literature published on Goa's struggle for freedom includes, among others, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, a collection of articles and speeches by the renowned Goan freedom-fighter, T. B. Cunha. This text throws light on the impact of the colonial rule, especially under the dictatorial regime of Salazar, on Goa. The suppression of civil liberties and the dismal picture of a stagnating Goan economy are discussed in great detail in this work. In his essay entitled, *Denationalisation of Goans*, Cunha traces the reasons that led to "deIndianisation" of Goans and puts forward a theory that more than four hundred years of Portuguese rule and internalised oppression had made Goans servile, emasculated and timid. He further urges that in order to break the chains of mental enslavement, Goans must identify themselves with Indian culture as well as with Indian nationalism and must fight Portuguese colonial regime. *Goa's Awakening-Reminiscences of the 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement* is authored by Evagrio Jorge who had actively participated in the 18th June Movement as well as the movement itself. A play by George Ataide Lobo, entitled *Liberation*, revolves around 18th June struggle and it sketches in detail its immediate aftermath. *The Liberation of Goa - A Participant's View of History* by

P.D. Gaitonde, who was an active participant in Goa's struggle for freedom, traces the events that took place after 1954 up to the liberation of Goa in 1961.

Goa's Freedom Struggle authored by Julião Menezes is a detailed eyewitness account of the protracted action launched by Goans under the guidance of Lohia. It describes some of the early *satyagrahas* offered by the nationalists for the restoration of civil liberties and also reviews the trial of leading nationalists like T. B. Cunha, Purushottam Kakodkar and others. *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, which deals basically with the Goa Case in the International Court of Justice at Hague, attempts to give valuable information about the diplomatic aspects of Government of India's approach regarding Goa Case. *Down The Corridors of Time Reflections and Recollections* gives thoughtful insights into the socio-cultural conditions that prevailed in colonial Goa as well as reflect on various stages of Goa's struggle for freedom. N. G. Gore's *Behind Portuguese Prison Bars* focuses on the nationalisation of the Goa issue that led to 1954-55 *satyagraha* that the Goans launched with the support of the rest of Indians.

A quasi-memoire, *When The Mango Tree Blossomed* is the recollection of Telo de Mascarnhas, an active participant in the process of decolonisation of Goa, that depicts the nationalist urge of the Goans to unite with the motherland. *Portugal's Struggle for Liberty* provides an analysis of the subtle and all-pervasive character of repression under the *Estado Novo* that suppressed democratic institutions with the systematic use of political police and censorship. It highlights the development of typical fascist institutions that Salazar promoted to create a resigned atmosphere in Portugal as well as in its colonies. The Goa University publication, *Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences*, touches several aspects of the freedom struggle and also gives graphic accounts of the events by those who actually participated in the struggle.

Datta Venktesh Pai's *Jalata Gomantak* besides projecting the immediate spill-out of the 18th June Direct Action evaluates the political situation that prevailed in

Goa during 1946-47. *Ajacha Wa Kalacha Gomantak* by A. K. Priolkar and *Gomantakachi Pratima* by B. D. Satoskar basically deal with the socio-cultural conditions of Goa during the Republican period as well as throw considerable light on the nature of the Salazarist dictatorship. *Satiche Van*, authored by Mohan Ranade, depicts the nature of the violent struggle launched by Goans to achieve their goal of liberation and narrates the author's experiences in prison in Portugal. *Maye: Swatantra Sangramatil Aghadivaril Ek Gaon*, authored by V. N. Lawande, reviews the struggle launched by the peasant community of Maye against the landlord of Maye under the leadership of Atmaram Mayekar who was an active worker of the AGD. *Agnichya Jwala* provides insights into militant revolutionary actions that Goans undertook under the banner of *Azad Gomantak Dal*. The two volumes of *Goa Daman Diu Swatantraladhyacha Itihas*, authored by M.H. Sardesai, is an account in Marathi of the history of Goa's freedom struggle. Ravidra Kelekar's *Panthastha* in Konkani contains reminiscences of the process of decolonisation of Goa that critically evaluated the course of the struggle launched by Goans to reunite with the Indian Union. I would also like to mention here that I have come across *powadas*, *lavanis* and other poems on Goa's anti-colonial struggle. Moreover I have also come across manuscripts of plays written by freedom-fighters that have been mentioned in my bibliography.

However, my researches differ from the earlier works done in this field in two ways. Firstly, I have concentrated on the contributions of just two organisations to Goa's struggle for freedom and hence have studied in detail their configuration and development in the context of the nationalist struggle launched in Goa. At the same time, their role in mobilising support for Goa's struggle against colonialism has been significantly analysed. Secondly, and this I consider more important, along with published and unpublished documents, I have made extensive use of oral history. In this work an attempt has been made, for the first time in this field, to record and critically evaluate the reminiscences of those persons who had contributed to the struggle.

Along with the unpublished primary documentation and published secondary sources, a very important component of the methodology of my research studies is oral history documentation, I have taped those several “living documents” that had actively participated in the struggle. I had the opportunity to interact with activists such as Purushottam Kakodkar, Madhav Bir, August Alvares, Narayan Bhembre, Berta Menezes Bragança, Nagesh Karamali, V. N. Lawande, Prabhakar Sinari, Narayan Naik, Mohan Ranade, Sharada Sawaikar, Lalita Kantak, Ravindra Kelekar, Laxmidas Borkar, P. P. Shirodkar and others who have made a tremendous contribution to the national movement in Goa. Besides the above mentioned personalities, I also had an opportunity to interview veteran leaders such as Nana Saheb Gorey, Shirubhau Limaye, Jayantrao Tilak, Madhu Dandavate and others who had established the *Goa Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* to provide a strong moral as well as active support by organising mass *satyagraha* action of 1955.

Further I would like to mention that I have also consulted the oral history interviews with women freedom-fighters that were documented as a part of the project of the Centre For Women’s Studies, Goa University on “Role of Women in Goa’s Struggle for Freedom. This includes, interviews of Lalita Kantak, Sharada Sawaikar, Rajani Naik, Prema Purav, Libia Lobo Sardessai and others.

Besides the above-mentioned oral history documentation, I have analysed official documents of both NC (G) as well as *AGD* located in India as well as in Portugal. Military Tribunal files as well as files on criminal proceedings of the freedom fighters have been analysed to assess the role of NC (G) as well as *AGD*. I have also scrutinised official correspondence of the State of India (*Estado da India*) and the Ministry of Overseas Colonies (*Ministério do Ultramar*), documents and official correspondence of the Portuguese military forces of the state of India (*Forças Armadas do Estado da India*) I have also assessed official correspondence, circulars, pamphlets, and other documents of NC (G) as well as *AGD*. I have also analysed personal correspondence of various freedom fighters as well as their diaries and other documents.

I would like to mention here that in the course of my investigations, I have consulted primary and secondary documentation pertaining to the above-mentioned study that is located within Goa and the rest of India, in places such as Mumbai, Pune, Delhi, as well as other places that were centres of hectic nationalist activities. I have also referred to documentation housed at archives, libraries and various repositories in Lisbon, Portugal.

In Goa, I have referred to documentation located in the following repositories: Department of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, Panaji; Goa University Library; Central Library Panaji; Goa Gazetteer Department; Department of Information, Government of Goa; Library and Museum of the *Azad Bhavan*; Xavier Centre of Historical Research; Library of the Goa Legislative Assembly Kala Academy Library; Gomantak Marathi Academy; Library of Maharashtra Information Centre and other institutions.

I have also scrutinised primary and secondary source material related to the decolonisation of Goa, located in the following archives and libraries of Lisbon, Portugal: The National Archives of Lisbon, National Library, Library of Art, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Library and others.

I have also referred to oral history documentation on Goa's struggle for freedom as well as other collections housed at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi.

In addition to this, I have consulted books and journals at the Mumbai University library; library as well as archives section of the State Archives of Maharashtra, Mumbai; The Goa Hindu Association Library and Library of Maharashtra *Vidhan Sabha* and other institutions in Mumbai

Besides the above-mentioned repositories, I have referred to records housed at Tilakwada, Pune, which includes personal archives of Jayantrao Tilak, an activist in Goa's struggle for freedom, and also the newspaper archives of Kesari.

Besides these institutions, I have also consulted personal collections of participants in Goa's struggle for freedom that include collections of V. N. Lawande, the founder of the *Azad Gomantak Dal*, Sudhir Phadke, P. P. Shirodkar, Mussolini Menezes, Narendra Hegde Desai, Lambert Mascarenhas, Jyoti Deshpande, Trivikarm Sanqualkar and others.

Based on above-mentioned sources of documentation, archival, published as also oral, I have analysed the contribution of NC (G) and *AGD* to Goa's struggle for freedom in the present thesis, which is divided into the following chapters.

- Chapter I Introduction
- Chapter II The Setting
- Chapter III Establishment of National Congress (Goa): Aims and Objectives
- Chapter IV Establishment of *Azad Gomantak Dal*: Aims and Objectives
- Chapter V National Congress (Goa): The Satyagraha in Action
- Chapter VI National Congress (Goa): Negotiations and Networking
- Chapter VII Activities of The *Azad Gomantak Dal*
- Chapter VIII Conclusion

The first chapter deals with the statement of the research problem as well as the methodology that has been used in the study. In this chapter an attempt is made to provide a critique of the literature available to us on the subject. It stresses the need to undertake such micro level studies in the field of history and at the same time

provides meticulous scrutiny of concepts such as nationalism, the ideology of the *satyagraha* and the use of violence to achieve political ends.

Chapter II provides a detailed examination of the nature of Salazar's fascist dictatorship in Goa with a view to provide the requisite background for the establishment of the National Congress (Goa). The establishment of the dictatorship in Portugal gave a serious jolt to the liberal policies of the Republican period. The liberal atmosphere was put an end to by the severe restrictions imposed by the regime in socio-political fields. The lack of civil liberties, along with the depressed economic condition, worsened the condition of the Goans. This chapter also includes highlights of the history of Goa from ancient times, as well as comments on political developments that took place after the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese.

18th June 1946 was a turning point in the history of Goa as it opened an era of challenge that the Goans undertook under the banner of the NC (G), a political organisation that appeared on the Goan political scenario. This organisation emerged on the Goan political scene as a fallout of the 18th June civil disobedience action that Ram Manohar Lohia had ignited in Margão in 1946. Chapter III offers a detailed assessment of the causes that led to the establishment of the NC (G). The ideology behind initiating such an action is examined exhaustively and concurrently the aspirations of the NC (G) are reviewed thoroughly. The chapter makes a detailed review of the aims and objectives of the NC (G) and simultaneously traces its growth as a political organisation.

Chapter IV analyses the factors that led to the establishment of the *AGD* and seeks to elucidate why a group of Goans drifted away from the ideology of non-violence within a year to resort to armed struggle. It is an undeniable fact that along with the Gandhian ideology of *satyagraha*, Indian national movement witnessed strong currents of militant nationalism. Goa although separated from mainstream India for more than 400 years, had the opportunity to experience both these political currents of Indian nationalism. The idea to challenge the ruthless colonial rule through

in underground militant technique was gaining acceptance among some young Goans even before the launch of the non-violent struggle on 18th June 1946.

⁴ However, it was kept on hold as the non-violent struggle geared up. This chapter reviews the rationale behind the adoption of violent methods by the *AGD* and also provides an explanation for the factors that motivated the *AGD* to change its course of action from non-violent to violent means. It also focuses on the various aims and objectives that the *AGD* sought to achieve throughout the struggle.

Chapter V inquires into the nature of the activities of the NC (G) that were aimed to articulate their desire of freedom and integration of their land with the Indian Union. It focuses on the different modes of non-violent strategies that the nationalists adopted in course of their battle against colonialism and highlights their relevance to Goa's struggle for freedom. It also highlights the propaganda activities of NC (G) that were undertaken to disseminate factual information regarding Goa's struggle against colonialism, in India as well as abroad.

Chapter VI tries to analyse the endeavour of NC (G) to negotiate with Salazar regarding the Goa case. At the same time NC (G)'s efforts to convince the Government of India to shoulder the responsibility of resolving the Goa issue has also been emphasized. The diplomatic negotiations between Government of India and the Government of Portugal have also been analysed in this chapter.

In order to harness support for the cause of the liberation of Goa, NC (G) established diplomatic parleys with various political organisations from India. At the same time it also tried to coordinate its activities with the pro merger elements of the French territories in India as it felt that joint efforts of nationalist forces in these territories would strengthen the efforts of the Indian Government to resolve the issue. A thorough scrutiny of this effort is made in this chapter. The Chapter also reviews the attempt of the NC (G) to collaborate and coordinate their activities with Afro-Asian people that were fighting for an immediate termination of colonialism from their respective homeland.

This chapter also highlights the attempt made by NC (G) to forge a united front to challenge the Portuguese colonialism by deriving support by establishing cooperation between the various political organisations and by synchronising the activities that led towards the liberation of Goa.

Chapter VII concentrates on the various activities of the *AGD* that included amongst others, the armed action that *AGD* undertook to shatter the Portuguese colonial rule. The *AGD* opted out for a confrontationalist path and defied the Portuguese regime. A detailed review of this method is discussed in this chapter.

At the same time an attempt is made to study the impact of these challenges on the struggle as well as to assess the Portuguese response to it. This chapter also deals with the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and the contribution of *AGD*. The chapter further highlights the structural aspect of the organisation.

Finally in the concluding Chapter, which aims at an evaluation of the contribution of NC (G) and the *AGD* to the process of the decolonisation in Goa has been undertaken along with an analysis of the *raison d'être* for the military action that the Indian Government undertook in December 1961.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to briefly introduce the territory of Goa from the historical perspective.

Located between the latitudes 15⁰ 48' 00" and 14⁰ 53' 54" N and longitudes 74⁰ 20' 13" and 13⁰ 40' 33" E, the state of Goa shares its boundaries with Ratnagiri and Kolhapur districts of Maharashtra in the North, with Belgaum and Dharwar districts of Karnataka in North East and North Kanara District in the South. On its West is the Arabian Sea. The eastern boundary of Goa is located in the Sahyadri range.¹ Sarayu Doshi, in her introductory note in *Goa: Cultural Patterns*, describes the Goa region as a "land of wide sandy beaches, rice fields and lush green palm groves..."² She further states that Goa has a "certain atmosphere, indefinable yet distinct, gives character to some places and sets them apart from others. Goa is one

such place.”³ Just as Goa enjoys this unique physical setting, its cultural ambience is equally interesting, caused more by its 451 years of political insulation from the Indian mainstream.

There is ample archaeological evidence of prehistoric times in this region. A concentration of early Palaeolithic sites in the upper trenches of Dudhsagar valley, the discovery of rock engravings of animals, human figures, symbolic x-ray bulls and others at Usgalimal in Sangué and *Dudhan fator*, a rock with engravings of animal and human figures on its surface, found in Kajur village in Quepem *taluka* and the discovery of new archaeological sites in Sattari and variety of stone implements belonging to different periods such as upper Palaeolithic and others, give sufficient data of the prehistoric period.⁴

During this historical journey Goa seems to have adopted different names, which reflect facets of its personality. Names, such as *Govarashtra*, *Gove*, *Guwi*, *Goparashtra*, *Gomanta*, *Gomanta-dwipa*, *Gomantdurga*, *Gopakapattana* affirm the socio-economic status of Goa, a rich and fertile land where “*godhan*” (*go*=cow *dhan*=wealth) was found in abundance. According to the ancient Indian culture, wealth of the region lay in abundance of cows that the region reared. Therefore, cows were considered to be a denominator of wealth.

Goa’s political history prior to the advent of the Portuguese indicates contacts with a number of neighbouring states whose rulers held sway over Goa at one time or the other. They include the Bhojas, Mauryas, Silaharas, Kadambas, Bahamanis and Vijaynagara rulers. These rulers have etched their footprints on the sands of Goa. Among them the Kadamba footprints are more prominent. During the Kadamba rule, the port town of *Gopakapattana*, the capital city, was known for its flourishing maritime activity that brought economic prosperity to the region.

The disintegration of the Bahamani kingdom brought Goa under the control of the Adilshah of Bijapur and later the entry of Portuguese in the Indian waters in 1498

and their conquest of Goa in 1510 had its own ramifications on the territory of Goa in several ways as has been discussed in the following paragraphs.

Goa Under Portuguese Rule

Goa with its varying boundaries came under the sway of the Portuguese in 1510. Afonso de Albuquerque conquered the rich land of Goa from the Adilshah of Bijapur. The conquest of Goa by Portuguese opened up a new chapter in the history of this territory.

The fanatic religious policy adopted by the rulers, leading to mass conversions and destruction of symbols of Hindu as well as Muslim religion, in the beginning of the colonial rule is the most unfortunate and unforgettable part of Goa's history. Although the religious zeal of missionaries lessened in the subsequent period, the bitter memories of the Holy Inquisition still lingered on in the minds of the Goans. In spite of these religious and cultural onslaughts on Goans, the people of Goa could not be alienated from their Indian motherland. They retained their strong cultural ties, which the alien rule attempted to root out.

We notice that from the initial days of the conquest of Goa, the Goans expressed their discontentment with the Portuguese through revolts. "Right from the sixteenth century when the Portuguese conquered the islands of Goa, to the twentieth century, which witnessed the flowering and the fructification of the territory's struggle for freedom, the history of the *Estado da Índia* (the Portuguese State of India) has been studded with revolts – the equal and opposite reactions of the ruled to every intolerable action undertaken by the rulers." ⁵It is said that there were at least forty revolts staged against the colonial masters, which were suppressed. However, the failure of each revolt was a stepping-stone to the next. The torch of resistance lit by the Goans was kept burning throughout the period. The early revolts that were staged by the Goans were directed mostly against the Portuguese policy of religious persecution, racial discrimination and against the exploitative economic policies that the colonial rulers tried to implement in this territory.

The nineteenth century witnessed the frequent outbursts of the Rane revolts that nearly shook the foundations of the Portuguese rule in Goa. "The Ranes ... were feudal lords who had rebelled against their overlords, the Portuguese, and before them, the Sawants of Wadi, in defence of their feudal privileges."⁶ "The progressive reduction in their traditional rights and privileges, accompanied by the simultaneous rise in taxation and the imposition of laws that ran counter to their socio-religious practices, contributed to the outbreak of these uprisings."⁷ The disapproval of the Goans of injustice which was inflicted upon them, also found its way in military mutinies that challenged the Portuguese rule.

With the coming of Marques de Pombal as a prime minister of Portugal religious fanaticism received a serious jolt. With his liberal reforms, he undermined the role of the church and expelled Jesuits from the colonies. Much relieved by the tortures of clerical institutions, the people of Goa ceaselessly continued their struggle against the Portuguese. In the nineteenth century the world, especially Europe, experienced the tides of constitutionalism. Goa too came under its sway. Let us review the effects of the constitutional regime and the subsequent events on the history of Goa that will unfold to us the glorious saga of Goa's struggle for freedom.

The Constitutional Monarchy 1820-1910

Europe, by the end of eighteenth century, witnessed the waves of enlightenment that questioned the prevalent autocratic, conservative, monarchical government. It was this radical thinking that pronounced the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity and unfurled the banner of French Revolution in 1789. The people of France fought against their tyrants inspiring other European states to join them in their fight against the misrule of the monarchs. The subsequent rise of Napoleon Bonaparte and Napoleonic wars gave birth to a new sprit of nationalism in the European world. This age of revolutionary ideology was bound to influence Portugal situated in the Iberian Peninsula of Europe.

In 1820, the constitutional regime was established in Portugal. However, much before the French Revolution Portugal had experienced great reforms under the premiership of Marquês de Pombal. He had introduced many revolutionary reforms, which were based on principles of racial tolerance. The 1761 *Alvara* tried to eradicate racial discrimination that was practised by the Portuguese in their colonies.

The Napoleonic conquest of Portugal contributed to the growth of constitutionalism in Portugal. The constitution of Portugal was drafted which reflected the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. Religious toleration and separation of powers were the main features of the constitution.

Subsequently, on 24th August 1820, a military mutiny broke out in O Porto that pressurised Dom João VI to accept constitutional form of government. Unfortunately these winds of change were resented by a group of reactionaries who made every effort to sabotage the new spirit. Therefore, Portugal witnessed a strong tussle between liberal forces and the conservatives, between 1820-1833 and which finally resulted in to the triumph of liberals in 1833.

The State of India along with the other colonies of Portugal felt the tremors of liberalism. The people of Goa, under the leadership of Bernardo Peres D'Silva, with the aim of establishing constitutional monarchy in Goa called on the viceroy, the Count of Rio Pardo for its implementation. Establishment of constitutional form of government in Goa with its electoral provisions would result into the constitutional checks on the unlimited power of the viceroy who represented the king of Portugal in Goa. As the viceroy refused to accept their request, a *coup d'etat* followed in which the viceroy was overthrown and replaced by a constitutional *Junta*.

Thus, on 16th September 1821, the Provisional Committee of the Government of the State of India, *Junta Provisional do Governo do Estado da India*, was set up in Goa. The setting up of a Constitutional *Junta* was a major step towards liberalism. The Charter of 1826 was declared by which Goans received the right to send their representatives to the Portuguese Parliament. Bernardo Peres da Silva, Constancio

Roque da Costa and Antonio José da Lima Leitão were the first three deputies who represented Goa in the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies in Lisbon.

As mentioned earlier, the constitutional regime experienced turmoil in the metropolis and this was naturally reflected in Goa between 1821-1833. It was only in 1833 that political stability was established in Portugal. In 1835 a Goan, Bernado Peres da Silva was appointed as Prefect of Goa, in charge of the civil administration of the State of India, while the defence of the Portuguese India was still in the hands of Portuguese personnel. Unfortunately this joy of administrating the land by a local did not last for more than two weeks. Silva was overthrown by the *Reinol* lobby who opposed his pro-Goan reforms.

With the right of limited franchise Goans could send their representatives to voice their desires and grievances in the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies: This encouraged political awareness in Goa that led to the birth of political parties. Although in the beginning of the constitutional regime, the Goans preferred to align themselves with the existing political parties of Portugal and did not venture to form new local political parties. However in course of time, in the middle of the nineteenth century, two local political parties emerged on the local scenario, *Partido Indiano* and the *Partido Ultramarinho*. José Inacio de Loyola led *Partido Indiano* and as the name of the party suggests, this party advocated major administrative autonomy for Goa. The other party was led by Bernardo da Costa and stood for maintenance of Goa's link with metropolitan Portugal.

The constitutional regime also saw growth of newspapers in Goa. These newspapers were linked with the political parties that were referred above and were mainly used to spread party ideology among the people. *A India Portuguesa* was the voice of *Partido Indiano* and *O Ultramar* propagated views of *Partido Ultramarinho*. The constitutional regime brought political changes in Goa. Goans became more vocal to demand their participation in the political field. This right to elect gave them

opportunity to voice their grievances and aspirations. All these changes led to their political growth.

The constitutional regime had its own limitations. It could not change the basic colonial character of the Portuguese rule. Highly centralised control of the Home Government undermined the few liberal rights that the Goans enjoyed. Goans got the right to send their representatives to the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies, but this right was restricted by considerations of religion, payment of taxes, literacy and the knowledge of the Portuguese language. The elections were often rigged.

However, in spite of these drawbacks the relative liberal regime produced great parliamentarians like Francisco Luis Gomes who strived for the political upliftment of Goans. Proudly declaring himself as an Indian, Gomes demanded, "I ask for India liberty and light; as for myself, more happy than my countrymen. I am free - *civis sum*; these titles, Sir, would suffice to recommend me to you who admire my country and love mankind."⁸

With the advent of the Republican regime in 1910, the spirit of liberty and nationalism strengthened further. This spurt in the nationalistic ideology will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

The Republican Regime

The establishment of the Portuguese Republic on 5th October 1910 was a joyous occasion, which raised the aspirations of the Goans for a better and more autonomous future. Widened political liberalism and secularism aimed to put an end to the segregation between Hindus and Catholics. The spirit of nationalism was strength especially by journalistic activities that were carried out extensively during this period. In administration too, changes were introduced in order to give colonies a more liberal government.

The republican constitution, which was promulgated on 21st August 1911, increased the number of representatives from the State to India to two. Moreover out of these two elected representatives, one was given the right to represent Goa in the Portuguese Senate. The constitution also encouraged the principle of decentralisation in the colonial administration. The *Lei Organica de Administracão Civil das Colonies* (The Organic Law of the Civil Administration of the Colonies) was passed on 15th August 1914, which laid down the basic tenets of civil administration in the colonies.⁹ According to this law, the government was empowered to introduce structural (organic) laws for each colony in accordance with its requirements. In 1917, further attempts were made to grants autonomy to Portuguese India with the promulgation of charter of 27th July 1917.¹⁰ The charter created the *Conselho do Governo*, an advisory body to run the administration of *Estado da India*.

According to this charter, the administration of the colony was run by the governor-general, appointed by the President of the Republic for a tenure of five years. Being the chief executive authority of the overseas provinces, the Governor General was assisted by two *aides de camp*, a Chief Secretary and by a Government Council consisting of ten official members, the heads of various departments and ten elected members of the representatives of the *concelhos*.¹¹

The charter of 1917 was entirely replaced by the Organic Law of 9th October 1920. Another law, promulgated on 16th October 1920, provided for the creation of an Executive Council (*Conselho Execucitivo*), a legislative council (*Conselho Legislativo*) with a permant section (*seccão permanante*) that managed its internal administration, a Fiscal and Administrative Tribunal (*Tribunal Administrativo Fiscal de Contas*) and a council of Finances.¹² Thus, regular Legislative Council that was composed of eleven non-official members of the Executive Council replaced the Government Council. The laws and regulations drafted by the Executive Council were subjected to its discussion and approval.

As mentioned earlier the liberal atmosphere of the republican regime resulted in tremendous changes in the socio-cultural life of Goa. The Hindu community that was completely cut off from participation in public life, now entered into the spirit of revitalisation. This regime saw a spurt in the intellectual activities of Hindus, especially in the field of education and media. It spurred them to accept the new challenges of the twentieth century: "The Republican regime destroyed the wall created by religion among Hindu and Catholic communities in Goa. As the water rushes like a torrent after the dam is cracked down, that community like a torrent rushed to participate in the Goan society. Large number of Hindu children began to attend Portuguese schools. Those people opened new libraries and began to constructively participate in all-pervading social life."¹³

Education

Goans were inspired by the socio-religious reform movements taking place in the rest of India, especially in Maharashtra. Unfortunately before the advent of liberalism they could not do much along these lines. However as soon as they got the opportunity in the form of the constitutional regime, they came forward to establish schools and social institutions in the territory. In 1889, inspired by the *Pune Sarvajanic Sabha*, *Akhil Gomantak Sarvajanic Sabha* was established at Margão. In the same year *Saraswat Vidyapith Vachanalaya* was established at Marcel. The Goa Hindu Club, The Hindu Association Club, *Ramnath Damodar Vachan Mandir* were founded at Margão. In 1900, *Deshsevak Arya Samaj* and *Sri Laxmi Vachan Mandir* were established at Ponda.¹⁴

These names themselves indicate that they were very much influenced by the reform movements taking place in the rest of India. The Republican regime gave further boost to their aspirations. Already stimulated by the Indian National Movement and the socio-cultural progressive movements in the neighbouring territories they started opening up new institutions in Goa. *Mustifund Samnstha* at Panaji, *Damodar Vidyalaya* at Margão, *Saraswat Vidyalaya* at Mapusa, Almeida

School at Ponda, *Saraswati Vidyalaya* at Karmali, *Shantadurga Vidyalaya* at Bicholim and *Sharda Vidyalaya* at Kumbharjuva sprang up.¹⁵ Even English medium schools were encouraged during this period. These changes in the educational field brought Goa closer to the rest of India as the syllabus introduced in these schools was based on the pattern prevalent in the rest of India especially in Maharashtra.

Libraries were opened in the cities, including *Sri Laxmi Prasadik Hindu Vachan Mandir*, Panaji, *Vidya Vacahan Mandal*, Bicholim, *Gomanatak Vacahanalaya*, Mapusa. These institutions reflected the urge of the Hindu community to be on the path of progress. It showed their earnest desire to gain better and higher proficiency in the educational field. This socio-cultural development which received great fillip during the Republican period was later responsible for the spread of national culture among the Goans to a great extent.¹⁶

After analysing the efforts of the Hindu community to revitalise themselves in the socio-cultural field, let us now dwell on the Government educational system and inquire into the changes brought about in the liberal atmosphere. Before 1910, one can say that Hindus very rarely joined Portuguese schools. For example, in 1907 there was no Hindu pupil in the *Escola Normal* as Hindus were forbidden by the law to join this institution. Therefore only Catholic students took admission in it. By 1920-21 along with Catholic students Hindus also received education from government schools. 85 Hindu students completed their Lyceum education during this period. Seventeen Hindu students were admitted in *Escola Normal* in 1920. Hindu students also came forward to take up medical profession and by this time their number in medical college increased to fourteen.¹⁷

The Portuguese also introduced local language as a medium of instruction. According to this policy government decided to open primary schools up to standard seven in every village. The medium of instruction in these schools up to standard four was to be in Marathi language. The rest of the classes were to have bilingual instruction that is Portuguese as well as Marathi language.

Government had planned to provide educational facilities in subjects like agriculture and commerce. Special care was taken to open up institutions for girls with subjects like housekeeping, stitching and music. The government also made important recommendations to improve existing medical as well as pharmacy courses.

This policy was very much appreciated and was passed in the Legislative Council and was sent to Portugal for approval. Unfortunately the Lisbon Government turned it down. One can say that the republican regime was pledged to adhere to the principles of equality, fraternity and compared to previous regime it was much liberal, yet it was basically colonial in nature.

Therefore despite being liberal it continued to thrust colonial ideology on the Goans and refused to encourage policy matters that would initiate participation of the locals in the educational field. Thus it looks like the colonial masters deliberately wanted to keep the local population ignorant so that they could ensure their colonial claims on the territory.

Role of Press

The liberal atmosphere propagated by the republican regime facilitated the rise of Portuguese as well as Marathi press which played a significant role to educate people and appraised them of the current trends in socio-political and economic matters.

As mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, the Hindu community of Goa, taking advantage of the liberal atmosphere of the republican regime, vigorously began to take interest in the social life of the territory. They ventured into journalistic activities. *Hindumat*, a bilingual newspaper in Marathi and Portuguese, was launched with the advent of the Republican regime. The name *Hindumat* itself suggested that from now the Hindus of the territory would voice their suppressed opinions openly. It was evidence of the fact that Hindus had decided to come forward to actively vocalise their hopes and aspirations.

The writings in *O Herald* were thought-provoking pieces contributed by eminent Goans like Dr. José Maria Alvares and Luis de Menezes Bragança. Influenced by the revolutionary ideology of the French Revolution they aimed to espouse the cause of liberty, equality and fraternity. They provoked political consciousness among the Goans and tried to bridge the cleavage between the Catholics and Hindus that was deliberately inculcated and nurtured by the colonial rule. They vigorously championed the Indianisation of Goan Catholics by making them aware of their ancient Indian roots and cultural ties with the rest of India.

The significant role played by Luis de Menezes Bragança in exposing the abuses of the Portuguese state and creating public opinion through *O Nationalista* (The Nationalist), *O Comercio* (The Commerce) and *Pracasha* (The Light) is worth mentioning. Menezes Bragança who took a progressive stand and exposed the oppressive measures stood for justice and righteousness. His *O Debate* (The Debate) was a powerful vehicle of the ideology of secularism.¹⁸

As a strong supporter of the principle of equality, Menezes Bragança strove to defend the interest of the Hindus who were victimised by the Portuguese rulers. At the same time he raised his voice against racial discrimination practised by the Portuguese against the Catholic community. Like the above-mentioned newspapers, *O Oriente* (The Orient), *Eco de India* (Echo Of India) and *A Luz de Oriente* (The Light of the Orient) strove to create consciousness among the local Catholic community regarding their origins, which had strong roots in the Indian cultural traditions. The identification of Goan Catholics with the cultural mainstream was the main goal of these newspapers.

As mentioned earlier the Hindu population who kept their affinity to the Indian culture could grasp the socio-cultural happenings of the neighbouring state of Maharashtra. The spirit of nationalism, which reigned high during Lokmanya Tilak's active tenure, served as a source of inspiration to Goans. The ideas that Tilak propagated were reflected in the *Sat-sang*, a Marathi weekly. *Prabhat*, a weekly

published by Purushhottam Vaman Shirgaokar, did tremendous work of spreading liberal ideas among the population.

Its offshoot, *Bharat*, under the editorship of Hegde Desai played a very crucial role in the post-1946 period. Its editorials were highly critical of the Portuguese administration and it took up the cause of peasants and vehemently demanded an improvement in the stagnant economic life of Goa. Various constructive programmes in the social structure of Goa were strongly recommended by this newspaper. Hegde Desai was a staunch nationalist who openly crusaded against the ills of the Portuguese colonialists. Annoyed by his strong criticism the Government charge-sheeted him on at least twenty-five occasions. This did not deter him from continuing his attacks on the Government. Commenting vehemently against the foul means adopted by the Government, he in an editorial of *Bharat*, had boldly declared, "If mean and uncommendable attempt is made to close down *Bharat* we will start *Mahabharat* but will not give up to criticise the illegal acts of the Government."¹⁹

Another newspaper, which requires due recognition is *The Hindu*, which was published in 1924 and was edited by Dattatreya Venketesh Pai from Margão. With the aim of spreading nationalist ideology, *Hindu* voiced the urgent need of identification of Goa's interest with that of the Indian national movement. The Gandhian ideology of *satyagraha*, the non-cooperation movement which Gandhi launched, featured prominently in its editorials. T. B. Cunha's efforts to establish the Goa Congress Committee and to bring the Catholic community closer to the Indian freedom movement found an important place in this weekly. Amongst the other Goan writers who contributed to this weekly were, B. V. Sawardekar, Janardhan Vishnu Kamat and Kashinath Damodar Nayak. Pai published the famous treatise of Antonio Floriano de Noronha, "*Os Indus De Goa e a Republica Portuguesa*", in his weekly. This gave an opportunity to those Goans who lacked the knowledge of Portuguese but were fluent in the Marathi language to learn about the upliftment of Hindus that had taken place during the Republican regime.

Some other weeklies like *Vidyaprasar* (Spread of Education), *A Patria* (Motherland), *Pragati* (Progress) and *Navajeevan* (New Life) contributed tremendously to the liberal awakening in the people. Thus, the Republican period proved to be of great utility to the local press that tried to serve effectively in the interest of the people. This bore fruit in the later period when Goans were deprived of their civil liberties under the Salazarist dictatorship, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Notes and References

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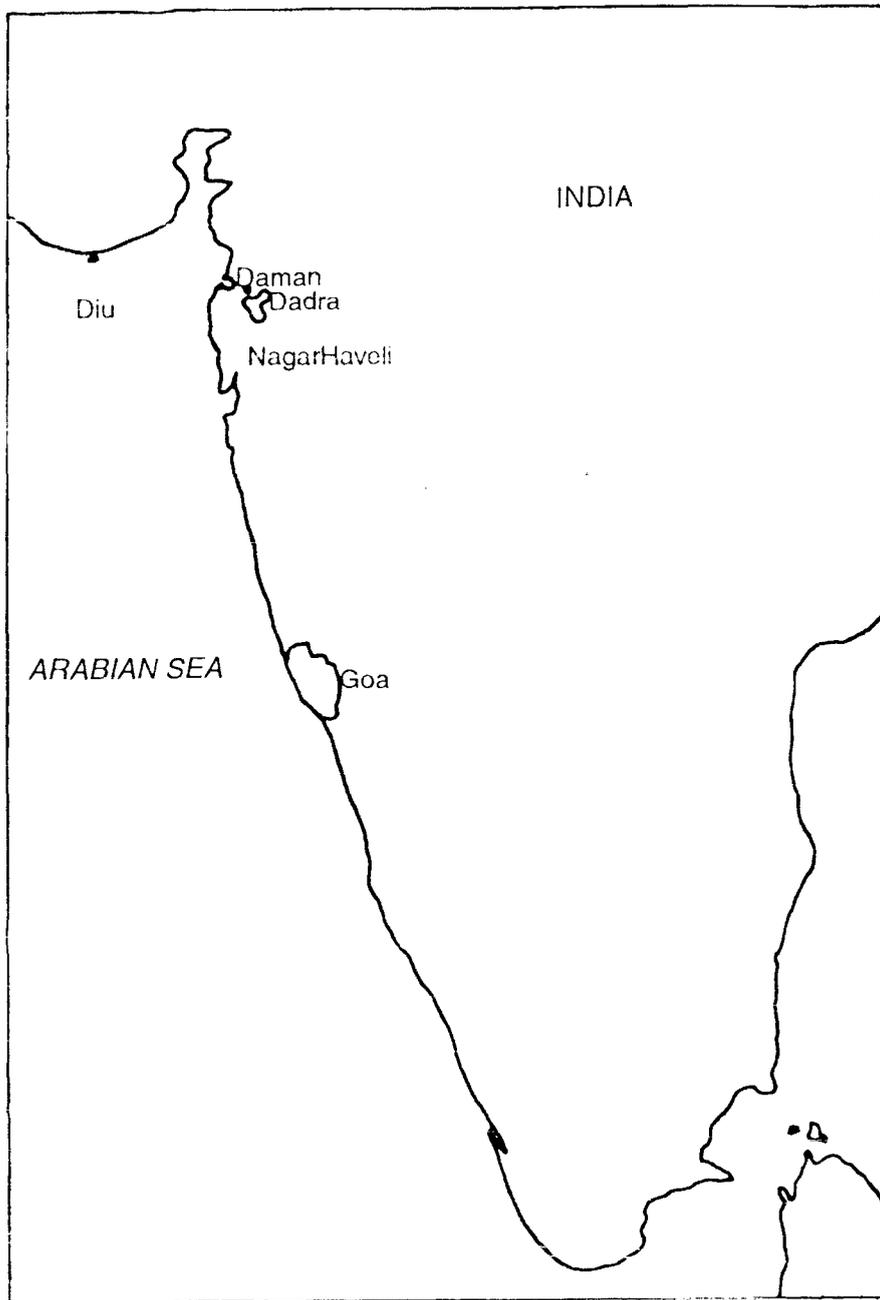
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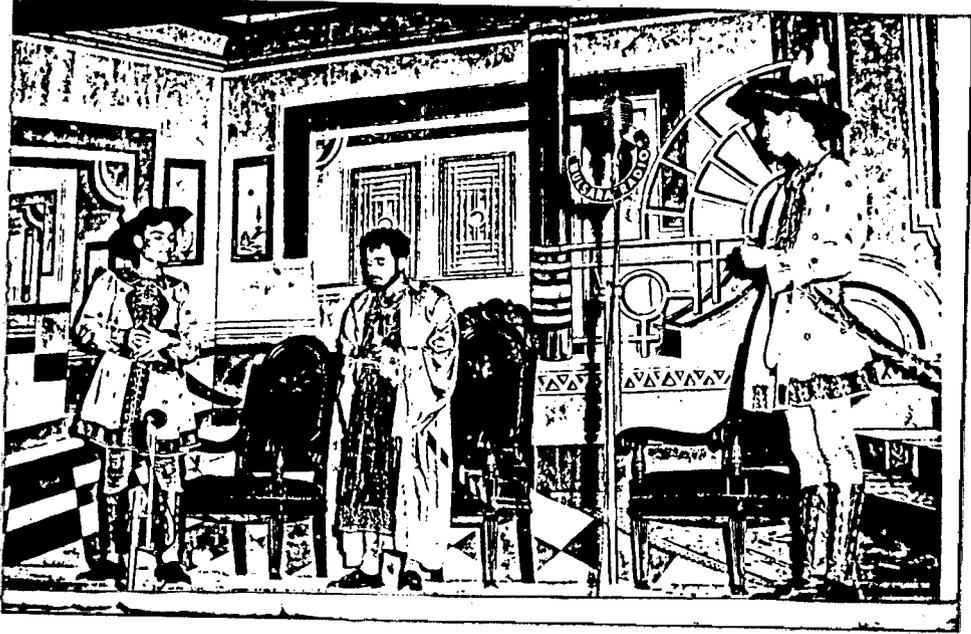
Map showing former Portuguese Possessions in India.

Scenes from Plays organised by *AGD* Cultural Committee, Bombay.

"Raoji Rano"



"Pintocheye Band"



CHAPTER II
THE SETTING

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“It was a weak, semi-peripheral fascism, appropriate to the position of a weak, semi-peripheral country; but its origins, functions and structures were qualitatively similar to those of other fascist regimes. Repression was generalized and systematic, if controlled and selective, in its more brutal forms... Ideological control was strict, through official propaganda, constant press censorship, and sporadic suppression of books, theatrical productions and other forms of dissident artistic expression. State control of employment opportunities was systematically used to marginalize dissident intellectuals. More significant in characterizing the regime was the inculcation of official ideology through the schools, the church, the official party, and the elaborate apparatus of the corporate state which was designed to encompass the entire population: The Legion, the *Mocidade*, the *sindicatos nacionais* (official unions), the *gremios* (employers’ associations) and *casa do povo* (rural community organizations).”¹

---D. L. Raby.

The liberal awakening of the Republican period received a serious jolt with the rise of the dictatorial regime in Portugal of Antonio Oliveira de Salazar. This regime, which was, established on the ideology of supremacy of the nation besides God, with hatred towards modern ideas of liberalism and socialism, extolled the fascist ideology. Since it is very important at this stage to understand the basic philosophy of fascism and its features, an analysis of fascism, the fascist state of Salazar and its impact on the general masses has been presented in the subsequent paragraphs.

Salazarism and its Features

Fascism can be defined as the seizure and control of economic, social, political and cultural aspects of a state by a small group of activists, backed by a large segment of the conservative middle and upper classes fearful of the communist-worker left, to the end that the state becomes intensely nationalistic, anti communist, militaristic and finally imperialistic.² A fascist state aims at total regeneration of social, economic, political and cultural life of a nation by destroying liberal democratic institutions of a nation. It emerged on the European political scene as a modern political ideology soon after the First World War. Most of the European nations like Italy Germany, Spain and Portugal came under the powerful influence of this totalitarian ideology. Political instability and the economic crisis that followed the world war were responsible for its speedy popularity. The failure of democratic regime to give the people of Europe socio-political and economic stability resulted in general frustration. Italy was the first European nation to concede to the fascist ideology.

Genesis of Fascism

The term fascism was popularised by Benito Mussolini of Italy who emerged as the unchallenged dictator in 1922. It was he who had formed a group of strong-arm fighters in Milan to fight against communism, which was called as *Fascio de Combattimento*. The word *fascio* in Italian language means “union or league”, representing a symbol of authority and strength. It is rooted in the word ‘*fasces*’, a sign of authority carried by the lectors of ancient Rome, which consisted of an axe, surrounded by a bundle of rods, denoting power of life and death. This bundle, which was bound tightly together, represented power, strength and authority of the Roman officials to punish the wrong-doers.³

Although Fascism emerged as a dominant political concept only in the twentieth century, its basis can be traced to Plato and Herraclitus,⁴ the ancient political thinkers of Rome. Later political ideologists like Machiavelli, Hobbes,

Fichte, Hegel, Nietzsche and others also propounded theories of absolutism rejecting the liberal philosophy of the enlightened period.

The First World War, which resulted in great political upheaval in the world, gave rise to ideologies like socialism and communism. The rise of fascist ideology was therefore seen as a challenge to these ideologies. Fascism, which advocated principles such as complete submission to authority, total discipline, heightened nationalism and racial superiority was, in fact, encouraged by countries, like England, although it throttled basic fundamental rights.

As mentioned earlier, countries like Italy under Benito Mussolini, Germany under Hitler, Spain under General Franco and Portugal under Salazar witnessed fascist dictatorships. The Second World War was successful in destroying the Nazi regime of Hitler and of fascist Italy, yet the menace of fascism continued in Spain and Portugal till mid 1970s.

Features of Fascism

As mentioned earlier the fascist movements were triggered off by critical socio-economic conditions, which prevailed in the European society due to unstable political conditions. Failure of democracy to ensure European stability created a widespread feeling of uncertainty and fear. People began to lose faith in the existing political system. The economic depression of 1929 furthered the notion of absolute leadership. People dreamed of a powerful leader who would end the chaos and ensure a stable government and thus end the problems of the masses. The concept of the totalitarian state began to become more and more popular. This totalitarian dictatorship can be characterised by six basic features: 1. An elaborate ideology that covers all aspects of man's existence and which contains a powerful chiliastic moment; 2. A single mass party, led by one man, which forms the hard core of the regime and which is typically superior to or intertwined with the governmental bureaucracy. 3. A system of terror by the party and secret police that is directed

against real and imagined enemies of the regime. 4. A monolithic control of the mass media 5. A near monopoly of weapons. 6. The central control of the economy.⁵

Thus fascist movements used this ideology to give frustrated people the hope of strong government to solve their immediate socio-economic problems. But at the same time it propagated irrational concepts such as authority, obedience, honour, duty, the fatherland and racial superiority. It also expected blind obedience from the people to their leader that would facilitate the establishment of a true community.

As mentioned earlier, the factors of political instability and socio-economic crisis led to the rise of dictatorships in Europe. Portugal, an Iberian nation, was no exception to this rule.

Failure of the Republican Regime

As mentioned earlier, the republican regime, which was inaugurated in 1910 and which lasted till 1926, was successful in promulgating a liberal atmosphere in Portugal and its colonial empire. Unfortunately, it suffered from very inherent political instability. For sixteen years, people of Portugal witnessed *coup d' etats*, rebellions and political intrigues. Not a single parliamentary government continued in its office for more than four months until the rise of dictatorship in 1926. Portugal witnessed 45 different governments.⁶ This political instability was accompanied by major economic debacles. By mid 1920^s Portugal was an impoverished republic beset by unrest and abortive revolts.⁷ Portugal had participated in the world war and this had almost drained her treasury. Huge budget deficit, bankruptcy, starvation, inflation were some of the pressing problems that unstable political governments could not tackle. While commenting on the state of anarchy in Portugal, Mario Soares, a socialist leader who later became the Prime Minister of Portugal after the establishment of democratic regime in 1974, in his work, *Portugal's Struggle For Liberty*, has said, "there was indeed a closer parallel with what happened in Italy before the advent of Fascism".⁸ Hence, the notion of a strong leader who would put an end to political instability and save the country from worsening economic situation began to seize the

minds to the populace. By 1922, Benito Mussolini had come to power in Italy. Italy's totalitarian government, that enunciated economic reforms to curtail economic disasters that Italy faced, served as the best example of an authoritative set-up and popular support for the fascist ruler began to show an upward trend.

On 28th May 1926, General Gomes da Costa revolted against an inefficient and corrupt democratic regime and took power in his hand. He was soon replaced by General Oscar Carmona who became the President of Portugal and General J. V. Freitas who assumed the office of the Premier of Portugal.

In order to put Portugal's worsening economic situation on a sound footing, Salazar, then professor of economics at the University of Coimbra, was invited to take charge of the country's financial matters. As a professor of economics Salazar had produced a paper on wheat production in which he had analysed the problem of shortage of agrarian produce that Portugal faced. Simultaneously, he had published his paper on control of public expenditure. Salazar had also published his thesis on the gold agio. He became finance minister of Portugal in 1928. As a minister of finance he wielded enormous power. He was not only in charge of the state's income and expenditure but had power to sanction the budget for the ministers and all matters regarding expenditure required his consent.

Portugal was facing the problem of extravagant expenditure to control that was one of the most important challenges before Salazar. He immediately implemented an economic programme that heavily cut down the country's superfluous expenditure. In order to put Portugal on a sound economic footing he levied new taxes that brought an increase in the state revenue. By curtailing extra and unnecessary expenditure and by raising much needed finances, Salazar succeeded in stabilising Portugal to some extent. His administration of finances convinced people of Portugal that he was the Person who could give them the much-needed economic security and stabilise the worsening political condition of the country.

As a finance minister, Salazar not only rescued the country's deficits but also took up certain development projects such as public works, advancement in communication system, raised Portugal's agricultural production by providing much needed infrastructure facilities. These measures definitely improved the country's economic status. However, soon Portugal came under the spell of authoritarian rule. On 5th July 1932, Salazar successfully silenced his opposition that included teachers, academicians, intellectuals, professionals and others and emerged as a dictator to rule Portugal till 1968.⁹ Portuguese citizens as well as people from the colonies of Asia as well as Africa surrendered their individual rights and freedom for the initial economic stability that Salazar provided them. Let us elaborate on the features of Salazar's dictatorship, which throttled Portugal and had devastating impact on its colonies.

Estado Novo

The new state promulgated by Salazar was a fascist corporate state representing all the characteristics of a totalitarian dictatorship. Salazar based his state on the principle of extreme nationalism and centralisation that denied to the people any kind of liberal institution. The ideological basis for the *Estado Novo* can be traced to the doctrine of *Integralismo Lusitano*¹⁰ that was published in 1914. This doctrine had preached conservative ideas and had rejected the liberal ideology of the French Revolution of 1789.

After the French Revolution, a group of conservatives who believed in the concept of monarchical form of government aimed to recreate the France of Louis XV. Charles Maurras, a French philosopher who had initiated *Action Française*, an ancient reactionary organisation, promoted these theories of integral nationalism that endorsed traditional conservative ideology. This ideology had denounced the principles of popular sovereignty, liberty and secularism and had projected the virtues of society based on religion, authority and nationalism against socialism and communism. The nation was held up as the supreme value, side by side with the God and increasingly as a substitute for God.¹¹ The New State had imbibed these

conservative ideologies. Therefore, it can be said that *Estado Novo* was a unique combination of fascism, a modern concept, and Lusitanian *integralismo*, a conservative ideology. Salazar, in his interview to his chief propagandist, Antonio Ferro admitted the anti-democratic nature of *Estado Novo*: "Our dictatorship is much like the force of authority, in our open war against certain democratic principles in our nationalist character and in our conception of social order."¹²

'Economy of Terror'

Salazar's dictatorial regime was based on the use of unlimited force and violence. While describing his regime, American political scientist H. Martins has said that Salazar's regime practised an 'economy of terror', a controlled but persistent repression which fragmented and neutralized the opposition.¹³ His state was a perfect police state. Portugal and its colonies in Asia and Africa were brought under *Policia Internacional e Defesa do Estado* in short P. I. D. E. By using this machinery he was able to neutralise his opposition. Mario Soares has vividly described the atrocities committed by the P.I.D.E. on the locals as well as the colonial population. This security police force was based on Hitler's *Gestapo* that was used to eliminate Jews and others who opposed him. P.I.D.E. was entrusted with wide powers with which it opened a reign of terror in Portugal which included manhandling of the people, use of third degree, whipping, bull lashing, blinding lights and the use of live electrical handcuffs. In order to dump his opposition Salazar set up special cell for political prisoners at Caixas, São Julião da Barra and Penich.

A slight sign of dissent was enough to be victim of the P.I.D.E. Mario Soares was himself detained in prison and later exiled from Portugal. Salazar's regime did not adopt Soviet or Nazi policy of purging unwanted people from the state, but it did eliminate even the slightest signs of opposition or disloyalty to the regime. The scars of dictatorship and police terror were reflected on the faces of the Portuguese citizens and their tormented expressions mirrored demoralisation, insecurity and fear.

The colonies too, fell prey to this barbarous treatment. The non-violent protestors who raised the note of dissent against Salazar's colonial policies underwent the regime of terror in Goa. The extreme police repression reached its peak after the 18th June non-violent protest of the Goans. The colonial authority fearing the repetition of a similar open action tightened its grip over Goans and gave wide discretionary powers to the police force.

The Central Police Command of Goa issued a series of Government orders, circulars to all district commissioners and district police departments as well as to frontier outposts to the effect that the police should act with firmness and even with violence, ¹⁴if necessary, at the slightest sign of disobedience of laws. It further elaborated that the necessary arrests should be made promptly without any delay to put restraints on such acts of disobedience. The order also asked to compile all incidents of political nature and to trace those persons who were responsible for such acts. The police were asked to note of even unimportant incidents. Comandante José Manuel Nobre de Carvalho once again repeated this order in 1950.¹⁵

A file of those Goan and Indian citizens residing in Goa, whom the authorities suspected of nationalist links, was maintained. The authorities collected press clippings, photographs and other relevant data. These politico-social files were kept independent of other police files that dealt with criminal activities. The information maintained in this file was later supplied to the frontier posts to ensure the non-infiltration of nationalists in Goa. The Central Police Command preserved more than 2000 such files.¹⁶ Circular No FC 271/TE/9 asked the district civil authorities to furnish any relevant information regarding suspected individuals to the local police.¹⁷

These civil offices had to submit a confidential weekly report that contained the relevant information to the higher authorities. Based on this information the police were ordered to take immediate action such as "search and detention." The police authorities were also asked to hand over the general list of suspects to civil authorities that would facilitate the capture of individuals who were accused of

committing crimes against the security of the state. Portuguese authorities issued special circulars to all police departments in Goa to prohibit the celebration of 15th August, the Indian Independence Day. The police were denied leave benefits specially on the 14th and the 15th of August and were asked constantly to patrol public places in main cities of Panaji, Mapusa, Ponda and Margão to see to it that any kind of nationalist activity such as hoisting the Indian national flag, political gathering, display of posters, banners, did not occur. Strict vigilance was also maintained on the border areas to prevent the entry of nationalists.¹⁸ In 1956 Government in Goa amended law no 37.447 and empowered the police “to exile suspects for an indefinite period when lacking evidence” or to increase the period of detention for “further successive duration of three years.”¹⁹

Concept of Third Empire

Heightened cultural jingoism was one of the most important features of *Estado Novo*. Like the dictatorial regimes of Germany and Italy that extolled the nations’ past glories, Portugal also hailed its national past. Portuguese national heroes, right from Prince Henry the Navigator and his successors like Vasco da Gama and his so-called discovery of sea route to India that had led to the conquest of Asia and Africa by the Europeans, was not only glorified but was considered to be the God appointed mission to civilise the third world. Empire both stimulated and satisfied the wildest imaginings. “It was style and a boast; an eye-catching assemblage of hero cults, exhibitionism, rituals of self-glorification, and a general eagerness to play up, and play the game.”²⁰ While commenting on this imperial policy deliberately perpetuated by Salazar’s regime James Duffy, the author of *Portugal in Africa*, has commented,

“A succession of colonial heroes from Prince Henry the Navigator to Mousinho de Albuquerque, the Congo experiment, the work of missions, and exploits of exploration and conquests all contributed to the reshaping of the colonial mentality.”²¹

This cultural chauvinism inculcated by the dictatorial regime in Portugal was based on the notion of Pan Lusitanism according to which Portugal considered its colonies in Asia and Africa as the territorial extension of Portugal. According to Portuguese view there were no colonial territories subject to the metropolitan community. They stressed that there was a single national community covering a territory that was juridically one despite geographical discontinuity.

Thus the Portuguese nation was believed to be multiracial and it was emphasized that the colonies shared same cultural aspirations like the mother country. This approach of Salazar was much different from the contemporary Nazi ideology of cultural chauvinism, which tried to establish superiority of Aryan race by exterminating Jews and other communities. This notion of pan-Lusitanism was a myth much pampered and popularised by the regime. Ronald H. Chitcolate has described this notion of the revival of the past glory as the “official Portuguese nationalism and excessive glorification of the epic spirit.”²²

Obsessed with this cultural jingoism Portugal claimed that the main reason for colonisation of Asia and Africa was not their commercial interest in the colonies but what inspired them was the strong patriotic feeling towards Portugal, as they wanted to extend their dominance in these continents. Moreover, they had noble intention of civilising the ignorant masses by spreading the Christian religion in these ‘backward’ regions. The chairperson of the executive committee of *União Nacional*, Castro Fernandes, expressed this notion in the following words:

“For us, colonisation was not merely for the purpose of building up commercial credits or prosperous factories; it was a service for God and Fatherland, a service to expand the domination of Portugal and Christianity, represented by the great crosses on the sails of our ships.”²³

Governor General of Goa, E. H. Bossa, argued on the same line when he wrote to Gandhi refuting Indian claims that there were popular expressions against their

regime in Goa. The Portuguese authorities in Goa claimed that they had not come to India “merely for the purpose of domination or economic exploitation but they were guided by the lofty ideals of brotherhood and always considered Indians as brothers and never as subjects.”²⁴ Gandhi had refuted this claim on grounds that distinction was made between Indians and Portuguese, African and Portuguese in Moçambique and in Delgoa when he had visited these places. He had not noticed any Government there for philanthropic purposes. However he commented, “Indeed what I see, and know of the conditions in Goa, is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa, have been speechless is a proof, not of the innocence of the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror.”²⁵ The Indian request to initiate negotiations regarding Goa was officially rejected by Portugal on the basis of this very claim that the Portuguese territories in India were an integral part of the Portuguese nation and therefore India had no business to interfere in the internal matters of Portugal. The tug of war between India and Portugal by exchange of Notes and the impact of this on the nationalist organisations like The National Congress (Goa) is elaborately dealt in Chapter VI.

Why was Portugal so desperately trying to cling to those colonies that were more a liability than an asset? Douglass Porch attributes this widespread idea of imperialism as a survival tactic adopted by the dictator.²⁶ As we are aware the political as well as economic conditions of Portugal in the mid twentieth century were critical. Though Salazar had successfully restored the country’s devastated economic condition to some extent, the economic crisis continued. The political leadership needed an excuse to divert the attention of the population from major issues if it had to survive. Therefore the regime harped again and again on their historic mission and past glories. In this way the regime was successful in diverting people’s mind from the existing problems and simultaneously strengthened the dictatorship. Thus “the past had become the ticket to political survival in the present.”²⁷

The “official Nationalism” found expression in *Acto Colonial*, which declared, “It is the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to perform the historic function of

possessing and colonising unknown lands and of civilising the native population living therein. By exercising also the moral influence imposed on her by the *Padroado*.” Thus the *Acto Colonial* legalised the dominant role of the Portuguese and subservient role of the colonial people. It proposed to establish the racial, cultural and political supremacy of the Portuguese over the colonies and played a key role in validating colonial rule of Portugal over Asian and African territories. Moreover, *Acto Colonial* reaffirmed what can be called “the process of othering”, one of the fundamental characteristics of colonialism. The term colonised is used as a subordinate term in relation to which European individuality is defined always with reference to the superiority of an expanding Europe. The colonised people were represented as being “less human, less civilised, as children, savages, wild man or animal or headless mass.”²⁸

The intellectuals and nationalists from the colonies as well as Salazar’s opponents in Portugal attacked this official policy of the regime and its attitude towards the colonies. Cunha Leal, a former finance minister in the republican regime, was highly opposed to the Colonial Act that had abolished the spirit of equality granted by the republican regime to the people by placing the colonies and the metropolis on an equal footing. The Colonial Act had sowed the seeds of dissent between the ‘possessor’ and the ‘possessed’. Antonio Sergio, a former Portuguese minister, while writing to the Minister of Overseas Territories had expressed his dissent to the Colonial Act and had expressed fear that with the racial discrimination embodied in this Act it would be difficult for political leaders of Portugal to appear before the bar of public opinion with true justice and reason.²⁹

In Goa, too, nationalists like Luis de Menezes Bragança and Tristão Bragança Cunha, who considered this Act as a total embodiment of imperial arrogance and racial superiority and an insult to the self-esteem of colonial people, vehemently attacked the Colonial Act. Calling the Colonial Act as an affront to the rights of colonial people, Menezes Bragança protested against “cynical propaganda of a doddering dictatorship”³⁰ in the Government Council in following these words:

“Portuguese India does not renounce the right which people have to achieve their full individuality, until they became units capable of determining their own destiny, as this is an original right of their fundamental nature.”³¹

As been discussed in the earlier chapter, this cultural chauvinism was a part of Portuguese colonial policies right from the time of initial conquest. It was reflected in her zeal of spreading the Lusitanian culture among the conquered people by suppressing their local traditions. The policy of lusitanisation had devastating effects on the mindset of the colonial people and had led to the “Denationalisation” of the people of Goa as been rightly analysed by T. B. Cunha. While critically evaluating Portuguese psychology, Cunha affirmed that it was not their inherent right to civilise the native lands of Asia and Africa has attacked the so-called notion that this rule was beneficial to the local. A detailed critique of the denationalisation of Goans, the impact of Portuguese colonial policies will be attempted later on. However, at this juncture, some reflections on the resolution which Cunha passed at the meeting of Goans organised in Bombay in 1933, are noted in the subsequent paragraphs.

The meeting of the Goan community in Bombay was convened by the Goan Union at the Luso-Indian Hall. It demanded immediate restoration of constitutional rights that were extended by the republican regime to all citizens of Portugal residing in the metropolis or in the colonies. The resolution noted that the implementation of *Acto Colonial* was a torture and humiliation to those Goan emigrants who toiled all day and supported the economic deficit of Portuguese India with their remittances. It refused to accept the *Acto Colonial* that had pronounced a highly centralised system leaving no scope for provincial autonomy.

The resolution also said that the implementation of this Act would not be in the interest of the people of Goa and would cause threat to the future of Goans. Therefore, the Goan community gathered in a meeting convened by the Goan Union,

“to protest before the Government of Portuguese Republic against the Principles of *Acto Colonial* which today forms part of the Portuguese constitution and in particular against the articles 2 and 32 of the Act which are an affront not only to the civil dignity of the sons of Portuguese India but places the Goan emigrants in British India in a difficult situation which can bring serious consequences.”³²

This Colonial Act was later amended in 1951 and the terms ‘colonial’ and ‘colonies’ were replaced by ‘overseas provinces’. This cosmetic change in the terminology was the result of widespread criticism in the world against colonialism and was the evidence of discontent present in the Portuguese colonies including India and Africa. Moreover, it was also an eyewash as the U.N.O. had rejected Portugal’s claim for membership.

From 1951 this official nationalism took a new turn. Now Portuguese colonies were claimed by Portugal as her ‘provinces’ that were held together by the historic Lusitanian cultural bond. As Salazar stated: “By the same national criterion... without distinction of geographic situation... we administer and direct the Portuguese colonies... we are a juridical and political unity.”³³ Salazar clung to this myth and refused to let go of Goa until Portugal was forced by India to vacate its colonies through the employment of armed action in 1961. In spite of India’s continuous request to settle the question of Portuguese territories in India amicably, as other European countries like Great Britain and France had offered to do, Portugal audaciously declared that Portuguese India was an extension of Portugal in India and therefore the question of relinquishing these territories did not arise. Portugal adopted a similar attitude towards her colonies in Africa. Their reluctance to relinquish any part of their empire was a typical case of exalted nationalism that forced Portugal to hold their valuable sea borne empire for so long.

Constitution of 1933

The Constitution of 1933, promulgated by Salazar, was the reflection of a totalitarian regime. It declared the *Estado Novo*, the 'New State', as an *Estado Corporativo*, the State Corporative. This "unitary and corporative republic"³⁴ was vested with the "right and duty"³⁵ to "supervise the coordination and control of economic and social life"³⁶ and "the economic organization of the nation must ... create a collective existence from which the state shall derive power and the citizens justice."³⁷ This system of governance was similar to the fascist system introduced by Mussolini in Italy. Salazar, while stating the nature of the 'New State', bluntly declared, "we are anti-parliamentary, anti-democratic, anti-liberal and we firmly resolve to establish a corporate state on the model of Italian corporatism."³⁸ Thus Salazar's dictatorship while re-enforcing its authority in Portugal declared an open war on democratic principles.

The constitution of 1933 provided for a unitary republic in which the corporative chamber replaced the upper house of the state national assembly. This was a mere advisory body comprising of 24 corporations that belonged to industrial, commercial, cultural, social, religious fields. Salazar who wielded tremendous power in administering state affairs, was not obliged to take cognisance of the decisions of this chamber. Salazar, who was against the democratic principles, undid almost every possible reform that the republican regime had introduced in Portugal. He reduced the status of the national assembly to a very insignificant institution. The constitution of 1933 completely regulated the political process in Portugal by legalising the National Union as the only political party of the nation. No doubt elections were held but they were a mere farce. The hard reality was that all the power rested in one man's hand. The National Assembly lost its right to frame laws. It did not have power to challenge any law or decree that was initiated by the Prime Minister. In fact, the authority of Salazar could not be questioned by any institution such as judicial authority or by the National Assembly.

They could not contest any of his decisions. Salazar introduced changes in the pattern of administration based on the principles of fascism that were practised by other dictatorial regimes in Europe and applied them to suit local conditions. Mario Soares described the nature of the Salazarist administration as “a unitary corporative and imperial Republic seeking to maintain a hybrid compromise between its own brand of representative system and the several patterns of Fascism then to be found in Europe.”³⁹ He further points out that since the constitution that Salazar introduced, was “tailored”⁴⁰ by him to serve his own ends, Salazar did not give much importance to it while administering Portugal: “Constitution or no Constitution he was the State, the Perfect Police State.”⁴¹ Moreover, the *Estado Novo* was a military state. According to Article no. 54 of the Constitution, military service was general and compulsory for metropolitan citizens. However, people from colonies were exempted from compulsory military service in lieu of the payment of a military tax. It appears that dictatorship deliberately excluded subjects from the colonies to take up military services to avoid any danger to their rule in the colonies. Therefore there were neither Goan troops nor Goan commissioned officers in the Combat Divisions.⁴²

Denial of Civil Liberties

Salazar was aware of the power of the pen. He was conscious that “the pen might do the work of gun; a play might pack the power of a hand grenade.”⁴³ Therefore, he denied to the people of Portugal any kind of fundamental civil rights. There was no freedom of formation of political party, no freedom of press, association and speech. By destroying each and every democratic institution Salazar silenced the popular voice. Curtailment of political liberties and a determined policy to violently suppress the deep-seated nationalist sentiments of Portugal’s possessions in Asia and Africa was one of the main features of dictatorial rule of Salazar. *Uniao Nacional* was declared the only legal party in Portugal. The state extended enormous control over political, social and economic fields. The pattern of administration that Salazar introduced was justified by Salazar’s supporter, António Leite de Magalhães, in these words:

“Empire means Authority and there is no Authority where power is divided and diluted. It is the duty of the New State to re-establish the form of power. With it, will be revived all the power concepts of the Past. Core of these power concepts was the unity of territory and of the Grail, as though there were no seas or races separating the constitutional elements of the national whole.”⁴⁴

Police and press censorship were the two major instruments used by the dictator to muzzle the population of Portugal as well as of its colonies. Article 8, of the constitution of 1933 stated, “ Special laws shall regulate the freedom of expression, of thought, meeting and association and as regards the first named, perversion of public opinion must be forbidden preventively or repressively.”⁴⁵ Article 10 reasserted that those meetings or assemblies in which “seditious and offensive”⁴⁶ demonstrations against the Government, that were likely to endanger in any way “public order of security of citizens, shall be dissolved if they constitute infringements of the law.”⁴⁷ Freedom-fighters who spoke to me on this issue commented, “Even a passing remark in a café, a general discussion at the roadside regarding the political situation was considered as a subversive activity and was treated as an offence. Thus any means that would lead to opinion building among the people were nipped in the bud by the authorities.”⁴⁸

Strict press censorship prevailed in the country. Even a wedding card would not be printed without prior permission of the government authorities. The government had discretionary powers to stop any publication, to close down any printing press and fine any journal. A summary tribunal was appointed to condemn newspapers that published “gossip or information capable of alarming the public or causing any loss to the state or which might offend national dignity and prestige”.⁴⁹ It was made compulsory for newspapers to publish official notes of the government and if any newspaper failed to abide by these guidelines, it was threatened with the penalty of suspension and heavy fines.

This was how the press was totally controlled by state authorities to keep citizens in a resigned state. Government interference in the newspaper field went to the extent of deciding headlines of newspapers and crediting importance or otherwise to news items by choosing particular column with definite space, to suit the 'welfare of the Portuguese state'. The censor forbade certain names, expressions, words that government felt could threaten the existing rule. The censor department banned books, literature especially of the communist ideology and other democratic nature that was considered subversive and contra to the dictatorship. The persons in possession of such literature were searched by the secret police and if found were arrested. The material was confiscated and destroyed.

In order to suppress the nationalist movement in Goa, the Police Commandant had issued a confidential circular on 11th February⁵⁰ that banned plays, dramas and stage performances as the Government suspected that through the medium of plays ideas of nationalism infiltrated to the masses. Under Section 5 of Article 17⁵¹ of the Regulations, censorship was imposed on writing of plays. The police were given special powers to stop the performance of even a song or speech in the plays whose scripts were full of revolutionary ideas and were of "a vexatious nature to the Portuguese sovereignty".⁵² Flaviano Dias who wrote a Konkani play *Falliancho Sounsar* was also censored by the state. "This play was based on Acharya Atre's famous Marathi play *Udyacha saunsar* that tackled social issues and did not have any political message"⁵³ However *Policia do Estado da India Commissaria do Sul* censored it in 1953. His other play *Hoch Chedyaco Bapuye* that depicted problem of dowry, also had to undergo similar procedure. Special instructions were issued to the frontier posts to search the luggage of suspected persons giving special attention to the "bundles and volumes of subversive journals"⁵⁴ in order to stop its influx into Goa. The circular made special reference to *Resurge Goa*, a nationalist bulletin by Telo de Mascarenhas, an active worker of NC (G), and stated that "in case any of the copies of this journal or any other, even manifestos"⁵⁵ were located in Goa, the police were asked to take stern measures to stop its distribution. "Thus censorship and the political police between them have had a debasing effect on the average man in

Portugal, the same effect, in fact as that of the Inquisition which undoubtedly caused a national decline from the sixteenth century onwards.”⁵⁶

Stagnant Economic Conditions

One of the important characteristics of Portuguese colonial rule was that it did not reflect the modern features of an imperialist nature. If one defines imperialism “as a modern phenomenon born out of the disproportionate industrial development of certain countries in reaction to others in a backward state of production,”⁵⁷ Portugal, that was an economically backward and stagnant state in respect of modern industries and technology, lacked the very basic characteristic of modern imperialist nation.

However, its desire to hold on to its colonial possessions did not emerge from economic interests in the colonies especially the *Estado da India*, but were definitely based on the notion of glorification of past achievements as discussed earlier. The action of Portugal not to let go of Goa was supposed to be in accordance with the “historic rights, which Portugal inherited as the first European country to establish inter-continental communications.”⁵⁸

The Portuguese power in India survived after the advent of the British due to their favour and mercy. The British Government by allowing Portuguese authorities to rule these enclaves extracted certain economic concessions from them, which received legal sanctity by the treaty, which both the powers signed in 1878. According to this Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, Goa was linked with British India through the construction of a railway line⁵⁹ which facilitated the British Government in India to extend its economic hold over Portuguese India. This had a very adverse effect on Goan economy as finished products such as salt and others were exported to British India without levying any custom duties. Goa was turned into a territory that depended on British India. In order to make up for the loss of revenue that was the direct fallout of this treaty, the Portuguese Government increased taxes on the local population. The Anglo-Portuguese treaty imposed on the citizens of Portuguese India

the curse of double domination: "if politically we are dependent on Portugal economically we live under British yoke."⁶⁰

The dictatorial regime though in the initial period tried to uplift Portugal's economy, in the subsequent period it failed to give sound economic development. Portugal remained backward compared to other European nations like England. The same dismal features were transplanted here in India too. Goan economy presented a very depressing picture of backwardness in agricultural as well as in the industrial sectors. This backwardness, which was deliberately induced by the dictatorial regime due to suppressive economic policies that killed the productive capacity of the territory, led to over dependence of people on the rest of India, in agricultural and industrial fields.

In spite of Goa's vast natural resources, the government did not make any efforts to tap the natural resources which it possessed. The government's apathy towards transforming the Goan economy from a very backward, rural economy to a more stabilised modern system is aptly elaborated by Antonio Salvador Fernandes, Professor of economics in the institute of Lyceum in Panaji in his treatise on the economic situation in India (*Situação Economica na Índia*). He has identified 14 Problems that had resulted in the all pervading economic stagnation that included amongst others agricultural, industrial and other related sectors.

According to him, lack of government interest had made matters worse in Portuguese India. Pointing out the administrative lacunae in the Portuguese set-up, Fernandes reflects that the attitude of the high officers as well as the short tenure of their services had resulted in grave problems. He says, "These fourteen problems are equally pitiable but worst is the less tenure of high officers."⁶¹ Commenting very sarcastically on the attitudes of various Governors who came down to colonies he has pointed out that "a Governor appointed to serve four years generally devotes first year of his tenure to study, the second year to think, third year to elaborate vague projects

and in the fourth year packs up the luggage to embark, rarely a governor continues the work of his predecessors.⁶²

Agricultural Conditions

As in the rest of the Indian territory, agriculture was the main occupation of the Goans around three-fifths of the working population was engaged in agricultural activity. In spite of fertile soil and good climatic conditions favourable for a wide variety of production, the actual production of the agricultural sector was very low. This low productivity was the result of total neglect of the alien rule towards agriculture. Lack of infrastructure facilities such as irrigation, better quality seeds, protection from pests and insects and modern technical know-how had resulted in the general adverse condition of the agricultural sector. In fact, T.B. Cunha has accused the Portuguese Government for deliberately neglecting the agricultural sector to keep the productivity low so that the Government could reap high revenues from the food products imported from the rest of India by levying heavy customs duty on them.⁶³

While undertaking an analytical survey of the deplorable conditions in the agricultural sector during the Portuguese period, one has to take into account the *gaonkaria* system—a land ownership pattern that had its roots in the *gaon* meaning village, and *pon* meaning administration. Thereby signifying a self-administrative peasant unit.⁶⁴ This system had been the feature of the Indian society from time immemorial and had successfully functioned on corporate basis with its own set of rules. Though in the initial period, the Portuguese authorities did not much interfere in the system, later through various charters, they established their hold on these village communities. The Government interference in the working of village communities had an adverse effect on agriculture. The Code of 1933 appointed a government nominee on a village community to establish direct control of the Government and ended its autonomous character. The Code of 1961 gave enormous power to the *bhatkar* community over *mundkars* leading to the vast exploitation of the

tiller community. All these factors created apathy towards agricultural activity in the mind of peasant community.

In his treatise, *The Rice Problem* Cunha elaborately shows how the Portuguese Government pursued an economic policy that was detrimental to agriculture and inflicted misery on the cultivators as well as the general public. Antonio Fernandes, in *Economic situation in India* has also criticized the faulty irrigation facilities that hindered the local productivity. He points out the lack of infrastructures facilities such as irrigation, drainage, pest control, that heavily hampered the agricultural growth. He states, “for consumption of water which is the base of agriculture there are several dams in the village *comunidades* but the state in which they are, the water drains from all sides.”⁶⁵ While hinting at the inefficiency of the Government employees to solve this crisis he recommends a body of well-paid engineers and agriculturists to undertake repairs and thus cater to the needs of the farmers. He also suggests that Government could give scholarships and depute Goan students to Lisbon to learn the technicalities of these problems.

The Government had constructed the Candepar canal in 1934-38, which provided irrigation facility to 42 ha. of land between 1938-1945. Although the Government renovated it in 1950 it could only irrigate 200 ha; falling short of the target of 465 ha. The same was the case of Paroda canal in Salcete *taluka*, which due to faulty construction, failed to irrigate the land according to the target set by the Government and could irrigate only 400 ha of land. Moreover the peculiarity of the land tenure system in which the landless farmers could borrow a land on lease for six years from the *comunidades* also led to the tenant's disinterest in improving infrastructure means, as he was unsure of whether the same land would come to him later. Therefore neither the Government nor the locals took interest in improving the existing condition of agriculture. The last Portuguese Governor General in India Vassalo e Silva has also pointed out that problem of land ownership was very typical of Goa and stressed that more than technical know-how what was required was in-

depth knowledge of the social conditions existing in Goa that hampered agricultural development to a large extent.⁶⁶

In 1935 the Government introduced a law which increased the rental charges of those lands that were leased out to tenants. This law proved hazardous to the cultivators as pointed out by Cunha in his treatise on *The Rice Problem*. Giving example of the new law that the Government introduced in 1935, which increased the rent of the paddy fields that were leased to landless labourers by the *comunidades*, Cunha points out that this increase in rent created grave economic problems as the tillers did not come forward to take up the production of rice. Thus this extortionate increase of the land rent affected rice production of the land. Moreover, the Government had increased the price of rice that was imported from the rest of India. Although this was done to protect the interest of the local farmers, this worsened the existing situation.

Cunha took up the issue and accused the Portuguese authorities of deliberately creating such a situation to earn high revenue by importing rice from British India. This negative policy of the Government was responsible for the lack of production of rice in Portuguese India. Cunha revealed to the public the case of Nagar Haveli where local farmers left vast rich fertile lands barren, as they could not afford the cost of production of rice and migrated to the neighbouring territories of India in search of livelihood.

Goa's Struggle for Freedom and Change in the Portuguese Policy Towards Agriculture

It was only after the Indian Government's stern stand to ban Portuguese Indian exports and imports facility, that the Portuguese Government desperately tried improve the agricultural sector.

A six-year development plan was introduced. An Agricultural Mission from Lisbon visited Goa which made revolutionary suggestions to improve agrarian

conditions. The Government took steps to set up pest control cells and established an Agricultural Front to popularise modern techniques of cultivation. The Government had introduced tractors only in 1951, till then the local farmers used the age-old traditional methods of cultivation.

Unfortunately the propagation of new techniques was done in the Portuguese language that was the official language therefore met with little success. The authorities took major steps to improve irrigation facilities in Goa. An Exhaustive study of the problem was undertaken and taken up and erection of dams was proposed. The Government also planned to erect dams at Rivona, Cacora, Dicarpale, Dharmapur and Vangazon. However, excessive bureaucratic control, lack of vision, lack of technical know-how and lack of funds were major impediments in providing irrigation facilities to Goans.⁶⁷ Though the Government made provision for distribution of motor pumps and constructed wells, these proved beneficial only for horticultural activity. Paddy cultivation in the territory remained neglected.

All this developmental work was politically motivated. The then Governor General of Goa, Vassalo e Silva the admits this in his diary "I had in view economic social and also (not less valuable) political benefit, to give assurance to the population and put the house in order."⁶⁸

These cosmetic changes that were initiated by the Portuguese colonial Government on the eve of Goa's liberation could not reduce the infinite misery caused to the peasantry. It was left to the Government of liberated Goa to free the peasants from these conditions of degradation.

L. S Miranda further elaborates this in the followings words:

"Goa such a vast land, a very fertile place, a place flowing with milk and honey up to this twentieth century has been left underdeveloped." He further states that Goan economy which was based primarily on agriculture, has been totally ignored and

cultivation “still to this present day is carried on with the methods of 15th to 16th century, when the rest of the world is carrying on its agriculture with modern machines working on diesel and electricity...”He clearly pin points the political purpose of the colonial regime in introducing the last minute reforms and mentions that “now because of the pressure from the other side, you at the last moment after your rule of almost 500 years, run to do something... bring implements and tractors, open poultry, to bluff the people and how slow are your tactics and your work?”⁶⁹

Ruinous Custom Policy

Goans had to face double customs, British as well as Portuguese which resulted in raising the cost of living in Goa. As a result of heavy duties incurred on imports, the prices of basic necessities increased including even rice, the staple food of Goans. As these custom duties was an easy source of revenue to the Portuguese Government, it encouraged over dependency of the Goans on Indian products and did nothing to boost local production. The other adverse effect of these custom duties was that it tremendously affected the export of local goods. The imposition of the heavy duties on the import of the British Indian goods had resulted in imposition of heavy duties on Goan products by the British authorities. In order to overthrow the “unnecessary and ruinous dependency on English India”⁷⁰ the colonial Government was even urged to import goods, especially rice from Burma and hire a ship for that purpose which would be more cost effective.

Industries

Goa was an industrially backward territory. The economic policy of the colonial Government did not encourage industrial growth of the land. On the eve of Goa’s liberation, Goa had some small-scale units which processed cashew nuts and also a match factory at Ponda. There were some rice mills, cereal and oil mills that were agro-based units. The lack of industries and poor agricultural conditions had led

search of employment and thus made Portuguese colonies 'slave markets' which provided the British with cheap labour.

Identifying imperialism as the chief cause of Goa's pitiable plight, he declared it to be detrimental to the well-being of Goans and held it responsible for intellectual servility and lack of progress. To prove this, Cunha has cited the case of Goan *kunbi* workers who were reduced to slavery by Portuguese bureaucrats and British capitalists in the tea gardens of Assam. The Goa Congress Committee, under the leadership of Cunha, had taken up the issue of their exploitation and was successful in repatriating the victims with the help of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then secretary of the Indian National Congress. This case of "camouflaged slavery" exposed the underlying system of "values" that shaped and moulded Portuguese colonialism.

As mentioned earlier, economic dependence of Goa on the rest of India, lack of agricultural and industrial growth, flight of Goan talent, accompanied by heavy taxation, resulted in very poor local economic conditions. In fact Goa was a liability on Portugal and not an asset. But Salazar refused to vacate Goa in spite of this hard reality, as liberation of Goa would have affected the Portuguese position in Angola and Moçambique, which were of lucrative benefit to the underdeveloped Portuguese nation. Thus, poor economic condition of the *Estado da India* accompanied by all pervading suppression of the people had created resentment among people regarding the Portuguese rule. Their desire to free themselves from the ills of Portuguese rule, "mal-administration" is reflected in the following: "We want Independence, Freedom of speech, work, in Goa, improvement and not a Goa a dead land as we see now under your dictatorial Government."⁷³

However, dislocation of Goans from Goa to other part of the world such as Bombay was in a sense blessing in disguise as it expanded their cultural and political horizon. The Goans that went to the other parts of India especially Bombay came close to the national happenings that were taking place in the countries. This led to the development of feeling that Goans were nothing else but Indians. The colonial

onslaught that had resulted in creating a mythical wall around Goa, which had developed a sense of rootlessness and caused cultural expatriation in the Goan Community, received a jolt. Thereby dismantling the false notions that Goa was an extension of Europe in Asia, spin-off the process of self-consciousness, which was later, manifested through their struggle against colonisation. In the subsequent paragraphs an attempt is made to trace the causes which attempted to culturally dislocate Goans from the rest of India as well as the realisation of national bonding, their quest to affiliate themselves to geographical and cultural rootedness with India.

Remittance Based Economy

As the Portuguese state failed to provide locals means to earn their living, a large number of Goans emigrated to Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, East Africa and other cities of the world. The flight of Goans to other lands left Goa devoid of a major portion of able-bodied working population and those who were basically left in Goa were the dependents. Lack of job opportunities that forced Goans to go outside in search of jobs is very well depicted in a Konkani poem by Flaviano Dias entitled "*A Mim Gaudi*". In this poem he states "Our people go to Bombay and jobs await them on steamers, *Chadis* eat dry *bombils* as they have no jobs, and office clerks wife cry as salaries are not enough..."⁷⁴ This wide emigration of Goans had resulted in another serious problem that was the transformation of Goa into a parasite economic state. These emigrants who earned their livelihood outside Goa would send a major part of their earnings to Goa to their family members and relatives. They remitted every year about three crores of rupees apart from other incidental and ad-hoc amounts.⁷⁵ These remittances enabled Goa's middle class to keep up a reasonable standard of living, provided money for administration and good trade deficit for Goa. Without these remittances Goa's economy would have completely collapsed.⁷⁶

Thus Goan economy was a remittance-based economy, a "parasite economy". The colonial rule that did not take any steps to alter this parasitic condition neither of

the state nor to avoid drain of the skilled labour from Goa. According to Madhav Bir, economic stagnation of Goa without any efforts to change the situation from the Government side was politically motivated “as migration of sizable section of middle class reduced the immediate danger of an planned confrontation to their rule.”⁷⁷ He further stated, “ They did not want conscious section of middle class to reside in Goa that would prove to be a major threat to their rule.”⁷⁸ L. S. Miranda’s letter to Salazar projects “the difficulties injustice and unfairness”⁷⁹ which the Goans had to face due to this emigration during the dictatorial regime and had to work under most “trifling conditions in foreign countries”

Socio-Cultural Conditions

“ In the Whole of India, no population so denationalised as Goans. A complete lack of national consciousness and the most shameful subjection to foreign rulers, either Portuguese or British, render the Goan and particularly the Goan Christian a stranger in his own land. A servile follower of everything foreign to his country, hybrid in manners and habits, living in disharmony with his natural surroundings, his strange behaviour makes one doubt the purity of his race, which nevertheless in no way differs from that of the neighbouring Indians. He is considered to be of mixed blood on account of the Portuguese names he had adopted and the western manners he affects. He has even been qualified as a “Portuguese mongrel” by a catholic missionary.”⁸⁰

The continuous and prolonged alien domination had turned Goans into abject and submissive people with lack of will power to resist foreign domination. The reason for this mental subjugation, which exhibited completely dependent and grovelling behaviour, lay in the 450 years of Portuguese colonial domination. The history of colonialism in Goa resulted in the emergence of two distinct groups of people, the “coloniser” and the “colonised”. The former instilled in the colonised

people a complex sense of dependency and sense of inferiority. In order to gain dominance over the new world, they suppressed the age-old local cultural traditions and replaced the indigenous cultural identity by a super imposing of alien sensibility over the “conquered.”

The policy of miscegenation and acculturation accompanied with the economic exploitation were the basic features of Portuguese domination. Portugal considered that the colonies that they occupied were the extension of the metropolis and therefore they forced locals to accept the religion and culture by using brutal methods. They trampled on the existing culture, traditions, and beliefs of the locals. This very characteristic of Portuguese rule led to fanaticism both in respect of religion as well as culture.

Afonso de Albuquerque laid the foundation of Christo-centric policies at the time of conquest of Goa in 1510. His assimilative policy of mixed marriages between the Portuguese and the Goan population to strengthen the Portuguese hold by producing obedient and servile progeny, loyal and faithful to the royal crown in Portugal. The policy of miscegenation was accompanied by forceful conversion to convert local population to Christianity. The local population did not circumvent the policy of conversion willingly and was not eager to accept the new faith. Therefore they were lured, tortured, forced and pressurised to accept Christianity. Portuguese colonial policy did not restrict itself only to conversion of locals to Christianity but this meant denial of traditional Indian way of life and adoption of Lusitanian culture. Conversion was the first step towards the cultural onslaught and this was followed by Inquisition set up in Goa in 1560. It was specially meant to serve the newly converted Goans who were prohibited from practicing the Indian way of life and intimidated to adopt Lusitanian culture. The policies of evangelisation and assimilation that were adopted by the colonialists in Goa to promote and protect the interest of their sea born empire had devastating effects on the local population that led to the denationalisation of Goans.

Denationalisation of Goans

In the later period, the policy of religious fanaticism was replaced by the colonial educational policy that cherished the aim of alienating Goans from their Indian roots. The Republican period had tried to infuse secular and progressive ideas in the Goan society but Salazar's dictatorship took the Goans back to the early colonial set-up. The progressive educational system received a setback Salazar made use of system of education as a tool to promote colonial control. The state recognised once again the role of the church in the field of education. The educational policy adopted by the dictatorial regime was to Christianise and educate, to nationalise and civilise. Both the Colonial Act and the Organic Charter of the empire stipulated, "Catholic missions in the overseas territories are instruments of civilisation and national influence."⁸¹

The constitution of 1933 established the religious hold on the educational system. The signing of the *Concordat* with the Vatican in 1940 tightened the hold of religion over the education. The whole educational system was moulded to de-link locals from the Indian land which they belonged to.

Mocidade Portuguesa, an institution nurtured by Salazar to indoctrinate the Goan youth by forcing them to sing Portuguese national songs and hail Portuguese heroes, was a typical Hitlerian concept. This institution was clear affirmation of the means used by the Portuguese in Asia and Africa to ensure "unending of strong ties of friendship between these territories and Portugal"⁸² and to keep them "gathered around the national flag of Portugal."⁸³ On the eve of Goa's liberation this institution was drastically reorganised to make it active in the social realm. A special post of *Commissario Provincial Azunto* was created. To assist him official sergeants and lieutenants were appointed. Its branches were also established in English and Marathi schools. In order to attract Goan youth specially from the poor community and to motivate them to join the institution special canteen facilities with quality food were provided by the government to those schools that had *Mocidade* as a part of its

curricular activities. Lt. Col. Marques de Andrade the chief of Portuguese troops in Goa, had done a “commendable” job in internalising this institution in Goa. Vassalo e Silva notes in his diary that all these majors had produced great results in promoting the policy of “co-existence” between the metropolitan and the local population. To quote: “This patriotic organisation owes much to its military directors and collaborators, as through this was done a magnificent job in all aspects especially among youngsters and also had excellent impact on the whole population.”⁸⁴

The colonial regime used education as a major tool of upholding colonial values. An extensive publication of books regarding the history of Portugal with special reference to its conquest of the East and biographies of its heroes was undertaken in all three languages, English, Konkani and Marathi. These books were then distributed in schools.

The syllabus was totally devoid of any reference to local history, languages and geography. The students were taught Portuguese history, language and geography. Imposition of an alien language, a western oriented educational system and the absence of anything that was Indian led to the disinterest of the masses in the educational field that in turn resulted in widespread illiteracy.

For creating the desired Portuguese ambiances teaching of the Portuguese language was made compulsory even in English and Marathi schools. In order to induce students to take up the study of Portuguese books and other facilities were provided to them. To win over the disgruntled Goan population, especially Hindu community Portuguese language was introduced in Marathi medium schools to erase the “wall between locals and metropolitan.”⁸⁵ However, their desperate attempt promoting the Portuguese language remained restricted to only elite section of the population.

The reactionary and conservative educational system accompanied did not generate employment opportunities. The lack of good educational facilities was one of the reasons that forced Goans to emigrate. Suppression of local languages, Konkani

and Marathi, resulted into cultural bankruptcy of the Goans. This helplessness of the Goans and their anger towards the colonial regime is very forcefully expressed by a Goan engineer, settled in London who wrote to Salazar, without revealing his identity as he feared that the dictatorial authorities would come down heavily on his family and relatives. Pointing out the difficult situation in which Goans had to live under the dictatorship he stated that Goans were not happy with the existing situation and many of them who urged to pursue higher studies wished to come to India. He blamed the colonial regime from Preventing Goans from “doing what they really want in life”.⁸⁶ Further expressing his deep love for his hometown he stated that he does not want to return to Goa “as long as the Portuguese remain there.”⁸⁷ He also pointed out that Goans had to “sacrifice everything just because the Portuguese still want to rule over Goa.”⁸⁸

The existing mechanism of cultural colonialism internalised oppression and forced the colonised to accept the myths created by the dominant authority and this led to de-individualisation of the locals termed by T. B. Cunha as “denationalisation” of the local people. This was the main characteristic of the social and cultural environment in Goa. According to Cunha, Goan society was a “caricature of the western society.”⁸⁹ He further states, “ All the intellectual manifestation of our elite are copies, imitation and pastiche of foreign modes inadaptable to our society. In short, it is the most complete intellectual degeneration.”⁹⁰

The inferiority complex that Goans experienced turned them into submissive people with a lack of will power to resist foreign domination. The dilemma of the locals under cultural colonialism is very aptly expressed by W. E. B du Bois in these words:

“It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity...”⁹¹

Erick H. Erikson, the famous neo-Freudian perceives that the creative individual must accept negative identity as, the very base line of recovery.⁹² Nationalists like T. B. Cunha believed that a people's identity, though long suppressed, lay embedded in their cultural origins and could be recovered. Once Goans acknowledge the "de-Indianisation", the depth of cultural hollowness, it would be a seminal step towards a collective recovery in the cultural field. Development of cultural consciousness in Goans would raised them from ignorance to enlightenment and this identity consciousness would create in them self-will to regain their lost ability and strength and would lead Goans to cast off the most ruthless process of mental bondage and loss of freedom.

This would cultivate in them an inner urge for self-respect and will power that would build up national consciousness in their mind and would free them from the curse of a subservient and servile culture. To achieve this, Cunha advised Goans to identify themselves with the Indian culture and the national struggle for freedom.

As mentioned earlier, the Indian national movement with its different phases was influencing the Goans. This influence of Indian struggle for self determination is aptly projected by Antonio Noronha in his treatise "*Os Indus de Goa e a Republica Portuguesa*"⁹³ Although this process was rather slow due to the political hurdles of dictatorship it was gaining roots in the hearts and minds of the people that led to the protracted Goan struggle for freedom. The detailed analysis of its course and the different turns it took as Goans pursued their quest for liberation is elaborated in the subsequent chapters.

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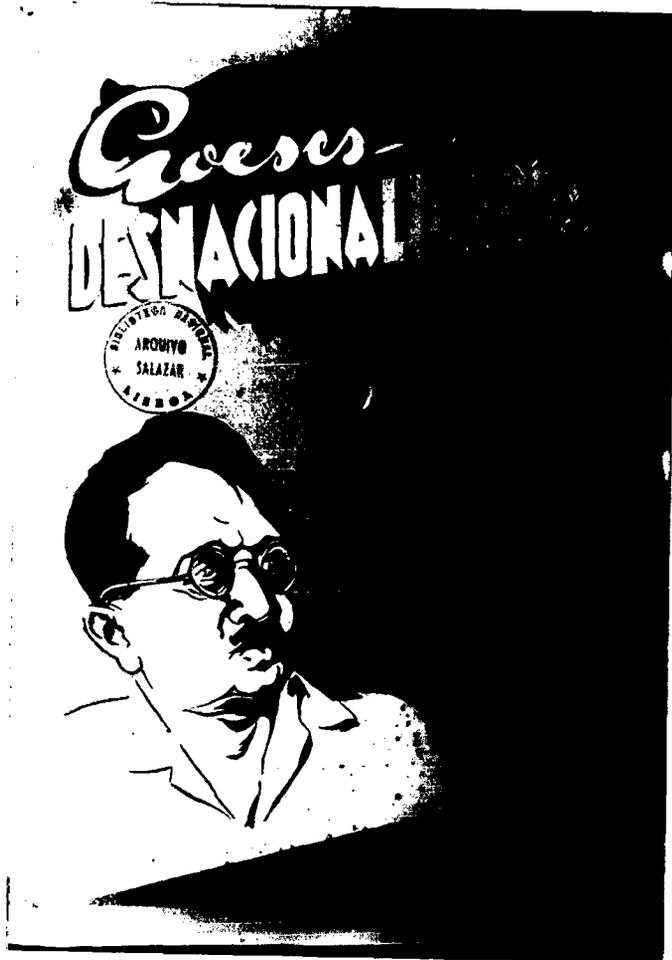
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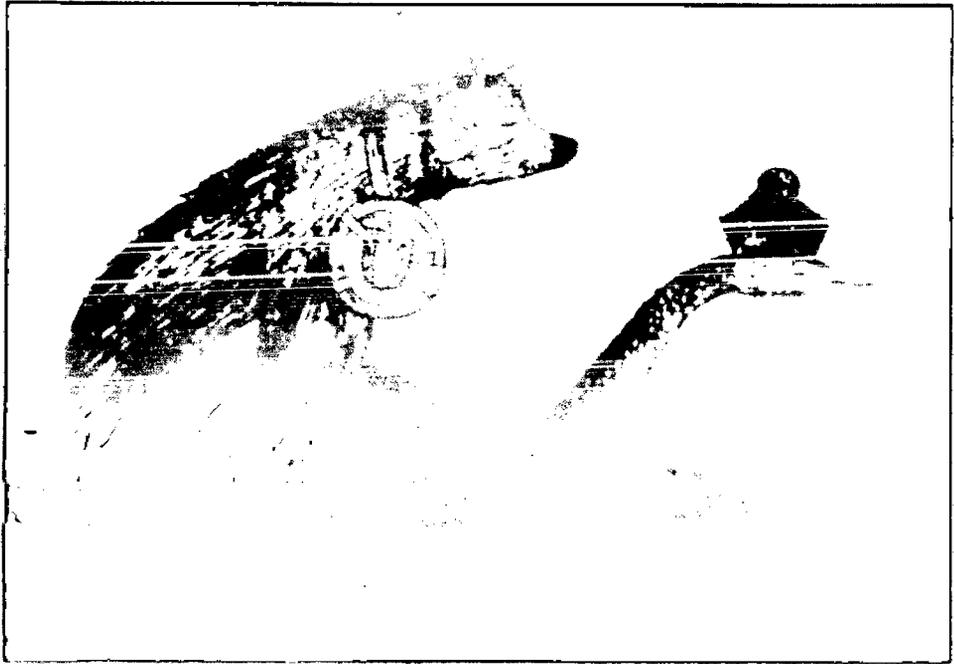
The State of Goa under Colonial Bondage



Denationalisation of Goa



Estado Novo

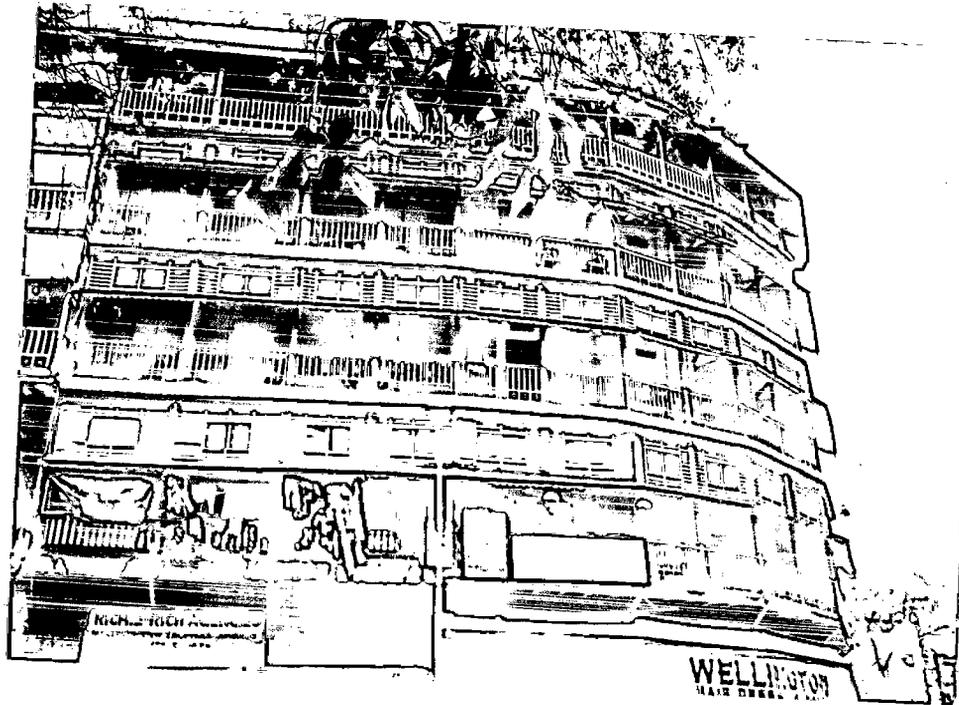
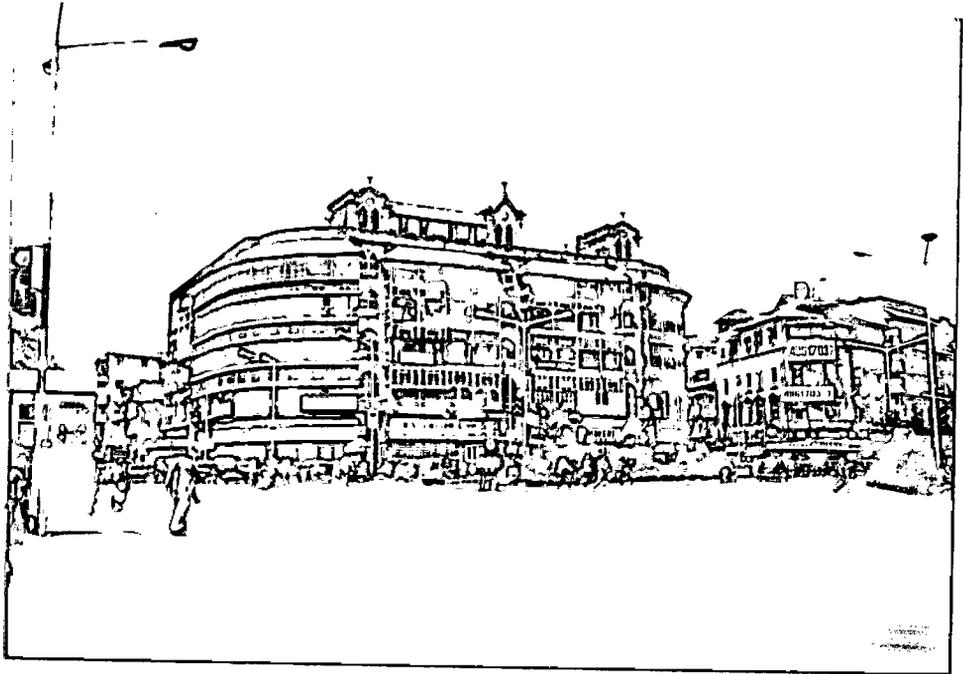


Jalata Gomantak (Goa in Flames)



Glimpses of Goan Presence in Bombay

Jahar Mahal containing the Goan "Kudds"



Portuguese Church at Girgaum



Xavier Church at Dabol, Girgaum



CHAPTER III

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA):

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

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" Indian citizenship is our birth right we affirm that we are and have always been part of the Indian people and declare our to become Indian citizens while Goa shall be an integral part of the Republic of Hindustan, the people of Goa shall on the basis of self-determination determine their status." ¹

--- National Congress (Goa).

The Portuguese colonial rule in Goa had stood unchallenged for four hundred years with only a few fledgling attempts, 1946 was to be a year of change from that for it was in this year that Ram Manohar Lohia the Indian socialist leader, began the saga of challenge the non-violent *satyagraha* action in Goa. This led to the formation of the National Congress (Goa), an organisation with an overtly modest aim of restoring basic civil rights that were denied by Salazar's dictatorial regime. This action in course of time, assumed the broad-based national objective of complete independence of Goa, Daman and Diu and its re-integration with India.

In 1949, the National Congress (Goa) while adopting its constitution, proclaimed its objective as "the attainment, through peaceful means, of freedom from foreign rule and the entry of Goa into the Indian Union on the basis of self-determination." ²

Here is an analysis of the causes that led to the formation of the National Congress (Goa). On the one hand, we have the dictatorial regime of Salazar and on the other hand, we have the rising tide of nationalism spreading to the Goan shores balanced with the Indian National Congress and its movement. All these

factors created a fertile ground for Lohia's direct action plan. The synchronisation of these factors finally unfolded the birth of National Congress (Goa).

Salazarism and Goa

As has been discussed in detail in the earlier chapter, cruelty and repression characterised Salazar's regime. He emerged as the unquestioned, sole, authoritarian ruler of Portugal in the late 1920s.³ He introduced and implemented the most repressive fascist policy not only in Portugal but in the overseas colonies as well. Total mutilation of freedom of thought and expression created a deadly odour in the public life of Portugal and its colonies. This was in total contrast to the liberal atmosphere of the republican regime of the past sixteen years, which had introduced certain benefits for the Hindus of Goa who had been discriminated against their Catholic brethren till 1910.⁴ The Catholics as well as Hindu uniformly experienced a political awakening as citizens of Goa. However, when Salazar took charge of the administration in Portugal, the little efforts that the Republican regime had undertaken to place Portugal on the path of democratic progress, were undone.

Republicanism was now under wraps and whatever breathing space was earlier provided to Goans now received a severe setback with the new draconian measures. Salazar's *Estado Novo*, that is, the New State was a police state that starved the civilians of healthy political life with the help of two major instruments: a) the police and b) strict censorship. Commenting on this strangulation, Mario Soares, who later became the Prime Minister of Portugal, has opined that:

- "Censorship and political police between them have had a debasing effect on the average man in Portugal; the same effect in fact as that of the Inquisition which undoubtedly caused a national decline from the sixteenth century onwards." ⁵

The perverseness of censorship of the press is evident from the fact that even a wedding invitation card could not be printed without state approval.⁶ A similar restriction also existed on social gatherings. Meetings could be convened only with official permission, which was liable to be withheld by the government without giving any valid reason to the applicant. There was no freedom of expression and the right to form associations was similarly denied. The Workers Society of Margão and the Youth Club of Assolna were banned as they were accused of Communist activities. The arbitrariness of the police, the system of press censorship and the denial of other basic civil rights led to the total suppression of public opinion that has been rightly termed as "real mental castration"⁷ by Cunha while describing the nature of Salazar's regime. This rigid atmosphere therefore, created "the disinterest of the masses in politics and their apathy with regard to the national problem were deliberately induced by the dictatorial system of Salazar."⁸

The fatal blow to the Portuguese colonies was given by the dictatorial regime in the form of the *Acto Colonial* that was introduced in 1935. This Act declared

"It is the historic function of the Portuguese nation to possess and colonise overseas dominations and to civilise the nations of those lands at the same time exercising over them a moral influence and control through Padroado of the East."⁹

This Act, which was a symbol of enslavement of the colonies, perpetuated a dominant submissive relationship between Portugal as the 'possessor' and the colonies as the 'possessed'.¹⁰

Luis de Menezes Bragança lashed against the injustice of the *Estado Novo*, openly denouncing its humiliations. He moved a resolution on the floor of the

legislative council upholding the principle of self-determination and the right of Goans to seek freedom from Portuguese bondage. He declared that

"Portuguese India does renounce the right that all people have of attaining the fullness of their individuality till they are able to constitute themselves into units capable of guiding their own destinies, this being the birth right of their organic essence."¹¹

Thus there existed definite traces of the nationalist spirit in Goa. These anti-colonial feelings deepened as Goans who migrated to other states like Bombay, either for higher studies or to seek employment, joined the fray. Their contacts with the rest of India gave them an opportunity to follow upon the heels of India's long and tenacious fight against British oppression. Their minds were permeated with ideas of nationalism and they were fired to do their best to liberate Goa. This emerging consciousness among young educated Goans was fully grasped by nationalists like Cunha who consciously and constantly aroused and nurtured it by giving a clarion call to the Goans to give up their passive attitude and to actively participate in the Indian freedom movement. He urged that they would have to "prepare themselves by discarding their mental subservience and living up to new political principles."¹² The only way to achieve this was "to take active part in the Indian struggle for freedom."¹³

The Impact of the Indian National Movement: Socio -Political Overview

By the twentieth century, under the eminent leadership of Gandhi, a new phase of *satyagraha* was introduced to cast off the trammels of the British talons. The intense "titanic" *satyagraha* struggle was brutally smothered. Yet it had disturbed the political equilibrium, leaving the British no choice but to concede to the demands of Indian nationalism. Indians got few a political liberties and an opportunity to experience some political rights. These were of course, the fruits of their long tenacious struggle.

While the rest of India was experiencing these political changes, Goa, as we have seen in the preceding paragraphs, remained resigned to its degrading conditions. By introducing the *Acto Colonial*, Salazar had put "the last nail in the coffin of Goan slavery."¹⁴

Firmly keeping Goa anchored in its despotic waters, Salazar throttled the democratic process that was initiated by the liberal republican regime that would have put Goa on the path of progress. This was taking place when the British imperial power ruling the rest of India had begun to consider demands made by Indians to extend the right of political participation to them. These concessions that the rest of Indians received were very limited yet proved to be helpful in enhancing their knowledge of the democratic process. Thus Goa under Salazar was following the path of regression and on the contrary British India was slowly proceeding towards achievement of its goal, and this contrast between Portuguese India and the rest of India became glaringly noticeable.

However, in spite of these precarious conditions tides of change touched the shores of Goa. The call of freedom from foreign imperialists which the rest of the Indians gave, also echoed in the hearts and minds of nationalist Goans. Cunha, conscious of Goa's undeniable age-old emotional and cultural bonds with the rest of India, was fully aware of the fact that Goa's salvation lay in embracing the nationalist movement in India.

This emerging consciousness among nationalist Goans is citable in an article entitled "Indian Nationalism" which appeared in *Bandra Review*, a magazine published by the Bandra Goan Institute in Bombay. It observed "Now with the awakening of the national sentiment, the younger generation of Catholics is developing the consciousness of their Indian origin and of the disadvantage of remaining alien to Indian thought and culture." It further stated that the first duty of the catholic community was to encourage the youth to be conscious of the Indian nationality and to create an atmosphere, which can "develop the real patriotic spirit."¹⁵

Now with the flickering flames of nationalism the catholic youth began feel one with India and in fact in January 1926 students from Goa who were pursuing their studies at Coimbra university projected their nationalist sentiments and aspirations by establishing Hindu Nationalists Centre and launched the nationalist bulletin called *India Nova, New India*. This was done in the very heart of Portugal and its founder members included Antonio Furtado, who later became the administrator of liberated Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and Telo Mascarenhas who was later actively involved with NC (G).¹⁶

In India, Cunha established a forum in 1928 called the Goa Congress Committee that aimed to provide a linkage to the nationalist sentiments of Goans and those from the rest of India. Cunha felt the need to create a new political vision in Goa and the Goa Congress Committee was entrusted with the task of helping to assimilate and develop the patriotic spirit among Goans.

The Goa Congress Committee

The establishment of the Goa Congress Committee was the first step of Goans to give a concrete shape to their emerging feeling of nationalism. Through this political forum, the people of Goa gave vent to their anti-Portuguese sentiments by espousing the cause of nationalism.

This was the time when the Indian National Congress, which had become fully aware of its strength and capacity to oust the British, had declared its aim to be "*Purna Swaraj* " or total independence. This revolutionary ideology of the Indian National Congress had boosted its confidence enough to extend its activities beyond the narrow limits of British India and the Congress embraced within its fold anti-colonial movements from the French and Portuguese territories.¹⁷

At the Calcutta session, the Goa Congress Committee was affiliated to the Indian National Congress, making Goa's struggle part of the Indian national struggle against foreign imperialists.

Acting as a branch of the Indian National Congress, the Goa Congress Committee waged a relentless struggle to rouse the dormant consciousness of the Goans and make them aware of their degradation. Cunha, through his party program and his fearless writings, made Goans aware of the implications of the Salzarist dictatorship, the threats to their liberty and impressed upon them freedom and that the only way out was to work towards unconditional freedom. Pamphlets such as "Nationalism and Elementary Rights," "What is Imperialism" and "Camouflaged Slavery" attacked the colonial administration and outrightly criticised the autocratic rule and held it responsible for the pitiable conditions of Goans. "The Basic Problem," "Denationalisation of Goans," "Portuguese India: A Survey of Conditions after 400 years of Foreign colonial Rule," published in Konkani, Marathi English and Portuguese languages were very widely circulated in Goa as well as in Bombay and other parts of India and also served to make Goans aware of the harsh realities of life.¹⁸

The task of the Goa Congress Committee to wake up the Goans in the prevailing dictatorial conditions was immense. Through the propaganda work that it carried out, the Goa Congress Committee was able to instil confidence among the Goans. It tried to impress on them that collective efforts from within Goa and also from the rest of India would give desirable results in their joint fight against the injustice of colonial rule. Cunha provided a concrete example to this effect when the Goa Congress Committee with the help of Congress leaders solved the problem of *Kunbis* from Goa. The Goan *Kunbis* who had been forcibly employed as bonded labourers in British tea plantations in Assam, were repatriated with the help of the Indian National Congress. This was one of the best examples of the fact that if united with the Indian nationalists, Goans could expose the unjust Portuguese administration and could successfully fight against oppressive authorities.

As we have seen in the foregoing paragraphs, the ferment of ideas of self-determination and united India that Cunha promulgated stormed the land of Goa

and shook the Portuguese solidity. The Portuguese did their best to sabotage Cunha's patriotic actions but were miserably unsuccessful¹⁹ in restricting his dauntless struggle.

However, unfortunately, the sincere and honest efforts of Cunha to project the peoples interest in Goa with that of India received a set back when the Indian national Congress decided to scrap its branches set up outside the British Indian territories.

This enigmatic attitude of the Congress leadership, contradicting the very principle of the unity and indivisibility of India, filled Cunha with pain and indignation²⁰ Seriously affected by its disaffiliation from the Indian National Congress, the Goa Congress Committee was cut off from the national mainstream and it could not sustain its proposed course of action. This setback was accompanied by the renewed vigour of the colonial authorities to wrench out all its roots from Goa. This hindrance compelled the members of the Committee to pursue their fight in an underground fashion inside Goa till it decided to shift its activities to Bombay.²¹ From 1936 onwards the Committee commenced its laudable work of nationalising Goans. In March 1946, influenced by Gandhi's "Quit India" movement the Goa Congress Committee asked the Portuguese rulers to "Quit Goa". By organising the Goan Political Conference, the Committee appealed to fellow Goans to assist them to formulate a plan that would help them realise their objective of freeing Goa and re-integrating it with India.²²

Projecting Goa's struggle as a part of the struggle of the rest of India against imperialism, the Committee resolved

"Goa cannot have any destiny of its own except that of our motherland India of which it is an integral part, it finds itself chained today by bonds of political and spiritual slavery to the bankrupt political Imperialism." It further stressed that these chains of bondage must be shunned

away if Goans wanted to achieve its "destiny in common with India "and therefore it called upon the Portuguese to "leave the shores of Goa, Daman and Diu."²³

Besides the Goa Congress Committee there was a sprinkling of other local organisations functioning in Goa propagating the idea of nationalism among the people. Although these associations were dressed in a social garb, within their respective folds they operated as strong exponents of nationalism. These socio-cultural organisations were the vital forces that ushered in the non-violent *Satyagraha* action of 1946, which finally led to the formation of political institutions espousing the cause of nationalism in Goa.

Thus, the formation of the NC (G) must be seen as the culmination of the work of these organisations that had come into existence prior to 1946. Let us now discuss and analyse their role in spurring the nationalist sentiments in Goa.

The Goa Seva Sangh

Purushottam Kakodkar, a strong believer in the Gandhian technique of *satyagraha*, established the *Goa Seva Sangh* in Goa in 1945. It was an overt social organisation laced with covert political aims established with the definite objective of propagating the Gandhian ideology. The *Goa Seva Sangh* had started a *Khadi Bhandar* in Margão at the *Damodar Vidya Bhavan* where spinning activities were conducted especially for rural women. This spinning activity served not only as an employment opportunity for them but also was firmly resolved the cause of spreading political consciousness.²⁴ From time to time, the *Sangh* also organised clandestine meetings to discuss social as well as political issues. Vinayak Mayekar, an active member of the *Sangh* who later became President of NC (G), threw considerable light on these activities in an elaborate discussion on the issue:

"Our main aim was to inculcate feelings of respect towards our motherland among the members of the organisation.

Therefore in our discussions we highlighted the national struggle. Indian national movement had reached its peak at this time and we chose our topics so that more and more people became aware of the course of the struggle. We elaborately reviewed 1942 Movement as well as the path proposed by Subhash Chandra Bose.¹²⁵

These deliberations received a favourable response from young Goans who were fired with the idea of patriotism. The Sangh also adopted organisation of prayer meetings and prabhat ferries as a part of its strategy.

Within a short period of time the *Goa Seva Sangh* was successful in making inroads into the rural areas to gauge the mood of the people. These house contacts that the *Sangh* had established in villages reaped a rich harvest in harnessing peoples support for the 18th June 1946 struggle.

Balavir Samstha

Much before the establishment of the *Goa Seva Sangh*, Laxmikant Bhembre, who later presided over the August meeting of the NC (G) at Londa, was spearheading nationalist activities in Margão. Supported by the well-known businessman, Narasimha Naik, a training class to create volunteer corps of young men and women was initiated in the 1930s. Members of the organisation were trained in drills and *lezim*. Educational institutions such as *Damodar Vidyalaya* and Popular High School, Margão covertly supported this organisation and held *prabhat ferries* and *jhenda vandan* ceremonies within their campus. Along with conduct of these activities, Bhembre was also instrumental in establishing a branch of the *Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Sabha* in Goa to spread knowledge of Hindi among the Goans. This institution had performed a commendable task in raising funds for the defence of the members of the *Azad Hind Fauz* who were tried by the British Government. Responding to the call of the Indian national leaders, the organisation engaged shows and dramas in Goa for collection of

funds for the trials of the Indian National Army. The people of Goa made generous contributions to fund, which were donated to the *Azad Hind* Defence Fund.²⁶

Gomantak Vidyarthi Sangh

This organisation, aimed at attempting to kindle nationalist feelings among the student community of Goa. It organised an All Goa Students Congress in 1945. The secretary of the Maharashtra Students Congress, Balawant Bharare, inaugurated this Congress. Hoisting of the national flag, discussions on the political issues of Goa as well as the rest of India were some of the activities that featured prominently on the agenda of this organisation. While talking to me on this issue an active member of the organisation who later became NC (G) worker, Laxmikant Borkar, said:

“this organisation had spread itself in Panaji, Mapusa, Ponda and Margão and was widely received by the student community of Goa. We mainly aimed at creating nationalist consciousness among the student community and for that we continuously took up deliberations so that the students became aware of the events that were taking place across the borders and thus would get inspired to think about Goa's role in the national struggle.” He further stated, " We took efforts to discuss the various strategies adopted by the leaders such as Nehru, Gandhi, Bose as well as reviewed the different phases of the national struggle. This definitely helped us to realise the fact that it was high time for us to seriously think about launching a struggle against colonialism based on the similar pattern adopted by the Indian National Congress."²⁷

Besides these above-mentioned organisations the *Gomantakiya Tarun Sangh*,²⁸ led by Shamrao Madkaikar, and the *Rashtriya Seva Dal*, opened by Vishwanath Lawande,²⁹ who later founded the organisation *The Azad Gomantak Dal*, tried to break new ground in creating a sense of resolute discipline to steel the members and the public against the unbending Portuguese regime and to build up their physical skills and self-will.

Although these organisations did not take concrete attempts to root out Portuguese rule, they definitely cultivated an awareness of the Indian identity among Goans, by trying to evoke emotional identification with the rest of Indians who were striving for independence against the British imperialists.

As we are aware, the Portuguese rule with its colonial policy had mentally enslaved Goans, crushing the liberties of the people under the iron heels of fascism. The attempts made by these organisations were like a few drops of holy water in the huge contaminated ocean of colonialism.

To uproot the Portuguese rule, Goa needed a catalyst that would bolster subjugated Goans and stir them into action. This was provided to them by the visit of the veteran socialist leader, Ram Manohar Lohia. Lohia's visit to his friend, Julião Menezes resident at Assolna, unfolded the new chapter in the history of the struggle for freedom of Goa.

Let us study in detail the strategy adopted by Lohia that rocked the very foundation of the Portuguese rule in India.

"Action First and then Organisation" Lohia's Direct Action plan and its Impact'

As we have seen in the earlier paragraphs, there was a definitely heightened awareness of nationalism in Goa but somehow they could not take the giant leap into the struggle against colonialism. Lohia came to snatch the Goans from the jaws of the colonial oppression and to direct the rising storm of

nationalism. As events were to show it was in fact the disobedience of civil laws under the leadership of Lohia that acted as the main catalyst. This incident came as the final straw and led to the formation of the NC (G) that forged a consensus between different groups in Goa.

Lohia's active participation in the Indian national struggle was so great that for him a passive outlook in Goa was an anathema. Hence, even though his visit to Goa was to convalesce at his friend Julião Meneze's house in Assolna his very presence in Goa inevitably sparked off a political holocaust. His visit to Goa constituted both a stage in the unfolding of the freedom struggle and also a sharp deviation from the tempo of activities that were conducted against the Portuguese.

As we are aware, Lohia had come to Goa "without any plan or purpose."³⁰ However, as he learnt about the degraded political conditions in Goa he was completely shaken and he decided to take up the cause of re-instituting Goa's civil liberties during his stay. The activist in him therefore impressed on the people of Goa to initiate Direct Action, that is, to disobey the civil laws openly. This open defiance of unjust laws could infuse a spark in the resigned atmosphere of Goa. According to him "from action would emerge men of intelligence and character. The selfless people who would place the common interest above the personal interest and be prepared to suffer for the public"³¹

In the existing conditions, where civil liberties were so rigidly controlled, a lightening action to recover basic civil liberties was the only remedy, which Lohia placed before the Goans. Goans like Ram Hegde had raised doubts about such a political action as Goa was devoid of any strong political forum that would carry out such an action against an authoritative and arbitrary rule. Ram Hegde was of the firm opinion that the movement was started at the wrong time. According to him, Goans "had no reasonable organization, there were groups here and there. Some were working in Ponda, some elsewhere, none in a common direction..."³² He further states that he had told Lohia that in his opinion "it was not the proper time. We were not organized."³³ The nationalists speculated about

who would shoulder the responsibility of furthering the direct open non-violent action. Although few social organisations existed in Goa how far these groups would respond to the open movement was the big question before the activists. Lohia's act of "putting cart before the horse" featured in the editorial of *Bharat* in which Hegde Desai questioned the success of the 18th June 1946, Direct Action and called it as an endeavour to construct "*Adhi Kalas Mag Paya*"³⁴ that is an effort to erect the dome of the temple first before even laying its foundation.

Contrary to the doubts raised by some of the Goans Lohia was very much confident about his strategy that is to launch a direct open non-violent action that aimed to bring Goans into active politics and thereby end their political passivity. According to him, the lack of a strong political platform would not hinder the path of a non-violent struggle but in fact create a fearless environment conducive for building up a political organisation.

Lohia emphatically asserted the idea of "action first then organisation" to solve Goa's political issues. He had said, "doubts have always assailed men before the start of action and even in the midst of it. But action dissolves doubts... If you can act, so can you take up the leadership of such action. No organisation can be built up unless the new found resurgency is kept up through action."³⁵ Lohia felt that a bold action would be the key to effectively galvanise the masses in to action. He stressed that the action was primary and organization was secondary. He said, "Unless you act now, everyone of you, motor driver and peasant, railway man and student, and in your thousands suffer arrests, beating, no organisation will come into existence and the dream of a whole people on strike will stay empty."³⁶

Evagrio George has pointed out that Lohia's viewpoint was strongly supported by Purushottam Kakodkar who took the responsibility of organising 18th June 1946 action.³⁷ While revealing the reason why he was convinced to take up the challenge, Purushottam Kakodkar stated that "to end the existing conditions it was necessary that the people of Goa realised the significance of

organising themselves through conscious effort."³⁸ He further added that "the salvation of Goans lay in self help" and this could help them to rise above "adverse conditions." According to him this action would serve as "efficacious antidote to political obscurantism." This action would lead to political awakening that would dispel the ignorance of the people that existed to a "deplorable degree in the minds of Goans."³⁹

As Lohia had correctly anticipated, his bold action stormed the bastion of the unquestioned authority of the colonial regime. His historic action of open defiance destroyed the basic notion that the Portuguese rule was invincible and could not be challenged. This maiden action evoked a highly volatile response from the Goans and the age-old political passivity consciously inculcated and nurtured by the colonialists in

Goa, received a fatal blow.

The people of Goa instantaneously supported the call of non-violent peaceful open revolution that Lohia gave and showed their willingness to stage a protest against injustice of the regime by actively participating in the peaceful demonstrations that were the fallout of the action. Demonstrations, *morchas* and processions became the regular feature of Goa's political scene. "*Jai Hind*", the two magic words echoed similar sentiments of liberation that lay embedded in the Goan heart giving vent to their anti-colonial feelings. Goans participated in the non-violent struggle of the 18th June 1946 in large numbers as has been discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The main achievement of Lohia's political move was that he was successful in generating the much-needed courage and confidence amongst Goans to fight the tyrannical exploitation. The people of Goa realised that they had the strength and capacity to resist the four centuries-old colonial rule. By bringing the people of Goa into active politics, Lohia crushed the Portuguese belief that Goans passively accepted injustice. The inculcation of fearlessness amongst Goans,

necessary for pursuance of struggle against injustice, created a fertile ground for those like-minded Goans to come together and form political organisation like the National Congress (Goa) that carried its crusade against Portugal along with other organisations until Goa's liberation by the Indian Army on 19th December 1961.

18th June, 1946 Direct Action

As has been discussed in the preceding paragraphs, Salazar's assumption of power in 1928 in Portugal, served as a fatal blow to liberal Republicanism. The Goans, like the Portuguese in the mother country, were suppressed by the dictatorship. Liberalism, civil liberty and basic human rights were buried under the tyrannical dictatorship of the fascist regime. It was the 18th June 1946 Action that showed the Goans the manner in which they could voice their grievances through the adoption of non-violent means.

On 18th June 1946, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the veteran Indian Socialist leader, defied the Portuguese ban on civil liberties in Goa. He attempted to address a public meeting without seeking any prior permission from the Portuguese authorities. This was a turning point in the history of Goa, for from this day onwards; a non-violent struggle was launched in this territory, initially for the restoration of civil liberties and later for the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese rule and its integration with the Indian union. A well-known lyricist and a staunch nationalist B.B. Borkar, wrote a poem that adorned the 18th June direct action of Lohia in these words: "Trivar Mangalwar ajala trivar Mangalwar Swatantryachi sinha garjana ata i the Uthana."⁴⁰ (Forever an auspicious day. Today will be forever a suspicious day, for the roar of freedom now resounds in the land.)

Causes and Aims of the 18th June Action

The aim of the movement was indeed to win civil liberties but the methods followed were those of mass awakening and action, short of violent rebellion. However the aims of the Action could not be considered so narrowly. Dr. Lohia in

his open letter to the Goans throws light on the broad nature of the 18th June Action.

“What are we fighting for? The immediate aim of the movement is to win the right to assemble, too organize and to publish. But it will be a mistake to understand this aim narrowly. Basically, our aim is to create a new Goa, where every single Goan is a worthy and a happy citizen who tries to acquire dignity of full democracy and is willing to die for a free and united Hindustan.”⁴¹

Dr. T.B. Cunha, in his speech delivered at Bombay on 7th April 1946, at the request of the Goan Youth League, placed before the audience the condition of the Goans under the fascist regime. His niece, Berta Menezes Bragança, a freedom fighter in her own right, had later in the same year declared that the Goans had been, “deprived of the most elementary rights.”⁴² She had lamented that the press was “subjected to rigorous censorship”⁴³ and that there was “no freedom of speech and association, no election bodies, no representative Government...”⁴⁴

Further, as has been briefly stated in the preceding chapter, the convening of a public meeting in the open was totally banned. To assemble for a social cause also needed prior permission of the authorities concerned. Associations could not be founded unless their statutes or bye-laws were duly approved by the government. No political organization except the National Union, which was Salazar’s party, was allowed to function. Right of speech and assembly were totally denied by the fascist regime, which also imposed a strict censorship on the press. The Portuguese Government, by placing severe restrictions on the press tried to suppress public opinion. The press was converted into a mouth-piece of the Government, to be used as a tool of propaganda. Therefore, the 18th June Action was launched for the restoration of the basic civil rights, which were denied to the people by the Salazarist dictatorship.

Preparations

As has been stated earlier in this chapter, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia defied the ban on civil liberties on 18th June 1946, when he tried to address a crowded public meeting at Margão. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had participated in the Quit India Movement. He had been arrested and detained in jail. Lohia came to Goa to take rest after he was released from jail on the advice of his friend, Dr. Julião Menezes.

Let us now discuss, the march of events, which culminated in the issuance of this public challenge by Dr. Lohia to the alien dictatorial regime in Goa. The news of the arrival of the veteran leader spread like wild fire in Goa and soon social workers, teachers and other Goans began to flock to the residence of Julião Menezes at Assolna to meet Lohia. Dr. Lohia came to know about the conditions of the Goans and proposed direct action against the oppressive colonial regime. The Goans would have to resort to mass defiance of all the civil restrictive measures. Dr. Lohia contacted the president of the *Goa Seva Sangh*, Purushottam Kakodkar, and expressed to him his desire to launch direct action.⁴⁵ The latter immediately called a meeting of the *Sangh* to discuss the proposal. On 16th June 1946, a meeting was held in the *Damodar Vidya Mandir* at Margão, which was attended by twenty five to thirty social workers from various parts of Goa. In this meeting "some members were reluctant to participate in the action. They wanted to first forward a list of demands to the Portuguese Government. Mr. Kakodkar persisted and 16 of us agreed to take part in the proposed programme."⁴⁶ 18th June was chosen as the day and Margão as the venue of the action. The message was sent throughout Goa through post cards, through work of mouth and by such other means. Kadodkar invited leaders such as T.B. Cunha and others for the 18th June action.⁴⁷ *Goa Seva Sangh's* social workers went to rural areas to convey the details of the proposed programme.

Course

By noon of 18th June 1946 people began to flock to Margão. It was a rainy day, yet the town of Margão was full of people who had come from in and around Margão to witness Dr. Lohia's defiance of the Portuguese rule. The Portuguese authorities had decided to prevent the meeting from taking place. The police were seen patrolling the streets. Canons were placed on the ground opposite the Municipal building. As the appointed hour approached, the crowd began to increase. The police tried to disperse the people but no avail. More than five thousand people⁴⁸ had gathered to witness this historic event. People from all category, men, woman, and school children were an eyewitness to Dr. Lohia's defiance.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Mr. Julião Menezes arrived at a place known subsequently as Lohia Maiden at 4 o'clock. As soon as the people saw them, they raised slogans of "*Jai Hind*" "*Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*" "*Dr. Lohia ki Jai*" and *Dr. Julião Menezes Ki Jai*". Dr. Lohia was not allowed by the Administrator of Salcete to address the meeting. He was promptly arrested along with Dr. Julião Menezes. As soon as the police took Dr. Lohia away, V.N. Lawande tried to read out Dr. Lohia's speech but he too, was arrested.⁴⁹ The crowd continuously raised political slogans. Some people hoisted the national flag of India and chanted the song, "*Jhenda oocha rahe hamara*," ("Long live the Indian tri-colour"). They were immediately arrested. The police used force to disperse the crowd but in vain. The people moved from one place to another being in no mood to pay need to and be intimidated by the *lathi* charges, which the authorities had ordered on them.

After the Margão leaders were arrested, the people began to take out processions and flocked to the police station. The police chief asked Dr. Lohia to tell the people to return to their residence. Dr. Lohia came out of the police station and spoke to the people. Around twelve persons were arrested on that day. Among them was a girl named Vatsala Kirtani. She was arrested for raising the

slogan “*Jai Hind*” when the people commandant asked her why had she shouted the slogan, she justified her action by replying to commandant that “*Jai Hind*” gave her spirit to fight for her motherland’s freedom.

The Immediate Spill-Out

After 18th June the situation in Goa was highly volatile. This Portuguese enclave, which had been largely silent up to 18th June 1946, now suddenly burst with activities that sought to issue a challenge to the Portuguese rule. On 19th June when the people became aware of the fact that the leaders had been placed under police custody at Panjim, they gathered in huge numbers in front of this police station, shouted political slogans and unfurled the tri-colour. On this day, a huge procession of students and youths was taken out in the streets of Panjim under the leadership of S.A. Manpat. A procession of women was also organized in the town at the initiative of one Mrs. Shah. The police *lathi*-charged the peaceful demonstration injuring a number of women and girls including shashikala Bandodkar, who after liberation had the opportunity to serve Goa as its first woman chief minister (Shashikala Kakodkar).

Margão, too, witnessed the enthusiastic participation of an inspired section of the public in continuance of the events of the previous day, that is, the defiance by selected individuals of the ban imposed on civil liberties. People gathered in front of the Margão Municipality in large numbers, Evagrio George and his supporters had taken out a rally in the town. The police resorted to *lathi* charge on the speaker of the day, Venkatesh Vaidya of Cuncoim to prevent him from delivering his address. Despite the police vigil and its use of force, the crowd shouted slogans of “*Jai Hind*”, “Dr. Lohia ko chod do” (Release Dr. Lohia”) “Dr. Julio Menezes ko chod do” (Release Dr. Julio Menezes).

Later, the Goans learnt that Dr. Julião Menezes had been released from the jail along with Dr. Lohia who was then taken to the Goa border and sent back to British India. However, they decided to keep the flame that Dr. Lohia lit burning

brightly in their land and the local leaders began to chalk out a programme for the following days in order to sustain this initial enthusiasm.

On 20th June 1946, T.B. Cunha, defied the Governmental ban on the right of speech when he publicly demanded the immediate restoration of civil liberties in Portuguese India. On this occasion, Evagrio George read out the message left by Dr. Julião Menezes, which urged the Goans to carry on with the struggle. In this message, Dr. Julião Menezes further categorically warned the people to choose as leaders from amongst those who fight and suffer, and not from those who want to profit by victories won by the people.

On the next day, *prabhat ferries* were taken out in the streets with the help of the students. A meeting was held at Margão, which was addressed by Purushottam Kakodkar, Enio Pimenta and others. On this occasion, the Indian tri-colour was hoisted in open defiance of the Governmental orders. On 22nd June a mass meeting was organized at Ponda, which was addressed by leaders like Laxmanrao Sardesai, Purushottam Kakodkar and Evagrio George. It is interesting to note that the police did not intervene to stop these meetings from taking place. This was no mean achievement. It appeared as if the Portuguese authorities had partially capitulated to the wishes of the people who had rendered moral and material support to the *satyagrahis*. This was, by no means, true as was proved by the Governmental reaction to the events of 20th June 1946.

On this day at Lohia Maidan, Berta Menezes Bragança, a member of the Goan Youth League and the daughter of Goa's foremost political thinker and patriot of the early twentieth century, Luis de Menezes Bragança, was not allowed to speak by the police commandant and her uncle, T.B. Cunha, who had accompanied her was physically assaulted and both were forced to leave the place. In the text of her address, Berta had made fervent appeal to the Goan youth as well as the older generation not to allow the civil disobedience movement to weaken, never to hesitate to carry it on fearlessly and with fortitude till the

“hateful Acto Colonial is removed and other laws that gag and chain us, are destroyed”.⁵⁰

Thus, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia’s *satyagraha* left a great impact on the minds of Goans. It has been mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs that the historic events of 18th June were followed by frequent demands for the granting of civil liberties to the Goans. People from all walks of life participated in the movement. Processions, *prabhat ferries* and rallies were carried out and the month of June witnessed for the first time in the history of Goa the conduct of a peaceful, non-violent struggle against the tyrannical rule of the Portuguese. Dr. Lohia, in protest of his arrest wrote a letter to the chief justice of Goa in which he demanded an apology for his illegal detention in a cell, which had “probably as much ventilation as just keeps a man alive”.⁵¹ In this manner the Portuguese authorities tried to suppress the *satyagraha* action.

By 1947, the action lost its vigour and we find a comparative lull in its proceedings. It began to peter as the middle of 1947 approached and by the end of the same year, it completely slowed down. Goa, which had witnessed a cavalcade of political events a month back, now became calm and quiet and the scene of political activities shifted to independent India. Bombay, the adopted city of a considerable number of Goan migrants, became the main centre of the activities of the Goan freedom-fighters.

Nature

Berta Menezes Bragança described the *satyagraha* action of 18th June 1946 as “Civil Dis-obedience Movement” that it was “like a whiff of fresh air blowing into a dark suffocated dungeon which is just what our country has been reduced to during all these centuries of imperialist oppression and exploitation.”⁵² According to her, the 18th June 1946 “Movement” was directed primarily towards the restoration of the elementary civil liberties like freedom of press, of speech, of

association, of consciousness and the right to be governed by a republican government which would be responsible for a freely elected body upon the realization of this objective of the "Movement" would then pave way for the attainment of what she described as "the final goal of complete freedom from all foreign yoke, and of a free Government in free India..."⁵³

The 18th June Action was a direct action, which Dr. Lohia proposed to solve Goa's problem. In this speech Dr. Lohia had stated that he had come to Goa "with the only intention to know the land and its people". When he came to know how an alien rule had tried to tempt and force the Goans into a soulless culture deprived of civil liberties, he proposed a direct action. Dr. Lohia believed that in the land where the civil liberties were so rigidly controlled, the organization would have to emanate from action. It was from action that a certain dose of enthusiasm would be injected into the people, who were otherwise resigned and dejected. From action would emerge men of intelligence and character. The selfless people who would place the common interest above the personal interest and would be prepared to suffer for the cause of public. Thus, Lohia stressed on first launching action to build up consciousness among the Goans.

Gandhi had backed Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's direct action against the Portuguese regime. He had extended his full support to the demands of the civil liberties in Goa had said that "He [Dr. Lohia] has rendered a great service to the cause of civil liberty and especially to Goans"⁵⁴ He further stated that "in a free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as separate entity in opposition to the laws of free state without a shot being fired, the people of Goa, will be able to claim and receive the rights of the citizenship of free state".⁵⁵ He even wrote to the Portuguese authorities to immediately declare themselves to be "wholeheartedly for civil liberty and if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa to frame their own Government, and invite from greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants in framing such Government".⁵⁶

There is no doubt that in the initial stages, the action aimed at restoring civil liberties. As stated earlier on, Gandhi, had supported the *satyagraha* action launched by Lohia, for having put his finger on its black spot. He further stated that the “Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence until much greater India has regained it. But no person or a group can thus remain without civil liberties without loosing self respect”.⁵⁷ We find that later this struggle for civil liberties assured a broader perspective of independence from the Portuguese and integration with India. This is proved by the Karamali session of the National Congress (Goa), which took place in April 1947.

The *modus operandi* adopted by the Goans to gain civil liberties was non-violence; Goans followed the Gandhian technique of meeting oppression and injustice through open defiance of the unjust Portuguese laws. With regard to the proposed nature of the course adopted by the Goans in this action, Berta Menezes Bragança stressed heavily on discipline. She appealed to fellow Goans to give up the attitude of “resignation, servility and humility”⁵⁸ and instead move ahead with “perseverance, with courage and confidence”⁵⁹ but in a non-violent manner, to transform their hopes of independence into “ a certainty.”⁶⁰

The 18th June 1946 Action had a national outlook, as has been elaborated by V.N. Lawande in these words:

“The 18th June movement very much had a national character. The very fact that the Goans accepted Dr. Lohia’s leadership is a clear indication of Goans, who considered themselves to none other than Indians. The response to the Indian leaders and raising slogans like “*Jai Hind*” “*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*” “*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*” reveals the national outlook of the movement.”⁶¹

Indian leaders also supported the action and considered Goa’s struggle as a part of India’s struggle for independence from colonialism. Pandit Nehru, in his

capacity as president of the Indian National Congress, released a Statement on 27th July 1946 assuring the Goans of the support of British India to their cause, in the following words:

“For us, Goa is as much of part of India as any other part, and freedom of India inevitably includes freedom of the peoples of Goa ... freedom there becomes part of our own Struggle.”⁶²

Though the 18th June action failed to achieve its immediate goal of restoring civil liberties, it left a great impact on the Goans. It served as a source of inspiration and confidence through which they could challenge the Portuguese regime. The demand for independence resounded like a lion’s roar in the territory. The Goans openly defied the unjust laws of the Portuguese. The formation of the National Congress (Goa) was a great achievement in the history of Goa’s struggle for freedom. The nationalists now came together on a common platform to challenge the dictatorial regime of Salazar and offered a united fight against foreign rule. Goa awakened with the new spirit of freedom; politically conscious, faced police brutalities, and gave a tough fight in the subsequent years. In 1954-55 Goans with the help of their brethren from the rest of India, demanded Goa’s full freedom for Goa from the foreign yoke and its integration with the Indian Union.

Formation of the National Congress (Goa)

The preceding paragraphs indicate that as anticipated by Lohia, Goans spontaneously responded to the call of direct action in large numbers. 18th June Action created a situation of debate and discussion in the political scenario. Political activists in Goa had extended their support and had been actively involved in the open demonstration of the nationalist sentiments against the colonial regime yet they were irked by some questions regarding the direct action launched by Lohia. They were worried whether the action launched by Lohia would be able to sustain itself in the repressing political conditions of Goa?

For them the struggle for civil liberties was inconceivable without a local political organisation. The possibility of establishing a local political organisation to carry on the struggle was given a serious thought. On 3rd July 1946, the political activists headed by Ram Hegde set up *the Sanghatana Samiti* (Organisation Committee) which issued a statement declaring that it would continue the work of achieving civil liberties and would function in a democratic manner. The other members of the committee were Laxmandrao Sardessai, Balkrishna Borkar, Narayan Prabhu Bhembre, Venketesh Vaidya and Vasant Kare. Within few days *Sanghatana Samiti* consolidated itself as the *Gomantak Congress*.⁶³

The other local organisation that was agile on the political front was the Goa Congress led by Purushottam Kakodkar. Unfortunately although both these organisations worked for the common cause and had the same objectives, they functioned independently marred by personal tiffs and suspicions. Madhav Bir recollecting the issue of disunity among the non-violent activists mentioned,

"on one side we were decapitated by our internal rivalries and on the other side we were completely saturated by the Portuguese renewed reign of terror. Faced with this kind of situation we began to loose our grip on the struggle. We found it very difficult to mobilise people to participate in the Civil Disobedience action. The continuation of the struggle was at stake."⁶⁴

Ravindra Kelekar, a nationalist a well-known Konkani writer, has also pointed out the lack of co-ordination between Gomantak Congress and Goa Congress. He has revealed the lack of open approach of Purushottam Kakodkar regarding the struggle. He has alleged that even Lohia's program of action was not properly revealed to the people.⁶⁵ Datta Venketesh Pai ardent nationalist and editor of *Hindu* also made an accusation of a similar nature.⁶⁶ Jagannath Sukhatankar, active nationalist and a well-known Marathi writer, also points out

the closed nature of Purushottam Kakodkar who believed in keeping his own counsel.⁶⁷ According to Madhav Bir the differences between these two organisations were “not based on ideology, they were rather personal.”⁶⁸ The only solution to revive the subsiding tempo of the struggle was to unite these organisations. The urgent need of the hour was to network in order to bring like-minded nationalists together.

Mahatma Gandhi, who had systematically backed Goa's struggle for restoration of basic civil rights, admonished the Goan leaders on their lack of co-partnership. He reiterated that this was not the time for the activists to indulge in personal wranglings that would rupture the united efforts. He said, “There should be no political parties struggling for attaining power and position, where the goals and means are common, different parties have no meaning.”⁶⁹ The meeting convened at Ram Hegde's residence at the initiative of Madhav Bir was unsuccessful in bringing about a union. “Unfortunately Purushottam Kakodkar did not open his mind. He did not even disclose his programme.”⁷⁰ Another attempt too did not meet with success. The issue of the formation of a united front finally bore fruit in August 1946 under the able guidance of the socialist leader, Ashok Mehta, who was approached by Madhav Bir. While stating in his interview to Nehru Memorial Museum Library, about the formation of NC (G) Madhav Bir said, “I must confess that had it not been for Kakodkar's courting arrest on August 9, 1946, it would have been perhaps difficult for us to sink differences and merge into one organisation.”⁷¹

Ashok Mehta successfully merged the two groups *Gomantak Congress* and *Goa Congress* into one political front in a two-day meet that was convened on 17th and 18th August 1946. Since the conditions in Goa were not conducive to such deliberations it was called at Londa, the nearest town at the outskirts of Goa and was attended by hundred people from Goa as well as from Bombay, Poona and Belgaum.⁷² The formation of the National Congress (Goa) and the executive committee presided over by Ram Hegde was officially announced. By

consciously adopting the name for the newly born organisation as the National Congress (Goa), Goa into brackets, the nationalists were successful in emphasising the national character of the organisation similar to the Indian National Congress.⁷³ It indicated that Goa's struggle for freedom was a part of the struggle between the forces of Indian nationalism and alien rule.

The nomenclature itself made it very clear that the National Congress (Goa) in its fight against the Portuguese colonial regime would follow in the footsteps of the mother organisation, that is, the Indian National Congress that had constituted the broad-based socio-economic political vision of the national struggle of India. The vision of India's struggle for independence was not restricted to just banishing the British or freeing the Indian soil from alien rule but it aimed to give birth to India as an independent, united nation that would have a democratic, civil libertarian order.

Moreover the economic development of the country leading to a self-sufficient economy based on social equality were the main goals of the Indian freedom struggle and since the NC (G) was a miniature replica of the Indian National Congress it reflected these aspirations. Adoption of the name itself was symbolic enough to confirm that the NC (G) would work in conformity with the means employed by the Indian National Congress and this in turn exposed the much-popularised notion that Goa was a part of Portugal. In the past Cunha, through Goa Congress Committee, had worked to project Goa's struggle against colonialism, as a part of the Indian struggle and its association with the Indian National Congress was successful in creating the right process. However, its untimely disassociation had caused a serious setback to the nationalist thought process.

When the NC (G) suggested its linkage with the powerful political organisation of the Indian nation, the nationalist fervour was once again revived. They adopted a similar name but instead of calling itself the National Congress of Goa, they seem to have consciously added Goa only in brackets. As the Indian

National Congress was the expression and epitome of India's struggle, the concept of nation certainly was referring to Indian nation of which Goa was only a part.

Article three of the constitution of the NC (G) declared that every Goan of the age of 18 years and above, who believed in the objectives of the National Congress (Goa), could become a member of this organisation provided he or she was not "anti-national"⁷⁴ or was in conflict with the aims of National Congress (Goa).⁷⁵

The main initial aim of the NC (G) was declared as the continuation of the struggle for restoration of civil liberties by adopting open, non-violent techniques. Non-violence was a very vital aspect of tactical strategies, which the Indian national movement had imbibed in their fight against the British. The National Congress (Goa) drew its entire strength and inspiration from the Indian freedom movement. They were therefore prepared to abide by the principle of non-violence as proclaimed by Mahatma Gandhi with all its implications. Local leaders looked towards Indian national movement in the rest of the country for guidance. They borrowed the dynamics of anti-colonial struggle that the larger India had adopted to oust the British. This nationalist self-assertion through adoption of the non-violent Gandhian technique is well described by Peter Alvares, the prominent political activist in the Indian as well as Goa's struggle for freedom who launched the mass *satyagraha* struggle campaign to liberate Goa in the following words: "adoption of the method of *satyagraha* itself showed that the National Congress (Goa) had accepted the historic traditions of the Indian National Congress."⁷⁶

Organisational Efforts

As the struggle began to fade, NC (G) workers like P. P. Shirodkar, Narayan Bhembre, V. N. Mayenkar and others decided to give serious thought to building up NC (G) on the lines of well-knit organisation.

In the meanwhile, a branch of NC (G) was established at Bombay under the leadership of S.B. D'Silva, an advocate by profession. The main task of the Bombay branch was to kindle the flames of resistance in those Goans who were residing in Bombay.

Shirodkar was of the firm opinion that the struggle that Lohia had launched had to be carried forward by Goans. He did not reject the idea that Goans residing outside Goa as well as the rest of the Indians could give moral support for the struggle but was in favour of continuation of the struggle by Goans: "Lohia had kindled the light and now it was the turn of our people to keep this flame burning with their actions and self sacrifices. This was the biggest responsibility that rested on us in this time of test."⁷⁷ To conduct the struggle within Goa it was necessary that the office of NC (G), that was set up in Belgaum, be shifted to Goa. Since action had to be launched within Goa and that needed a strong base, it was necessary that the central office be located in Goa. In order to further the *satyagraha* campaign NC (G)'s units had to be setup in different parts of Goa to mobilise the people.

In order to give these thoughts a concrete shape, a NC (G) session was called at Karmali on 27th April 1947 wherein decisions regarding the above-mentioned matters were taken up. The Provisional committee, under Vinayak Mayekar made the official announcement of shifting NC (G)'s office from Belgaum to Karmali. NC (G) resolved, "Since it is impossible to direct Goa's struggle against the Portuguese from outside Goa. NC (G) from now onwards would give emphasis on conducting the actual action within Goa's territorial limits under direction of NC (G) workers residing in Goa."⁷⁸ Simultaneously, it gave due acknowledgement to those Goans and the Indian citizens residing outside Goa and appealed them to continue their support for the noble cause.

Guidelines were drawn up with regards to this reorganisation: The members of the organisation recommended setting up of an executive committee that would be in provisional in nature until the actual committee, was elected. The

provisional committee was constructed under Vinayak Mayekar and the office bearers co-opted by him were P .P. Shirodkar, as general secretary, Ramakant Naik, as treasurer Vishwnath Lawande, Babla Singbal and Venketesh Verekar. The committee had vast powers to take decisions regarding all organisational matters as well as the launch of the *satyagraha* action. It had powers to decide the date, place and the persons that would perform the *satyagraha* action. “ Our committee decided to enrol ten thousand preliminary members residing in Goa within six months and the decision was taken that if we failed to do within the given time the executive committee would collectively offer satyagraha and get arrested.”⁷⁹

As the task of drawing up a permanent constitution for the organisation was to be taken up by the elected executive committee that would be formed after six months a decision was taken to frame a provisional constitution for the interim period.

The Provisional Committee

NC (G) had drawn up a provisional constitution to provide a framework for the establishment of Provisional Committee. The clauses of the provisional constitution were as follows:

1. It provided for a nine member executive committee that would comprise of president, vice-president, treasurer, general secretary and five other members.
2. The annual year of the NC (G) was to commence one 1st January and would end on 31st December.
3. Every Goan above the age of 18 who adhered to the aims and objectives of the NC (G) could become its member. The annual membership fee of the organisation was four annas per year.

4. It was decided that the organisation would conduct annual session within the territorial limits of Goa and the resolutions that were passed by majority of Goans actually residing in Goa would be binding on the NC (G).
5. It was decided to form an Advisory Committee of NC (G) comprising of members of different units of NC (G) as well as members of the executive committee.⁸⁰

Formation of Committees

The newly formed Provisional Committee immediately took up the task of forming subcommittees that would carry on the work of spreading the word of the struggle among the people at the grass root level. The Volunteer Corps was entrusted with the work of mass awareness as well as of mobilisation of the people into the struggle. Financial matters such as fund raising was to be looked after by the Finance Committee. In order to raise the funds for the organisation, the finance committee immediately went ahead with its plan of printing receipts books. They printed 2,000 receipts books in Laxmi Printing Press that was based at Mapusa. Unfortunately, all these books, along with other propaganda material were confiscated. NC (G) had formed a Village Committees to collect information regarding the basic day-to-day requirements of the villagers and also to study the various problems faced by them and offer a solution of those problems. Education of the villagers in democratic ideals and propagation of the message of “*Jai Hind*” was also the duty of these committees. In order to mobilise the student community of Goa as well as the workers, community, the Students and the Workers Committee was formed.

Besides this, the Provisional Committee also took up the organisation of *taluka* committees. Accordingly Ponda, Pernem, Marmagoa and Sattari were

assigned to Suryakant Naik, Guilherme Tiklo, Venketesh Verekar and Nilakanth Karapurkar respectively.⁸¹

One finds that NC (G) had made elaborate efforts to organise Bardez taluka. This taluka was put under the charge of General Secretary, Guilermo Tiklo and was divided into nine units of Mapusa, Haldona, Hadfade, Porvorim, Thivim, Anjuna, Betim, Siolim and Kolval. Bhaskar Moya Ravalnath Sawant, Pandurang Naik, Chandrakant Verekar, Narsimha Divkar and Balachandra Haldankar were incharge of Mapusa, Hadfade, Porvori, Thivim, Anjuna and Betim respectively. The responsibility for Haldona Unit was jointly shared by Lala Mahambre and Ramkrishna Karpe. No leader was appointed for Siolim and Colvale units.

These units were further divided into sub-units. Accordingly Mapusa unit was divided into the eight sub-units of Khorlim, Dhuler, Ansabhat, Gawaswada, Girwade, Bastoda, Shelpe and Palaye. Mayade, Pomburpa, Ekoshi and Uskai were the sub-units of Haldona. Hadfade was divided into Saligao, Kalangute, Kandolim, and Nague. The sub-units of Porvori were Sangolde, Sakorse, Badem and Salye. Thivim was divided into Sirsai, Kanasa, Badye, Assnora, Kaysuv, Assagao. Pima and Karra were under Anjuna centre. The sub-units of Betim were Britonna, Pilerna, Nerul and Vaddem. Siolim was divided into Vashal, Marre and Saddye. The sub-units of Colvale were Chikli, Kamurli, Vashali, Revoda and Nanoda.⁸²

The leaders of these centres were assigned duties that included establishment of contacts in their respective areas, ascertaining overall information of each village, briefing villagers regarding the work carried out by NC (G). Here the activists were strictly warned by the leadership "to disseminate the factual data to the people and not to mislead them by giving exaggerated accounts of events."⁸³ Distribution of pamphlets depicting the nationalists' ideology was also one of major tasks of the workers.

The workers were asked to write reports of the day-to-day activities in their assigned areas and also to prepare a statement of accounts. They were asked by the leadership to submit it before 4th October 1947, as it was necessary for the preparation of the draft of the final report that was to be produced in the next session of NC (G) scheduled for the end of October.

In spite of their hard labour to put NC (G) on a sound footing failed Unfortunately the authorities cracked on the nationalist and arrested them. This sabotaged the whole plan. And the struggle launched by them could not take off.

Later at plenary session of NC (G) organised on 5th June 1949, at Belgaum. The organisational structure of the NC (G) was drawn that consisted of the Working Committee that included the president of the Congress, two general secretaries, one treasurer and eleven members selected or nominated by the president from among the members of the All Goa Congress Committee. The All Goa Congress Committee comprised of delegates that were elected by the territorial units of NC (G) and was headed by the president of NC (G) it was entrusted with the executive programme of the NC (G) and was empowered with rights to frame laws that were consistent with NC (G)'s constitution. The president of the annual session of the NC (G) was to be the chairperson of all Goa Congress Committee the subject committee of the NC (G) with a sub-committee was formed before its each session. NC (G) also had local district town and village committees with a president a secretary and a treasurer elected by NC (G) members from its respective territorial units.⁸⁴

Aims and Objectives of NC (G)

Restoration of Civil Liberties

Sudhatai Joshi, an active worker of NC (G), in her presidential speech of 9th annual session held in Goa on 6th April 1955 invited people of all communities and interests to participate in creating conditions of freedom wherein the visions of progress and prosperity can be translated into a reality. While highlighting the

basic promises and conceptions on which NC (G) aimed to build up the future of the people of Goa, she declared that Goa's struggle called for an invitation to action as NC (G) stood for full civil liberties and freedom of press. She further stated that her organisation had promised the people of Goa freedom from Portugal and integration with India so that the people of Goa would be able to participate in a democratic and representative government.⁸⁵

Soon after the formation of the NC (G) while talking about the latest political development on the Goa issue to the *Free Press Journal*, Ashok Mehta warned the Portuguese that now they were up against with a strong united front which was determined "to win elementary liberties for the great mass of the Goan People."⁸⁶ As the NC (G) wanted to be heard by the Portuguese authorities, Laxmikant Bhembre, who then had presided over the meeting at Londa, addressed an open letter to the Governor of Goa in which he stated the aims and objectives of the organisation and its proposed role in the Goan political life.

The NC (G) demanded the abolition of all the restrictions on civil liberties that existed in the Constitution, the Colonial Act, the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial empire, the overseas administrative reforms, the Decree No 22.448 that prohibited the freedom of holding meetings, the decree no 22.469, against the freedom of press and similar Decrees.⁸⁷

These demands contained serious reflections on the conduct of the Government and though it had not asked the Portuguese to withdraw, their demands had undoubtedly initiated a posture of confrontation. While criticising the administration of Portuguese India, Bhembre had accused the authorities of creating an atmosphere of political asphyxia for those who valued honour and dignity.

Highly critical of many existing anomalies in Portuguese India, the NC (G) blamed the colonialists for having created a conscious demarcation of the Goan society to suit their imperialist ends. It claimed that Portuguese rule over

Goa for nearly 400 years was responsible for the near-total extinction of their time honoured Indian as well as local traditions thereby fostering a systematic moral anaemia in Goa.

As discussed in the earlier chapter, the Portuguese authorities in Goa contended that they meant well and had not come to India merely for the purpose of domination or for economic exploitation but that they were guided by the lofty ideals of brotherhood and had always considered Portuguese Indians as brothers and not as subjects.

While out rightly refuting this claim, Gandhi who had hands on experience of their notorious obduracy in their African colonies and was aware that Portugal was hardly a fairy godmother to the local population there, had pointed out this paradoxical nature of the Portuguese rule in his reply to H. E. Bossa, the Governor General of the *Estado Da India*, dated 2nd August 1946, had out rightly refuted this claim.⁸⁸

Although the NC (G) very modestly declared its aim to be the continuation of the struggle launched by Lohia for the attainment of civil liberties, this aim should not be considered narrowly. It had very broad-based connotations. In 1946, the people of India had already visualised the freedom of India from the British colonial hegemony. The dawning of independence was within their reach and they were aware that the sunrise of India's freedom was in sight. Lohia had already envisaged the emerging political awakening in India. He wanted that Goans who had initiated their struggle should realise the broad aspects of their fight against the Portuguese.

Therefore, in his open letter to the Goans, in order to create awareness among the Goans about the broad vision, which national leaders had envisaged for India, he had stressed on the creation of a “new Goa” where an every common person would be able to reap the benefits of democratic set-up. Gandhi, who had strongly backed Lohia's action in Goa, firmly believed that achievement of civil

liberties by following the non-violent methodology was the "first step towards *swaraj*."⁸⁹ According to him existence of civil rights was the breath of the political and social life of the people. He stressed that it was the water of life that could not be diluted. Lohia, like Gandhi who was aware of the significance of civil rights, had advised Goans to achieve civil liberties first as he rightly felt that this would in turn open the new vistas for the liberation of Goa and its re integration with India. Thus demand for civil liberties not only implied freedom of expression and the right to assembly, but also included the right of complete transformation of Goa's socio-economic and political infrastructure. Their clamour illustrated the basic nature of the NC (G) that it was going to be a national political organisation.

Political Freedom: The unequivocal right of the Goans

The long cherished dream of India's independence was fulfilled on 15th August 1947. Inspired by this momentous event, the National Congress (Goa) met at Karmali and adopted a resolution for complete independence of Goa from the Portuguese rule and its subsequent union with India. Thus, struggle for civil liberties had finally culminated into a struggle for the independence of Goa. India's independence on 15th august 1947 prompted them to assume a broad perspective of the struggle and to resolve that Goans wished to become Indian citizens. P.P. Shirodkar lamenting on their demand for total independence said "Since India had emerged as a independent and sovereign nation the demand for civil liberties on the part of Goans had totally become impractical."⁹⁰ Moreover he stressed on the fact that most of them were not in favour of restricting their aim to attainment of civil liberties right from the initial time. They had always seen Goa as an integral part of India and therefore once India became independent they made a quick move to take up the matter in the October session and adopt the resolution of total independence and its integration with India. Cunha had always projected Goa's affinity with India and therefore India's struggle for freedom was thus incomplete with Goa still under foreign rule. The constitution of the N C (G),

which was adopted in 1949 declared "the attainment through peaceful means of freedom from foreign rule and the entry of Goa in the Indian union on the basis of self-determination."

NC (G) would settle for nothing less than total independence. Therefore, they demanded the unconditional and unqualified withdrawal of the Portuguese from Goa. It had outrightly rejected any move on the part of the Portuguese who attempted to threaten this fundamental right.

After India became independent, the Government of India tried to redress the issue of Goa through peaceful negotiations that they opened up with the government of Portugal. A detailed analysis of the process of bilateral negotiations and its outcome is attempted in Chapter VI. However at this stage it is very important to point out that there was a suggestion made to Government of India that the issue of Goa could be tackled in a similar fashion of that of French occupied in India. Since Both, The Government of India and France had agreed to hold plebiscite in these territories there was a possibility of conduction of plebiscite in case of Goa too. To this arrangement NC (G) had strong objections and it asserted that such agreement would mean denial of fundamental right of freedom to Goans.⁹¹ NC (G) argued that in the absence of basic civil rights the holding of a plebiscite would mean nothing but the mockery of democracy and outright suppression of the will of the people. Therefore they demanded that the Portuguese should unconditionally grant the right of political freedom to Goans by quitting Goa.

Territorial integration with India

The National Congress (Goa) strived not only for the liberation of Goa but its re integration with the Indian nation. At this stage this was the focal point of nationalist feelings and aspirations. The nationalists did not speak about the creating a state of Goa after its liberation that would be separate from India, but

all their activities were directed towards uniting Goa with India and preserving the territorial integrity of the Indian Union.

The NC (G) believed that Goa's integration with India was as organic as the right to political freedom. Goa's strong ties with India could not be broken in spite of four hundred years of ruthless attempts of foreign rule to "de-Indianise" them. The social and economic fabric of Goa was intrinsically woven with Indian traditions. Goa's interests and aspirations were always similar to those of rest of Indians. Therefore Goa's freedom from Portugal would automatically lead Goa to become a part of India.

The territorial integrity that was imbibed by the NC (G) is very well reflected in the presidential speech of S.B.D'Silva, which was delivered at the plenary session in 1949. Silva had on this occasion proclaimed, "In spite of the infiltration of western ideals and way of life, the core of our culture has still preserved the essentials of the ancient culture of India. This is to be seen in our customs and manners, our literature, our folk tales and folksongs, our music and art. We have achieved in a great measure the true synthesis of much that is good in the West and the East. We shall need to change the false emphasis upon the ways and ideals of the West in order to bring out the best that is in us of the splendour of the East."⁹²

Article six of the constitution of the NC (G) included along with the territorial units in Goa, the cities of Bombay, Poona, Belgaum and Dharwar. Thus extended the activities of the NC (G) beyond the artificial boundaries created by the colonialists. As events would show, these cities eventually became major centres of nationalist activities and momentum that gathered in these cities speaks about the significance of Goa's liberation in the annals of the history of the Indian freedom movement.

Future Political Status

Right from its inception, the first declaration of political Conference organised by the Goa Congress Committee had unequivocally demanded quitting of Portuguese from Goa and merger of Goa with the Indian Union. Yet what impresses one, while scrutinising the nationalist records, is the clear thinking reflected in the deliberations of the NC (G) regarding the future political status of Goa within the Indian Union.

It had favoured the idea of interim administration, as it believed this arrangement was necessary as a transitory provision that would provide favourable conditions to start a new political process in Goa. It envisaged a general election for Goa by adult suffrage by which genuine representatives of the people would be elected to determine the structural policy for the overall development of Goa in harmony with the Indian Constitution.

A permanent political set-up crowned with democratic principles needed much mature understanding of political issues. Only such arrangement would keep the Goans prepared to exercise political rights. This included participating in general elections to set up a permanent democratic edifice.

The NC (G) pronounced that the determination of future political status was the most important prerogative of the people of Goa. The political standing of Goans in the future in the Indian Union was exclusively their decision and no one had the right to exert pressure in this regard.

The right of the people of Goa was duly recognised by the Indian National Congress when it resolved in 1946 stating that "What Goa's future position and status will be in a free India can only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority."⁹³ This right of self-determination of Goans was confirmed by Gandhi who had declared "while Goa shall be an integral part of the Republic of India, the people of Goa shall on the basis of self-determination determine their status."⁹⁴

Therefore, at its plenary session itself, by anticipating total freedom, the NC (G) took a step forward to put before the people of Goa three possible alternatives for a future within the Indian Union, namely, a) Whether Goa shall merge forth with India and be administered directly as a district of the Indian Union, b) Whether Goa shall form one or other of the projected linguistic groups, (c) Whether Goa will remain aloof from all these as an autonomous unit integrated in the framework of the Indian Union.

The issue of the future status of Goa cropped up as soon as India began to reorganise its states based on linguistic basis. The state of Bombay witnessed a powerful phase of *Mumbaisaha Sayukta Maharashtra* (The creation of state of Maharashtra along with Mumbai). Its repercussions were felt in Goa too.

There were powerful advocates of the merger of Goa with the proposed neighbouring state of Maharashtra while others supported the creation of a maritime state of Goa. Both these views gave rise to a controversial situation in the NC (G) camp. Therefore the 1951 Policy Statement of NC (G) earnestly appealed to its members not to precipitate matters by raising such controversial issues such as *Sayukta Maharashtra*, Maritime Province, Autonomous State, and Goa for Goans.⁹⁵ NC (G) felt that it was illogical at to raise such issues as Goa was still toiling under dictatorship of Portugal and without the attainment of freedom from this rule, such controversies were premature and un-warranted.

The president of NC (G), K.L. Sanzgiri, earnestly appealed to the people of Goa to pull their energies together and concentrate on the herculean task of achievement of liberation of Goa. He made it clear that these controversial issues could be debated and tackled by Goans after liberation. To make its stand clear on the political status and to erase doubts that rang in the minds of the people, the NC (G) very humbly declared that this was an issue of the people and NC (G) as an organisation would not decide on it without taking the people of Goa into confidence. To ensure their clear stand on this matter they went ahead to declare that they were prepared to agree on even advocate the dissolution of the congress

after freedom is won so as to leave the people the complete freedom of choice as to Goa's future form of Government unfettered by the organisation of the National Congress (Goa).⁹⁶

Economic aims

NC (G) subscribed to the economic policy spelt out by the Indian National Congress in its resolution adopted at the All India Congress Committee meeting held in Bombay in 1929. The resolution had stated, "in order to remove this poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of Indian masses it is essential to make revolutionary changes into present economic and social structure of society and remove the gross inequalities."⁹⁷ NC (G) was aware that poor economic conditions of Goans was due to economic structure of Goan society and the foreign rule had encouraged it so that it would help them to exploit Goan masses.

S. B. D' Silva as the President of the NC (G) had addressed a letter to Salazar in which he had exposed the fallacious and unbalanced economic situation in Goa that had been brought about by the colonial regime. While criticising the prevailing obsolete Portuguese system that was nothing but a hindrance to the socio-economic advancement of Portuguese India, he had accused the colonial regime of "neglect of the natural resources" of Goa. He had further stated that "the general ineptitude" of Portuguese administration had sapped the vitals of economic life and had allowed the ancient prosperity of Goa to dwindle and decay. He had pointed out that the towns in Goa were in ruins, villages were deserted, fields were left fallow and "thousands of our people have been constrained to emigrate to other lands in search of a livelihood, they cannot find at home."⁹⁸ Simultaneously he had also expressed their ardent desire towards freedom with a view to rebuild the shattered economy, to regain self-respect, to re-shape the destiny of Goa.

The major thrust of the NC (G) was to mould Goa's backward parasitic economy into a self-sufficient, progressive welfare state. For them freedom meant necessarily the social, cultural and economic regeneration of the Goan people. Political freedom from Portugal would provide an opportunity to rebuild the Goan economic structure on the basis of the Indian economic policies. The post liberation popular Government that was yet to be established was thus assigned the enormous responsibility of executing a development plan for Goa that would raise the standard of living of the local population.

Due to the lack of a concrete economic policy and despite possessing vast natural resources, Goa remained a backward territory. As has been discussed in the earlier chapter, Goa's economy was predominantly agrarian with three-fifths of its population depending on this sector for their sustenance. However owing to poor infrastructural facilities such as absence of proper irrigation facilities only one third of the land was utilised. Goa, therefore, always faced deficit in food production, thanks to the Portuguese rule. Considering the fertility of the soil and possibility of irrigation, the scope of development of the agricultural sector was vast but due to primitive and unsatisfactory methods of cultivation, the production of rice, which was the staple crop was not enough to meet the local requirements and therefore it was imported from India. The editorial of *Bharat* dated 18th November 1948, raised this issue of the import of rice. Hegde Desai, the editor of *Bharat* vehemently accused the Portuguese authorities of a callous and indifferent attitude towards the agricultural sector. The Portuguese authorities did nothing to foster or improve agricultural production and did not take any initiative to encourage farmers to increase food production. According to him, the denial of proper encouragement and security to farmers was the main obstacle in the path of attaining self-sufficiency in this field.⁹⁹

The NC (G), therefore, aimed to introduce drastic measures in the agrarian sector in order to step up agricultural production. The introduction of modern, mechanized techniques, the reduction of wastelands by bringing additional land

under cultivation and an improvement in irrigation facilities was on their agenda. In order to improve the pitiable conditions in the agricultural field in the 9th annual session held in Goa, NC (G) declared rationalisation of Goa's agriculture by immediately introducing major changes, the first step in this regard would be, reduction in the rent (*khand*) up to one-sixth of the produce; NC (G) expressed that the system of letting out agricultural lands by auction was harmful to the development of agricultural conditions and therefore it proposed to cancel such system and immediately take up the reorganization and regeneration of the village communities (*comunidades*), so that the people were encouraged to work on a co-operative basis.¹⁰⁰

The Goan economic system under the alien rule had miserably failed to support the sons of the soil and therefore there was a flight of Goan talent to other cities. Lack of higher educational facilities and a dearth of avenues of employment in Goa had forced Goans to migrate to Bombay, Calcutta and other industrial towns of India. About ninety percent of the people migrated to neighbouring territories in quest of daily bread and the Portuguese government did absolutely nothing to stop this flow. This migration of the Goans was due to unsupportive economic conditions. These Goans in a way helped to support the parasitic economy of Goa. They remitted every year about Rs. three crores, apart from other incidental and *ad-hoc* amounts which contributed to maintaining the bankrupt economy of Goa.¹⁰¹

NC (G) wanted to transform the immobile economic ambit into a prosperous domain with making provision for local employment by the establishment of industries, development of local and natural resources and the fostering of cottage industries. They also harped on providing opportunities for Goan entrepreneurs and the facilities of open markets in India for the produce of Goa at favourable prices. They also declared advancement of commerce by developing the harbour of Marmagoa. NC (G) also assured that care would be taken to see to it that the goods of India would be sold in Goa at the same market

price obtained in the Indian market and not at a of higher price as was the case during the Portuguese rule due to double custom duty.

Goans preferred jobs in Bombay more than in Portuguese colonies in Africa because Portuguese law did not permit Goans to enter Portuguese East African colonies unless they had an advance guarantee of employment, and even then, they had to deposit enough money with the authorities to cover their repatriation if not found useful.¹⁰²

To change Goa's remittance-based economy what was needed was the introduction of industries in Goa. Goa did not have a single industry worth mentioning except mining. Complete lack of infrastructure facilities such as power supply had stood in the way of industrial development. On the eve of Goa's independence only 25 out of 404 big towns and villages in Goa had been electrified through small diesel sets.¹⁰³ NC (G) therefore had envisaged providing infrastructure facilities to boost small-scale indigenous industries in Goa. This would create employment opportunities and would naturally restrict the flight of Goan talent to outside lands.

Lack of proper banking facility was one of the major problems faced by Goans. The state aided *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* had monopolised the banking sector in Goa and it did not fulfil the needs of the people. It did not extend any financial help to boost trade or industry.

Although the Indian Government had permitted the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* to operate in India, Indian banks were refused permission to open branches in Goa and other territories under Portuguese domination. Six major banks had applied for licenses to open branches in Goa to facilitate trade between the two territories. This proposal was however rejected by the Portuguese authorities.¹⁰⁴

Therefore they urged to have branches of the Reserve Bank of India that would cater to the needs of the people by providing rural credit system. Improved

means of transport and communication system that aimed to modernise the Marmagoa port that could become the chief outlet for the vast produce of the Deccan was also present on their agenda.

To strength the deteriorated economic conditions of Goa was the core of the NC (G)'s economic policy. We must at the same time see what it thought of the common man. It is very clear that the NC (G) was making efforts to project the common man as its focus when it talked of "planned economy" to enable a reasonably easy life assuring basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. It also stressed on education and basic health facilities. It thus endeavoured to bring about a social change by tackling the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease. It was making headway towards establishment of a society based on the framework of socialist economy that ensured to every citizen dignity, economic security and equality of opportunity.

The National Congress (Goa) adopted a 14-point agenda that illustrated a minimum programme for immediate implementation for the reconstruction of Goa's political, social and economic life. They outlined this programme in their policy statement that they declared in 1955.

It declared that Goa's freedom must be secured soon so that:

1. "The masses of the Goan people may be united with their Indian brethren in political, economic and social union.
2. The peasants may be released from economic exploitation, and that they may enjoy the fruits of their labour by producing the rent to one-sixth of the produce, as in India.
3. The rich produce of Goa—Coconuts, betel nut, cashew nuts, mangoes and dry fish etc. may be

profitably marketed in India, and Goa's economy may be placed on a secure foundation, and the people who produce be enabled to live economic security.

4. The people of Goa may avail themselves of the cheap and plentiful produce of India so as to be enabled to live within their purchasing power.
5. The small traders, businessmen and professional men may pursue their professions without the crushing burden of the present government's taxation (Industrial Tax.)
6. The business community, deprived of artificial income of smuggling, may henceforth develop in the larger context of wider fields of commercial and industrial opportunities in Goa and in India.
7. The village communities (*comunidades*) may be reorganized on the basis of genuine co-operative efforts thereby elimination; the middlemen and the pernicious system of giving out its land by auction.
8. The personnel, of the services may serve a free government rather than a foreign ruler, and in conditions approximation to those in India.
9. The people of Goa may find easy and fruitful employment so that the splitting up of the family units may be avoided, and employment may be offered to them where their families can reside.

10. The people of Goa may avail themselves of the cheap and plentiful produce of India so as to be enabled to live within their purchasing power.
11. The backward masses should find such employment as will help them to be released from traditional employment that binds them to an inferior position in society, thus helping them to achieve a social status.
12. The isolated communities that have been ostracised by social cum historical process may find in the participation of freedom economic opportunities that help them to discard their traditional professions and take their place on an equal footing with other sections of society.
13. The youth may grow up in an atmosphere of Freedom where opportunities are plentiful.
14. The people of all religious persuasions may follow the observance and practice of their religion secured from interference of prejudices and racialism, and that their religion may grow in an atmosphere of cordiality and security."¹⁰⁵

In a way the National Congress (Goa), was slowly emerging as a major organisation that would play a significant role in the political life of liberated Goa. It stated: "The immediate aim of our movement is to liberate Goa from the fascist foreign domination but it will be a mistake to understand this aim narrowly. Basically, our aim is to create new Goa, where every single Goan is a worthy and happy citizen who tries to acquire the dignity of full democracy and is willing to live and die for the greatness of the motherland."¹⁰⁶

Socio-Cultural Aims

Goa's struggle for freedom was not restricted to the achievement of political freedom but the nationalist concept of freedom was widened to include freedom from oppression against one's language and culture.

The cultural aim of the National Congress (Goa) was to make Goans aware of their Indian roots and instil in them courage and confidence to face the challenge of colonialism. It strived to bring out the real identity of Goans that was nothing but the reflection of Indian culture.

As mentioned earlier, unlike their British counterparts the Portuguese colonial rulers in Goa interfered in the socio-cultural religious life of the people and used all kinds of brutal methods to impose their alien culture on the people, thereby attempting to weed out the local Indian culture. The laws, which the Portuguese rulers introduced in the early period of their rule, deprived Goans of their socio-cultural religious practices.

The net result of this policy was demoralisation of the Goans. Regarding this adverse effect, P.P. Shirodkar has remarked "it had shaken the Goan society to such an extent that it had to carve out its own future a new. They had only two options. One was to migrate and other was to remain in extremely servile condition accepting the new faith against their wishes."¹⁰⁷

Kashinath Sanzgiri in his presidential address delivered at the third annual session of the National Congress (Goa) exposed this vicious policy of the rulers that forced Goans to adopt alien culture by systematic elimination of the Indian history, traditions and values from various curricula in schools that reminded Goans of their Indian roots. Moreover, their suppression of local languages and the introduction of the Portuguese language as an official language resulted in the creation of a generation of young man and women with blinkered minds who may have been conversant with petty details of court intrigues of kings and queens of Portugal and could recite *Lusiadas* but to whom Indian epics like the

Mahabharata and historical personalities like Ashoka, Chandragupta or Buddha were anathemas.¹⁰⁸

The Portuguese policy of lusitanisation resulted in intellectual and artistic degradation of the Goans and gave rise to a class of Goans who were mentally enslaved. Their policy resulted in a flight of the Goan spirit to other places beyond the influence of the Portuguese rule where it found expression, fulfilment and ascendancy. Therefore, political freedom from the Portuguese rule meant cultural and religious freedom and expression. It implied an opportunity that Goans could get to enjoy their inherent right to practise the Indian culture that the Portuguese had deprived them of.

Cunha, in his famous essay on "Denationalisation of Goans that unveiled the callous attitude of the Portuguese rulers towards Indian culture, had appealed to Goans to shrug off the shackles of a restrictive society and cross the threshold. According to him the salvation of Goans depended on their will to cultivate a national and human dignity in themselves to free their mind from the spirit of servility. And this was just the objective that the NC (G) strived to achieve when it spoke of the liberation of Goa from an alien culture.

As cited earlier, the fascist regime extended its fangs not only to curb the political aspirations but also to suppress every possible expression of the people in the socio-cultural field. Even in the field of sports the hold of the government could be seen. In 1951, the Government established a supreme sports Council that was presided over by the Governor-General. According to the laws of this council, and player who wished to participate in any game was required to get permission from its branch at the district level.¹⁰⁹ Extension of political control over sports, which was the expression of physical and mental vitality of people, revealed the unscrupulous design of the masters to keep Goans under their thumb.

While criticising heavily these laws that curbed the expression of vitality among Goans that according to the NC (G) the Portuguese feared the most, it

warned the people of Goa that the Government was now spreading its tentacles to regiment the whole cultural and expressive life of the Goans. They also feared that the Government would extend these laws over musicians and artists. This would mean a total disruption of Goa's cultural spirit. Therefore, it aimed at an "immediate end of the Portuguese fascist rule and a restoration of freedom in the bosom of mother India. "¹¹⁰

However, in spite of these fanatic attempts of the Portuguese to suppress the cultural aspirations of the Goans, they were unsuccessful in detaching Goans from the impact of "5000 years of their own civilisation which began in Mohenjodaro and Harappa and continued with the coming of the Aryans, in the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*."¹¹¹

Evagrio George, an active member of NC (G) who offered *satyagraha* in 1946, in his book *Salazar's Rule in Portugal and the Goa Case* has expressed that

"Goans will to become free and united with their ancestral motherland speaks eloquently of the sacrifices of the thousands of Goans who voluntarily courted arrests or indulged in other acts of resistance to foreign rule risking thereby their precious lives."¹¹²

As stated earlier, Salazar had entered in to an alliance with the Vatican in 1940. The *Concordat* that was signed between them declared Christianity as a state religion. This gave a fatal blow to secularism that was present during the liberal Republican phase. Salazar and his supporters by introducing discriminatory policies in the area of religion tried to create barriers between the two major communities of Goa, the Hindus as well as the Catholics, thereby maintaining their hold on the colonial administration.

The Portuguese Constitution stated:

"The Portuguese Catholic Missions Overseas and the institutions for preparing the personnel for their services and those of the Padroado shall enjoy judicial personality and shall be protected and assisted by the states institution of teaching and assistance and instrument of civilisation under the terms of the concordats and other agreement signed by the Holy See."¹¹³

Thus, the fascist regime and the Roman Catholic church shared political power and although Hindus in Goa belonged to the majority community the official religion of Goa was declared as the Roman Catholicism and the head of the church, the patriarch of Goa, received his allowance from the state.

Moreover in a bid to wean Goan Catholics from territories struggle for freedom, and also to amass the international support, the Salazarist regime was trying to put forward an argument that the disappearance of Portuguese from India would harm the continuation of Catholic religion. While criticising the desperate attempt of Portuguese rulers to link religion with the politics the NC (G) brought out a booklet "*The Imperialist Catholicism of the Patriarch of Goa,*" in which they sarcastically pointed out the interference of the patriarch in the political sphere and advised the church that "The Gospels forbid any alliance between Empire and Religion when they say - Give to God what is Gods and to Caesar what is Caesar's."¹¹⁴

Article 1 and 55 of the Charter of United Nations had declared universal respect for observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. And the NC (G) citing this clause strived to achieve these fundamental guarantees of freedom of worship to all its citizens.¹¹⁵

According to the NC (G), it was the right of every human being to freely practise his or her own religion. Therefore, they had demanded that the

Portuguese Government should immediately confer this right on the people. They appealed to the Goans to maintain communal harmony by transcending the narrow limits of religious domination and unitedly support the great cause for which the NC (G) was fighting. NC (G) guaranteed complete religious freedom and cultural safeguards, equal and adequate opportunities for the youth in the field of education. The 14 point programme that they adopted in 1955 clearly stated that the people of all religious persuasions may follow the observance and practice of their religion secured from interference of prejudices and racialism, and that their religion may grow in an atmosphere of cordiality and security.

It also provided for The NC (G) endeavoured to organise the exploited masses, the dissatisfied intellectuals, and the culturally restrained that is all those who sought fulfilment of their talents. They asked their support in their objective to attain freedom from Portuguese rule.

It also declared that that it would provide opportunity of participation in the economic field to those backward classes and the isolated communities that have been ostracized by social-cum-historical processes to discard their traditional forms of employment and professions. This would help them to be released from traditional employment that binds them to an inferior position in society. The new economic facilities would enable them to find such employment that would help them to achieve a social status and give them place on an equal footing with other sections of society that would enable them to live in equality with others. The people of Goa would be able to avail themselves of educational and cultural opportunities. Their social agenda also included provision for a plentiful opportunity for youth in the field of education and culture and also included extension of medical facilities in order that the health of the people may be maintained at the highest standards.

The NC (G) that stood for a united non-sectarian and secular India advocated the establishment of the principles of secularism in Goa that the Indian constitution had laid down. The Indian Constitution had adopted the principle of

secularism and had introduced the principle of equality before the state, irrespective of any religious status. The NC (G) by declaring its strong faith in the principle of secularism pledged to "build up the great human society in which two great communities would find everything in common and nothing at cross purpose."¹¹⁶

Having discussed factors responsible for the establishment of NC (G) and its aims and objectives, it would now be pertinent to refer in some detail to the ideology of *satyagraha* as propounded by Gandhi and Lohia. This is important considering the fact that the NC (G) was born as an organisation upon the culmination of a struggle for civil liberties that was fought through the use of Non-violence and *satyagraha* and also because this ideology dominated the activities of the NC (G) as has been analysed in chapter V and VI.

What is Satyagraha?

The Indian national movement, which was launched to oust the British imperial power from India, took a new turn from 1920 onwards when the technique of *satyagraha* was introduced by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi as a political weapon against the British rule. Till the middle of the twentieth century the Indian national movement was largely confined to the urban intellectuals. It was highly restricted in its scope and lacked the spirit, which would appeal to the masses at large.

It was after the introduction of the Gandhian technique of *satyagraha* in 1920, through the non-cooperation movement, that the foundation of the British *Raj* was shaken. It was during the *satyagraha* phase that the Indian national movement actually became a mass movement. The country folk of India came closer to the principle of nationalism. Through this new technique, Gandhi infused a fresh life into the inert masses of India. The non-violent technique of Gandhi threw a real challenge to the British. According to Professor Coupland,

Gandhi not only revolutionised the nationalist movement but also made it reach the masses.¹¹⁶

The non-militant technique of *satyagraha* which Gandhi introduced in India's struggle for freedom had its genesis in South Africa where Gandhi had used it against the racist policies of the South African Government. Gandhi had launched an intensive struggle against the inequalities of the South African administration.

Meaning of *Satyagraha*

The term *satyagraha* was coined by Gandhi to explain the nature of the non-violent direct action of Indians in south Africa against its government policy of racial discrimination. Gandhi invited the entries of the people who wanted to suggest the new name. The newspaper, *The Indian Opinion* was used as a medium, which could give chance to the individual to convey his or her suggestion to Gandhi. Maganlal Gandhi had suggested the word "*Sadagraha*". However in order to make it clearer Gandhi changed the word to "*Satyagraha*", that since then became popular among Indian masses "as a designation for the struggle".¹¹⁷

The word *satyagraha* in a real sense means "holding on to truth"¹¹⁸ or "persistence on Truth"¹¹⁹ (*satya* = truth, *Agraha* = firmness) *Satyagraha* is nothing but the determination to reach the truth. The ultimate truth is the spiritual unity and the only way to realise it is to practise non-violence, that is love for all living beings and suffer for their betterment. In this way Gandhi identified *satyagraha* to be a "love force" or "soul force" which employed love to win over the enemy and appealed to his or her conscience. How could one realise the truth? The only means, which leads the seeker to his goal, is the adoption of a non-violent path. Here the truth is the end and non-violence is its means. "Ahimsa is the means, Truth is the End... Ahimsa is our supreme duty. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later".¹²⁰

Satyagraha as a method can be used to meet aggressions, to settle conflicts and bring about social and political change through non-violence. It does not permit violence in any circumstances. One can make use of *satyagraha* to weed out the evil from the social as well as the political life of a nation. Satyagraha as technique of change can be utilised in domestic affairs also. It appeals to the heart of the opponent. It is a moral technique in which the *satyagrahi* evokes the conscience of the opponent through sympathy, patience, truth, not by the infliction of suffering on to the opponent but on one's own self."¹²¹

It's Means

The means that can be adopted by a *satyagrahi* can be put into practise through ideology of *satyagraha* as civil disobedience, non-cooperation, fasting and picketing. By using these above-mentioned means one can challenged the injustice that is present in the social as well as political life of a country. One can resist the oppression and change the unjust systems, which are harmful to the people. These terms are so much interrelated to each other that it is not possible to keep one apart from the other.

Civil disobedience

Civil Disobedience can be defined as a form of resistance against specific orders or acts of the Government that the *satyagrahi* considers being unjust and therefore decides to violate them and accepts the consequences of such violation.

By this method, the *satyagrahi* tries to disobey the laws, which according to him are unjust. The *satyagrahi* defies the law of the state in a non-violent manner. Thus resistance required here is the civil resistance. According to Gandhi the disobedience can be applied to the civil laws and not to the criminal laws. Moreover, the defiance of an unjust law should have a broader outlook. Gandhi denounced violation of any laws for personal gains, According to Gandhi; "A complete civil disobedience is a rebellion without any element of violence in it"¹²² Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement to violate directly the laws of

the British Government. In 1930 he violated the salt tax law, which was considered to be unjust tax by the Indian masses. This tax was nothing but the symbol of injustice and oppression that was inflicted upon local people. India having such a wide sea-coast, was not allowed to manufacture salt which was mostly imported from Britain. Gandhi's defiance led to the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Stating that civil disobedience was the inherent right of a citizen he had asked citizens to refuse to be a part of the unjust state and by considering disobedience as a sacred duty had appealed to them to challenge the lawless and the corrupt state. But at the same time Gandhi warned the resisters that they should make sure that this defiance does not lead to violence or general lawlessness. In order to avoid a chaotic situation, which might be the result of civil resistance, Gandhiji advised to limit the scope of defiance to the "barest necessity of the case."¹²³ Gandhiji urged that the result of civil disobedience would be "healthy, necessary and effective."¹²⁴ According to Gandhi, "Disobedience without civility, discipline discrimination, non-violence is certain destruction."¹²⁵

Gandhi made it very clear that the reason for which the resistance was launched must have a specific nature and must be "capable of being understood and with in the power of the opponent to yield."¹²⁶ However, the defiance of laws may eventually take a turn and may lead towards a movement for the achievement of broad based objective.¹²⁷

Non co-operation

Like civil disobedience, non-cooperation is a tool that a *satyagrahi* can use to remove injustice from the socio-economic and political fields. It chiefly implies the withdrawal of co-operation from the state that is in the non co-operators view has become corrupt. According to Gandhi, co-operation with the just government is the prime duty of the citizens of the state but at the same time he stressed that

non-cooperation with an unjust government is also an equal duty of the citizens of the state. As we are aware, the prime function of the state is to further the progress of its citizens and also to look after the well being of its people. However, when the state passes orders and frames laws that were harmful to its citizens, then it became an equally important duty of the people to withdraw their cooperation to the state. Gandhi strongly believed that the existence of the Government mainly depended upon the cooperation of the people, either compulsory or voluntary and if people decided to withdraw their cooperation it would be extremely difficult for the government to function.

According to Gandhi once the people realised that the state had coercive intentions, it becomes an equally important duty of the people to withdraw their cooperation to the state. How can they do it? One way, which they can adopt to show their unwillingness to support the state, is a violent expression of resistance but Gandhi totally rejected such a move. So the only way left out is non-participation of the people in the functioning of the state. This could be practised through various means such as the refusal to pay taxes, boycott of Government schools, colleges, boycott of foreign goods, boycott of British courts, refusal to accept Government service in military or civil area and the like. These are various methods through which one can deny his or her cooperation to the state. In a non-cooperation movement, boycott is the strongest weapon in the hands of the people that they can exercise non-violently. According to Gandhi non-cooperation is directed not against men but against unjust measures that they adopt. The seeker demands justice against unjust laws. Non-cooperation is an attempt to awaken the masses and to create in them the sense of power that would help them to realise their dignity and turn them fearless, against the brute force of the oppressor. In 1920, Gandhi gave a call to the people of India for non-cooperation with the British Government. This was done in order to pressurise the Government for giving justice to the people of India. By advocating the use of *Swadeshi*, Gandhi gave a call to the people to get rid of economic slavery by manufacturing *Khadi*.

The programme of hand spinning and production of *khadi* became a very important part of the non-co-operation movement.

To sum up, the progressive non-violent non-co-operation, which Gandhi started, ended the era of prayer, petition and protest and opened up a new chapter in the history of freedom struggle of India, that is, of a positive, fearless collective direct action against the British government. The Indian masses gave an enthusiastic response to the call of non-co-operation. Thousands of students as well as teachers left government institutions. This was followed by the setting up of new *swadeshi* schools in different parts of the country. Many lawyers resigned from the bar council. The legislative councils were boycotted. Hand spinning programmes and the spread of national language gained momentum. The whole country was electrified with the new spirit.

Fasting and Picketing

Fasting and picketing were two other methods, which, Gandhi introduced, to challenge injustice. According to Gandhi, fasting is an act of self-suffering on the part of the *satyagrahi*. Through fasting, one persuades the wrongdoer to adopt the right or better way. Fasting is an ideal weapon in the hands of the *satyagrahi* under proper circumstances.

Although Gandhi fully believed that this was the most effective weapon in the armoury of a *satyagrahi*, he repeatedly warned against its indiscriminate use. He cautioned further that its unscientific experimentation without perfect knowledge of science of fasting would be harmful to the persons offering a fast as well as would “harm the cause espoused”¹²⁷.

Gandhi did not advocate the general use of fasting to remove injustice but advised its use as a last resort that a *satyagrahi* could opt for only after exhausting all other methods of *satyagraha* such as civil disobedience and non-cooperation.

Gandhi himself offered many fasts during his lifetime. But in the context of the Indian freedom struggle, his fast against the Communal Award of 1932; the fast which he undertook in 1943 against the British government's policy regarding Indian National Congress; and 1948 which he offered against horrifying communal riots were the most significant ones.

According to Gandhi' picketing is an attempt to persuade the people to join civil disobedience. It is method in which physical force is avoided. Gandhi held that picketing was legal as long as moral persuasion was used by the *satyagrahi*. Gandhiji regarded that it was the duty of the *satyagrahi* to make ignorant people aware of the unjust nature of the law or the evils present in a particular situation. After such moral persuasion, the choice must be given to the people whether they would oppose injustice or act in favour of it

As has been discussed earlier, it is through these components of Satyagraha, that a *satyagrahi* tries to weed out evil from the society. It is through these means that one can voice the grievances of the society. It must be remembered that the non-violence is the essence of *satyagraha* and that the use of violence is totally denounced in any form.

Its aim, features and nature

The *satyagrahi* aims at converting the opponent to his or her point of view. It is not to crush, defeat or punish the oppressor but to convert the wrongdoer to the right path by an appeal to the best in him or her. Co-existence of the opponent is accepted by the *satyagrahi*. A *Satyagrahi* tries to make the evil - doer realise his or her mistake, faults and tries to remove them. Here, the enemy of the *Satyagrahi* is the evil that is present in the opponent. The *satyagrahi* has nothing to do against the opponent, as he has nothing against the opponent. He does not try to finish the opponent but tries to eliminate the elements of evil from the opponent. Once the opponent realises his or her mistakes and repents over, them then the *satyagrahi* welcomes the opponent. Thus, "the essence of the non

violent technique is that it seeks to liquidate antagonism but not the antagonist.”¹²⁸ In a non-violent struggle, a *satyagrahi* and the opponent are placed on an equal footing. The only solution reached after the pursuance of the truth, is an agreement between both the parties. A mutual understanding is an agreement between both the parties. A mutual understanding is sought which totally rejects any a forceful dictation on the opponent. Hence, unlike war agreements, the non-violent technique involves much less chances of humiliation of the opponent and thus gives no room to the idea of revenge.

Satyagraha is a more determined and effective method of challenging oppression. A *satyagrahi* willing to offer *satyagraha* should be courageous and brave enough to avoid the adoption of violence in any circumstances. Moreover *satyagraha* is a method that is universally applicable. The *satyagraha* as an action can be used to meet aggression, to settle conflicts and also to reform the social as well as political life of a nation through non-violent means. It is a force that can be used by all. There are no restrictions and individuals as well as communities can use it for the promotion of a better life.

It is through *satyagraha* that one can voice the grievances of the society against injustice. It must be remembered that non-violence is the essence of the *satyagraha* and the use of non-violence is totally denounced in any form of *satyagraha*. The word non-violence or *ahimsa* literary means non-injury or more narrowly, non-killing and more widely, harmlessness. It is the renunciation of the will to kill and intention to hurt any living thing, the abstention from hostile thought, word or act. The *satyagraha* should be non violent throughout. The only way to realise the truth is the non- violence and this should be the path, which leads the *satyagrahi* towards his goal. According to Gandhi the realisation of truth is not possible without *ahimsa*. Gandhi emphasised that non- violence is not an outcome of cowardice but is to be used by the brave and courageous alone. A *satyagrahi* is a fearless personality who faces the opponent with utmost courage and confidence through non-violence.

Gandhi felt that a *satyagrahi* should face the brutalities that are inflicted on him bravely and courageously, not by retaliation but through acceptance. Gandhi believed that to be a devotee on non-violence was more courageous than to be an advocate of violence. *Ahimnsa* is a weapon in the hands of the *satyagrahi* through which he can challenge injustice.

It's Relevance to the Indian National Movement

Gandhi applied the technique of *satyagraha* in India to voice the grievances of the Indian masses against the British oppression and the evils prevalent in the Indian society. He successfully employed this technique in Champaran, Kheda and Amhadabad to help the farmers. The technique, which foundered on the rocks of the British security, was a consummate success in Champaran. The other two *satyagrahas* also achieved the desired effects. Gandhi then jumped into the Indian struggle for freedom and launched Non-Cooperation Movement in 1920. The Non-Cooperation Movement put a new life into Indian nationalism. The feeling of oppression and fear was gradually being replaced by courage and confidence among the Indian masses who came forward to face British imperialism. The unique method of *satyagraha* paralysed the striking power of the British authorities. Gandhi went ahead with the *satyagraha* technique in 1930 through Civil Disobedience Movement in which he defied the salt law. This received a wide response of the Indians and by 1942 the Indians demanded that British should "Quit India". This Quit India Movement that was started in 1942 plunged the entire country into a campaign against the British. Thus started the march of Indians towards the ultimate goal that is, the attainment of independence from the British imperialistic rule.

The Indian national movement largely inspired Goa's struggle for freedom. The Goans who aspired for freedom launched direct action against the Portuguese rule, among other things with the help of the Gandhian technique of *satyagraha* under the guidance of Indian Socialist leader, Ram Manohar Lohia.

Ram Manohar Lohia: His Views on *Satyagraha*:

As mentioned earlier, it was Ram Manohar Lohia, a veteran Indian socialist leader, who sparked off the non-violent direct action struggle in Goa. This struggle, that was launched to restore civil liberties that were being denied by the Salazarist dictatorship, finally led to Goa's struggle for freedom.

Therefore, it becomes very crucial at this stage to analyse Lohia's views regarding the implementation of the Gandhian technique of *satyagraha* to challenge the oppressive system. In following paragraphs, an attempt will be made to review Lohia's approach towards non-violent civil resistance.

Although Lohia was a staunch socialist, he was deeply influenced by the Gandhian ideology of civil disobedience and non-co-operation. Lohia responded to Gandhi's clarion call of "Do or Die" that asked the British imperialists to quit India. As on the eve of the Quit India struggle, the British government arrested all the leading nationalists of the country including Gandhi, the Quit India agitation became leaderless. It was under Lohia's able guidance that the underground movement flourished to challenge the repressive British Government.

Although committed to the principles of socialism, Lohia was not a blind follower of the socialist ideology propounded by the west. On the contrary Lohia refused to accept Marxism in totality. He questioned the relevance of European socialism and communism that followed Marx in the context of the unique socio-economic challenges posed by underdeveloped countries.

As mentioned earlier, Lohia was also very much under the influence of the non-violent *satyagraha* technique. But Lohia's views regarding the implementation of the *satyagraha* technique basically differed from Gandhi's viewpoint. Like Gandhi, Lohia also believed that civil disobedience was the very basic duty of conscious citizens. He was aware of the strength of civil disobedience to inject activeness into the otherwise lethargic people. It was the

practise of non-violent civil disobedience to inject activeness into the otherwise lethargic people.

It was the practise of non-violent civil resistance that would pull the lethargic people from their state of passivity deliberately inculcated by the oppressive rulers. However, Lohia differed from Gandhi on one basic point. As seen in the foregoing paragraphs, Gandhi strongly believed that *satyagraha* was a moral force, that would result in a change in heart of the evil-doer thereby replacing evil forces with a soul force.

But Lohia did not consider *satyagraha* as a moral force. Instead he considered it as a socio-political action that would exert pressure on the unjust oppressor to accept the path of justice. Lohia was very much aware of the power of *satyagraha* as a tool in the hands of the people to bring changes in the existing system. For him the uniqueness of the non-violent strategy lay in the basic fact that it had an immense capacity to stir the people that would ultimately result in popular awakening.¹²⁸

Lohia regarded *satyagraha* as the third alternative which Gandhi had introduced to complement the already known methods of resistance such as constitutional means and revolts and rebellions. According to Lohia, the technique of non-violence was a powerful weapon in the hands of the people to force governments to redress their grievances.¹²⁹ He pointed out that when constitutional methods failed to have the desired results, civil disobedience could be openly adopted by the people to set things right, thereby leading to the establishment of a new social order based on justice. Lohia very strongly believed that civil disobedience could be effectively used in a parliamentary democratic system whenever democratic governments ignored the demands and aspirations of the people. This was another point on which Lohia differed from Gandhi. Although Gandhi believed in the implementation of civil resistance in parliamentary systems, he did not advocate it to be applied in independent India.¹³⁰

According to Lohia *satyagraha* as a means to challenge injustice, would prevail as long as injustice and oppression existed in this world. According to him, the existence of non-violent resistance was the only solution to the threat of a gun or bullet. Lohia successfully practised non-violent *satyagraha* technique after India's liberation to develop the new born Indian nation on the socialist line.

Lohia was a man of action and he hated the passive approach of the unawakened people. According to him it was this passivity of the Indian people that was responsible to accept internal as well as external injustice. Therefore he revered Gandhi who bestowed on the world one of greatest principle of non-violence, which he taught through action. Lohia believed that all action should be aimed at the expression and organisation of the people's will and at reconstructing the nation in whatever manner possible which could be done through constructive programme of socio-economic and infrastructural development at the grass root level.

Did Lohia reject totally the implementation of violence as a means to foster changes in the society? One cannot forget that it was Lohia who led the 1942 Quit India Movement that operated underground and kindled the flames of resistance amongst people by advocating of the use of arson and sabotage to shake the British rule. Although Lohia did not totally reject violence as a political tool during India's struggle for freedom he definitely preferred the non-violent technique then the violent actions as he felt that violent means ultimately lead towards concentration of power. According to Madhu Limaye, one of India's leading socialist leaders, Lohia did not favour the use of violent means to achieve socio-political changes especially in the Indian context. According to Lohia, Indian political conditions were more favourable for the effective use of non-violence to achieve justice and he felt that deliberate use of violence may be self-defeating and would result in new forms of oppression.¹³¹

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- ² Constitution of the National Congress (Goa), Belgaum: 5th June 1949, p, 1. Appendix IV
- ³ On 28th May 1926, General Gomes da Costa led a coup d' é tat and captured power and invited Salazar, a professor of economics at the University of Coimbra, to head the finance ministry in 1928.
- ⁴ Although during Constitutional period in Portugal certain amount of liberal policies were extended to its colonies, its benefits were largely confined to the Catholic Community.
- ⁵ Mario Soares, *Portuguese Struggle For Liberty*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975, p, 59.
- ⁶ T. B. Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961,p.59
- ⁷ Ibid., p.101.
- ⁸ Mario Soares, Op.cit., p.39
- ⁹ Presidential speech of S.B. D'Silva delivered at the open session of the NC (G), Belgaum: 1949, p. 2.
- ¹⁰ Seema S Risbud, *The Role of Satyagraha in Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, M A., Dissertation, Taligao Plataeu: Goa University, 1991, p. 39.
- ¹¹ Berta Menezes Bragança, (ed.); *Meet Menezes Bragança*, Bombay: Menezes Bragança Memorial Committee, 1963,p.8.
- ¹² T. B. Cunha, op.cit., p.109

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Lambert Mascarenhas, *Sorrowing lies my land, Goa; the other India press*, 1999, p.106.

¹⁵ *The Hindu (Marathi Weekly)*, Margao, 2nd April 1929, p.4.

¹⁶ Personal Communication with Flaviano Dias.

¹⁷ The Indian National Congress open its branch committees in London and New York.

¹⁸ The detailed critic of this writings is attempted in chapter II.

¹⁹ Instigated by Portuguese authorities, British government Prosecuted T.B.Cunha under the Defence of India Act. However High Court of Bombay under Justice Chagla, not only acquitted Cunha but appreciated his patriotic work in his Judgement.

²⁰ Oral History Interview Transcript of Berta Menezes Bragança, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML), New Delhi: pp.18-19.

²¹ It was in 1936, when Goa Congress Committee shifted its office at Bombay under the initiative of Vithal N. Mayekar, J.P. Lobo and Peter Alvares.

²² P.P.Shirodkar, (ed). *Trial of T.B. Cunha*, Department of Archives Archaeology and Museums, Government of Goa, 1991, p.39

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Personal Communication with Purushottam Kakodkar.

²⁵ Personal Communication with V.N. Mayekar.

²⁶ Oral History Interview Transcript of Lakshmikant Bhembre, NMML, *Loc. cit.*, pp.6-8.

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- ²⁷ Personal Communication with Laxmidas Borkar.
- ²⁸ P.P. Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, Ajanta Publications, New Delhi, 1988, p. 29.
- ²⁹ Personal Communication with V.N. Lawande.
- ³⁰ Ram Manohar Lohia, *Action in Goa*, Bombay: August Publication House, 1947, p. 8.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ³² Anil Samartha, "Goa's Struggle for Freedom: Dr. Ram Hegde Recollects Aloud". *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, Panaji: Institute Menezes Bragança, No. 147, 1985, pp. 85-92.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Bharat* 6th November 1947, p. 2.
- ³⁵ Ram Manohar Lohia *Loc. cit.*, p. 10.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
- ³⁷ Oral History Interview Transcript of Evagrio George NMML, *Loc. cit.*, p. 83.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ Personal Communication with Purshottam Kakodkar.
- ⁴⁰ Poem by B.B. Borker entitled "Swanthanthriachi Sinhma Garjana", dated 23rd June 1946.
- ⁴¹ Ram Manohar Lohia, *Loc. cit.* p. 48
- ⁴² Julião Menezes, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: The Author, 1947, pp. 62-66.

⁴³ Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Personal Communication with Purushottam Kakodkar.

⁴⁶ Sharmila and Pratima Kamat “Remembering 18th June, 1946” Gomantak Times, 18th June 1990, p.3.

⁴⁷ See Appendix III for further details.

⁴⁸ According to some freedom fighters crowd that attended Lohia’s meeting at Margao did not exceed more than 2000.

⁴⁹ Personal Communication with V.N.Lawande.

⁵⁰ Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.

⁵¹ Ram Manohar Lohia, Loc.cit. p. 27.

⁵² Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Evagrio George, Goa’s Awakening. Reminiscences of the civil Disobedience Movement, Panaji: 18th June Silver Jubilee Publications, 1971,p. 3.

⁵⁵ Ram Manohar Lohia, Loc.cit. pp.19-21.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.

⁵⁹ Julião Menezes Loc.cit.pp. 62-66.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Personal Communication with V.N.Lawande.

⁶² B.G.Kunte (ed). Goa's Freedom Struggle Vis-à-vis, Maharashtra, Vol.II. Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1978,pp.55-56.

⁶³ Venkatesh Datta Pai, Jalta Gomanthak, Samartha Prakashan, Belgaum: 1948, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁴ Oral History Interview Transcript of Madhav Bir NMML, Loc. cit., p. 9.

⁶⁵ Ravindra Kelekar, Panthashta Rajhauns Publications, Goa: 2000, pp. 71-72.

⁶⁶ Venkatesh Datta Pai, loc.cit. pp.45-50.

⁶⁷ Jagannath S Sukhtankar, Portuguese Rajwatitil Swatantry Ladhyachi Pane, 1510-1947. Panaji: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 1992, pp.138-139,140-141.

⁶⁸ Oral History Interview Transcript of Madhav Bir NMML, Loc. cit., p. 9.

⁶⁹ B.G. Kunte, Loc.cit, pp. 57-58.

⁷⁰ Op. cit., p. 11.

⁷¹ Oral History Interview Transcript of Madhav Bir NMML, Loc. cit., p. 12.

⁷² Oral History Interview Transcript of Laxmikant Bhembre, NMML, p.14.

⁷³ Constitution of National Congress (Goa), Belgaum: NC (G), 1949, p.1. see Appendix IV.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Oral History Interview Transcript of Peter Alvares, NMML, Loc. cit., pp. 34-35.

⁷⁷ Personal Communication with P.P. Shirodkar,

⁷⁸ Guilherme Ticklo, P. P. Shirodkar and others, Territorial Military Court Files (*Estado da India*), case no: 736, Loc. cit., p.36.

⁷⁹ Personal Communication with P.P. Shirodkar

⁸⁰ Op.cit., p. 37.

⁸¹ Personal Communication with P.P. Shirodkar.

⁸² Guilherme Ticklo, P.P. Shirodkar and others, Territorial Military Court Files (*Estado da India*), case no: 736, Loc. cit., pp. 41-43

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Personal Communication with P.P. Shirodkar.

⁸⁵ Constitution of NC (G) Loc. cit., PP. 4-8.

⁸⁶ Kunte , B. G. (ed). Loc. cit. p.69.

⁸⁷ P.P. Shirodkar (ed). Trial of Laxmikant Bhembre, Panaji: Department of Archives, Archaeology and Museums, Government of Goa, 1993, p.11.

⁸⁸ Ram Manohar Lohia, Loc. cit. pp.19-20.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁹⁰ Personal Communication with P.P. Shirodkar.

⁹¹ Constitution of NC (G), Loc. cit., p.2.

⁹² Presidential speech of S.B. D'Silva, Loc. cit. p. 9.

⁹³ Julia Menezes, Anslekar, S.F. D'mello, (ed). Goa What Future, the author, Bombay: 1963, p.5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

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- ⁹⁵ Policy Statement of NC (G) 1951, pp. 12-13. Also see Appendix V.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 12-13.
- ⁹⁷ Letter of K. L. Sazgiri, 23rd August 1951.
- ⁹⁸ B.G. Kunte (ed.). Loc. cit., p.134.
- ⁹⁹ *Bharat* 18th November 1948 p.2.
- ¹⁰⁰ Presidential Speech of Sudha Joshi, 9th Annual Session held at Mapusa 1955, Loc. cit., p. 4.
- ¹⁰¹ Goan Affairs, Bombay, 2nd October 1951, p.8
- ¹⁰² K.N. Menon, *Portuguese pockets in India*, New Delhi: the author 1953. p.62.
- ¹⁰³ Legislative Assembly debates of Goa, Daman & Diu, Vol. I, No. 5. Government of Goa, Daman & Diu, 1964. p. 34.
- ¹⁰⁴ B.G. Kunte (ed). Loc. cit. p. 275.
- ¹⁰⁵ The Policy Statement of NC (G), 1951 Loc. cit., pp. 20-22.
- ¹⁰⁶ Constitution of NC (G), Loc.cit. p.10.
- ¹⁰⁷ Personal communication with P.P. Shirodkar.
- ¹⁰⁸ Presidential Speech of Kashinath Sanzgiri, 3rd Annual Session NC (G) 1950-51. The Annual Report of NC (G), 1950 – 51.
- ¹⁰⁹ Goan Affairs, 15th February 1953, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ Evagrio George, *Salazar's Rule in Portugal and the Goa Case*, Bombay, the author, 1959, p.37.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Goa and the Charter of the United Nations, New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, n.d. p.14.

¹¹⁴ *The Imperialist Catholicism of the Patriarch of Goa, Belgaum* : NC (G) District Committee, n.d.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.6.

¹¹⁶ The Policy Statement of NC (G) 1951, Loc. cit., pp. 20-22.

¹¹⁷ R.C. Agarawal, Constitutional History of Indian National Movement, New Delhi: Chand and Co., Pvt., 1974, p.127.

¹¹⁸ M.K. Gandhi, An Auto Biography: Ahmedabad, Navjeevan Publishing House, 1927, p.239.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Gopinath Dhawan, Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, Ahmedabad: Navjeevan Publishing House, 1957, p.126.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² J. Bandopadhya, *Social and Political thought of Gandhi*, Bombay: Allied Publishers 1969, p. 259. as quoted from M.K. Gandhi, constructive programme. P. 28.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

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¹²⁵ Narayan Sriman (ed). The selected works of Mahatma Gandhi, vol. IV, The Basic Work, Ahmedabad: Navjeevan Publishing House, 1995, p. 369.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

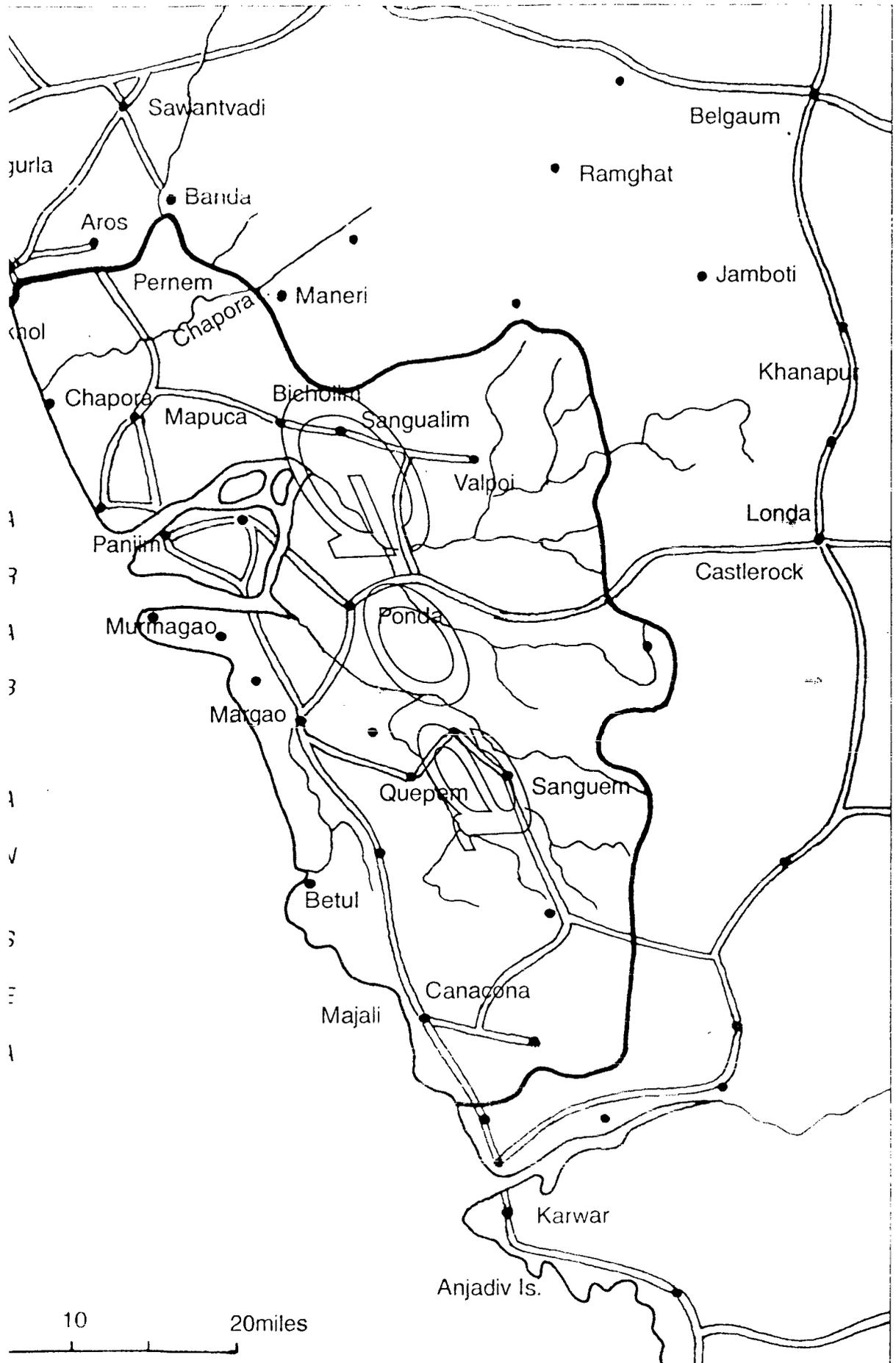
¹²⁷ Gopinath Dhavan, Loc.cit. p. 134.

¹²⁸ N.K.Bose, Studies in Gandhism, Ahmedabad: Navjeevan Publishing House, 1992, p. 51.

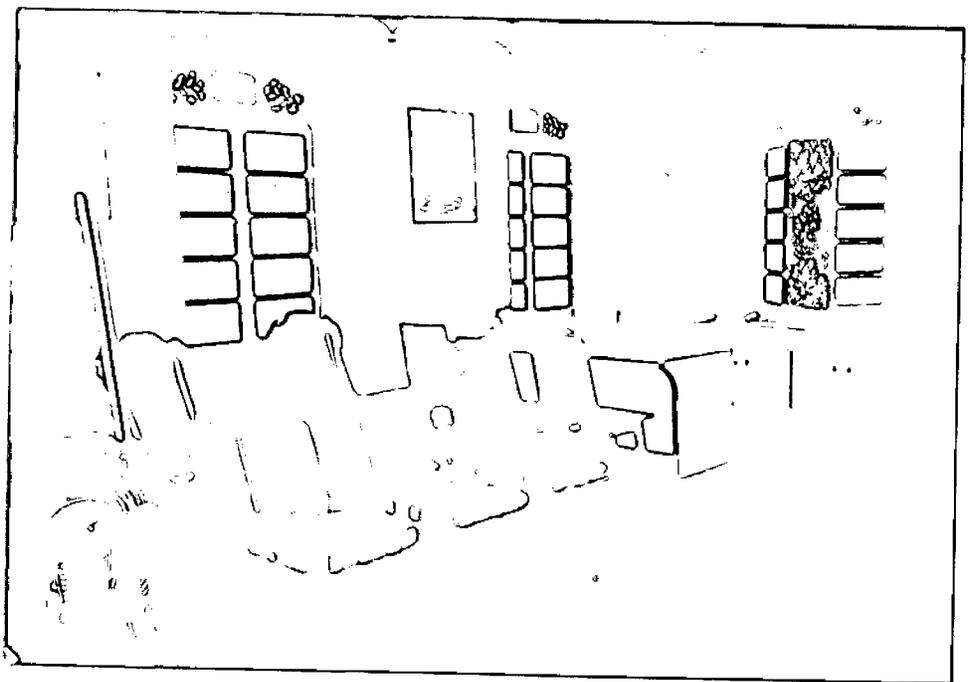
¹²⁹ Gopinath Pillai, Political Philosophy of Ram Manohar Lohia. Alternative Development perceptions, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publications, 1994. pp. 25-26

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

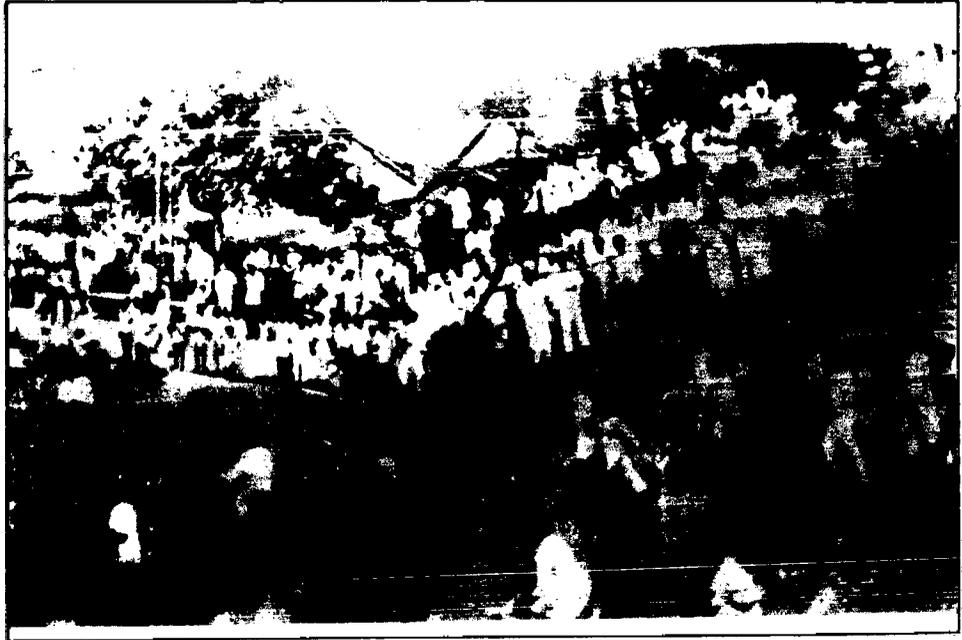
¹³¹ Madhu Limaye Politics after freedom, New Delhi, Atmaram and Sons, 1982, p.367.



**Residence of Julião Menezes and
Meeting Hall where 18th June Direct Action was planned.**



A Rare Scene of 18th June 1946, Direct Action



Lohia's call to Goans "What are we fighting for?"



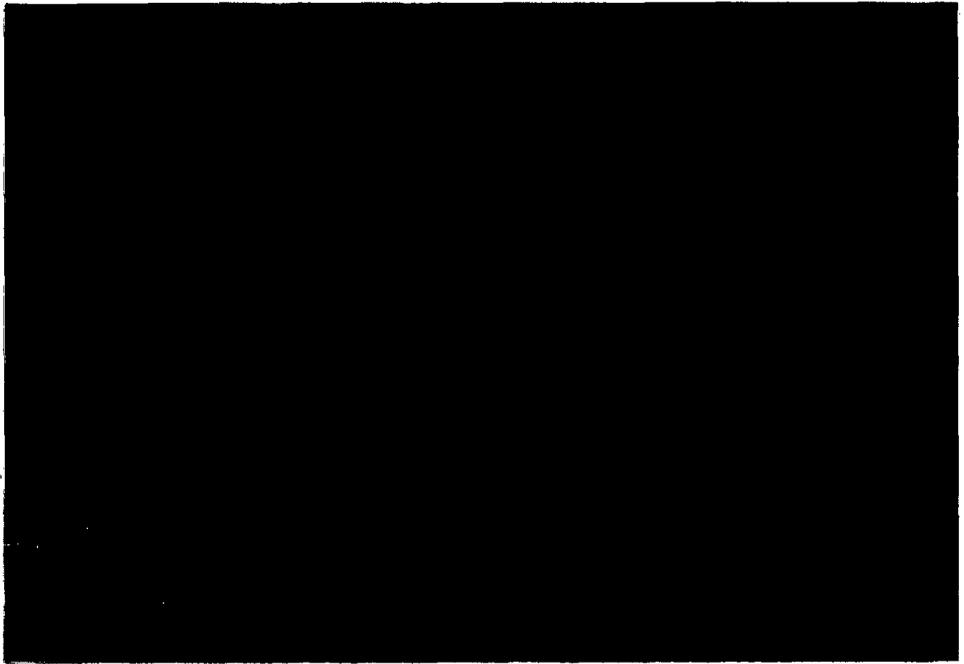
Second Entry of Lohia



NC (G) Khanapur Training Camp



Territorial Military Tribunal Court where Trials of Nationalist were conducted.



“Mundan” Severe Punishments Inflicted on Nationalists.



Presidents of NC (G)



Ram Hegde



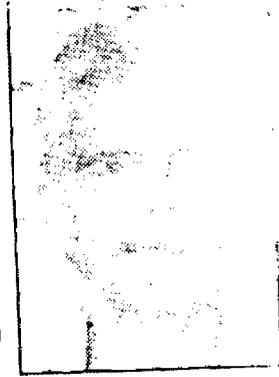
V.W. Mayekar



John Cavale



P.P. Shirodkar



Narayan Bhembe



Kashiketh Sanzgiri



Peter Alvares



Suelha Joshi

CHAPTER IV

ESTABLISHMENT OF *AZAD GOMANTAK DAL* :

ITS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Chapter IV

Establishment of *Azad Gomantak Dal*: Its Aims and Objectives

“Terrorism instills fear in the heart of the oppressor, brings hopes of revenge and redemption to the oppressed masses it gives courage and self-confidence to the wavering it shatters the spell of superiority of the ruling class and raises the status of the world, because it is the most convincing proof of a nations hunger for freedom.”¹

--- Manifesto of Hindustan Socialist Republican Army.

Oppressed people of the world from time immemorial very distinctly have often resorted to violent means in order to accomplish their political goals. To rise and revolt against injustice and oppression is the primal instinct of every human being. Therefore, it can be safely said that the achievement of political and socio-economic emancipation throughout the world was also based on gunpowder nationalism.

The history of Indian Freedom Struggle is by no means dissimilar. The revolutionary spirit that had manifested itself through the Revolt of 1857 never died out. It kept smouldering till India emerged as a free and sovereign nation in 1947. Along with Gandhian non-violent *satyagraha*, it is an undeniable fact that India definitely witnessed strong currents of militant nationalism. Even Gandhian Quit India Movement could not shy away from the influence of militant forces. When the movement reached the masses it was nothing but a manifestation of revolutionary activities. The revolutionary movements of Bengal, Northern India, the heroic fight of Subhash Chandra Bose and his valiant *Azad Hind Fauz* fully supplemented Gandhi's twin weapons of non-violence and civil disobedience.

Goa, though separated from mainstream India for more than 400 years, had the opportunity to come face to face with both these political currents of Indian nationalism. The story of Goa's struggle for independence like that of the

rest of India, is nothing but the saga of innumerable armed resistance activities which Goans undertook to challenge the colonial establishment, sometimes openly and sometimes with the help of guerrilla warfare, as a measure of expediency.

The torch of resistance to Portuguese rule was lighted right from the initial conquest of Goa in 1510. The ceaseless reactions in the form of revolts and uprisings, though brutally suppressed, could not quench the passion of the Goans for freedom from injustice.

The spirit of freedom, which, under the able guidance of Gandhi, had reached its watermark in the rest of India, was transplanted into Goa in 1946 when Lohia launched a non-violent civil resistance struggle.

With the appearance of Lohia, the age-old discontent against foreign imperialist rule was manifested in the form of a non-violent protest that the National Congress (Goa) launched under its banner. However, soon the clouds of terror unleashed by the colonial masters started hovering on the Goan political scenario. At this juncture when Goa was facing violent repression, the ultimate hope of liberation of Goa and its re-union with the Indian Union gave way to new ideas and perceptions, and within a year, led to the formation of an underground militant group. On 18th June 1947, on the first anniversary of the historic non-violent agitation, the *Azad Gomantak Dal* was born.

Events Leading to the Formation of the AGD

The establishment of an organisation with a militant revolutionary ideology to achieve Goa's liberation was not a spontaneous occurrence. It had a significant background. This idea had dominated a certain section of the nationalists even during the launch of the non-violent struggle. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to analyse the various factors that were responsible in motivating activists to establish the *AGD*.

Militant Nationalism in India and its Impact

The underground struggle under the banner of the *Azad Gomantak Dal* drew considerable inspiration from the history of revolutionary movement in India. Goans got acquainted with revolutionary activities in the rest of India through the media as well through personal contacts with revolutionary workers.

Newspapers like *Kesari*, *Maratha* and *Kal* were well known for their powerful advocacy of the cause of militant nationalism. *Kesari*, founded by Lokmanya Tilak, was widely circulated in Goa. Tilak had taken a strong line in support of the revolutionary cult and ideology of the bomb. He ceaselessly carried out his campaigns by educating the Indian youth in revolutionary ideology.

His editorials, entitled "Guerrilla Warfare," in which he had compared the revolutionary tactics used by the Boers in their war against the British with those of the Maratha army under the leadership of Shivaji to fight the Mughals, had created a sensation among the youth. Inspired by these articles, *Azad Gomantak Dal* had also carried out a series of articles on the techniques and strategies of guerrilla warfare in their fortnightly, *Navajeevan*. These articles were published just before they had heightened their revolutionary activities.

Prabhakar Sinari, who had actively participated in the non-violent *satyagraha* action and later worked towards the establishment of the *AGD*, while commenting on the influence of *Kesari* on the Goans, said,

"Since most of us were well conversant with Marathi language, *Kesari* was widely read in Goa. We all know that it had a mission to propagate revolutionary ideology among common masses. It was through *Kesari* that we became aware of the boiling patriotic fervour present in neighbouring Maharashtra and rest of India."²

Similar view is expressed by Flaviano Dias, an active participants in Goa's anti-colonial struggle. According to him, *Kesari* played a very important role in spreading the patriotic spirit in Goa. He said

“prior to 1946 newspaper from India could come to Goa as there was some Laxity in law. Although each village had a handful of literates these people in their own way contributed to the struggle by reading newspapers to a collective of illiterates in the villages when they gathered at a public place. These discussions that were carried on at chawadi included Goan Catholics too. Therefore, those who did not know the Marathi language also could grasp the revolutionary spirit of the time.”³

Mohan Ranade, an active *AGD* worker who joined the organisation in 1953, while discussing the influences on him of the Indian militant nationalism, commented that

“the militant ideology of great revolutionaries like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar had remarkably influenced me. His poem entitled, “My will and Testament,” that he composed in 1910 in England, when his elder brother Baba Sawarkar was undergoing life imprisonment at Andaman, provoked nationalist sentiments in our generation. Savarkar family's sacrifices for the nation created in me a strong will to be like one of the dutiful son of the Indian nation and to plunge into national struggle.”⁴

One finds that courageous acts of great martyrs like Madanlal Dhingra, Bhagat Singh, the Chafekar brothers and other revolutionaries served as a great source of inspiration to those nationalists who decided to take up arms to challenge the Portuguese.

Impact of the 1942 Struggle and *Patri Sarkar*

As we are aware the core of the 1942 “Quit India” movement was non-violent but when it reached the masses, it became very difficult to differentiate the two forces, non-violent agitators and violent activists. As the top leaders of the Congress including Gandhi were arrested, the task of directing the struggle was left to leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia, Achut Patwardhan, Jayaprakash Narayan and others. Although the principle of non-killing and non-injury was maintained, yet these leaders revived the old revolutionary technique of underground struggle. The 1942 Movement took a different turn and the agitators carried out sabotage activities on a large scale. These activities included disruption of communications and attacks on police stations that were the nerve centres of the British *Raj*. The British Government was paralysed in several districts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madinapur in Bengal and Satara in Maharashtra.

In Satara, *Patri Sarkar* was established under the leadership of Nana Patil. Vishwanath Lawande, founder member and the leader of the *AGD*, confirmed,

“the *Dal* activities were tremendously influenced by the *Patri Sarkar* which ran a parallel Government in Satara for four months. During this period *Janata* courts were established, several social reforms were taken up. This was a sort of liberation from British had tremendous influence on us.”⁵

Moreover, the Indian revolutionaries, who had taken shelter under Goa’s canopy to escape the British terror, provided an opportunity to Goans to be in contact with them and learn about the revolutionary cult.

As we are aware, Lawande, who had participated in the 1942 Quit India movement, had started a branch of the *Rashtra Seva Dal* at Bhom. This organisation aimed at instilling a sense of discipline in the villagers. Regular drills

and parades, training of the youth in martial arts such as *Lathi play*, *Dandpatta*, was taught at this centre.

The *Rashtriya Seva Dal* also had its branches at Karmali and Ekoshi. *Vyayamshalas* and *Akhadas* were also started in Panaji in which wrestling and gymnastics were taught. Narayan Naik, one of the founder-members of the *AGD*, was a well-known wrestler.⁶ Some political designs were definitely underlying the establishment of such institutions and it is very clear that the idea of establishing a group, well trained in wrestling and martial arts, surely lingering in the minds of these activists.

Subhash Chandra Bose and *Azad Hind Fauz*

The founders of the *AGD* were tremendously influenced by the charismatic personality of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and his revolutionary ideology, which advocated use of force to topple the British. He was convinced that *satyagraha* as a political weapon had very restricted use and was certain that the only effective method to drive away the British imperialists was an armed struggle with foreign assistance. It was his firm conviction that the desired Indian freedom would be achieved only if Indians were “prepared to wade through blood.”⁷ Therefore, he had given a clarion call, “Give your- blood! I give you freedom.”⁸ According to Netaji, shedding of blood was the price that one had to pay to achieve liberty. In order to fulfil the aim of liberating India, Subhash Chandra Bose made a daring escape to Germany to form the Free India Army. It was this daring escape from the country and the organisation of *Azad Hind Fauz* that endeared him to the millions, specially the younger generation.

Vishwanath Lawande, while talking about the influence of Subhash Chandra Bose and his ideology on Goans said,

“Netaji was our ideal leader and it was under his ideology that we conducted our struggle. The mental blue print of

the *Azad Hind Fauz* to liberate India, although was unfortunately unsuccessful, had captured our young minds and hearts. The spirit and inspiration to organise the *AGD* was derived from the *Azad Hind Fauz*. In fact, we had decided to name our organisation *Azad Gomantak Fauz* on the lines of *Azad Hind Fauz*. ”⁹

Prabhakar Sinari, reminiscing about Subhash Chandra Bose and *Azad Hind Fauz*, said,

“the sacrifice that Subhash Chandra Bose made by resigning from I. C. S. cadre and the whole episode of Subhash’s daring escape to Germany and forming of Free India Army had tremendously influenced our minds. The famous trials of Major General Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon, had created sensation among the youngsters. ‘*Jai Hind*’, the slogan of the *Fauz*, became our protest word. It was the main slogan that we raised on the historic day at Margão and the Portuguese authorities called the nationalists who participated in 18th June struggle as “*Jai Hindistist*” and not *satyagrahis*. In fact, the idea to launch some kind of armed struggle was going on our minds but when Lohia launched the civil disobedience struggle most of us decided to plunge into it.”¹⁰

The 18th June Action and the Subsequent Formation of NC (G)

Lohia’s 18th June Action was a public revelation of the people’s discontent against the Portuguese. It was not only an averment of the people’s right to be consulted but it also marked the departure of Goans from an inactive political life only to make the Portuguese realise that the people aspired to regain their fundamental rights.

The founder members of the *AGD*, which was an offshoot of the NC (G), namely V. N. Lawande, Narayan Naik, and Prabhakar Sinari, were active participants in the non-violent action. Although V. N. Lawande had participated in such non-violent protests, in the past, Narayan Naik and Prabhakar Sinari were novices in active politics. This action provided them with an exposure to nationalist activities and enabled them to select appropriate methods for a successful struggle in the future.

18th June not only fostered a nationalist spirit among the Goan youth but it also generated awareness on the Goa issue in the rest of India. It influenced youngsters in the rest of India to challenge Portuguese colonialism in India. Hence, youngsters like Mohan Ranade and Hemant Soman, crossed the Indian border and joined the national agitation to liberate Goa.

The spark that was kindled in the hearts of the Goans on 18th June was set ablaze and led to the subsequent formation of the NC (G) as has been elaborated in the earlier chapter. Its formation provided Goans with a political platform to express their wishes and give vent to their anger against the colonial establishment in a non-violent manner. However, within one year of its formation, a group led by Lawande drifted away to form a revolutionary group who believed in the militant ideology.¹¹ What prompted them to change their course of action and adopt a militant revolutionary ideology is discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs.

Policy of “Sticks and Carrot”

As the non-violent struggle began, Governor Jose Bossa allowed nationalist to organise meetings and *morchas* for nearly five days. Soon, the Government issued an order by which it was declared that to organise and address meetings without prior permission was a crime and to shout “*Jai Hind*” and to unfurl any other flag than Portugal’s were acts of “national treachery,” punishable with imprisonment. By a special ordinance, Portuguese India was practically placed

under martial law by increasing military troops, which were brought from Portugal as well as from Africa. This created an atmosphere of intimidation and terror in Goa. And the territory was turned into an arsenal of the Portuguese might....

While narrating the incidents of Portuguese repression Sinari recalled, "They caught us, assaulted us mentally as well as physically. They whipped us with the "*cavalmari*", humiliated us by shaving our heads."¹² Portuguese police shaved the heads of the nationalists mainly to identify them. However, these acts definitely played on the minds of the nationalists as the act of shaving off one's head (*mundan*) is performed twice, once on the occasion of thread ceremony and on the death of a close member of the family. These tortures could not be easily forgotten which instilled hatred against the Portuguese regime.

On the one hand, the prisons in Goa were turned into concentration camps and on the other hand, Portugal announced a new political statute, which 'elevated' the administrative status of Goa from a colony to a province of Portugal. The Government also announced the formation of a committee to draft a suitable constitution for Goa.¹³ However, the NC (G), which represented the will of the people, was not taken into confidence. The panel of the Committee that was formed to draft the constitution consisted of 'yes men' of the regime. Thus, it was evident that the despotic regime was not ready to consider the wishes of the people. They did not pay much attention to what the people of Goa were demanding and tried to impose their "will" by declaring Goa as a province of Portugal.

This action of the Government was motivated to pacify the Goans who were clamouring for a change in the political set-up. A selfish political end had prompted the declaration of Goa as a province of Portugal. Portugal was trying its best to get admission in the United Nations Organisation, formed after the World

War II, to avert further tensions among nations and thereby to maintain peace in the world.

One of the major qualifications needed for the membership of the UNO was the declaration of the interested country that it did not have colonial possessions in any part of the world. Portugal's desperate attempt to seek admission to the UNO was foiled by India who complained to UNO exposing the rule of terror that existed in Portuguese India. To throw dust in the eyes of the world Portugal declared that it did not possess colonies but only overseas provinces in Asia and Africa. This change in nomenclature did not in any way alter the ground realities in Goa where political repression of the nationalists continued with a vigorous tone. The non-violent participants of the struggle like T. B. Cunha, Ram Hegde, Purushottam Kakodkar, J. I. Loyola, L. k. Bhembre and others were tried by the Military Tribunal and were sentenced to Rigorous Imprisonment and were deported to Portugal. This was done to create fear in the minds of the people to discourage them from participating in the struggle. T. B. Cunha's case was the first case expedited by the tribunal. He was sentenced to eight years of Rigorous Imprisonment and exiled from the country. This was a note of warning to the people that those who would dare to challenge the despotic rule would suffer. Thus granting of political statute was just a pretence, a mere farce to fool the world and no political reforms whatsoever were introduced in Goa.¹⁴

Dattatreya Deshpande, founder-member of the *AGD*, who along with his colleagues was detained in the case of *Mapusa Fazenda* in which the *AGD* members made an unsuccessful attempt to raid the revenue office of Mapusa, while in jail, defended his violent action by accusing the colonial rulers of being responsible for forcing Goans to adopt the path of violence "against the Government with the object of altering it into a good one."¹⁵ According to him, "the inhuman sentences and barbarous treatment" that were unleashed on the non-violent *satyagrahis* during the 1946 struggle signified that, "The Government wanted to control the thoughts of the people." He and like-minded activists, who

did not “welcome such a control” and were determined to prevent the “degeneration and denationalisation” of Goan social life at all cost, were driven to opt for violent means. He further argued that the non-existence of civil liberties and non-availability of other form of protest, that would vent the discontent and frustration of the masses against the Government, compelled them to adopt the path of violence. Therefore, the Portuguese Government who curtailed democratic means of protest and denied the right of freedom should take on the responsibility for turning non-violent protestors into militant revolutionaries.

An Alternative to *Satyagraha*

Gandhi, a strong believer in the application of *satyagraha* to weed out political injustice had claimed that the use of *satyagraha* could be successful in any pattern of the Government irrespective of its forms. According to him, all kinds of injustice and oppression could be challenged by non-violent means. He also suggested that Jews should have adopted the method of non-violence to resist Hitler’s oppression.¹⁶

Although Lawande and his group accepted the efficacy to *satyagraha* yet they had doubts regarding its universal applicability. They wondered whether it could be used in typical conditions of Goa and were uncertain about its success. They found the practice of *satyagraha* impractical in despotic conditions. Lawande, while commenting on the technique of *satyagraha*, said that “it was a specific response to the British rule which though imperialistic in nature had some kind of democratic traditions. His (Gandhi’s) non-violence could not withstand the violent onslaught of the Portuguese rule.”¹⁷

Bipan Chandra, while analysing the success of the *satyagraha* struggle in India, had expressed a similar view. According to him, the British colonial state in India was not authoritative or fascist like the other European nations such as Germany under Hitler or Russia under the rule of the Tsars. It did not represent the characteristics displayed by the Portuguese colonial rule in Moçambique that

was authoritarian and totalitarian in character. Although the British Indian state was established on the principle of force, "it was not based just on force." It was also based on the creation of civil institutions and on the rule of law, a certain amount of civil liberties and even while suppressing the anti-colonial struggle "observed certain rules of law and codes of administration."¹⁸

Bipin Chandra had cited the example of Bardoli *satyagraha*, 1928, and Kheda in 1930 in which the police followed certain rules: they would not enter the houses of people after dark and if people refused to sell the products they did not forcibly seize them.

This was because Great Britain itself was a democratic country and since it had a very long tradition of democracy, it extended democratic principles to the Indians. Due to this democratic behaviour of the British, the people in India came forward in large numbers to participate in the *satyagraha*. Several women freedom - fighters from Andhra and Gujarat, when interviewed by Bipin Chandra, told him "what enabled them to go to jails or persuade their families to let them do so was the knowledge and feeling that the police would not misbehave towards them."¹⁹

On the contrary, the Portuguese state in dealing with non-violent *satyagrahis* took recourse to naked force and repression. Non-violent resistance was considered to be an act of revolt against the sovereignty of Portugal. Even wearing Gandhi *topi* or shouting "*Jai Hind*" was considered to be a crime against the state. These actions were regarded as an attempt to jeopardise the safety of the Portuguese nation. The Portuguese secret police was similar in infrastructure and in style of functioning to the Gestapo in Nazi Germany.²⁰

Madhav Bir, an ardent protagonist of the non-violent agitation, admitted that matters were quite different and difficult in Goa as compared to British India. He said, "In India suppose we were to break a particular clause of the Indian Penal Code we would be sentenced to a particular period. But that was not the

case in Goa. Here it was difficult to predict as to what would be the period of imprisonment. In a number of cases, the Portuguese sentences amounted to even 28 years of imprisonment.”²¹ This uncertainty had definitely fostered fear in the minds of the people. Moreover, by shifting these so-called troublemakers to distant lands the people were “left leaderless.”²²

While narrating the savage behaviour of the colonial administration, Narayan Naik, who offered *satyagraha* in 1946, recalled,

“Once I was caught, I was subjected to water torture. My head was kept under water till I could no longer breath. When I lifted it up to gasp for air, it was dipped again in water. Later the police *lathi* charged me. I was detained in the jail. They released me in the evening, robbed of all my essentials, all my money was taken and I was left penniless. Two young wayfarers, aged fifteen, who had offered to help me were beaten to death. Such were the tortures imposed by the Portuguese rule on any one who dared to help the nationalists.”²³

Though Lawande and his group accepted the efficacy of *satyagraha* yet they had doubt regarding its practical universal applicability. They wondered whether it could be used in the typical conditions of Goa, as they were uncertain about its success. According to V. N. Lawande, *satyagraha* movement faded out within five to six months because the *satyagrahis* were subjected to corporal punishments. In order to suppress the *satyagraha* struggle the Portuguese authorities made use of tortures such as whipping with the *cavalmarino* and *palmatorio*. This torture instrument, the *cavalmarino*, a whip like instrument made out of hide of the African water hippo with sharp serrated sides, was a medieval weapon used to torture slaves by slave traders. A single stroke of it would de- skin the person and would crush the soul out of the body. “These

corporal punishments used by the authorities in order to suppress the struggle, were enough to dissuade him from participating in the struggle. It was the fear of these two instruments that prevented the people from participating in the *satyagraha* movement.²⁴ Although tormented with brutal repression, the hope of freedom kept the spark of revolution aglow within the nationalists, which finally culminated into the formation of the underground resistance struggle.

T.B. Cunha, after his release from Portugal, had addressed a mammoth gathering in Bombay. In his speech, while lamenting on the fascist nature of the Portuguese rule, he had asked Goans to give up the path of platonic protests and condemnations since their experiences in the past showed that these methods did not yield any positive response from the fascist colonial rule and it was high time now that the Goans dealt with them in a different way and used the language of power and force that they understood.²⁵

Disunity and Dissentions in the Congress

As stated in the earlier chapter, the non-violent action launched by Lohia suffered from basic disunity among its followers right from its inception. As we have already seen there emerged two groups, one headed by Kakodkar and the other headed by Hegde. Although Ashok Mehta's leadership brought these groups together under the banner of the NC (G), this concord was "superficial and was not from the heart."²⁶ Moreover, it had not taken place in the presence of Lohia, Julião Menezes and Purusottam Kakodkar. Madhav Bir, while talking about this issue, indicated that Kakodkar's arrest was a blessing in disguise to consolidate the Congress, as he was reluctant to come to terms with the group led by Hegde. He has admitted the above fact in these words "I must confess that had it not been for Kakodkar's courting arrest on 9th August, 1946, it would have been perhaps difficult for us to sink our differences and merge into one organisation."²⁷ In addition to this personal animosity and prejudices, there was a wide chasm of opinion about party strategies regarding a need for an organisational infrastructure

for the freedom struggle. This issue later became more volatile and resulted in petty factions among nationalists adhering to their division of opinion. Ram Hedge dislodged that his group did not accept the leadership of Purushottam Kakodkar, though he was chosen to lead the struggle by Lohia. Therefore he had decided to go ahead with his own viewpoint after Lohia's departure from Goa. In his words "I was of the opinion that let Lohia start the movement and go out of Goa then we would see what we could do... there were already two groups, one harming the other. When we were organising a silent morcha they used to disturb us, calling the attention of the police."²⁸

Lohia's suggestion of organising *Dashdainik Satyagrahas* had not appealed to Hegde and his associates. They felt that such actions would not be successful within the Portuguese set-up. Therefore they had stressed on building up an organisation before taking recourse to such action. The Bombay branch of the NC (G) had attempted to frame its constitution to make it a full-fledged organisation with definite aims and objectives and infrastructural necessities. However, Lohia outrightly rejected this proposal.²⁹ Moreover, their plan of having a shadow committee of the NC (G) to direct the struggle without actively participating in it was also turned down by Lohia and his followers.³⁰ The differences within the NC (G) became visible when Julião Menezes established a parallel organisation in Bombay and claimed that it was the official organisation that enjoyed the backing of Lohia.³¹

These controversies regarding the legality of the NC (G) resulted in creating confusion in the minds of the public. They started losing interest in the struggle.³² Ravindra Kelekar, who has an entire chapter in his book *Panthsta*, that deals with the freedom struggle has accused the nationalists of persisting with internal strife even in jails and held them responsible for not providing Goans an idealistic leadership to fall back on.³³ According to him, nationalists who projected the Goan issue to the world remained in a cocoon with a prejudicial attitude and suffered from narrow-mindedness.³⁴

V. N. Lawande, while criticising the NC (G) leaders remarked, “instead of coming together they started fighting among themselves. Individual egos and group factions dominated the non-violent struggle. Gandhian philosophy was turned into duplicity, it became a fashion to wear *khadi* clothes and pose as patriots.”³⁵ Due to this controversy, P.P. Shirodkar, during his presidentship had to issue a declaration stating that the NC (G) branch led by Vasant Borkar in Bombay was the only official branch and it had no other branches in Bombay. This statement naturally brought the differences between various groups to the fore.³⁶

All this had a very negative impact on the struggle. These mutual bickerings within the organisation accompanied by the infliction of harsh measures to stamp out the struggle by the establishment, broke the backbone of the party, leading to the weakening of the movement. There was a void created in the political scenario and it was at this stage that the idea of an armed struggle started gathering response from like-minded nationalists.

The young leaders began to voice their dissatisfaction with the established methods of NC (G) within a year after its foundation and started thinking of establishing a revolutionary group that was committed to the violent overthrow of the alien rule.

The Cult of the Bomb (*Shatham Prati Shathyam*): The Retaliatory Answer to the Portuguese Rule

The AGD very strongly subscribed to the doctrine of *shatham prati shathyam*, that is, tit for tat or “responsive cooperation”³⁷ as promoted by Bal Gangadhar Tilak who belonged to the radical group of the Indian National Congress, and not *shatam pratyapi sayam*, that is, the doctrine of facing wickedness with soul force as advocated by Gandhi. Lala Lajpatrai of Punjab, and Surendranath Pal of Bengal were the other two leaders of the Indian National Congress who supported Tilak’s view. The trio, popularly known as ‘Lal, Bal and

Pal', opposed tooth and nail the policy of mendicancy adopted by the early leaders of the moderate wing. Instead they had advocated firm methods to deal with the British imperialists. Subsequently, Tilak was not in favour of the ideology of *satyagraha* as advocated by Gandhi in the field of politics. He expressed a difference of opinion in a letter that he addressed to Gandhi, in which he clearly stated that "politics is a game of worldly people and not of *sadhus*." And in the game of politics as an alternative to the maxim, "conquer anger by non-anger" as preached by Gautam Buddha, he preferred Lord Krishna's maxim of "reciprocity". According to him both the methods were equally sincere and virtuous techniques but "responsive co-operation" was "more suited to this world than the other" This recurring theme of reciprocity, that is, tit for tat, *jashas tase*, or *thoshas thosa*, was the central theme of Tilak's political ideology.³⁸ In his famous treatise on *Bhagvat Geeta* namely, *Geeta Rahasya*, Tilak has emphasised the famous verse of saint poet of Maharashtra *Sant* Ramdas, the political Guru of Shivaji, in which he has approved villainy-by-villainy "*Khatanatasi Khatanata*".³⁹

The *AGD* very strongly adopted the above-mentioned theory in dealing with the Portuguese regime, and advocated "*Shatam prati Lathyam*", that is, not only tit for tat but a step forward, the use of force to wipe out the unjust colonial rule as we will see in the following paragraphs. Moreover, L. B. Bhoptakar, a staunch follower of Tilak while responding to the ruthless act of the British authorities at Jalianwala Bagh in Punjab where innocent men women and children were slaughtered, had voiced his indignation and had advocated *Shatam Prati Lathyam*, that is, not only tit for tat but the use of force to wipe out the unjust rule.⁴⁰

Right from its initial conquests, the very genesis of the Portuguese rule in Goa implied the use of terror. As it was basically based on terror, counter-terrorism was the only answer to the unchecked perennial rampant oppression. The Portuguese had an upper hand in crushing the non-violent *satyagraha* of the NC (G) by terrorising the Goan populace. In order to suppress the struggle the regime carried out extensive search operations and arrested the suspects who they

felt collaborated with the nationalists. They were subjected to intensive interrogation. This had led to an atmosphere of utter helplessness in Goa.

Lawande and his associates had perceived this precarious condition. It appears that right from the beginning of the struggle there was some kind of inclination developing in Lawande and group towards violent activities and they were strongly advocating the use of violent means in accordance with the universal principle that violence begets violence or terror begets terror.

Deshpande explains the reason behind this change in their perception, which led them to discontinue with the peaceful form of struggle, and forced them to take to the aggressive method. According to him, the response of the Portuguese authorities to the non-violent movement was responsible for the rise of the violent struggle. He has pointed out that initially the struggle under the banner of NC (G) was conducted "according to the rules of the Indian National Congress".⁴¹ The NC (G) was based on similar principles of the Indian National Congress; therefore they had accepted democratic methods of popular awakening. However, as the policy of the Government became clear they found that it was impossible for them to adopt democratic methods. He further says, "It was not our fault that we became violent. All the responsibility is on the Government."⁴² The Portuguese police force had choked their voices with brutality and the result was that the young nationalists decided to take guns in their hands.

Those who had experienced the wrath of the Portuguese were filled with hatred and anger and now rallied around the concept of violent agitation. They had expressed their point of view to Lohia that the method of non-violent struggle would prove to be futile due to the nature of the Portuguese rule. They had shown their interest to launch a violent struggle. However, Lohia thoroughly discouraged it and turned this down. Lohia wanted Goa's struggle for civil liberties to be an open movement where the people would not only be mere spectators but active participants.

Therefore, according to him, sabotage had no meaning in Goa as these acts would limit the movement to only a section of the people and “turn the mass of people into silent if sympathetic spectators.”⁴³ He had declared that these yearnings for sabotage and violence were motivated by the desire to avoid custodial tortures and imprisonment. Ravindra Kelekar, who had spoken on this issue to Lohia in one of the meetings at Belguam, was totally discouraged by the latter who cautioned “You would alienate yourself from the general public and then the fear of arrest will haunt you and you will be deprived of facing the Portuguese boldly.”⁴⁴ While outrightly rejecting the adoption of violence he had warned “anybody wanting to do sabotage should desist from such an attempt for that they would surely kill the movement or at least limit it to a small number.”⁴⁵

As the struggle began to dwindle, the limitations of civil disobedience in the specific framework of the Portuguese rule became more and more evident. Lawande and his associates began to lose faith in non-violence as a strategy to challenge the Portuguese rule. They were convinced that the foreign rule was unable to comprehend the technique of *satyagraha*. And such a regime had to be paid back in the same coin. In the words of Lawande, “The Portuguese Government did not understand the language of peaceful means that was our firm conviction. Therefore we took a decision that we must go the way which was understood by them, that is, the adoption of violent means and armed resistance.”⁴⁶

Their decision to refrain from the use of non-violence in their fight and their redefined perception was conveyed to other members of NC (G) that met in April 1947 to discuss the future course of action. As seen earlier, the executive committee that was formed under Shirodkar was trying its best to inject some life in the struggle. It was at this point that Lawande and his group “suggested to the Congress workers to change their stand on the technique of non-violent method and to adopt violent means as they expected some bold action against the Portuguese regime.”⁴⁷

According to Lawande, "what was worrying them at this stage was how to continue the struggle against the Portuguese by following non-violent techniques?"⁴⁸ The leading workers of the NC (G) were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and other ordinary workers who could not reach the people did not know how to continue the struggle and therefore total frustration ran in the movement. Hence Lawande speculated on the use of non-violent technique. Moreover, the Government, which was not ready to give civil rights to the people, would never bow down to the demand for freedom that the Goans clamoured to achieve through non-violent means. Therefore

"the mere toning down of the *satyagraha* movement was not a matter of concern but the matter of concern was that a wave of frustration had started overtaking the Goan activists. The only solution was that of the adoption of a different line, as peaceful means did not find its place in Goa."⁴⁹

When they presented their point of view to the NC (G) workers at the Karmali session a heated argument took place between Vinayak Mayekar and Lawande on this issue Mayekar outrightly rejected this proposal and had strictly told Lawande that if they were particular about the adoption of violent techniques they should do it from a "separate platform"⁵⁰ and not under the banner of NC (G). As we are aware, the NC (G) had resolved to adopt peaceful non-violent techniques as the means to achieve the liberation of Goa and its integration with India.

Lawande's inclination towards the use of violence was one of the major issues that struck the NC (G) in 1947. NC (G) workers considered this strategy of Lawande as being harmful to the future prospects of the organisation as it only served to intensify the Portuguese wrath. Mayekar who strongly believed that Lawande's action would be detrimental to the NC (G) had clearly warned them

“if you do violent activities, then all our non-violent *satyagrahis* would have to face the reprisal.”⁵¹

While justifying the NC (G) stand to stick to the non-violent strategy, Madhav Bir lamented that the objective of the liberation of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union was not possible without the full support of the Indian Government and Congress workers were aware of Nehru’s views on the use of violence. India was on the threshold of independence and Indian Government would not have harboured sympathy for those who were indulging in violent activities: “We knew that Panditji would be the last man to give assistance to carry on such a struggle.”⁵²

Violence of World War II and the communal rage that broke out on the eve of India’s independence had appalled Nehru and he felt repulsed by the idea of achieving anything through violent techniques. Nehru very strongly believed that there was no lasting solution to the problems of the people through recourse to arms. He was of the opinion that with the use of violent methods there would be no lasting peace in the world. This was one of the major reasons why the Indian Government did not back the *Azad Gomantak Dal* in the course of their action.

One can argue that it was for this reason that Lohia also was not in favour of violent struggle though he was the main brain behind the disruptive activities that took place during the 1942 movement. Lohia, who had watched Nehru very closely, was convinced that the Government of India, under the leadership of Nehru, would not support such actions. At the same time he was also aware that Goa could not be liberated without the help of the Indian Government. He was sure that if Goans made use of violent activities then the Indian Government would not come forward to extend support to such a struggle. Therefore he had discouraged Goans from undertaking violent activities right from the initial stage of the struggle. As rightly anticipated by him the Indian Government did not come forward to support the *AGD* throughout the struggle. According to Anthony

D'Souza, an active member of the NC (G), "there was always a trend in the freedom struggle circles whether we should have adopted violent or non-violent activities."⁵³

When Laxmidas Borkar, an active worker of the NC (G) who later became the editor of the English daily *The Navhind Times*, had met Gandhi at New Delhi to seek his advise on the Goa issue. He had conveyed to Gandhi the trend of violence in the minds of some Goan activities and had asked him what policy the NC (G) should adopt towards such advocates of violence. To this question Gandhi had clearly advised the NC (G) workers not to interfere or even criticise the activists who were advocating violence who should be "allowed to follow their line of action unmolested."⁵⁴

As per their conviction, Lawande and his group severed connection with the parent body and headed towards the establishment of a militant organisation. They believed, in the words of Mohan Ranade that their "goal was just and noble" and they aimed at "driving the last shred of imperialist rule from the Indian soil."⁵⁵

Lawande appeared to subscribe to the ideology of the *Hindustan Republican Army* that "Force when used for aggression turns out to be violent. It is considered immoral when it is used as such, but for the attainment of good, its use is always morally justified."⁵⁶ While defending their decision to take recourse to violent means Lawande had offered justification in these words: "Our resort to violence was the need of the hour".⁵⁷ They considered the liberation of their motherland as the noblest cause; therefore they sanctified pursuance of this goal through violent means in addition to the methods of non-violence. They were adopting violent means to achieve the righteous purpose of the liberation of Goa and its re-integration with India. According to him, violence that was used for saving one's self-respect and for saving one's own motherland from foreign dacoits was not only a justifiable act but was inevitable in given circumstances.

Since the utopian means of non-violence was tried against the Portuguese but had failed miserably, adoption of militant means was the only way out. The Portuguese regime had already tightened its grip and in such circumstances the just and noble principle of *satyagraha* would not work. On the contrary, “toleration of forceful domination of tyranny and oppression was nothing but encouraging and strengthening their hold on us and therefore to teach them a lesson by answering them in their own language was an effective counter-measure.”⁵⁸

Incidence of Violent Acts: Prelude to the Formation of the AGD

As we have seen in the preceding paragraphs, the idea of taking recourse to violent methods was floating in the air when the non-violent struggle was in progress. This idea soon captured the minds of the youngsters before the Portuguese rulers became aware of the forthcoming danger.

On the one hand, Goans were desperately struggling to continue their agitation and on the other, those who were inclined towards the use of violence engaged themselves in such incidents, which revealed the changed trend of the struggle.

These individual and group acts of sabotage finally paved the way for the formation of the *Azad Gomantak Dal*. It was under this banner that the Goans renewed their attack on the Portuguese colonialists in a more organised, vigorous fashion.

Attack on the Office of the Administrator of Vasco da Gama:

Display of violence against the Portuguese rulers by the residents of Vasco da Gama was evident on 25th October 1946. Dattatreya Deshpande, who was a teacher in this town, had participated in a protest march as a part of the *satyagraha* struggle. He was arrested and was released on parole.

He and his associates were seething with anger against the administrator who abused his position to harass Goans. They stormed the office of the administrator at Vasco, brought down the portraits of Salazar and General Carmona and virtually destroyed the office. Even some important files and papers were burned.⁵⁹ This incident was a clear indication that youngsters were deviating from the path of non-violence.

Attack on a Police Station

As a strong reaction against the repression, cruelty and humiliation that the Goans had faced for organising the non-violent agitation, a group of Goans committed an act of arson. The police station at Canacona and Quepem court building fell prey to the anguish of the agitators. Although the authorities were successful in extinguishing the fire, they could not cool the fire that kept burning in the hearts of Goan nationalists and the incident that occurred at Marcel was a proof of violently patriotic tendencies.

Marcel Primary School set on fire

The nationalists set on fire the Portuguese primary school at Marcel that was the symbol of cultural slavery. In the dead of the night the revolutionaries managed to set it aflame amidst slogans of “*Jai Hind*” and the tricolour, which fluttered on a nearby tree, warned the Portuguese of the impending storm that would shake their empire.⁶⁰

Although these incidents were sporadic and spontaneous, they focussed on the mindset of the nationalists which was becoming revolutionary. These acts served as rudiments of aggressive nationalism in Goa.

Formation of the *Azad Gomantak Dal*

When persecution and repression reared their ugly heads, the idea of terror begets terror began to take shape. Since NC (G) had out-rightly rejected the path

of violent means, Lawande along with his associates moved away from the NC (G) and decided to go ahead with the new venture.

Nationalists like Dattatreya Deshpande, Narayan Naik, Prabhakar Sinari, Suryakant Naik and others supported him. A formal meeting was organised on 23rd April 1947 at Goa Velha, at the shop of Janardhan Kane, to discuss the possibility of the establishment of an organised group and also to discuss the pros and cons of such a move.

At this meeting all crucial issues, like procurement of arms and funds, danger posed by superior police force of the authorities, the need to learn guerrilla warfare, were discussed.

The meet ended on a positive note that the establishment of a revolutionary organisation with trained and disciplined soldiers was the ultimate solution in such a despairing situation.⁶¹ The next meeting took place on 10th May 1947 at the Shantadurga temple at Bhom, Cuncholim, in the Ponda taluka and finally it was resolved to establish a revolutionary organisation on the first anniversary of Goa's non-violent agitation, that is, on 18th June 1947.⁶² This date is of crucial significance in the history of Goa's struggle for freedom and the formation of the *AGD* on this day was an act of homage to all those participants who had sacrificed their lives for the noble cause.

On this day, at 10.30 p.m., the revolutionaries gathered at the Shantadurga temple at Bhom and took a solemn vow in front of the deity. With a pistol in his hand, Lawande administered the oath to his associates. The form and language of this oath had denominational touch based essentially on the Hindu belief and it was administered in the name of the goddess Shantadurga.⁶³

The contents of the pledge were as follows:

“I, one with the invocations to God and with salute to the weapon in hand, do hereby take oath and solemnly declare that I fully accept the primary objective of speedy deliverance of the Indian land from the Portuguese and to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu from foreign domination.

As long as I happen to be a devout soldier of the organisation I shall observe the conduct of a soldier. I will honestly and steadfastly discharge the responsibilities and sacred task as a brave soldier of the *Dal* and I shall be ready for whatever sacrifices that are demanded from me. I shall try to the best of my abilities to promote unity and fraternity among all castes. I am aware of the perils and obstacles in the path towards Goa's freedom and I shall extend myself to the utmost, unwaveringly, to achieve my ultimate aim. I shall recognise the utmost importance of the need of secrecy and discipline and I shall observe the same strictly. I shall execute, to the fullest, the orders of my superiors. I shall gladly subject myself to any punishment, in case I happen to commit myself to any deal in jeopardising the interest of Goa and of the *Dal*.”⁶⁴

The revolutionaries who took this oath were V. N. Lawande, who was unanimously declared as the leader of the *AGD*, Dattatreya Deshpande, Narayan Naik, Bhikaro Naik, Rana Bhagat Marshelkar, Suryakant Naik, Chandrakant Verekar, Janardhan Karpe, Nanda Verekar, Betu Naik Goankar and others.⁶⁵

After the conclusion of the oath ceremony, the blessings of the Goddess to the newly-born organisation were sought, *Vibhuti* or sacred ash was applied to the

forehead of the members and *prasad* was distributed invoking divine blessings for their chosen goal.

The oath-taking ceremony had a traditional Indian cultural touch reminiscent of Chatrapati Shivaji and his associates who in the past had taken a vow by invoking Goddess Bhavani to establish *Swaraj*. Administration of the oath was a very sacred and significant feature of African revolutionary struggle also. The *Mau Mau* revolutionary organisation of Kenya also followed the practise of initiation ritual and oath-taking ceremony. They administered oath to those who joined their struggle against their European enemy.⁶⁶

The formation of *Azad Gomantak Dal* thus exposed certain features that were common to most of the revolutionary organisations. However they represented certain traits that were basic characteristics of the Indian revolutionary movement. In the following lines an attempt is made to draw a parallel between *AGD* and the revolutionary movement in India.

The Concept of *Bharat Mata*

This action also speaks of the acceptance by the *AGD* of the concept of "Mother Nation". This was popularised by revolutionary movements in Bengal. Bankim Chandra Chatterjii, Swami Vivekananda as well as Aurobindo Ghose were strong propagators of the idea that the country is like a mother, *Bharat Mata* who nurses and looks after the well-being of her children, that is, the people. Therefore, it is the sacred duty of the children to rise in arms in order to protect her from being threatened by the enemies. This concept of reverence of the great mother was poetically expressed by Bankimchandra Chaterjii through the national song "*Vande Mataram*". He wrote it on 20th December 1876 and later incorporated in his famous novel entitled *Anand Math*. It was set to tune by Ravindranath Tagore and was sung for the first time at the 12th annual session of the Indian National Congress in 1896. This song was rightly termed by Aurobindo Ghose as a "Mantra of Patriotism". It became the *Geeta* of the Indian

revolutionaries and the invocation of “*Vande Mataram*” stirred the nation and inspired countless Indian nationalists to lay down their lives for the nationalist cause.

This concept of *Bharat Mata* has its roots in the traditional concepts of Jagatdhatri, Mother goddess or Mother Earth which is iconised female form of the infinite energy, Shakti, or the power of creation of the universe that is very much popular in India. The traditional worship of Adishakti in different female forms, such as Goddess Parvati, Bhavani, Durga, Kali, Lakshmi and others, was apparent in the concept of Mother Nation. Aurobindo’s *Bhavani Mandir* and Sister Nivedita’s *Kali the Mother*, published in 1905, too espoused the cult of the motherland and militant nationalism.

In Bengal worship of Kali was popularised by nationalists like Bipan Chandra Pal. In fact Goddess Kali represented Mother India who was under British imperialism. Thus iconographic features of goddess Kali speaks of the wretched conditions of the Indian people under the imperial rule of the British. Kali is dark because she is ignorant. The heads with dripping blood are those of her children destroyed by famine and pestilence. How to save her from this miserable condition? The answer may be located in the ideology of Aurobindo Ghose who had asked for blood sacrifices by the Indians to liberate the country from the westerners in these words:

“ I know my country as Mother. I offer her my devotions, my worship. If a monster sits upon her breast and prepares to suck her blood, what does her child do? Does he quietly sit down to his meal.... or rush to her rescue?”⁶⁷

AGD, like the other militant revolutionaries in the rest of India, had imbibed the mythography and revered the Indian nation as the mother who was being oppressed by the western colonialist. The very presence of the Portuguese on

Indian soil was a torture for 'Mother India' and therefore it was the duty of the *AGD* activists to drive them away through blood sacrifices.

Mohan Ranade, while discussing with me the concept of mother India, recited a prayer that was regularly sung at a *Vyayamshala* in Sangli where he took lessons in physical exercises. "Even if the enemy strikes severest blows on my head, even if I have to undergo extreme poverty, sorrows, insults, imprisonment for life or even if I have to face death at the hands of the enemy, I will worship my motherland without fear."⁶⁸ Such poetry definitely inculcated in the youngsters a strong sense of duty and an urge to offer sacrifices towards the welfare of the nation.

He further commented that another work that inspired the revolutionaries was *Bhagavad-Gita* in which Lord Krishna asked Arjuna to "fight and overthrow thy opponents." This insistence of Lord Krishna on the value of *karma*, that is sense, of duty, stimulated us to take up arms against the Portuguese.⁶⁹

The *AGD* members took the oath in the Durga temple. They consciously chose this venue as it coincided with their ideology of the mother nation as Shantadurga, one of forms of the Adishakti worshipped in Goa. Moreover the contents of the oath that they took ornately expressed the above-mentioned ideology.

Revival of *Ksatratez*

Administration of pledge by Lawande by taking a pistol in his hand revealed that the *AGD* very strongly believed in the revival of *ksatratez* or martial valour of the Goans. They wished to breathe life into the martial potency of the land that was threatened by the colonialists. "The revolutionaries sought to redeem the Indian muscularity by defeating the British, often fighting against hopeless odds, to force the former once and for all from the historical memory of their own humiliating defeat in violent power play and tough politics,"⁷⁰

Traits of “*Purushartha*” (Manliness)

The establishment of *AGD* mirrored the inner urge of the Goans to show their “manliness”.⁷¹ The traits of maleness were valour and aggression and therefore they refused to accept the ideology of *satyagraha* that asked them to accept the oppression of the Portuguese without any retaliation. For them such meek action would mean nothing but the want of masculinity in them. Therefore, adoption of an aggressive path would display machoism, display of physical valour that they possessed. They appeared to subscribe to views of Swami Vivekananda enshrined in his writings, such as “Wouldst thou attain, by means of thy disgraceful cowardice, that freedom deserved fully by the brave and heroic?... Oh, though Mother of strength, take away my weakness, take away my unmanliness, and make me a man.”⁷² They also seemed to subscribe to Frantz Fanon’s views that believed that the local population recreates itself through the use of violence against colonial regime. According to him by using violence one can regain his sense of manhood, his dignity and his identity, and this helps him in purging the humiliation and injustice meted out to him and his forefathers by the colonial oppressors.⁷³

Although it is popularly believed that the revolutionary group formed by Lawande and his associates came to be known as *Azad Gomantak Dal* right from its inception, it is not so. The fact is that in the initial stages they had not coined the name *AGD* but preferred to call it *Valmiki (Balmiki)*. “Balmiki was the name of the *Azad Gomantak Dal* which was not known beyond certain circles.”⁷⁴

As we are aware, Valmiki’s hibernation in the anthill had led to his transformation from evil to good, that is, from a robber to a biographer. His use of violence was directed towards self-aggrandisement, for a negative purpose, that is, exploitation where as in the case of *AGD* the means of violence was in order to achieve the nobler goal of liberation of Goa. Therefore, the symbol of an anthill was used to convey the underground character of the struggle.

Although they were carrying out actions in Goa, their activities were very secretly organised. Therefore nobody was aware of the existence of such a group except for a few nationalists. Even the Portuguese authorities were unaware of it and when Mapusa *Fazenda* was raided and the van carrying the cash of the *Banco Ultramarinho* was attacked at Porvorim, there were rumours in Government circles that a group led by Nana Patil, the revolutionary of the 1942 Quit India Movement who had organised a parallel Government called *Patri Sarkar* in Satara, was behind these attacks. The Portuguese authorities were quite sure that Goans who had commenced the movement on the non-violent principle would not take up arms.⁷⁵ It was only later that Portuguese authorities became suspicious of the existence of a revolutionary group and tracked the *AGD* workers.

It is likely that the revolutionary group that was formed on 18th June 1947 started using name the *Azad Gomantak Dal* openly only after 1954. The leading members of the *AGD* like Prabhakar Sinari, Narayan Naik, Dattatryeya Deshpande and others were arrested soon after their initial actions and the leader of the *AGD*, V.N. Lawande, went underground and into hiding in the jungles of Amboli region on the border.

Later he joined NC (G) again and wielded the important position of General Secretary of the NC (G) from 1950-1951. Therefore during this period *AGD* had become almost extinct as an independent organisation. It was only after his departure from the NC (G) in 1954 that the *AGD* as an independent organisation was revived and reorganised.

In 1949 at its plenary session NC (G) passed a resolution asserting that though it was “bound by the creed and policy of *Ahimsa*” and was opposed to the adoption of violent means to achieve political aims, it did support the revolutionary acts of Lawande and his group as they felt that they might have conducted these acts “under the stress of ardent patriotism” and therefore they demanded that the activists should be treated and dealt as political prisoners and

not as mere criminals. Even in their resolution there is no mention of *Azad Gomantak Dal*.⁷⁶ Newspaper reports published in *Bombay Chronicle* dated 27th June 1949 as well as *The Sunday Standard* dated 1st January 1950 as well as the *Times of India* carrying news of Goa's struggle, mention those accused in the Mapusa raid case but do not refer to them ADG workers. Therefore, it is quite evident that the name of the revolutionary group, *AGD*, became popular only after 1954.

Prabhakar Sinari as well as Mohan Ranade's statements on this issue supports this view that it was only after Lawande was expelled from the NC (G) in 1954 they began to use *Azad Gomantak Dal* very prominently and openly. I quote Prabhakar Sinari's words:

"Till this time our organisation had no name. So it was only in 1954 we decided to give it a proper name. Myself, Lawande, Atmaram Mayekar organised a training camp at Amboli. One of the matters that came up here was what should be the nomenclature of the underground organisation that we were planning to organise."⁷⁷ Mohan Ranade, who had been a trainee in the Amboli camp, has also stated that it was here that he for the first time had heard the name of *Azad Gomantak Dal*. Mohan Ranade had come to Goa somewhere in 1948 and was carrying out nationalist activities purely on an individual basis. It was later in 1953 that he attended the Amboli camp and decided to join the *AGD*. While discussing this issue he said, "although I had been staying in Goa for nearly three years, I first learnt of the existence of this organisation only in 1953."⁷⁸

In the initial stages, Lawande did not want *AGD* to function independently of NC (G) but wanted to carry out its activities within the NC (G). “We wanted to organise a militant group that would be somewhat like *Rashtra Seva Dal*, a youth wing of Indian National Congress.”⁷⁹ However there was a strong opposition to this as we have seen in earlier paragraphs. Although the aim of both the organisations was common they were opposite in respect of their means. Therefore, those who believed in pursuing violent means drifted away.

As pointed out earlier, Lawande had once again joined NC (G) after 1948. When he was questioned regarding the reasons that persuaded him to join NC (G), in spite of his divergent views, he justified his return to NC (G) by stating that everything is just and fair in politics. He said that *AGD* wanted to camouflage its activities under the cover of NC (G). After he escaped in the border region at Amboli, the Indian police who wanted to hand him over to the Portuguese authorities arrested him. However, there was a big protest, staged by political groups active in the rest of India, against his arrest. And later, due to pressure from nationalist circles, he was released. According to Lawande, this event popularised the *AGD* ideology among the youths who were anxious to join it. Fifty young boys joined it and were eager to take action against the colonialists. But at this stage need was felt to impart some training to these activists and carry out organisational activities. So while they were getting ready for a final encounter, simultaneously, they worked for NC (G). “We wanted to prepare for a showdown. Until that time we had to do some activity in the public. For carrying out this activity openly, we joined NC (G).”⁸⁰

During this time NC (G) had also dropped the idea of conducting *satyagraha* and was carrying propaganda activities from Bombay and other regions like Belgaum. Moreover, they were concentrating on building the NC (G). Therefore, they re-admitted Lawande into the organisation. But later in 1954 when Peter Alvares decided to organise mass *satyagraha* action, the All Goa Congress Committee passed a resolution expelling Lawande from the NC (G).

AGD leaders consciously decided the name of their organisation as *Azad Gomantak Dal*. As we have seen in the earlier paragraphs that the *AGD* was very much influenced by Subhash Chandra Bose and his *Azad Hind Fauz*. In fact, there was a suggestion from Lawande to name their militant organisation as *Azad Gomantak Fauz*. However, leaders like Sinari felt that *Azad Gomantak Fauz* would not suit their organisation, as they were not an

“army like the *Azad Hind Fauz*. Ours was an underground revolutionary organisation that had a more broad outlook and scope. We did not restrict our activities to military attacks only but also took up other activities. Our propaganda activity was quite prominent therefore, according to me, *Azad Gomantak Dal* sounded more proper to suit the nature of the organisation.”⁸¹

Mohan Ranade offered different explanation as to why *Azad Gomantak Fauz* was dropped by the underground workers, According to him, the name *Azad Gomantak Fauz* openly denoted adoption of violent means and this would have provoked opposition from certain political circles in India who were against adoption of violence to achieve political aims. “In those days there was a trend in India to claim that Indian independence was achieved only through the non-violent technique. These forces would definitely not extend any support to such organisation that based its struggle on the militant revolutionary ideology.”⁸²

Taking all the above-mentioned factors into consideration, the activists decided to name their organisation as *Azad Gomantak Dal*. And, with its headquarters established at Ekoshi, began the saga of two parallel organisations, *AGD* and NC (G), unique in their formation, simultaneously fighting for the liberation of Goa sometimes complementing one another, inspite of the differences in the means adopted by them to achieve the same goal.

Aims and Objectives of the *AGD*

The *AGD* had taken a solemn pledge to overthrow Portuguese domination on the very day of its formation. It reiterated this objective when its constitution was adopted in 1957. Article II of the constitution of the *AGD* declared, "The objective of this organisation shall be the attainment of independence of the Portuguese occupied parts of India by legitimate means and their reintegration into the Indian Union."⁸³ However only independence of Goa was not the sole objective of the *AGD* but it went beyond and aimed at establishing a new social order. An analysis of their constitution as well as their manifesto entitled, "What We Mean by Freedom", lucidly argues that to them freedom meant a lot more. Their struggle was not limited to an armed struggle between colonial rule and the people of Goa for the achievement of liberation, but they had pronounced faith in dual freedom, political as well as socio-economic. Therefore, one can say that they had gone further than emotional sentimental patriotism and individual terrorism.

The *AGD* considered the use of violence in the form of an armed resistance as the "legitimate"⁸⁴ way of attaining freedom. As the Portuguese rule was based on tyranny, violent rebellion against such a form of Government was not only the necessary means to secure the political end, but was also justified.

The *AGD* activists believed that the Portuguese Government existed solely because they were successful in inflicting measures to terrorise the Goans and as such no other form of protest could be successful in case of such an oppressive system. According to them militant nationalism was necessary to instil revolutionary consciousness among the masses.

They had already lost faith in non-violence and peaceful agitation and the only way left to them was adoption of violent means to solve the political problem. The Goan Political Conference that was held on 8th January 1950 defended this inclination of the Goan nationalists to take up the path of an armed struggle. Laxamnrao Sardessai, in his address, as the chairperson of the Reception

Committee of the conference, while, suggesting the use of arms in combating the Portuguese said that since,

“The Portuguese do not live in the future, they live in the past, and their objective is not economical but historical. Their temperament is not realistic but quixotic. Their approach is not democratic but fascist. Therefore they understand only one language that of armed might”.⁸⁵

The use of violence to attain political gains has been extolled by those who regard this means as being psychologically liberating that promotes courage amongst its users and also inspires others to rebel. According to them, violent revolt is the only form of just answer to the violence perpetuated by the colonialists. Frantz Fanon, who authored *The Wretched Earth*, in which he justified the violent struggle of the Algerians against their French imperialists in the 1960s, pronounced this logic.⁸⁶

Although they believed in the use of violence to strike terror in the hearts of Portuguese authorities, they never aimed at spreading anarchy in Goa. It is not fair to call them anarchists but the word nationalists for them could be justified as they not only aimed at the freedom of Goa but also strove for the integration of this territory with India.

According to *AGD*, freedom meant emancipation of Goans from an environment that had repressed growth and hampered the progress of Goa in the socio-political, economic and cultural fields. At the same time it also meant the creation of another set of congenial conditions that would be favourable for the development and advancement of the people. This aim could be achieved only when each and every part of India was liberated by overthrowing foreign domination and was reunited with the newly-born Indian nation.

As staunch nationalists, they advocated Pan-Indianism and considered the domination of the Portuguese over Goans, who were culturally and ethnically Indians, not only as a “national insult” to free and democratic India but a threat to the national integrity of the country. Dattatreya Deshpande, one of the founder members of the *AGD*, imprisoned at Reis Magos jail following the *Mapuça Fazenda* raid, in his appeal to the judge, confessed their intense desire to end the Portuguese rule, which was detrimental to the newly born India. He stated that the *AGD* workers could “never afford to let these pockets of Portuguese imperialism to remain as a dynamite under the foundation of our newly acquired freedom.”⁸⁷ To them, independence of Goa and its re-integration with India meant strengthening India’s unity and integrity. Therefore, they wanted to “clear the breeding places of parasites, which would have proved a menace to our national health”.⁸⁸

Moreover, the end of Portuguese rule would also bring into Goa liberal democratic ideas that the rest of India had already adopted. Thus, Goans could enjoy basic fundamental rights and experience democratic life which they could never dream of attaining during the reactionary Portuguese rule. For that reason they ventured to introduce radical changes in the political, social and economic life, which would emancipate Goans in these fields. The nationalists considered the colonial policy adopted by Salazar’s Government as “iniquitous and reactionary” and patriots like Deshpande regarded it as “unjust both economically and ethnically.”⁸⁹ Hence, they not only stood for political independence of Goa but for its economic emancipation. The attainment of freedom of Goa and its re-integration with India was not an end for the *AGD* but it was a step forward towards the realisation of the broad-based overall progress of Goans. The manifesto of the *AGD*, which was adopted at a meeting of the working committee of the *AGD* on 26th February 1961, claimed that to the *AGD*, “Freedom from Portuguese rule is but a stepping stone, a basis for the all round progress of our people.”⁹⁰

In order to convey their ideas to the people of Goa they published their manifesto in which they addressed their goal to take effective steps for the economic and material upliftment of the common man. As early as in 1948 Deshpande had declared their objective to establish a peoples Government. Right from its inception, they had a fair idea of the nature of the Government they envisaged after the liberation of Goa. "What we look forward to was not a mere transfer of power or change of Government, but a complete transformation of our country."⁹¹ And this aim of the *AGD* could be realised only after the establishment of democratic power in Goa. Therefore, the end of Portuguese rule was on an evitable fact.

The manifesto of the *AGD*. declared,

"Freedom and integration would mean not a change of masters but an unqualified and full right to shape our common destiny, jointly with our Indian brethren and to participate in the great task of development and build up the Indian nation as a whole on the basis of equality, liberty and brotherhood."⁹²

It had realised that only political independence of Goa would give Goans the much desired opportunity to uplift their precarious condition in all spheres of life. Soon after India's liberation one of the major tasks before the Indian Government was to strengthen India's economy. This task was possible only by the adoption of a suitable economic policy, which would lead the infant country on the road of overall development.

To achieve this aim, Nehru, while reflecting on a policy of *laissez-faire*, implemented a socialist policy with a stress on economic planning. In order to establish a socialistic pattern of society in India, the Government pursued an anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal policy. The election manifesto of the Congress for the second general elections held in 1957 spoke of the establishment of a socialist

pattern of society, which would mean setting up a socialist co-operative commonwealth.⁹³ This could be done by removing all the intermediary interests in land and by making the actual cultivator the owner of the land. The Indian National Congress stressed this goal to remove the landlord system that was the root cause of the miserable condition of peasants in the country.

Influenced tremendously by the policy of the Indian Government, the *AGD* expressed its wish to be a part of this transformation based on socialistic principles and visualised a joint effort in shaping a common destiny with the rest of India. This was the only way in which Goa could enjoy full citizenship rights and have a socialistic pattern of society as declared by the Indian National Congress.

By declaring their full faith in the economic system endeavoured to be introduced in India, the *AGD* said, “we stand to become a part of the broad stream pledged to the same cause in the whole of the Indian sub-continent.”⁹⁴ The *AGD*, which was an offshoot of the NC (G), was very much influenced by socialism. As socialist leadership at various levels continuously guided Goa’s freedom movement right from its inception, it was but natural that the *AGD* workers like the NC (G) activists had the spirit of socialism in them. In 1958, at its bi-annual session that was held at Bombay, a committee was set up to draw the *AGD*’s manifesto highlighting its in heralding the progress of Goa. In the historic meeting held on 26th February 1961, the manifesto was adopted by the *AGD*’s Working Committee. The manifesto of the *AGD*, a revelation of the socialist thinking of the *AGD* leaders, stood for:

1. establishment of democracy based on socialism and secularism,
2. fundamental human rights,
3. equality in all fields and equal opportunity to all, irrespective of caste, creed and religion,
4. abolition of landlordism and socialisation of means of production,

5. free and compulsory education and
6. right of freedom against exploitation,⁹⁵

Political objective: Status of an autonomous state of Goa within the Indian Union

After India's independence, the Government of India undertook the task of setting up Indian states on the principle of linguistic reorganisation. The establishment of the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1953 inaugurated an era in which a number of Indian states like Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnataka were formed. This re-organisation of states led to the emergence of conflicting situations in these regions. Goa too was affected by this problem.

The nationalists had a divided opinion on the issue of whether Goa should join linguistic groups such as Maharashtra or Karnataka or should remain as a separate entity in the Indian Union. The NC (G) had already declared its views on this issue in 1951, as mentioned in Chapter III. The *AGD* had also grasped the depth of this issue that had created factions among the nationalists and had hampered the freedom struggle. Therefore the *AGD*, while declaring its policy on this issue, recommended an autonomous status to Goa within the constitutional framework of the Indian Union.⁹⁶

The *AGD* was not for the immediate merger of the Portuguese dominated territories with the surrounding border states. It felt that such an arrangement would not be suitable in the given conditions and would be unfavourable for the future development of Goa.

It was conscious of the fact that long political separation of Goa from the rest of India had created disparities in the fabric of Goan society as compared to the rest of India. While the rest of Indian states had already experienced democratic traditions, Goa, under Salazar, was deprived of all progressive experiments. This had created a situation as compared to the rest of India.

Therefore, the *AGD* asked for an autonomous status for Goa. According to the *AGD*, Goa needed some time to be on par with the rest of India and this was possible only after the introduction of special policies to uplift the Goans in accordance with the local needs. Moreover “the process of hybridisation and denationalisation” claimed by the Portuguese as assimilation had created unique situation in cultural aspect also. Therefore, a clear understanding of the Goan situation was an urgent need. The *AGD* recommended a special administrative set-up in Goa which should “inspire confidence among the people of Goa as they would have access to full opportunities for overcoming their backwardness and to go along the road of advancement.”⁹⁷

AGD was a firm believer in people’s rights and it strongly felt that the final decision regarding this issue should rest with the people of Goa. Prime Minister Nehru had assured Goans that this innate right of the Goans would be guaranteed and Goa would remain a separate state until Goans decide their future. While addressing a Goan rally in 1956 at Bombay he asserted:

“The People will maintain their separate identity so long as they wish and I have no desire to hurry the process... we feel that Goa’s individuality should remain and that whenever the time comes for any changes, internal or other, it will be for the people of Goa acting freely to decide upon them.”⁹⁸

Economic Goals

As has been discussed in the second chapter, the economic setting of Goa presented a very ominous picture. The state of affairs pertaining to agriculture, industry and other sectors was highly depressing, as the Portuguese rule had failed miserably to provide any hope for Goans on the economic front. Therefore, speedy economic development of Goa was the spirited cry of the *AGD*. Although Goa was blessed with vast natural resources it had remained a backward territory

due to the Portuguese colonial policy, which did not care to bring about any agricultural or industrial development. Lack of economic opportunities and scarcity of means of livelihood had forced Goans to migrate to the neighbouring states of India and also to foreign lands. Therefore, the primal aim of the *AGD* was to place the deteriorated economy of Goa on a sound footing by introducing progressive methods in the agricultural sector and encouraging industrial development in the territory. Introduction of a socialistic pattern of economic development in tune with the rest of India was the only solution to this grave economic problem.

Agrarian reforms proposed by the *AGD* basically aimed at socialisation of the land that would make Goa self-sufficient in agricultural production. The Goan economy, primarily based on agriculture, remained in a stagnated condition due to the disregard shown by the rulers to improve it. The rural population, which was 60%,⁹⁹ had fallen prey to the *bhatkar* system due to lack of security of land tenure in this sector. The *bhatkars* inflicted injustice on the *mundkars* who lived and worked on their lands and cheated the tillers of the soil. This is evident from the following statistics, which shows the percentage of private landowners to be 54% as compared to Government land that was 32% and *comunidade* land that was 11%¹⁰⁰ only. Due to their superior position in the Goan social fabric, the landlords who were often agents of Portuguese colonialism, kept Goa under the control of Portugal and in a state of economic dependency.

The historic Mayem conflict between the landlord and tenants under the leadership of Atmaram Mayekar who became an active member of the *AGD* had provided a clear understanding of the agrarian problem faced by the rural populace. They had become familiar with the agrarian set-up in Goa.¹⁰¹ Therefore, they came out with concrete policies, which would benefit the peasant community. The *AGD* demanded radical changes in the feudal pattern of the Goan society, like the abolition of landlordism and imposition of a ceiling on private ownership of land. It also aimed to protect the tenant community against forceful

eviction. Merciless eviction of the tenants, who were the tillers of the land, by unscrupulous landlords was a pressing problem that left tillers in a pitiable condition without any source of daily livelihood. Agrarian reforms with the objective of providing protection and security to the tillers was the utmost need to the hour.

Simultaneously, the *AGD* also took up the question of fair rent on the productivity and fertility of land. Both neighbouring states of Maharashtra and Karnataka had already fixed the rent at 1/6th of the produce. This was done to provide an incentive and security to the farmers. The *AGD* also recommended 1/6th as the land rent as it relieved the peasant community from the burden of taxation. Introduction of modern methods of production to increase agricultural productivity, debt relief, fixation of minimum wages, abolition of forced labour and of absentee-landlordism as also of the medieval system of *mokaso*, still prevailing in remote areas of North Goa, were some of the important demands of the *AGD* which they planned to introduce in order to boost agricultural production in Goa.¹⁰²

Revitalisation of Village Communities and Introduction of *Panchayat Raj*

One of the main aims on the agenda of the *AGD* was the reorganisation of village communities on the basis of *Panchayati Raj*. According to *AGD*, the introduction of cooperative farming and reinforcement of the village community system was an appropriate solution for the problems of the agriculturists.

The village community had been an important feature of the Indian society from time immemorial. The villagers had successfully practiced the system of functioning on a co-operative basis. This system had made villages self-sufficient. Like the rest of India these self-governing institutions had suffered during colonial rule. Although the Portuguese Government had retained the village community system they had made considerable changes in the set-up of *comunidades*.

According to the *AGD*, the Portuguese rule was responsible for the decay of this traditional institution. Therefore, they aimed to transfer the village communities into “dynamic community welfare centres retaining the best that is in them and enlarging their scope after taking into consideration the needs of the modern times.”¹⁰³ The *Panchayat* system formed the bedrock of democratic, social and political set up in India since ancient times. It was this democratic institution that absorbed the shock of invasions and had protected the integrity of Indian life. During the Indian national movement the revival of *Panchayati Raj* and the political and economic decentralisation in building up independent India had gained importance.

Leaders like Gandhi and Jaiprakash Narayan advocated the revival of the old self-sufficient village communities and the establishment of a *Panchayati Raj* replacing the colonial rule of the West. After India’s independence, the Indian Government began the revival of *Panchayati Raj*. The Indian Constitution referred to village panchayats as units of self-government. The Five Years Plans that were introduced in India had made a provision for the development of these local institutions. In 1957 the Indian Government set up a committee headed by Balwantrai Mehta that made radical suggestions for replacing the old autocratic system by Panchayat Raj.¹⁰⁴ This report gave further spirit to the idea of establishment of local self Government in the form of Panchayat Raj.

The AGD was watching these developments carefully. It hoped that once Goa was liberated and integrated with the rest of India, the revitalisation of the popular bodies would be possible. Once the democratic form of Government was established in Goa it could immediately take up the task of reviving these village bodies to suit the modern challenges of the Goan society. This would enable them to shoulder the requisite socio- economic responsibilities. All these reforms that the *AGD* envisaged were possible only after a thorough study of the existing institutions in the context of the modern times. This methodical study could be conducted only after a popular Government came to power in Goa. Therefore, the

AGD felt an adequate time must be allotted to introduce such reforms. As this would consume a considerable amount of time, the *AGD* had recommended immediate agrarian reforms and relief measures that would help the farmers to come out of their wretched condition and also uplift the Goan economy.

Industrial Policy

The Portuguese rulers had not only neglected the agricultural sector but they had completely ignored the development of industries. In fact, even as late as the 1940s, there was not a single industry in the modern sense of the term. This lack of industrial activity had put the Goan economy on the verge of bankruptcy. As has been mentioned in the earlier chapter it was only the mining industry, that had developed on the eve of Goa's liberation, that gave some relief to the population as it provided some kind of employment opportunities. Therefore the *AGD* very strongly recommended the establishment of small-scale industrial units as well as cottage industries along with heavy industries. According to them, introduction of industrial development in Goa would place the Goan economy on a sound footing and solve the enormous problem of unemployment and under-employment and stop mass migration of the Goan youth.

One of the major reasons for the lack of industrial growth was lack of power supply in the territory. Unfortunately Goa did not have its power source that is an essential factor for industrial development. The *AGD* was aware of this basic drawback and had proposed to generate electricity from the waterfalls of Dudhsagar and Harvale. Once Goa could generate power supply, the development of an industrial sector that included heavy industries and units that were based on natural resources such as fisheries, canning, cashew nut, coir industry could be established.¹⁰⁵ The *AGD* had envisaged the development of an industrial sector by taking into consideration the vast natural resources that were untapped by colonial masters.

Besides these recommendations, the *AGD* was in favour of Marmagão harbour and the development of communication lines by sea, air and by land. According to them this would create more employment avenues for Goans. Their agenda also included setting up of a naval base as well as an air base in the vicinity of Marmagão as this would tap the talents and skills of the Goan youth.

Industrially backward Goa did not have any major labour problems but mine workers and agricultural labourers were denied basic rights. Therefore the *AGD*, in its manifesto, pledged to restore basic rights to the labourers such as the right to form unions, right to collective bargaining, right to protection against exploitation and right to compensation for death and injury through accidents.

In order to protect the working community, the *AGD* also recommended nationalisation of industries, granting full provisions of the socialist pattern of law that took care to improve their working condition and granted them security against capitalist exploitation.

Socio-Cultural Aims

At the four-day seminar organised by the Indian Council for Africa on “Portuguese Colonialism” held at New Delhi on 20th October 1961, the leader of the *AGD*, V.N. Lawande, in his speech, referred to the three major features of Portuguese colonialism: The imposition of the Lusitanian culture on the local people, widespread illiteracy and castration of nationalist sentiments.¹⁰⁶ According to him, these characteristics were responsible for distempering the socio-cultural life of the local Goans.

The artificial political boundaries as well as the deliberate attempt of the rulers to cleave Goa from the mainstream Indian way of life had resulted in a general decay of the Goan society. Goans were forced by the regime to ape the western culture by sacrificing their genuine Indian lifestyle at the altar of lusitanisation.

As mentioned earlier, the systematic alienation of the Goans from their indigenous culture was done through the introduction of Portuguese language and history in the school curriculum. This had resulted in the “denationalisation” of Goans. The 20th century the educational institutions took up the task of de-Indianising the Goan community. Prabhakar Sinari, commenting on the official policy of the Portuguese, stated, “In fact it was through the system of education that the Portuguese systematically alienated us and oriented us to be Portuguese subjects. The student community was so thoroughly indoctrinated by them that many of us were not ware of the Indian subcontinent to which we belonged to. We did not know Indian history but what we knew was only Portuguese history and all that was good in Portugal and ill in India. It was through *Mocidade Portuguesa*, the Portuguese youth organisation, that we were forced to believe that for all purposes we were Portuguese nationals. We were taught Portuguese nationalist songs and we were told to hail Portuguese heroes.”¹⁰⁷ As Cunha has rightly remarked, “With the exception of the facts of Vasco da Gama and Albuquerque, nothing is known about India. It would seem that the Indian had ceased to exist since the arrival of the Portuguese.”¹⁰⁸

The *Azad Gomantak Dal* was aware that this pernicious educational policy, deliberately perpetuated by the rulers, had threatened nationalist aspirations and was a stumbling block in the path of the cultural emancipation of Goans. Therefore, in its manifesto the *AGD* pledged to wipe out this “most unnatural system of education which had been in force for centuries”¹⁰⁹ and had deprived Goans of “all their talents, creative faculties, self-respect and vitality”,¹¹⁰ and had produced puppets who danced to the tune of Portugal. After the liberation of Goa, the *AGD* proposed an immediate discontinuation of the Portuguese educational system and recommended the introduction of a vigorous nationalist pattern of education. The success of democracy depended on the spread of proper education at the grass root level and this could be achieved by promoting the use of local languages at the primary level. Imparting basic education in the mother tongue of the Goans, that was suppressed for ages, was the need of the hour. This would

raise young Goans who would take up the stupendous task of putting Goa on the road of progress.

The faulty educational system of the colonial regime was responsible for the exodus of young Goans to Bombay and Belgaum and nearby territories. Goans who emigrated to educate themselves later took up employment in these territories. Putting an end to the large scale emigration of Goans, in search of education facilities as well job opportunities, was the major issue that featured prominently in the manifesto of the *AGD*. Therefore, the *AGD*'s post-liberation programmes included establishment of educational institutions such as colleges and technical institutions that would lead Goans to have their own university in Goa.

The social aims of the *AGD* included abolition of untouchability in all forms, creation of ideal conditions for all communities to forge social links with one another, removal of disabilities suffered by women of Goa and the uplift of the backward classes. The popular Government would tackle all these problems after studying them in detail and later by introducing proper legislation it would put end to the evils in the Goan society, the *AGD* opined.

Public Health

Extension of health services in urban as well as rural areas was one of the main social objectives of the *AGD*. They wanted to ensure sound health by introducing proper medical facilities in Goa. They had proposed a scheme by which public health could be taken care of at the village level by compelling the *comunidade* to take responsibility of maintaining primary health centres, rural medical dispensaries and maternity homes according to the population of the villages.

These health centres would provide free medical facilities to the villagers and would carry effective health awareness programmes in order to establish a

healthy environment, free of infectious diseases. According to the *AGD*, one of the most important duties of the state was to take care of the health of the children who were future citizens of this territory.¹¹¹ Therefore, they had proposed that the state should provide supplementary diet and preventive health treatment to the children until they completed their secondary education.

The provision of health and medical facilities, particularly in rural areas, was a desperate need of the people of Goa. The extension of these essential amenities, which were primarily lacking, was the basic duty of the democratic state. All these reforms that the *AGD* envisaged could be fulfilled only if Goans had achieved liberation from the despotic regime. The dictatorial regime that had suppressed the Goan populace would not in any case grant these radical changes. The dictatorial regime did not allow even the most innocent activity of social or humanitarian nature and branded it as a revolt against the state. According to *AGD*, to expect social upliftment programmes from such a regime would be an act of utter foolishness. Therefore, there was no other alternative than to topple the existing regime. Only if Goa were liberated and integrated with India then would there be a hope to experience these changes. In order to concentrate on the liberation struggle, the *AGD* decided to give it top priority and devoted its energies to achieve this goal.

While commenting on why nationalists did not take up the issue of development of Goa in socio-economic and cultural fields but instead laid emphasis on the political aim, that is, liberation of Goa and its integration with India, Lawande said,

“When we were politically carrying on our struggle for political emancipation, the question of development and the other aspects of society were not taken up by us because Salazar’s regime was not open to such reforms. We lacked

basic civil liberties; our struggle was looked upon as a criminal activity by the Portuguese state".¹¹²

In 1953 when Peter Alvares became president of NC (G), he had organised a meeting in Belgaum to plan the strategy to restart the struggle in Goa. In this meeting he had urged the activists to launch a constructive programme and educate the peasant community in the Japanese technique of cultivation.¹¹³ Lawande and his associates had opposed this move and brought to his notice that the dictatorial regime would not allow such kinds of constructive programme and had stressed the need of immediate action that would force the Portuguese colonialists to leave the shores of Goa.¹¹⁴

“ We did not expect any major changes during their regime. For us liberation of Goa and its integration was the only solution. We felt very strongly that as soon as we were freed the development that was in India would naturally percolate into Goa. We were sure that after liberation our societies would merge and whatever development was taking place in the rest of India would be adopted by us. Therefore, we stressed more on the freedom of Goa.”¹¹⁵

Soon after Goa's liberation the Indian Government under the leadership of Nehru introduced a democratic process. After 451 years of colonial regime Goans finally got an opportunity to experience democracy.

Since the historic task of the *AGD* to liberate Goa was fulfilled, the *AGD* was all set to shoulder further responsibilities, that is, the development of Goa on democratic lines with renowned vigour. It accepted this challenge by transforming itself into a full-fledged political party dedicated for the upliftment of Goa.

On 23rd January 1962, on the 27th birth anniversary of Subhash Chandra Bose, a special session of the *AGD* was convened at Karmali. Here a major

decision to dissolve the *AGD* and to form the Goan Democratic Party was taken. The Goan Democratic Party, under the presidentship of Dr. Ganaba Dubhashi, with definite socio-economic aims chalked out by the *AGD*, took a step forward and pledged to work in accordance with these aims to join the democratic process in Goa.

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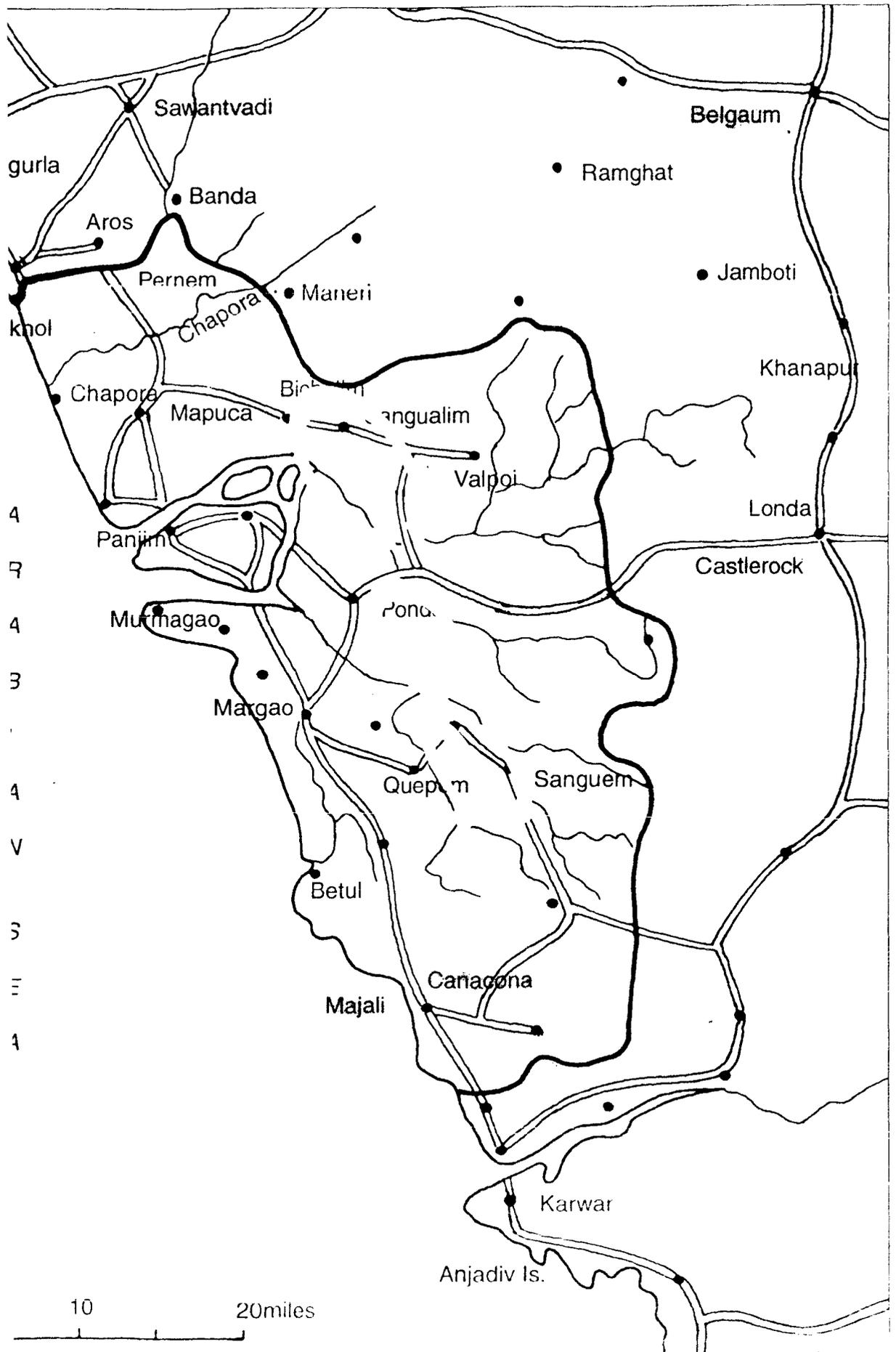
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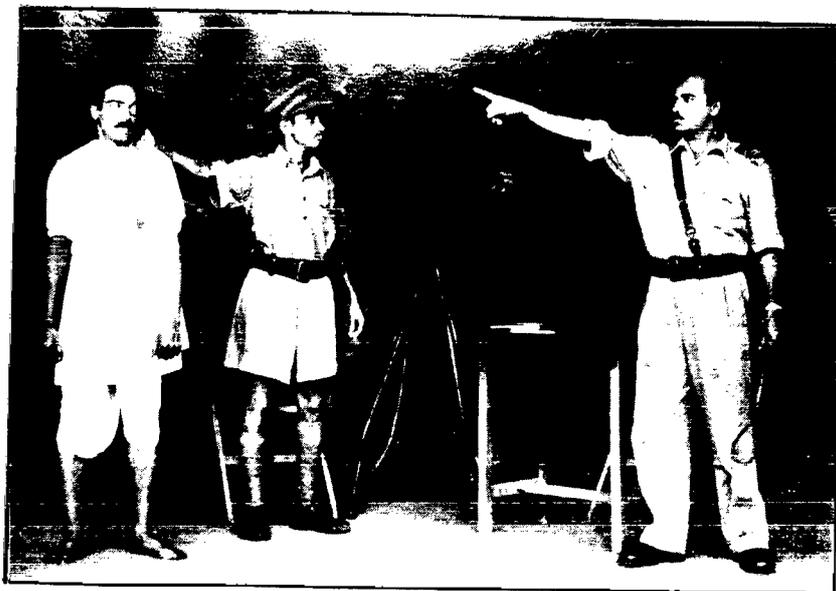
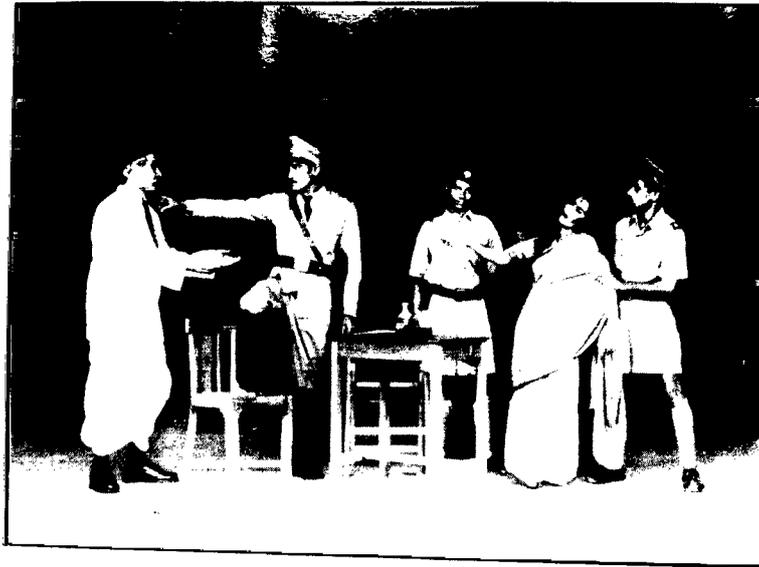
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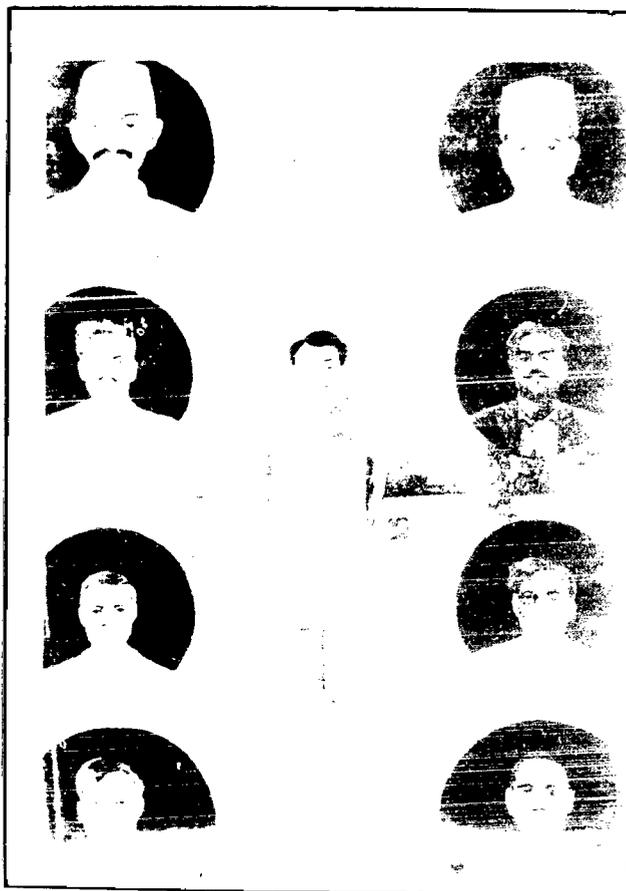
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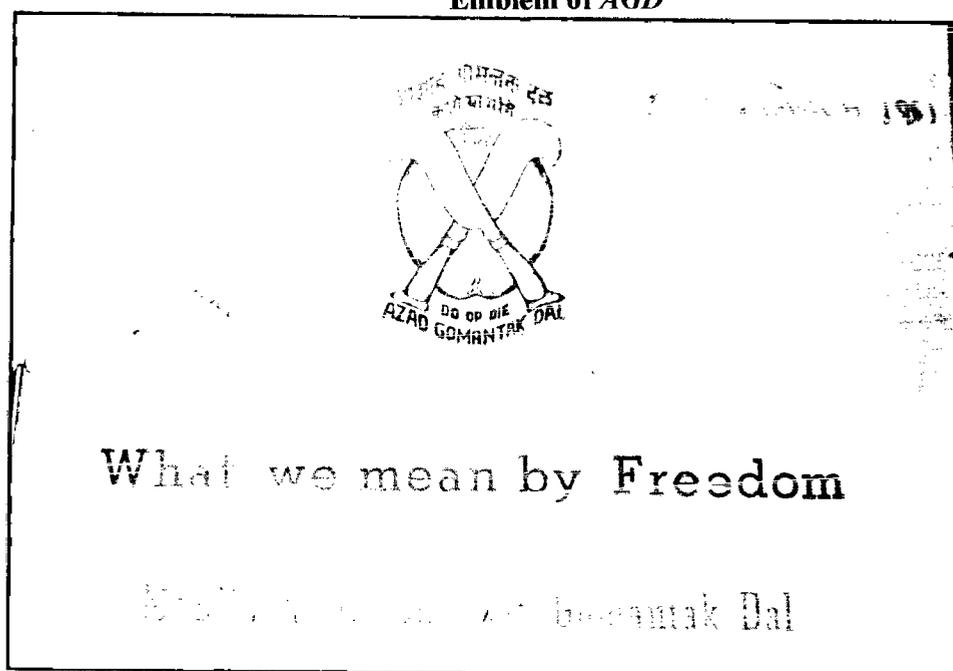
Scenes of Rampant Repression Unleashed on the Nationalists.



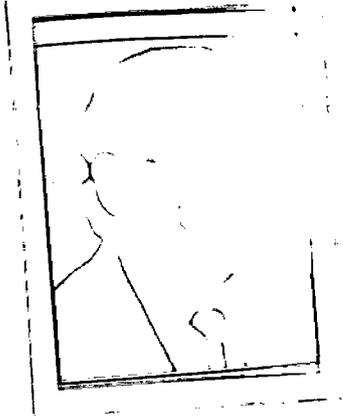
Sources of Inspiration : Bhaghat Singh and Indian Revolutionaries.



Emblem of AGD



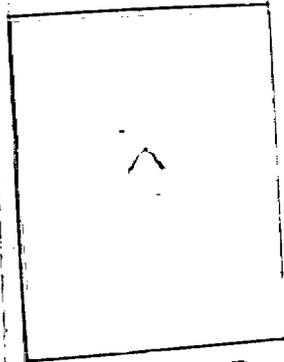
Founder Members of the AGD



Prabhakar Sihal



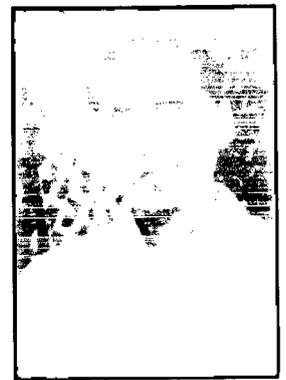
Dattatraya Deshpande



V. N. Lawande



Jayawant Kulkarni



Shyamkant Nail

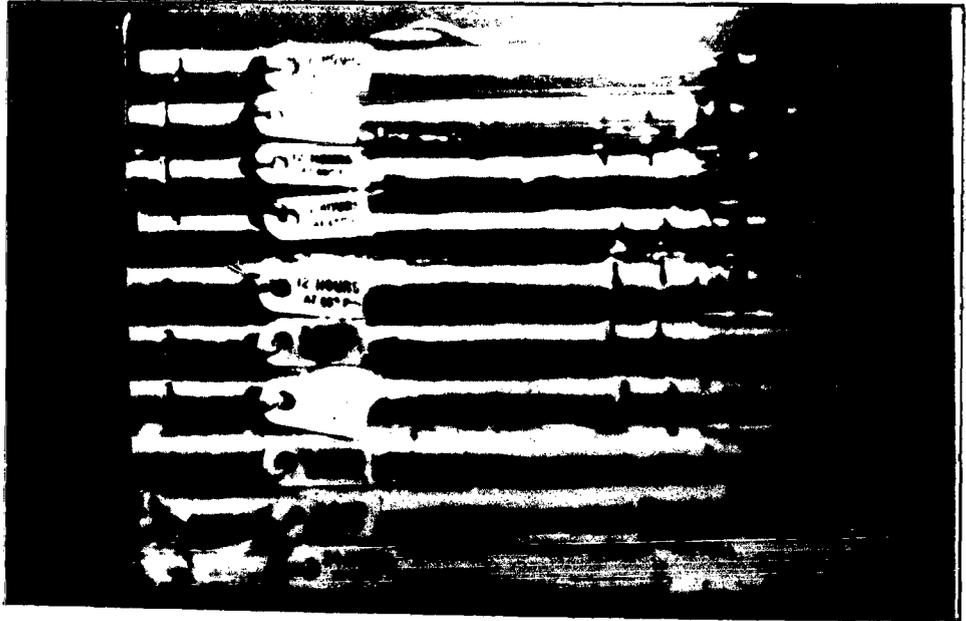
V. N. Lawande, the Leader of AGD.



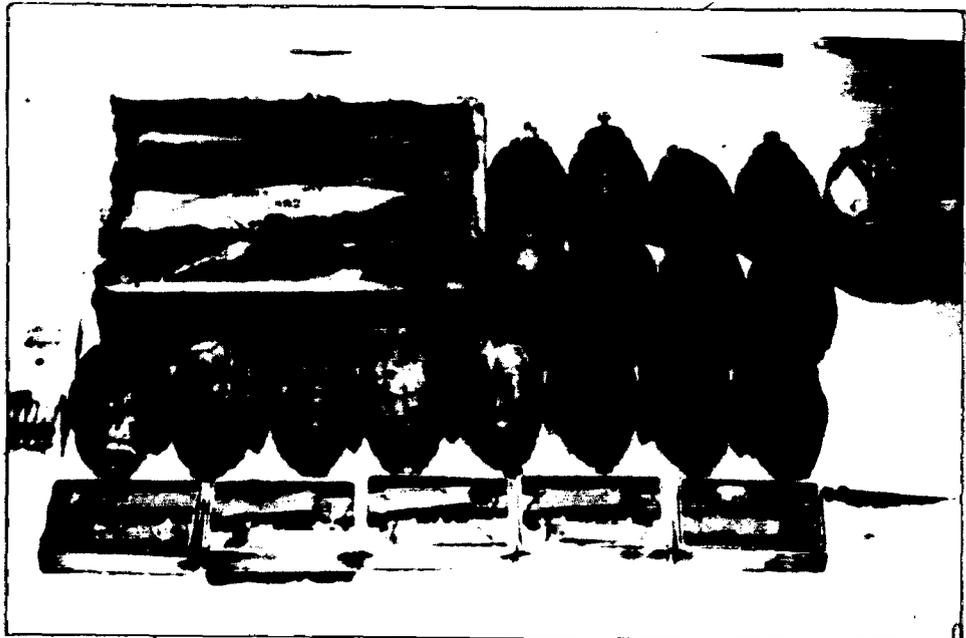
Jwala



Pencil Detonators used by Militant Nationalist



Hand Grenades Confiscated by Portuguese Police



CHAPTER V

**NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA):
THE *SATYAGRAHA* IN ACTION**

CHAPTER V

National Congress (Goa): THE *SATYAGRAHA* IN ACTION

“The people of Goa, to obtain their own independence are fighting against the Portuguese Government. Goa which is considered to be a part of Portuguese Sovereignty. I wish to enter into this non-violent *Satyagraha* and I have solemnly pledge that whatever physical difficulties committed on me, I will gladly accept it. I realise all the responsibilities of entering this movement. I myself am personally responsible for whatever consequences there are, and will not, in any circumstances adopt violence.”¹

--- *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti.*

As discussed in the chapter III, *satyagraha* is an act of protest against a set of laws or decrees or a system that according to the *satyagrahi* is based on injustice. The non-violent protestor with his actions therefore tries to draw the attention of the authorities towards the unjust system and at the same time invites attention of the general public by making them aware of the unjust rules and persuades them to take up the issue. Through this medium, the *satyagrahi* tries to build an opinion against such suppressive acts and pressurises the establishment to concede to the demands of the people.

One finds that the National Congress (Goa) applied a similar method of weeding out injustice and through its non-violent activities voiced its grievances against the dictatorial regime and tried to persuade it to restore civil liberties. However, once they realised that the colonial fascist regime did not budge even an inch from the existing set-up and, on the contrary, tightened its grip over Goans, the NC (G) asked for total independence and reintegration with the Indian union.

The non-violent protests of the NC (G) included among others, the public speech, declarations, propaganda activities, letters of opposition or support, symbolic acts such as raising slogans, painting public places such as roads walls etc. Let us analyse the contribution of the NC (G) in the light of the above-mentioned non-violent activities.

Dash-Dainik satyagraha: the Individual Protest Action

As seen in the preceding chapter, Lohia initiated a non-violent protest action against the denial of civil liberties, by addressing the people of Goa without seeking prior permission from the authorities that was a must in the dictatorial regime. NC (G) adopted a similar method of protest. Soon after its formation, a meeting was convened at its headquarters in Belgaum (October 1946) that was presided over by Lohia. In this meeting Lohia suggested to organise NC (G)'s Fighting Committees that would intensify the action of defiance of civil laws.

Each Fighting Committee would comprise of ten members of the organisation, who would disobey the laws after every ten days. These protest were to be held on 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month. To maintain a continuous chain of intense action, each committee was to be followed by the other. This arrangement was done in order to fan the flames of protest in the minds of people. Accordingly, the NC (G) took a decision to organise Fighting Committees and offer civil protest against the regime. From 18th October 1946 upto 8th January 1947, nine such Fighting Committees offered *satyagraha* in various parts of Goa.

One finds that these *satyagrahas* were offered with prior training. The individual non-violent protestors who had volunteered to perform *satyagraha* were not experienced in such a public protest Therefore, precaution was taken to train the *satyagrahis* in the art of conducting non-violent protests. Training camps were organised in order to impart training to these activists. A ten day camp was held at Khanpur in which Lohia with other leaders such as Annasaheb Deshpande trained activists in the methodology of *satyagraha*.

Narayan Naik who offered *satyagraha* at Sanguem as a member of the seventh Fighting Committee and a founder member of *AGD*, while discussing the importance of these camps recalled

“As we were novices in this method of non-violent protest activity, we needed guidance regarding methods and techniques of *satyagraha*. I remember one such camp that was organised at Belgaum. In this camp the workers of *Rashtriya Seva Dal* who were well-versed with the techniques of *satyagraha* shared their experiences with us. They gave us useful tips and suggestions such as how to make arrangements for the protests, how to establish contacts with the people, how to control oneself without engaging in a violent act.”²

He further said that these camps were very useful as they were very educative and helped them to boost their morale. “It was due to these camps that we were able to face the Portuguese wrath courageously and non-violently.”³ Such camps were organised at Satarda, Caslerock and at other places. Besides these camps, extensive tours in places and towns along the border such as Halyal, Mazali, Banda, Aronda and Sawantwadi were conducted. Public meetings were held in order to harness support of the local people in these territories to the cause.

The first committee that challenged the Portuguese rule consisted of Ram Hegde, the president of the NC (G), Laxmanrao Sardessai, Madhukar Mordekar, V. N. Mayenkar, Venketesh Verekar, Narayan Bhembre, Nilakanth Karapurkar and other members. *satyagrahas* were offered in Margao, Mapusa, Bicholi, Ponda, Quepem and other places. The committee had announced the date venue and time of organisation of this *satyagraha* by distributing bulletins all over Goa. Large crowd had gathered to witness *satyagraha*. They openly defied the ban on civil liberties and addressed the people of Goa. Slogans were raised and processions were organised at Margão the

people bestowed flowers on the president of NC (G) as a mark of support and respect to the action.

On 28th October 1946, the second committee organised direct action in Mapusa. Ramakant Naik offered *satyagraha*. It is very interesting to note that the venue of action was full of posters that depicted cartoons of the Governor General of Goa. A huge procession was organised in which the Indian flag was displayed. The police immediately arrested Ramakant Naik and dispersed the crowd however this did not deter the *satyagrahis* from protesting. Their action continued. Gopinath Chodankar staged his protest and after his arrest Frank Andrade continued his protest action till he was also put behind bars.

On 7th November, Evagrio George offered *satyagraha* at Cuncoim. This 3rd *Dashdainik satyagraha* was followed by Mapusa *satyagraha* on 18th November. The individual protest actions were organised on 8th, 18th and 28th of December 1946. On 8th January 1947 the last *Dashdainik satyagraha* took place. These fighting committees could not continue their action for a long time as the Portuguese adopted stringent measures to curb the struggle. Arrests and deportations of the participants left the struggle leaderless. As the days passed by it became more and more difficult for NC (G) to continue its non-violent protests. The success of NC (G)'s *satyagraha* campaign depended on active participation of the people in the individual *satyagraha*. This was possible only if NC (G) could make efforts to mobilise and organise the people. The committees could not carry out the work of mobilisation of the people and the offering of the non-violent protests simultaneously. As soon as they openly protested, the authorities took them in custody. Therefore the NC (G) could not work to bring people into the struggle as it gave more emphasis on actually participating in the *satyagraha* activity.

As mentioned earlier Lohia who had kindled the spark of discontentment, did not intend to dub NC (G) as political machinery that had all the paraphernalia of a conventional political organisation such as neatly formulated constitution or a clear -

cut organisational infrastructure. He wanted to mould it into a fighting organisation that would offer direct yet peaceful confrontation with the regime. He felt that such an organisation would be helpful in fostering the spirit of fearlessness and inspire feelings of nationalism among the Goan population. Lohia felt that in a dictatorial set-up the chances for a conventional political organisation would be very marginal and according to him an organisation of this nature would definitely fail to achieve its ends. Therefore he had suggested to the workers that they should stir up the situation by offering non-violent protests. He felt that these actions would create a positive atmosphere in Goa and would result in bringing more people in the struggle.

Unfortunately, this did not happen and the struggle began to dwindle. As the struggle began to fade the activists began to give serious thought to the organisational aspect that they had kept on hold so far. This they thought was essential at this crucial hour to maintain the continuity of the struggle. As mentioned earlier, the organisation had considered its action-oriented programme a prime priority. The executive committee members participated in the actual action that resulted in their arrest.

This proved to be very harmful for the continuation of the action itself. As most of the activists were in jail it became very difficult to carry on the propaganda activity and encourage people who could mobilise the rest of the population. Taking into account this factor a suggestion was made by some of the activists to establish a permanent shadow committee of the NC (G).

According to them this committee could be entrusted with the underground work to lead and mobilise the people. This committee would not actually participate in the open defiance but would be the moving spirit of the struggle. Lohia did not approve this suggestion and turned it down as he believed that the continuity of the struggle could be maintained by its action-oriented programme itself and therefore need of such shadow committee did not arise. Putting forward his views he said, "No one was to be allowed to become a leader in Goa unless he was prepared to do what he was asking others to follow."⁴ Lohia stressed that members of the executive

committee had to perform *satyagraha* to challenge the Portuguese regime and working in an underground fashion and not facing the challenge would send a wrong message to the people, that some of the NC (G) workers were unwilling to face the wrath of the dictatorial regime. Therefore, he insisted on actual participation of the leaders in *satyagraha* struggle. It appears that one of the reason for the lull in the struggle was that NC (G) workers and Lohia set to think on different lines owing to the setback to the non-violent protest action.

Towards 1954-55 *Satyagraha*

We have seen in the earlier, that NC (G) under Shirodkar, with its planned programme, tried to consolidate itself with in Goa. It has been also been pointed out that their line of action centred around the idea that the struggle of Goa had to be launched by Goans who were actually residing in Goa. According to him the action had to be oriented in Goa and the strings of the struggle had to be in the hands of the Goans. However their efforts to recharge the struggle were doomed and the programme of NC (G) could not be implemented owing to the arrests that were carried out in December 1947 that proved to be fatal for the very existence of the organisation.

It became evident that in the existing political set-up organisation of open non-violent struggle would be an impossible venture. This realisation made them shift NC (G)'s activities to Bombay. Soon as Indian became independent, The Government of India tried to solve the Goa issue through peaceful negotiation. However, their efforts to establish bilateral contacts with Portugal and solve the issue of Goa failed miserably. When the Indian Government was pursuing this matter with the Portugal NC (G) while concentrating on the kind of activities that would complement the Indian Government's efforts had kept their *satyagraha* activities low. The role of Government of India and NC (G)'s response to it is very elaborately discussed in subsequent chapter. In fact after the *Dashdainik satyagraha* activity no such open activity was undertaken by the organisation. In 1950 a resolution was passed that

stated that the NC (G) would resume its open actions but this remained only on paper and the actions did not take place.

However, when Peter Alvares one of the foremost leading workers of the *Praja Samajwadi Paksha*(the *Praja Socialist Party*)who was very active in 1942 Quit India Movement took the charge as the president of NC (G) in 1953, the idea of launching the open non-violent protest actions geared up. In the following paragraphs an analysis of the causes that were responsible to recharge the situation and prompted the NC (G) to take the decision to launch the *sayagraha* as well as the strategy and the perspective on which the struggle was based, will be undertaken.

Peter Alvares resurrected the struggle on the followings lines:

An All-India perspective

The situation that had arisen regarding the Goa issue demanded that there was a need to widen the dimensions of the struggle and look at it from a wider perspective. Peter Alvares tried to rebuild the struggle on a broad based perspective that would lead them towards the achievement of their goal.

An attempt was made by him to change the basic approach to the question by widening its contours. He emphasised on a very crucial point that the struggle of Goa was not an isolated event but was very much a part of the national struggle that India had launched against colonial forces. He very categorically put forward this argument and in fact insisted that the Goa's struggle was indeed the continuation of the Indian freedom struggle that was still incomplete. Therefore, the process of self-determination that India had initiated would be completed only after the Portuguese had left the Indian shores. He pushed this holistic approach very hard and tried to gain support from the Indian masses for this argument. Consequently he promoted Goa's struggle for freedom as a national issue that was a matter of grave concern for citizens of India, tried to forge a consensus on the Goa issue.

He very sternly, refuted any kind of argument that put forward the idea of confining the responsibility of freeing the territory of Goa “only to Goans”. This did not mean that he was trying to shun away from accepting that Goans had to take lead in their fight against colonial domination. He quite firmly admitted that “to take on the onus of this struggle”⁵ was the primary responsibility of the Goans. However he totally rejected any claim that made a distinction between Goans and the rest of Indians. Emphasising on the socio-cultural links of Goa with that of India, he argued that it was an accident of history that the territory of Goa had come under the Portuguese colonial rule. Therefore mere political control of a foreign power over Goa other could not detach Goa from its Indian cultural background. Goans were very much Indian as any of their compatriots residing in India.

While emphasising the all India perspective of the struggle, had pointed out “it has always been made out that Goa must be integrated with India. Then why must we stress in India the Goan effort for freedom?”⁶ While strongly objecting the statements that only Goans should make effort to liberate Goa, he warned the Indian leadership against the “inherent danger in this argument”⁷ and noted that if one presumed that Goa will be freed by “purely Goan effort”⁸ then he wondered if these people who were advocating that struggle for Goa’s liberation should be only restricted to Goans, would allow the Goans to remain a sovereign nation if Goans, so decided. Therefore, he urged to the Indian authorities to look at the Goa issue as an all-India issue and “not to emphasis the Goan aspect”⁹ of the struggle when it had reached a crucial stage. Such arguments would only create hindrance in achieving the set goal and would result in impeding the movement.

He put forth his view that since the rest of the India had emerged independent it was now left to Goans to play their role and complete the task of India’s liberation by expelling the Portuguese. At the same he urged that it was equally the duty of the rest of Indians to lend their active support to the Goan cause as, like any Goan, they had the right to participate in a movement that would liberate their own land. He persistently pleaded with the Indian Government to allow Indians to participate in the

struggle along with Goans as this physical support would boost the morale of Goans. This idea was very strongly backed by T. B. Cunha who had returned to India after undergoing imprisonment in Portugal.

Sudha Joshi, who presided over the 9th annual session at Mapusa on 6th April 1955, in her speech asserted that it was “a moral obligation of the Indian people to rush to the aid of their brethren in Goa, to participate in the final act of India’s complete liberation.”¹⁰ Simultaneously, she appealed to the Indian Government “not to stand in the way” of the participation of Indian people in Goa’s struggle for freedom.

In order to disseminate this ideology, NC (G) organised public meetings in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Poona. In these meetings Alvares emphasised on the broad context of Goa’s struggle for freedom. The Indian press very strongly upheld this thought and gave wide publicity to it. This concept was well received by the Indian populace. Simultaneously he visited Goa incognito and contacted prominent Goans to consolidate the struggle against the Portuguese rule within Goa.

Acceptance of Two Level Struggle

As we are aware between 1947-53 nothing much was organized inside Goa and the centre of activity was mainly concentrated in Belgaum and Bombay. However the leadership realised that the struggle had to be restarted in Goa too. With this realisation Alvares emphasised that equal importance had to be given to the idea of restarting non-violent actions within Goa’s territorial limits with the simultaneous continuation of the “broad movement from Bombay that would create a balance situation and that would in turn prove favourable for Goa’s struggle.”¹¹ Therefore, he popularised the idea that for the solution of the Goa issue the actual action had to be launched from Goa and Bombay could serve, as a main centre for preparing a ground that would in turn generate the non-violent action in Goa.

The Goan nationalists were in need of a base for their propaganda activity that would counter the mythical propoganda that was being carried out by the Portuguese Government on a very wide scale at the international level. Therefore, it was felt that Bombay being a commercial capital of the country would serve as the best place to spread the national approach. This would help NC (G) to harnessing moral support from the rest of the Indians as well from the world. Therefore NC (G) sought to create proper environment to build the struggle from Bombay. Activities such as fundraising, mobilisation of the *satyagrahis*, carrying out propaganda measures to rope an all India consensus on the struggle were undertaken.

Thus, by acknowledging the distinct role of the movement from within and from outside, NC (G) was successful in surcharging the situation inside Goa as well as in the rest of India.

Adoption of *Satyagraha* Technique as a “Method”

NC (G) was very much aware that the open non-violent struggle in existing political condition of Goa was very difficult to conduct. In spite of this realisation they planned to restart the *satyagraha* struggle. While reasoning out why the NC (G) accepted the *satyagraha* method Peter Alvares said that they adopted *satyagraha* as a method, and for the purpose of discipline and strategy. According to Alvares there were only two ways of ending colonial rule in Goa: “one by police action and the other by a mass *satyagraha*.”¹² Since Government of India had rejected the use of force to solve the Goa issue at that stage, as it hoped to solve it peacefully, the only option left before the NC (G) was to organise individual as well as mass *satyagraha* action. They were hopeful that the impact of such an action would create a worldwide awareness regarding Goa and would force the Indian Government to take action in Goa.

“For them the method of *satyagraha* was a means, the only means available that was acceptable to the Indian Government.”¹³ Before the launch of the actual

struggle the NC (G) leadership had met Nehru and had briefed him about the ideology and the preparatory plans of the struggle.

Nehru had responded positively to the idea of restarting the *satyagraha* action in Goa but at the same time had cautioned the organisers not to expect any immediate action from the Government of India and had made it very clear that the decision to intervene would be entirely at the of Government of India's discretion.

They were aware that in the fascist type of colonial rule *satyagraha* as a non-violent technique would have very limited scope. They did not expect that, like the *satyagraha* action launched in India under Gandhi's leadership, would deliver the same results in Goa too. "Dimensions of the movement"¹⁴ would not be as large as the struggle launched in the rest of India considering the size of population of Goa as well as its territorial limits. Moreover the NC (G) was quite sceptical regarding the effect of *satyagraha* action on the existing dictatorial regime. However, they were quite sure regarding the Indian response to it. They had planned to restart the *satyagraha* action with a mind to provide the Indian Government "with a provocation for action."¹⁵ They were sure that their non-violent pursuits would certainly force the Portuguese regime to respond negatively towards the non-violent *satyagrahis* and that would provoke the Government of India to take action in Goa. "The sacrifices the people would make... were only to provide an occasion for the Government of India to intervene."¹⁶

Moreover NC (G) had opted for *satyagraha* because it was felt that this was the "only method suitable to the conditions"¹⁷ of the movement in which entire Goan population could participate. This method would build up an "iron determination among Goans to achieve freedom and would also leave "a residue of goodwill, a distinctive feature that had characterised the Indian Freedom Movement."¹⁸ It was felt that adoption of violent means would result in giving an opportunity and an excuse for the fascist regime to "perpetrate further repression and brutalities on the people."¹⁹ Therefore they adopted *satyagraha* that would lead to avoidance of hate and violence in the course of its achievement.

The president of the NC (G), Peter Alvares, was of the opinion that the non-violent movement was “capable of inviting and shouldering more sacrifices, but up to a limit.”²⁰ Therefore, he had persistently stressed on the significance of the “Time factor” in the Goans struggle. According to him it was practically impossible for people to continue the struggle beyond a certain point. He had noted, “No movement could go on indefinitely as this would lead to a danger of physical and moral exhaustion setting in due to the prolonged struggle.”²¹ Moreover there was a fear in the *satyagrahi* camp that due to the harsh measures adopted by the Portuguese regime the struggle would receive a setback after a particular time limit. Therefore, he had continuously briefed about his views to the Government of India and had urged to “act soon”²² when the time was “psychologically ripe.” According to him, since the non-violent action had a “period-limit” the Government of India had to act within such a limit to give “effective and conclusive support”²³ to the *satyagraha* struggle. This recognition from Government of India was a must to keep the faith of the *satyagrahis* in the non-violent action unwavering.

Events Leading to the 1954 *Satyagraha*

The Bombay and Sawantwadi Sessions of the National Congress (Goa)

In the later half of 1953, the Goan scene became alive again. Peter Alvares and his friends moved into the interiors of Goa to organize a fresh campaign. People had been won over in large numbers from Dodamarg in the north to Canacona in the south. The hectic nationalist activities continued during this period.

The eight session of the National Congress (Goa) held in Bombay in 1953, was presided over by Peter Alvares, one of the foremost workers of the Praja Samajwadi Paksha (Praja Socialist Party). He had taken an active part in the 1942 “Quit India” Movement and in 1952 had been elected as the vice-president of the National Congress (Goa). The National Congress (Goa) had prepared a list of volunteers who were ready to go to and work clandestinely in Goa. Peter Alvares

himself visited Goa in Goa *incognito* and established contacts with prominent doctors, lawyers, teachers, social workers and other like-minded compatriots.²⁴

On 1st January, 1954, a meeting of the National Congress (Goa) was held at Sawantwadi. It was presided over by Peter Alvares. In this meeting it was decided to restart the non-violent movement on a mass scale in Goa from 18th June of that year. For this purpose a committee was instituted which consisted of Advocate Gopal Apa Kamat, Advocated Pandurang Mulgoankar, Dr. Jose F. Martins and Prof Shankar P. Sardessai.²⁵

In this meeting of three resolutions were passed, the first was to display propaganda posters throughout Goa, the second, to celebrate Gandhi Jayanti on a mass scale throughout Goa and to hold meetings in Goa to demand full civil liberties and the recall of the military forces which had been brought from the Portuguese African colonies of Angola and Mozambique and to release all political prisoners.²⁶ The efforts in this direction began to gain momentum during the course of the first half of 1954. The above-mentioned workers of the National Congress (Goa) started working secretly. Young men and women from Goa visited India and collected information about the situation in the interiors of Goa. Volunteers from India came to Goa to make a first hand assessment of the conditions, which prevailed in this territory. The grounds for launching protests against the Portuguese rule were being planned in this manner. The list of the Goan workers who would participate in the action was drawn up.

Arrest of Dr Gaitonde

While the activities of the National Congress (Goa) were in full swing, on 18th February 1964, Dr P. D. Gaitonde, a prominent surgeon of Mapusa, was arrested. Gaitonde had actively participated in the underground activities of the National Congress (Goa) during 1953-54. He had attended the National Congress (Goa) meeting at Sawantwadi, which had decided to offer *satyagraha* in Goa. Gaitonde's "Crime" was that he had openly defied the Portuguese authorities. At a farewell party

which was held in honour of a Portuguese judge, Samedo, at Mondovi Hotel in Panjim, Gaitonde had shown his objection to a statement made by a Portuguese officer in which Goa had been referred to as a part of Portugal, with use of the phrase “*eu protesto!*” that is, “I protest!” This protest of Dr. Gaitonde was a shock to Portuguese authorities and he was immediately arrested and deported to Lisbon. Madhav Bir a prominent freedom fighter of Goa has described the significance of this event in the following words:

“This incident infuriated the workers of the National Congress (Goa) and occasioned strong reaction from the Goans as well as the Indians. The Goan workers inside Goa organized a protest day “Gaitonde Day” on which the Indian flag was hoisted and meetings were held. The departure of Dr. Gaitonde and the wholesale arrests of National Congress (Goa) workers intensified the Goan reaction against the Portuguese. Gaitonde’s protest was hailed as a signal to restart the *satyagraha*, movement with full vigour”.²⁷

Liberation of the French Indian Colonies

At this time an event took place, which strengthened the urge of the Goans to gain liberation from the Portuguese. The French had left Pondicherry, Mahe and its other pockets in India in 1954. The peaceful liberation of the French colonies served as a boost to the morale of the Goan nationalist. It inspired them to demand the complete independence of India with the liberation of Portuguese India.

Liberation of Dadar Nagar Haveli

On 22nd July, 1954, the United Front of Goans under the leadership of George Vaz Liberated Dadar with the full support of the local people. This historic event exposed the invulnerability of Salazar’s regime. The news of the fall of Dadar spread like wild fire. Inspired by this historic event the Azad Gomantak Dal decided to liberate the neighbouring Nagar Haveli by 15th August, 1954. Naroli was captured by

them and Shamrao Lad hoisted the Indian tricolour on Naroli. Similarly Silvassa was taken over by the Azad Gomantak Dal and then Nagar Haveli was also liberated from the clutches of the colonial rulers.²⁸

The liberation of Dadar Nagar Haveli marked a turning point in the history of Portuguese India. The myth of the strength of Salazar's rule was at once exploded. The Portuguese Government demanded from their Indian counterpart the right to passage for its troops through the Indian Territory. Upon receiving a categorically refusal from India, the Portuguese filed a case in the International Court of Justice against India.

We find that in early 1954, the *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* was established in Pune. It was largely inspired by the National Congress (Goa) and aimed at convincing every Indian citizen that the problem of Goa was not confined to only Goans but that it was the duty of every non-Goan to give support to the cause of the liberation of Goa. This proved to be a very encouraging effort to restart the *satyagraha* action in Goa.

The above mentioned events truly stirred up the action of Goans as well as the non-Goans who now decided to take matter in their own hands and thus in these circumstances, the National Congress (Goa) under the leadership of Peter Alvares, announced its decision to launch a *satyagraha* campaign on 15th August, 1954 which was supported by the Goa Action Committee and the *Praja Socialist Party* of Maharashtra and Gujarat and was aided by the *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti*.

Establishment of *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* (Goa Liberation Aid Committee)= [GVSS]

As mentioned earlier an all India perspective of Goa's struggle obtain enthusiastic support from the rest of Indians and the idea of initiating a joint action comprising of Goans as well as the rest of Indians reigned supreme in the minds of the leaders. Nana Saheb Gore socialist leader from Maharashtra while presiding over the

Goan Marathi Literary Conference held at Karwar in 1954 announce their backing to the idea of an all India struggle for the liberation of Goa and stated that "I do not differentiate between an Indian and a Goan. It is the prime duty of every Indian to extend whole hearted support to those Goan patriots who are fighting to free our motherland."²⁹

Jayantrao Tilak grandson of Lokmanya Tilak and socialist leader from Pune who shared the views of Peter Alvares and N. G. Gore while commenting on this issue said,

" there was an ardent need to look at Goa's issue as an All India issue. Seven years had passed to India's liberation but still a part of our territory was under the foreign rule. Moreover existence of Portugal on Indian soil was a threat to our national security, Due to Goa's strategic position with Marmagao harbour, Goa could be used as naval base by a political power whose interest were inimical to India. I conveyed my feelings to Prime Minister Nehru and emphasised that a joint action against colonialism was a must."³⁰

With this idea of establishing a joint front comprising of Indian as well as Goans, Peter Alvares, Nana Saheb Gore, Jayantrao Tilak and others organised a meeting at Tilakwada Pune in which political as well as non-political parties were invited. This meeting resulted into establishment of Goa Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti (GVSS). The executive Committee of GVSS was declared under president ship of Keshavrao Jedhe. Gore, Tilak and Vinayak Rao Apte became its joint secretaries. Mahadev Shastri Joshi represented the NC (G). The other members of the GVSS were R. K. Khadilkar, Ganapatrao Nalawade, Kamalabai Bhagwat, Shirubhau Limaye, Madhav Memane, Atmaram Patil and others.³¹

The GVSS aimed to launch a non violent *satyagraha* action against the Portuguese colonialism to wipe out the artificial colonial boundaries between the rest

of India and Goa and to assert the indisputable right of Indian to participate in Goa's struggle for freedom.

Gore who took the lead to offer *satyagraha* on 18th May 1955 wrote an open letter to the Governor of Goa in which he refused the Portuguese claim that Goa was a province of Portugal and asserted the right of Indians to participate in Goa's struggle for freedom in these words. "We consider this territory as a part of our country and we have every right to see that it is freed."³²

The *samities* activities were to be supplementary action to support Goans to nationalise the Goa issue. By creating nationwide Concern throughout India GVSS aimed to put popular pressure on the Indian Government to resolve the issue immediately. Senapati Bapat leading participant from the 1942 Quit India Movement who later offered *satyagraha* with Gore declared that *Samiti* planned to launch a non-violent *satyagraha* action not only to pressurize the Portuguese Government, "but also to induce Indian Government to take effective steps."³³

The GVSS undertook the task of building a favourable opinion regarding the Goa issue immediately. It established links all over India. Its branches were opened at Belgaum, Banda and Sawantwadi. With the mobilisation of masses of India GVSS also decided to form Parliamentary Committee of various political parties to pressurise the Indian Government. Acharya Kriplani headed this Committee and its other members were N. C. Chatterji, R. M. Deshmukh, Sucheta Kriplani and others.

It also established *satyagraha Samiti* that launched its first *satyagraha* action on 18th May 1955 under the leadership of Gore. He was accompanied by 38 *satyagrahis* that belonged to Maharashtra, Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The action had one point programme that is the non-recognition of the borders and defence of Portuguese Governmental orders. These actions were to be totally non violent. Socialist leader Shirubhau Limaye led the 2nd batch of *satyagrahis*. From 18th May 1955 to 29th July 1955 ten batches of *satyagrahis* entered

Goa. Madhu Limaye who boldly declared, "I do not like any part of India to be ruled by the foreigners therefore we have entered Goa to liberate it."³⁴ led the 10th batch.

As individual *satyagrahas* were in progress Archarya J. B. Kriplani who believed that Government of India would not be moved by the individual *satyagrahas* suggested GVSS "not to fall prey to Panditji's hollow utterances."³⁵ And advised them to launch mass *satyagraha* action on 15th August 1955. The decision received overwhelming support from all over India. More than 3,000 *satyagrahis* were enlisted at GVSS office at Tilakwada in Pune. On 15th August 1955, several batches of *satyagrahis* entered from Banda Dodamarg, Aronda, Terekhol Kakunbi, Caslerock and Majali. They hoisted tricolour, sang national anthem, pasted posters, distributed leaflets. The batch that had entered from Terekhol was successful in hoisting the Indian tricolour on the historic fort of Terekhol.

The Portuguese soldiers opened fire on the unarmed non-violent *satyagrahis* and brutally massacred them. V. D. Chkitle and Vasant Oke who had entered from Banda were seriously injured. Karnal Singh who had come all the way from Punjab was shot dead. The bullet hit Hirve Guruji, the Paraja socialist leader from Panvel.³⁶

As Portuguese continued their brutalities, the GVSS called for an emergency meeting at Belgaum on 17th August 1955. Peter Alvares, Nath Pai, Communist leader S. M. Dange and others after four hours of much heated deliberations decided to call off the mass *satyagraha* action and continue with its individual *satyagraha* action. Accordingly, Madhu Dandavate entered Goa on 20th August 1955 to protest against Portuguese rule. However, this non-violent individual action did not continue for long. Although Nehru had said on the floor of Lok Sabha on 26th July, 1955 that "the future of Goa, that is the union of Goa with India is a matter of special, intense and equal concern to every Indian including every Goan."³⁷ The borders were sealed and entry of the *satyagrahis* was stopped. Govind Vallabh Pant clearly told the GVSS members that Government of India was not in favour of continuation of such action

on the part of Indians and warned them that if GVSS pursued *satyagraha* action the Government of India would arrest them.³⁸

The leaders of the *samiti* were confused with the Government's stand regarding continuation of *satyagraha*. In order to discuss this issue a meeting of GVSS was called at Bombay. In this meeting the members expressed their helplessness to continue the *satyagraha* activity.

The Indian Government had not denied the right of Indians to work for freedom of Goa in theory. This is evident from Prime Ministers statement in Lok Sabha on foreign affairs in which he asserted that Goa and the Union of India formed one country. However, he thought that the participation of large number of Indians would "produce wrong results."³⁹ Nehru was afraid that this non-violent *satyagraha* action would ultimately take a violent turn that would be against India's basic policy of peaceful co-existence. Moreover, he was also doubtful regarding as a tool to be used against dictatorship. He expressed this doubt when he replied to the debate on the international situation in Lok Sabha. He said "you should also take into account the polity and methods followed by Dr. Salazar and his Government; keeping them in view you should consider how far *satyagraha* against such a Government and such a person can prove successful."⁴⁰

Indian Government's reluctance to support the mass *satyagraha* action was also due to international pressure. Moreover, Government hesitated as members belonging political parties other than ruling Congress party such as Praja socialist Party, JanaSangh, Communist Parties and others, actively participated in the action. Indian Government looked at their participation as if it was opportunist participation and felt that these activities were directed to cause inconvenience to the Nehru Government.

The individual as well as mass *satyagraha* action was successful in arousing deep upsurge of nationalism amongst the Indians who responded overwhelmingly to the call given by the GVSS. The participation of Indians in large number instilled

courage and confidence among Goans to fight the dictatorial regime. Its activities proclaimed to the world that Goans were not alone in their fight against colonialism and had the strong support of the rest of Indians to end the last remnants of European colonialism. In the words of N. G. Gore "Goans who were struggling in Goa got an assurance that they were not alone they did not look upon themselves as a separate entity."⁴¹

The activists who participated in the *satyagraha* action refused to adopt violent means under any circumstances. They had vowed to remain non-violent and face the torture and atrocities that were inflicted on them by the Portuguese Government and therefore did not react violently. Even when the then chief minister of Bombay state Morarji Desai who shared the views of Government of India regarding the non-entry of the rest of Indians in Goa, ordered cancellation of transport and other facilities to *satyagrahis* this did not deter the *satyagrahis* from their path of non-violence. Batches after batches entered Goa peacefully with Indian tricolour.

Aims and Methods

"This movement is to liberate Goa. We aim to integrate Goa with India as it is a part of India".⁴² This was the aim of the non-violent protest march, which took place on the 15th August, 1954. The Goans, while demanding total independence from Portuguese colonialism, asserted their right to be united with the Indian Republic. The people of the rest of India fully supported Goa peacefully and non-violently, defying the Portuguese authorities, to demand the liberation of this territory. The nationalistic aim of the *satyagrahis* is clearly indicated in the slogan which they raised such as "*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*" and "*Azad Goa Zindabad*". They marched towards their aim of liberating Goa and integrating it with India and also hailed democracy ("*Viva Democracia*" as one of the slogans put it) as a form of Government for Goa. Young Goans like Mark Fernandes, Anthony De Souza and Alfred Alfonso led the batches of *satyagrahis*, which entered Goa on 15th August. The leaders and their followers despite knowledge of the cruelties of the a Salazarist dictatorship,

marched into Goa with courage and confidence and one such batch of *satyagrahis* was successful in capturing the historic fort of Terekhol by non-violent means on 15th August, 1954, and hoisting the Indian tricolour on its ramparts.

The direct action, which took place in the year 1954, was to be carried out through the medium of both mass *satyagraha* well as individual *satyagrahas*. Mass *satyagrahas* was offered by Goans on 15th August, 1954, and on the same day and in the subsequent days individual *satyagrahis* were offered by the Goans at various places in Goa such as Ponda, Mapusa, Parse, Panjim and other places.

Initially non-Goans from across the borders had decided to march with the Goans. Around 5,000⁴³ *satyagrahis* were enlisted to participate in this march. However, on 13th August, 1954, Prime Minister Nehru refused permission to non-Goans to cross into Goa. The Indian Government had adopted an indifferent attitude regarding this issue. When Nehru inaugurated the All India Newspaper Editors Conference, he stated that “during the last seven years we have restrained our people. Normally speaking I do not want non-Goans to go to Goa. But I am not going to stop Goans from functioning”.⁴⁴ This statement of Nehru’s shocked the whole of India. “Non-Goans” who were eager to participate in the *satyagraha* action were quite disappointed. They however extended their full support to the Goans, who had planned to enter their homeland on 15th August, 1954.

Therefore, on 15th August, around 46 *satyagrahis* led by mark Fernandes, Alfred Afonso and Anthony D’Souza entered Goa. One can notice that the leaders of the “*Freedom March*” were Catholics. This exposed the false Portuguese propaganda that Christians were the supporters of Salazar and that only the Hindus community aspired for freedom. The 1954 *satyagraha* proved that the idea of liberty could not be weeded out of the political psyche of the Goans by the use of communal tactics on the part of the colonial Government.

The means adopted by the *satyagrahis* were non-violent, open defiance of Portuguese rule. They marched into Goa without the use of passports, thereby

defying the Portuguese law with courage and confidence, the Indian tricolour with high esteem.

The *satyagrahis* hoisted the Indian tricolour on important Government offices, temples and on forts. The individual *satyagrahis* used focal points such as market places, bus stands and temples to offer *satyagraha* and there-by created consciousness among fellow Goans. Processions and protest marches were carried out; posters were displayed which were to spread the idea of *satyagraha*.

The Mass *satyagraha* Action

On the appointed day of 15th August, 1954, around 46 *satyagrahis* entered Goa from three different sides under the leadership of Mark Fernandes, Alfred Afonso and Anthony De 'Souza. The *satyagrahis* had gathered at Belgaum and from there had marched to different points along the border. Mark Fernandes with his thirteen associates entered from Patradevi-Banda. Alfred Afonsa with his nineteen associates entered through Tricolor and Anthony De Souza entered from Polem at Canacona.

Polem *satyagraha*

The leader of this batch was Anthony De Souza, the general secretary of the Lloyd's Bank Employees Federation in Bombay. Others who participated in the action included students, mechanics, painters and servicemen like Uttam Khandeparker, Divkar Govind Thali, Menino Pereira, Rophidas Eknath Naik, Madhusudan Ganpatrao Guntak, Joa Manual sores, Prafulla Priolkar, Tulsidas S. Moraskar, Chandrakant Kerkar and Ramakrishna Mandrekar. The *satyagrahis* marched forward with the *tiranga* and raised slogans such as "*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*". They reached Mashem where they faced the Portuguese police who asked them to stop their march and return to the border. Their refusal led to their arrest and they were later on brought to the Panjim Police station.

Patradevi *satyagraha*

The second batch of twelve *satyagrahis* was led by mark Fernandes, a staunch advocate and socialism, who had organized the young Pioneers Literacy Club at Bombay in 1946. He joined the National Congress (Goa) and was a member of its Executive Committee. The other twelve *satyagrahis* included Anthony Oscar Costa, Rosario Fernandes, Kamalkant Pundalik Dhamaskar, Kisan Shamrao Kerkar, Namdev Sajaba Prabhu, Bali Narayan Korgaokar, Evo Gomes, Vijay Purushottam Nandodkar, Arun D. Rego, Babu Naik and Chandrakant Raghunath Hinde. They reached a place called Ugave where they were detained by the local police who asked the *satyagrahis* return back to the border. The *satyagrahis* continued their protest march with utmost courage till they were arrested and taken to the police headquarters in the capital.

Terekhol Episode

Under the leadership of Alfred Afonso, a member of the Executive Committee of the National Congress (Goa) who had resigned his job in the Bombay Telephones to participate in the 1954 *satyagraha* action a third batch of fifteen *satyagrahis* marched through Shiroda. The other prominent participants were Ramachandra Parsekar, Ramakrishna A. Karpe, Leonardo B. Shirin, Prabhakar Godge and others. They succeeded in capturing the Terekhol fort without using any violent means. This fort was guarded by a contingent consisting of eight policemen under Jose Antonio Rosario Alvares. R.A.Karpe, a participant, narrated the events of the day in the following words:

“We entered Terekhol in the noon. Alfred Afonso mounted the fort and planted the Indian Tricolour... Following day armed soldiery led by commander Rhomba and accompanied by captain larrangerio and Agente Monterio advanced towards us. *satyagrahis* were threatened with guns. I said come on and shoot us if you dare. Agent Monterio tried to grab the flag but I turned it away

from him. Monterio gave kicks and blows, whipped us. All fifteen *satyagrahis* were subjected to severe beating by soldiers.”⁴⁵

The Portuguese removed the tricolour and replaced it with the Portuguese flag. Thus even though the victory of the *satyagrahis* was short lived it had its own importance as the *satyagrahis* had been able to capture the fort through non-violent means and the Portuguese soldiers had to make use of force to remove them from Terekhol.

The “Freedom March” which was held on 15th August, 1954, was thus carried out by the *satyagrahis* with utmost courage and confidence. The *satyagrahis* were subjected to police brutalities, which they accepted without retaliation to any violent action they had pledged to non-violence throughout and they kept up the promise.

The Individual *Satyagraha* Action

Individual *satyagrahas* were also offered at Panjim, Mapusa, Parse, Ponda, Cuncolim and other places. On 25th November 1954, Sindhutai Deshpande offered *satyagraha* at Panjim.

At Parse, *satyagraha* was offered by B.N. Polaji and his associates, namely Dattaram Raghoba Budge, Krishnath Parsekar, B.Parsekar and others. They hoisted the Indian flag near the village temple and carried out a procession. Posters were displayed in which Portuguese were mocked at. The *satyagrahis* were arrested by the police.

The Portuguese authorities had intensified their stringent measures after 15th August, 1954, to curb the nationalist action. In this strict atmosphere the National Congress (Goa) decided to offer *satyagraha* on 28th August, 1954 at Ponda under the leadership of Vasant Khandeparker. Nearly a month after the *Freedom March* the National Congress (Goa) decided to celebrate 16th September, 1954 as Terekhol Day. The *satyagrahis* were sent to Goa to make it a success. Thirteen of them offered

satyagraha on 16th September, 1954 by marching to the Terekhol fort hoisting the Indian tricolour there. Although the members of National Congress (Goa) had prepared posters and had issued pamphlets, these posters could be displayed as the workers were arrested and jailed by the Portuguese authorities.

On 25th November, 1954, *satyagraha* was offered by Sindhu Despande, a member of the National Congress (Goa) who had worked under the guidance of Peter Alvares in the border areas Pernem to Canacona holding clandestine meetings and building consciousness especially among the local women. 25th November, the day on which Afonso de Albuquerque captured Goa from the Adilshah for the second in 1510, time was being celebrated in Goa by the Portuguese authorities with much pomp and show. The National Congress (Goa) decided to denounce this date by organizing individual *satyagraha* in protest against the historical effects of the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. Portuguese authorities were stunned by her protest in the heard of Panjim city in the middle of an official celebration. She was immediately surrounded by the police who tried to gag her and then was arrested and jailed. The Portuguese Government Reaction

When the *satyagraha* of 1954 was announced by the National Congress (Goa), the Portuguese Government was in a panic as it could not guess what type of action was planned by the National Congress (Goa). The Portuguese thought that the Goans with the help of the Indian had planned to attack Goa. Therefore they strengthened their garrison, intensified patrolling at the borders, impose a curfew around the borders from the 7th August 1954, banned the entry of Indian and foreign newspapers and expelled Indian mine workers from the Goan mines.

The Portuguese Government adopted very stringent measures against the *satyagrahis* who were arrested soon after they stepped on the Goan soil. The treatment meted out to them was quite inhuman with liberal doses of merciless flogging and torture. *satyagrahi* Sudama S. Mhaske, who had witnessed life in many detention camps in Bangkok, Singapore, Red fort and Yerwada described Goan jails

the worst and the most inhuman. He stated that "Persons are assaulted till they faint and after pouring water, beating is again started...."⁴⁶

The *satyagrahis* were arrested and later on tried by the military Tribunals. The leaders of the mass *satyagraha* were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment with Anthony DeSouza getting a sentence of 28 years and both Mark Fernandes and Alfred Afonso being awarded eight years each. Besides this Mark Fernandes had his political rights suspended for fifteen years. The other *satyagrahis* were similarly punished. Thus the Portuguese made use of inhuman and brute force against the non-violent *satyagrahis*.

Nature

The second phase of the *satyagraha* action was thus undertaken on 15th August, 1954, with the aim of liberating Goa and integrating it with India. The *satyagrahis* followed a programme of crossing the border without passports, thereby defying the Portuguese Government. The "*freedom March*" which they carried out was totally non-violent. They refused the use of violent means and entered Goa with courage and confidence and openly defied the Portuguese authorities. This is proved by the Terekhol episode where fifteen young men armed with only their heroic courage had planted Indian tricolour on the fort through non-violence means. For nearly fourteen long hours the Indian flag had fluttered on the Tricolor with Pride. The armed Portuguese forces had attacked and manhandled the *satyagrahis*. Thus, even though the victory of the *satyagrahis* was short lived it had its own importance.

We find that the 1954 *satyagraha* campaign was immediately a non-successful in attaining its goal of liberating. The two most important reasons which can be traced for its non-success was lack of proper organisation and effective leadership.³¹ The mass *satyagraha* of 15th August, 1954, was announced on 5th August, 1954, leaving only ten days to chalk out the programme for the *satyagraha*.³² Though it was not difficult for the National Congress (Goa) to encourage volunteers out-side Goa, they failed to carry out effective propaganda within this territory. Time was not

sufficient to acquire widespread support for this cause from inside Goa. They were able to enlist nearly 5,000 Indian volunteers who would march on 15th August to support their Goan brothers. Moreover, they could not implement this due to the Indian Government's decision not to permit Indians to enter Goa. This left the National Congress (Goa) with no other alternative but to send only 46 Goans on the *satyagraha* mission.⁴⁷

Impact

Though the 1954 *satyagraha* failed to achieve its immediate objective of liberating Goa and integrating it with India, it left a great impact on the Indians from with-in and without Goa. The Portuguese Government was denounced for inhuman treatment, which it meted out to the non-violent *satyagrahis*. Protest marches were held in Maharashtra against the Portuguese police brutalities. The rumours of the death of one of the *satyagrahi* namely Laxman Soman was even echoed in the Maharashtra legislative assembly. We notice that in spite of the Knowledge of the cruel nature of the Portuguese authorities, the *satyagrahis* did not loose heart, they prepared themselves in better ways in 1955 to face the challenge of the Portuguese force.

15th August 1954, is engraved in the history of Goa's struggle for freedom as a "Red Letter Day".³⁴ The *satyagraha* action of this and the subsequent days was successful in creating consciousness in Goa as well as in the rest of India. The urge of independence now became increasingly stronger in the minds of the Goans. The Portuguese authorities could not extinguish the flame of liberty from the hearts and minds of the Goans. To strengthen the hands of the Goans who were fighting non-violently against the brutal Portuguese regime, batches after batches of Indians entered Goa in 1955 several persons from Kashmir to KanyaKumari unitedly came forward to support their Goan brethren with an aim to smash the last remnants of European colonialism on the Indian soil.

Phase II... And The Action Continued In 1955

As seen in the preceding chapter, the *satyagraha* of 1954 did not have much direct and immediate effect on the Portuguese Government and as Peter Alvares has remarked the Indian Government, too, did not “stop the massacre and brutalities which the Portuguese were committing on the innocent and peaceful *satyagrahis*”.⁴⁸

The failure of the 1954 *satyagraha* was piercing the conscience of Goans as well as the Indian Nationalist. From this was born the idea of launching a joint action of Goans as well as non-Goans Indian against the Portuguese rule. This thought of supporting Goans who were engaged in the struggle for freedom from the Portuguese colonialism gained momentum and received wide response in the rest of India. Batches after batches of non-Goan volunteers entered Goa to offer individual *satyagraha* and this later on culminated into a mass *satyagraha* which was offered on 15th August, 1955.

Aims and Methods

The *satyagraha* of 1955 was launched to wipe out the artificial colonial boundaries between India and Goa, that is, to Liberate Goa and integrate it with India. Nana Saheb Gore, a Praja Socialist Party Leader, who had offered individual *satyagraha* on 18th May, 1955, commented on this action in the following words:

“I had written a letter to the Government General of Goa as a sort of warning, saying that we consider this territory a part of our country and we have every right to see that it is freed and out of the Portuguese hold.”⁴⁹

The *satyagraha* of 1955 was to be a supplementary action of Indians, which was extended to help the Goans with the aim of nationalizing the Goa issue. They hoped to create a nation-wide concern throughout India and thereby put popular pressure on the Nehru Government to resolve this issue immediately. The people of

India wanted that “the Indian Government must not be a mere spectator to the events”,⁵⁰ that it should take immediate action to help the Goans who were launching an intensive struggle against the Portuguese. The *satyagraha* thus aimed at creating a feeling amongst the Indians that it was their duty to help the Goans to liberate their homeland, as Goa was a part of India. As one *satyagrahi* has put it” Goa is a part of India and I do not like any part of India to be ruled by the foreigners”⁵¹ This urge to remove the final traces of colonialism from India by liberating Goa led to the launching of an mass *satyagraha* action by the Indians in 1955.

As in the previous year, in 1955, too, the *satyagraha* action was carried out by the adoption of the techniques of individual as well as mass *satyagraha*. The National Congress (Goa) continued to offer individual *satyagrahas* action at Dhawe, Lolaye, Paigini, and Mapusa Pernem and at other places. Certain dates like 26th January and 17th February were chosen for this purpose. The National Congress (Goa) was successful in holding its ninth Annual session at Mapusa under the president ship of Sudhatai Joshi on 6th April 1955. When asked about the programme of the *satyagrahis*, Nana Saheb Gore told me that “it was a one point programme, that is non-recognition of the borders and defying the Portuguese governmental ban and thus the rest of the Indians crossed into Goa and asserted their right to enter into Goa as it was a part of India.”⁵²

The volunteers vowed not to adopt violence under any circumstances; “we had refused the non-violent methods”⁵³ With courage and confidence, the *satyagrahis* faced the police firing and raised slogans such as “Insular Zindabad” “Bharat Mata Ki Jai” and “Down with Salazar” and entered Goa peacefully.

The *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* which met in Pune on 29th July, 1955, took the decision to launch a mass *satyagraha* on 15th August, 1955, for the liberation of Goa and gave a call to the Indian political parties as well as non-political groups to make it a success.⁵⁴ This declaration received wide response in India and the Praja Socialist Party, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Janasangh, the communist Party of India,

the Indian Nationalist Congress co-ordinated their efforts to make the *satyagraha* action a success. Pundit Nehru did not support the idea of Indians entering Goa in 1955 either, however, we find that the Indian National Congress extended its support to the mass *satyagraha* Action of 1955. Nearly 5,000 volunteers from the India Union decided to enter Goa from Banda, Aronda, Castle Rock and Majali to liberate Goa and integrate it with India.

Course

The Individual *satyagraha* Action

The National Congress (Goa) decided to celebrate 26th January by offering *satyagraha* to denounce the foreign rule. At Dhawe, a village in Sattari taluka, the *satyagrahis* under the leadership of Govind Hari Bhau Shastri led twenty-five *satyagrahis* participated in this action. Similar type of *satyagraha* was also offered at Loleim in the Canacona taluka, under the leadership of Govind Narayan Prabhu, a member of the National Congress (Goa). 26th January was also celebrated at Paigini in Canacona taluka where the participants who included students, had carried out a procession in the village, which was later, stopped by the Portuguese police who arrested them.

17th February, 1955, was celebrated in Goa as “Gaitonde Day”. The National Congress (Goa) took the initiative to make it a success and *satyagrahas* were offered by individuals at Margao, Mapusa, Canacona and at other places. “Gaitonde Day” received an encouraging response in spite of police atrocities committed on the *satyagrahis* unsuccessful as the flow of *satyagrahas* continued throughout 1955 on 15th August 1955.

Following the above-mentioned *satyagrahas*, an important event took place in Goa, which aroused enthusiasm in Goa as well as in India. On 6th April, 1955, the 9th annual session of the National Congress (Goa) was held in Mapusa under the president ship of Sudha Joshi. This was an historic achievement of the National

Congress (Goa) as it was for the first time since 1947, that this organization was successful in holding *satyagraha* session in Goa. The decision to hold this session was taken by the congress working committee, which met at Pune in 1955. Sudhatai Joshi was elected as the president and she entered Goa clandestinely through Sanquelim, crossing the border along with Ambikabai Dandekar. she decided to hold the session at Mapusa.

This was no mean achievement; Sudha Joshi was able to hold a *satyagrahi* session on the Goan soil in spite of police atrocities, which were carried out in Goa during this period. This created a feeling of enthusiasm in India and encouraged by the National Congress (Goa) and the *Vimochan Samiti*, the Indians decided to enter Goa to defy the Portuguese rule in Goa in spite of various odds.

Nana Saheb Gore, the leader of the *Praja Socialist Party* announced his decision to enter Goa with a batch of Indian *satyagrahis* via Dodamarg along with Senapati Bapat. Nana Saheb Gore was the founder member of the All India Congress Socialist Party and had helped to establish the *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* Nana Saheb Gore has described the background to his decision to enter Goa in these words:

“The Karwar session of the Goa Literary conference was held after the expatriation of Dr. Gaitonde. The Portuguese Government had not failed to send its agents to the session. But several patriotic young men also had come from Goa. It is evident that Dr. Gaitonde's removal had been a set back in our work. But the workers were not unduly depressed. Steadily they went on with the preparations knowing well that the Portuguese Government was not going to allow them much time. They were aware also that they might not be able to work in Goa for long.”⁵⁵

Nana Saheb Gore chose 18th May, 1955 as a date for launching the *satyagraha* as this was considered to be a significant date. He said that “the arrest of Dr. Gaitonde had taken place on February 18th, 1954 therefore, may 18th suggests itself to me as the obvious choice.”⁵⁶ Nana Saheb and Senapati Bapat were arrested when they entered the Goan territory.

After Nana saheb's *satyagraha*, the *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* decided to send batches of *satyagrahis* into Goa. From 18th May, 1955 to 24 July, 1955 some ten batches of Indian *satyagrahis* entered Goa with the Indian tricolour. On 25th May, 1955, the socialist leader, Shinubhau Limay, started from Pune to offer *satyagraha* with 64 associates. He was followed by Atmaram Patil from Karhad, who with 75 associates entered Goa on 4th June, 1955. Rajaram Patil and 58 others crossed into Goa on 10th June, 1955. On 25th June, 1955, the Janasangh leader B.L. Kavadi and Jaganath Rao Joshi with 145 *satyagrahis* came down to Goa to offer *satyagraha*.⁵⁷ This batch divided itself into small groups. One group, which was led by Amirchand Gupta, encountered the fury of the Portuguese police at Kripani where Amirchand Gupta was killed.

In spite of such brutalities committed on the *satyagrahis*, the flow of Indian volunteers continued and on 9th July 1955, 52 volunteers entered Goa under the Leadership of Tridip Choudhary. S.M. Nandekar, a communist leader Goa, and his 59 associates entered Goa from Banda on 16th July 1955. The tenth batch of *satyagrahis*, which marched into Goa with the Indian tricolour. They reached Aronda on 24th July 1955, where the Portuguese police maltreated them. They faced the police brutalities with utmost courage and remained non-violent throughout and thus kept up their promise to follow the Gandhian path of non-violence.

The individual *satyagraha* action, which was launched by the *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti*, culminated into the mass *satyagraha* had produced a nation wide concern regarding the Goan issue. The idea of mass *satyagraha* gained more and more support from the citizens of Republic India. And as been discussed earlier, the *Gove Vimochan Samiti* met in Pune on 20th July, 1955, and decided to launch mass *satyagraha* on 15 August, 1955.⁵⁸

The Mass *satyagraha* Action

As individual *satyagrahas* were in progress Archarya J. B. Kripliani who believed that Government of India would not be moved by the individual *satyagrahas*

suggested GVSS “not to fall prey to Panditji’s hollow utterances.”⁵⁹ And advised them to launch mass *satyagraha* action on 15th August 1955, several batches of *satyagraha* entered from Banda Dodamarg, Aronda, Terekhol Kakunbi, Caslerock and Majali. They hoisted tricolour, sang national anthem, pasted posters, distribute leaflets. The batch that had entered from Terekhol was successful on hoisting the Indian tricolour on the historic fort of Terekhol.

Banda, Aronda, Dodamarg, Terekhol, Kakunbi, Castle Rock and Majali to liberated Goa. At Banda under the leadership of the communist leader, V.D.Chitle, and the Jansangh leader Vasant Oke, 680 *satyagrahis* entered Goa. About 300 *satyagrahis* entered Aronda. From Dodamarg 500 *satyagrahis* entered Goa. While another batch of 107 *satyagrahis* marched into Goa from Terekhol. Similarly 530 *satyagrahis* entered from Kakunbi under the leadership of A.R.Faruk. In this way batches after batches continued to pour into Goa from various border points. Over 2000 *satyagrahis* entered Daman under the leadership of Ishwarlal Desai, similarly 82 volunteers entered Diu, the other Portuguese settlement. They entered shouting slogans such as “Bharat Matha Ki Ji.” “Inquilab Zindabad. “Goa hai Hindustan. Nahim Kisike bap ka”(“Goa belongs to India”). The Dodamarg batch entered Goa, hoisted the Indian tricolour at Hedus, sang the National Anthem, pasted posters and distributed leaflets. The batch, which had entered from Tiracol, was similarly successful in hoisting the tricolour on the historic fort of Terekhol.

The Portuguese soldiers opened fire on the unarmed, non-violent *satyagrahis*. V.D.Chitle and Vasant Oke were injured. Karnal Singh who had come from Punjab to participate in the *satyagraha* was shot dead by the Portuguese army. Hirve Guruji, the Praja Socialist leader of Panvel was hit by the bullets. The police committed several acts of brutality and the massacre of the *satyagrahis* continued.

The Gove *Vimochan Samiti* was in a complex situation as the Portuguese continued killing non-militant *satyagrahis*. The *Samiti* took the decision to call off the mass *satyagraha* to avoid further deaths. The *Samiti* ordered that all the

satyagrahis who had come to the border areas with aim of wiping out the borders were reluctant to abide by this order and were ready to lay down their life for the national cause. After frequent appeals from the leader, they decided to return to the Indian borders. Thus the mass *satayagraha* of 15th August, 1955, was called off.⁶⁰

The Portuguese Reaction

We find that failure of the 1954 *satyagraha* action had made the Portuguese authorities in Goa over whelmed with joy. However, at the same time, they took this as a hint of future events that would soon. This fear is clearly depicted in the note dated 16th August, 1954, which was sent from the Portuguese legation to Lisbon. It started that

“We have without doubt won the first round. We succeeded in not being attacked on the 15th. But the ambiguous texts of the press comments, and the speech delivered by Nehru yesterday show clearly our future difficulties I think it is evident that at present it is not possible to negotiate with these present in is not possible to negotiate with these people on anything’⁶¹

The Portuguese authorities took stringent measure by passing new legislation to cub the nationalist activities. According to these Portuguese as well as foreign citizens who had participated in the collective actions intending to stir up public opinion or engage in other activities (individual or collective) which coincide with the aims of foreigners seeking to separate part of the national territory from the mother country, or to hand all or a part of it over to a foreign country were liable to long term of imprisonment. which could be served in “a different province from the one in which the transgression took place” in the case of foreigners except those foreigners who had illegally entered Portuguese territory were liable to some penalties as Portuguese citizens.

The Indian Government warned the Portuguese that any attempt made to deport Indians (including Goans) *satyagrahis* to serve prison sentences in Portugal or Portuguese Africa would have “serious and far reaching repercussions” in India.

The Portuguese police, as has been mentioned above took strong measures to weaken the *satyagrahis* action by manhandling and arresting the participants of the 26th January, 1955 and 17th February, 1955, *satyagraha*. However in spite of such police brutalities the *satyagrahis* successfully celebrated 26th January and 17th February. The celebration made the police panic. This led to number of anticipatory arrests in Goa. Indiscriminate arrests, tortures and maltreatment of the *satyagrahis* as well as of innocent Goans became the order of the day. Around 140 Goans were arrested in these two months.

An atmosphere of terror was created in Goa. This however did not affect the morale of the *satyagrahis* who entered Goa with courage and confidence to face police brutalities. Even women Sudha Joshi successfully conducted the *satyagrahi* session on 6th April, 1955. She was arrested by the police and was later tried by the military Tribunal and sentenced to ten years of rigorous imprisonment.

The Indian batches, which entered Goa peacefully, were cruelly treated by the Portuguese police authorities. The leaders of the batches were arrested and tried by the military tribunal and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment and their associates were severely beaten up and pushed out of the borders. According to the figures released by the National Congress (Goa), the Portuguese authorities arrested 2,567 persons in Goa between 1954 and April 1955, for participating in the freedom struggle. About 510 were still in prison and about 70 of the total number arrested were Goans.

When the mass *satyagraha* was announced, the Portuguese authorities adopted strong measures to suppress the *satyagrahi* action. Soldiers were ordered to shoot if “invaders” tried to enter Goan border. Heavy guns were stationed on the border area and the Portuguese soldiers were ordered, “to shoot to kill”

We have seen earlier on how the Portuguese soldiers killed the *satyagrahis* who were unarmed. Amirchand Gupta, Hirve Guraji, Karnal Singh became martyrs. The casualties of Portuguese firing, according to the Indian officials were 22 killed, 225 wounded and 38 of them severely injured. Prime Minister Nehru condemned the killings as “brutal and most uncivilized” and declared that:

“Let us take note and let the world take note as how far it is proper for any Government or country to open fire on peaceful people who carry no arms. If anybody breaks the laws, the Government concerned have a right to arrested him and send him to jail. These rights are there, but does not international law sanction that unarmed people, who are not attacking any country, should not be fired on? This is utterly wrong. I say with all respect that it is for the world and the Portuguese Government to understand that nothing would be achieved by these methods and this kind of thing should not be done”⁶²

Nature

The *satyagraha* offered in 1955 as supplementary action of the Indians, were undertaken to support Goans who were fighting against the Portuguese. According to Nana Saheb Gore the *satyagraha* meant a group of people crossing the border and asserting the non-recognition of individuals *satyagrahis* were offered by the Goans.

This non-violent *satyagraha* action had to face the Portuguese regime. This organization chalked out the programme for the continuation of *satyagraha* action and he in the history of Goa’s struggle for freedom, for now an effective united action could be launched against the action was continued and it reached its peak with the formation of the National Congress (Goa).

It was a non-violent defiance of the Portuguese ban, which was imposed on the entry of the Indians. The *satyagrahis* faced the police brutalities, which were

inflicted on them and still remained non-violent. They launched individual and mass *satyagraha* action against the colonial power. The *satyagrahis* tried to nationalize the Goa issue and liberation from Portugal was of great importance to Indians.

The only target before the *satyagrahis* was the removal of the foreigners from the Indian Territory, thereby completing India's Independence. The people of India unitedly came forward to challenge the Portuguese rule in Goa and were prepared to lay down their lives for the national cause of Goa's integration with India.

Reaction of the Indian Government

It is very important to note that the Indian Government right from the beginning was not in favour of the participation of Indian citizens in the Goa's struggle for freedom. In 1954 Nehru had discouraged non-Goan entry into Portuguese India. Similarly, in 1955 Indian Government did not support the idea of Indians entering Goa. Nehru was not in favour of mass *satyagraha* by the Indians. He made this very clear when he said that "I know Goans are tremendously agitated and want to snap the Portuguese bondage. It should not appear to the world that Indians are going there and facing the Goans to join the *satyagraha*"⁶³ Thus we find that the Indian Government was reluctant to support the mass *satyagraha* and attempts were made to discourage the *satyagrahi* action. The then Maharashtra Chief minister, Moraji Desai ordered the cancellation of transport facility to the *satyagrahis* from 12th August, 1955. This act did not stop the mass *satyagraha* and the *satyagrahis* trekked down to Goa to wipe out the "artificial border's" Nehru was not in favour of *satyagraha* because he believed that mass *satyagraha* would ultimately take a violent turn which would be against India's basic policies. He held that using *satyagraha* as a technique at the international level as a "misappropriation"⁶⁴ of the method and said that "We thought that the participation of the non-Goans. Indians in the so called *satyagraha* in any large number would produce wrong results and therefore we expressed ourselves against it"⁶⁵

Impact

Though India the massacre of the *satyagraha* was denounced by demonstrations and strikes. Educational Institutions, Industrial and Commercial establishment were closed down to pay homage to the martyrs of Goa's struggle for freedom. At Bombay most impressive demonstration took place. It became very difficult to control the angry mob and violence was the results. The police had to open fire some places to keep people at bay. Workers around 3,00,000 from Bombay textiles mills participated in hartal which was staged to condemn the Portuguese brutalities. The mass *satyagraha* action of 1955 incited the Goa issue and led to the national awakening from all quarters in India. Indians condemned the use of brute force against non-violent satyagrahis as this act had provoked very strong reaction from people belonging to all walks of life. The National Federation of Post and Telegraph Employees organised mass meeting of Post and Telegraph workers of Bangalore that condemned "the brutal and inhuman atrocities perpetrated by the military and police of Portuguese imperialism on the non-violent *satyagrahi*".⁶⁶ They demanded immediate withdrawal of Portugal from Goa. Pledging their moral support to *satyagraha* of 1955 they resolved to condone the hero martyrs who laid down their lives in the cause of liberation of Goa. The resolutions that supported the cause of Goa's struggle for freedom were sent to Nehru as well as Salazar.

The awareness indirectly had an impact on the Nehru Government. On 19th August, the India announced its decision to snap off diplomatic relations with Portugal. India closed her consulate in Panjim and Portugal was informed of the deadline of September 1st to close her in Bombay and her honorary consulate in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Earlier on the railway traffic between India and Goa was suspended on 25th July 1955. The diplomatic relations between India and Portugal further severed. The Indian Government took a decision to seal the borders to stop the entry of *satyagrahis* into Goa borders, Despite this individual *satyagrahis* continued their campaign. To solve this issue of entry of the *satyagrahis*, the All India Congress Committee met in New Delhi on 4th September 1955. In this meeting a

resolution was passed to ask the *satyagrahis* not to enter Goa, as the present situation was not appropriate for the Indian nationals entering Goa. No doubt that this resolution was shock to the freedom movement. However it also meant that now Indian Government had taken the Goa issue in their hands.

In this way, we find that the *satyagraha* of 1955 was successful in bringing political pressure on Nehru Government. In the words of Madhu Dandavate:

“The *satyagraha* of 1955 created an awareness among the Indian masses and it developed a feeling that the Indian Government must not be mere spectator to the events and must take appropriate steps to solve Goa issue”⁶⁷

More over the *satyagraha* of 1955 had a two-way impact; “One was that those who were struggling in Goa got an assurance that they were not alone, they did not look upon themselves as a separate zone, there were people across the borders who were supporting them”⁶⁸ Secondly “it was a call for people throughout India”⁶⁹ We have seen how people right from Kashmir to Kanyakumari came forward to carry out their duty to liberate their Goan brothers who were fighting against Salazar.

By nationalizing the Goa issue the *satyagraha* tried to bring about moral pressure upon Salazar through Non-violent protest act. They tried to pressurize Salazar through the World opinion, which condemned the Portuguese for their brutalities, which they had unleashed on the non-militant *satyagrahis*. Worldwide impact against continuation of Portuguese Colonialism on the Indian soil. The Portugal must quit Goa was the demand that echoed throughout the world. Asian as well as European opinion hardened against Portugal. Indonesian People’s Congress in Jakarta, which met on 16th August, 1955 adopted a resolution on their foreign policy that said “Indonesia should support the independence struggle of people all over the world such as the people of Goa and Morocco.”⁷⁰

Portuguese Government was flooded with telegrams and letters from leading political personalities from all over the world as well as from the people who expressed their strong indignation towards the brutalities committed on peaceful *satyagrahis* by the Salazar's Government. Asian people's deep concern regarding the existences of Portuguese pockets in India was reflected through various articles and news items that were published in leading dailies like The New Times, Burma, Liberty Bangkok, Daily News Ceylon, People's Daily Peking, Pedomen, of Jakarta, Suluh of Indonesia, Al Akhbar of Kairo and others. People's Daily Peking, vehemently condemned "the Portuguese coloniser's use of armed force to murder peaceful Indian people" and proclaimed complete support of the Chinese people to "the righteous stand and struggle of the Indian Government and people."⁷¹ and demanded that Goa must revert back to India. United Kingdoms newspaper "Observer" in its editorial of 21st August, 1955 suggested to western powers that the claim of Portugal over issue of Goa "must not be covered by North Atlantic Treaty Organisations."⁷²

Thus the world reacted very strongly against the traces of colonialism that still had its foothold in India on 19th August 1955 India snapped off diplomatic relations with Portugal, Indian Consulate in Panjim was closed and Portugal was informed to close their consulate in Bombay and her honorary consulates in Calcutta and Madras by 1st September 1955. Indian borders were sealed. Later, Indian Government imposed economic blockade in Goa. All these decisions signalled the intention of the Government of India to take responsibility of solving the Goa issue. Government of India's decision to ban the entry of the *satyagrahis* compelled NC (G) to change its course of action. As mentioned earlier the NC (G) leaders always felt that Goa issue could be resolved either by implementation of *satyagraha* technique or by the police action. Since NC (G) discontinued its *satyagraha* technique owing to the above mentioned policy, it developed a strategy that would induce Indian Government to actively intervene in Goa. NC (G)'s effort to team up with the national as well as international forces especially with the Afro Asian people to end colonialism that has

been discussed thoroughly in the next chapter ultimately bore fruit and finally on 19th December 1961 Goa was liberated through the “Operation Vijay” of the Indian Army.

Review of Various Forms of Non-Violent Protest Action

Propaganda Activity

As we are aware, the most common method to express the views of the agitators is to publish and distribute propaganda material that includes leaflets, pamphlets, books, journals bulletins and others. The non-violent protesters of NC (G) extensively used this method to stimulate the public and arouse their response regarding the vital issues that the Goans faced.

Soon after its formation NC (G) began its battle against the Portuguese dictatorial regime on two fronts: one was the open defiance of civil laws as advocated by Lohia and secondly, by carrying out systematic propaganda against the system.

The Portuguese domination over a period of 400 years had benumbed the people of Goa in political matters. Therefore, creating political awareness was a major challenge to the nascent organisation. Against this background the NC (G) opened a crusade to end political inactivity of the Goans.

The propaganda activities of the NC (G) had definite aims, firstly, it contrived to enlighten the people of Goa against the regime, sensitise them regarding the democratic aspects and then persuade them to join the non-violent protest action thereby bringing national awakening among the Goans. Secondly, it also aimed to conscientise the people of India as well as the world regarding the colonial aspects of the Portuguese regime. This was done to harness their support by arousing public opinion to the cause. And thirdly it proposed to counteract malicious propaganda carried put by the Portuguese Government that tried to dissuade the people of Goa from taking part in the action as well as portrayed a fictitious picture of a happy Goa.

To break these illusions, the infant organisation decided to set up a propaganda cell at their central office in Belgaum. As the conditions in Goa were not favourable for carrying out such activities, the organisation had established its centre at Belgaum. Belgaum's proximity with Goa made them mobile both in Goa as well in Belgaum and this was definitely an advantage to the nationalists as they could simultaneously participate in the non-violent protest actions as well as cross the Goa border to publish the propaganda material that kindled the nationalist spirit and pour it in Goa. The most important reason why they chose it as their headquarters was the support and sympathy that they received from the people of Belgaum that put them in a better position to continue their agitation. Therefore, in the initial stages, they carried their intense activities from Belgaum.

Propaganda by press

In order to expose the barbarous dictatorial regime and to expose the cause of Goans who were toiling under the "miserable conditions" that prevailed in Goa, NC (G) started a bulletin from Bombay called as "Our Goa", Its Konkani and Marathi editions were called "*Amchem Goem*" and "*Amcha Goa*" respectively. Their first issue came out on 20th April 1947.

However due to acute differences between the Bombay branch of NC (G) and its central office, this bulletin could not continue and had to be suspended within six months. NC (G) revived its propaganda machinery in 1951 when it began publishing fortnightly called *Goan Affairs*. The main task of the bulletin, as declared by the organisation, was to expose the "fallacies" that were systematically propagated by the Portuguese regime. Its first issue was dated 25th February 1951.⁷³ In this first issue NC (G) carried an article entitled "ABOUT OURSELVES" in which they declared their desire to put an end to "abysmal ignorance" of political and socio-economic conditions in Goa among the people of India as well as among those Goans who were residing outside Goa. Claiming that this lack of right knowledge regarding Goa was responsible for setting "wrong notions" which were the main obstacle to the struggle,

NC (G) took up the challenge to enlighten and educate Goans residing, specially in Bombay “into the true state of affairs.” Their bulletin, they argued was mainly to blow the cover and to bring to the fore the myths that were propagated by the dictatorial set-up regarding “Goa’s economic prosperity”, “political tolerance” and “progressive social conditions.” This issue also carried an article entitled “Goa’s Parasite Economy” in which an analysis of economic conditions in Goa’s was attempted. It reasoned out the need for more than 1,50,000 people that resided in the cities of India like Bombay were actual supporters of Goa’s economy and the very presence of such a large number of Goans outside Goa spoke of the unsupportive, deplorable conditions of Goa under the Portuguese regime.

Goan Affairs tackled a variety of issues that highlighted the political, social, and economic conditions of Goa. By giving factual reports regarding day to happenings in the territory. Their editions also carried reports of the NC (G) meetings that were organised, the deliberation and the resolutions adopted at the annual sessions. Efforts of the Indian Government to solve Goa’s issue and the activities of NC (G) that were organised to complement it featured prominently in *Goan Affairs*.⁷⁴

Besides the official bulletin to promote the Goan cause the NC (G) carried out massive propaganda through various newspapers in India. They kept them abreast the Goan situation by providing useful data on Goa issue. Newspapers in English like *Times of India*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Free Press Journal* *Bharat Jyoti*, Marathi Newspapers like *Kesri*, *Sakal*, *Navakal*, and others actively supported the Goan cause by publishing statements issued by Goan nationalist organisations, publishing reports of their sessions and thus kept the Goa issue ablaze.

The NC (G) also published number of pamphlets, booklets and other propaganda material and poured it into Goa. Soon after the *Dashdainik satyagraha* when the Portuguese Government had tightened its vicious arms in order to crush NC (G), it very strategically published booklets under the initials of Congress Socialist Party and circulated them in Goa. Pamphlets entitled, “*Liberdades Civicas em Goa*”

were published under the initials of C.S.P. When the Portuguese raided the house of Shirodkar, they confiscated 50 copies of these pamphlets. While commenting on NC (G)'s strategy, Shirodkar said,

“our organisation was declared as illegal and was banished from Goa. Therefore we had to choose safer and a convenient way to publish our material. We printed nationalist material in the name of C.S.P. in Belgaum and since it had nothing to do with NC (G) the Portuguese authorities ignored it and allowed it to come into Goa. Thus we were successful in pouring into Goa a lot of explosive stuff.”⁷⁵

In order to give correct information regarding Goa NC (G) was instrumental in forwarding a booklet entitled “Factual Situation In Goa.” that was published by Indian Embassy in America that refuted the claims of Portugal and proved the futility of arguments that were put forward by Portugal to create a wrong impression in the western world regarding the Goa case.

As mentioned earlier, NC (G) like other non-violent organisation also used different ways to project its political designs. An attempt is made in the following paragraphs to analyse the different forms of non-violent protests in the context of Goa's struggle for liberation.

Display of Posers, Banners and Other Symbolic Acts

The NC (G) strategy also included demonstration of fervour of Goans that displayed the nationalist ideas. They strive to show the rulers in every way that Goans were Indians and would remain so forever though the regime tried every means to wean their cultural ties and project Goans as a part of the Portuguese culture. Their non-violent protest actions also included symbolic acts, which displayed these feelings. Lohia had advised them to project nationalist sentiments through such symbolic acts such as cheering the *satyagrahis*, wearing *khadi*, and Gandhi cap,

contributing funds to the NC (G), giving shelter to Congress agitators distributing nationalistic material etc. Lohia had asked Goans to write “*Jai Hind*” “on doors and windows, outside and inside or carve it with knives.”⁷⁶

Madhav Bir, Narayan Naik, Laxmidas Borkar and many other freedom-fighters who spoke to me on this issue stated that they had made very exhaustive use of these symbolic acts and expressed themselves by sticking posters, painting symbols on the walls and at public places against the colonial rulers. According to them this was one of the most widely used strategy of expressing their anguish against the colonialist. While discussing this issue, Laxmidas Borkar mentioned that the nationalist very enthusiastically pasted posters in public places such as Government buildings and other prominent public places before the *Dashdainik Satyagraha* event. “This had to be done in the night clandestinely. It was a very risky business and it tested the spirit of those who wished to indulge in such sacrificial action.”⁷⁷ He further stated “These acts not only boosted the morale of the *satyagrahi* but also created an apt atmosphere for him to perform the daring act of challenging the Portuguese rule.”* When the colonial regime tightened its grip over the people in the wake of opposition to their rule and no other open action was possible in such circumstances, the symbolic posters of NC (G) played a very important role in keeping the flames of nationalism ablaze in the hearts and minds of the people.

These posters predominantly carried pictures of national leaders like Gandhi, Lohia and Nehru and were accompanied by captions. In the initial stages these posters were painted by hand but later these were printed and circulated in Goa. On 2nd October 1954 NC (G) issued a poster asking the Goans to follow the path of Gandhi. It said, “Follow Him and Free Goa.” It also had famous quotation of Gandhiji on the struggle that said. “IN A FREE INDIA, GOA CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO EXIST AS A SEPARATE ENTITY IN OPPOSITION TO THE LAWS OF THE FREE STATE.”

On 16th December, 1947 when the colonial authorities raided storehouse that belonged to the president of NC (G), P.P. Shirodkar they apprehended a lot of

propaganda material that included the banners, posters, charts, maps and other material.

As the fascist dictatorship tightened its grip it became impossible for the nationalist to persuade with the nationalist activities. Therefore occasions like *zattras*, village feast were utilised to propagate the word. At famous Siridão village feast toys like “Girgire” or “Vira-vontos”(toy that can be held in hand and replicates the action of windmill) having the colour of Indian flag featured prominently on the stalls. The toy stalls were also flooded with paper flowers made in saffron, white and green, the tricolour of national flag. Police had taken serious note of these toys and had mentioned in their weekly official report.⁷⁸

As 1954-55 *satyagraha* action geared in Bombay and other places, the nationalist used occasions like *Krishnajanmashti* birth-day of Lord Krishna to spread the word. A procession was organised on 11th August 1955 that displayed posters banners that depicted the proposed non-violent mass *satyagraha* action. Floats that depicted Goa's political conditions were the prominent feature of the *Janmashti* procession.⁷⁹

Wearing Symbolic Cloths as a Mark of Protest

Clothing forms a very significant component of our socio cultural life. According to Bernard Cohn, “clothes are not just body coverings and matter of adornment”⁸⁰ but they play a very significant role in revealing to us various counters of colonialism and the response of the locals to it. The dress codes that are followed in a particular society express a certain socio-cultural environment. Advent of western colonial powers brought with them western dress code that forced the locals to forgo their traditional Indian attire and to adapt to the western lifestyle. The western powers disregarded the traditional Indian attire. In Goa too, imposition of the lusitanian way on the locals is well-known to us. The Goa Inquisition imposed strict dress code on the converts prohibiting them from wearing Indian clothing. As we are aware one of the reasons for the well-known Rane revolt in the 19th century was interference of

Portuguese in the socio cultural life of Sattari and imposition of certain dress code on the people. However as national consciousness developed in India the people shunned away the “mantles of subordination”⁸¹ and adopted national clothing as a part of their dress code.

If the colonialists imposed their clothing on the subjects they ruled, the nationalist responded to them by wearing the attire that symbolically expressed their nationalistic sentiments. Both Tilak as well as Gandhi had continuously emphasised that *Swaraj* for them meant both political as well as economic independence. Gandhi’s *swadeshi* ideology self-sufficiency at the village level that he wanted to achieve through various programmes included production of *desi* clothing *khadi* by spinning cotton on the *charkha*. As the national movement progressed both *charkha* as well as *khadi* became national symbols. The nationalists retaliated the imperialists by wearing *khadi kurta pajama*, *dhoti* or *sari* and a white cap popularly known as Gandhi cap. This dress became the “uniform” of the struggle. As mentioned earlier, *Goa Seva Sangh* in its programme of mass awareness emphasised on hand-spinning on *charkha* as their major activity and thus *Khadi* had become a symbol of national struggle.

While bringing out the importance of the national attire Cohn points out:

“wearing the Gandhi cap thus was a metonym for disorder. To the Indian this cap was indeed a symbol... it had as well an ideological referent as a critique of the British rule in India and embodied to its wearer a protest against the insults and deprivation of 150 years of colonial rule.”⁸²

The nationalists in Goa too adopted the national “uniform” and rejected the western shirt pant and coat and tie that they considered to be symbols of bondage. Men who plunged in the struggle consciously wore *Kurta Pajama* made of *Khadi* in white colour or of any lighter shade such as light brown or cream colour. They also wore Nehru shirt and *lehenga* or *shervani*. *Gandhi topi* formed major part of their

clothing. Frank Andrade who was an active participant in the *Dashdainik satyagraha* wore *Gandhi topi* in the court when he was brought in front of the judge. He was asked to remove his *topi* but he very boldly refused to do so and replied that he was an Indian and therefore *Gandhi topi* formed a part of his attire. Madhav Bir, while commenting on this issue said that “these traditional Indian attire had become quite popular due to the *Swadeshi* Movement launched by Gandhiji”.⁸³ The Goan nationalist also emphasised their political dissent by wearing *Gandhi topi*. Ram Hegde and his colleagues, studying at the Lyceum institution, with his colleagues had worn *Gandhi caps* as a protest against the discriminatory measures adopted by the college authorities that act had provoked the colonial authorities and it had inflicted severe punishments to the students.

As the struggle progressed the authorities who became paranoid regarding the struggle did not allow Goans to wear *kurta pajama*. They arrested manhandled those who wore it.

Further stating the importance of *khadi*, Madhav Bir said

“We were tremendously influenced by these ideas and had adopted them in our lifestyle. This was one of the ways of associating oneself with the national movement that was going across the borders and expressing that we craved for the same national goal. Simultaneously it was the minimum way to express our protest to the existing pattern of lifestyle that the colonialists were imposing on us. Therefore wearing *Khadi* was striking as it showed that we believed in the Gandhian ideology of non-violence and were against the existing regime.”⁸⁴

Berta Menezes Bragança, the staunch nationalist women activists along with her sister Beatries Menezes Bragança who was also involved in the nationalist movement, had taken a revolutionary step by discarding the western dress that was a symbol of forced lusitanisation imposed on the Goan Catholic community and had

adopted the Indian way of *sari*. While explaining to me what inspired her to cast away the western clothing that was a part of the Catholic culture among the elite in Goa, she said, “we discarded the dress inspired by our nationalist ideas. At that time the Indian national movement, the boycott of British goods and the use of *swadeshi* had deep impact on our minds.”⁸⁵ According to her this was the best way to convey to the political masters the desired political message, that the Goans were culturally Indians and, like the rest of Indians, wanted to be free from foreign domination.

This action to wear a sari had sent a shock wave in the Catholic community particularly the elite who always preferred to be with the colonial masters and followed the lusitanised way of life. While commenting on their response that the Bragança sisters received, she said

“there were some people who just stared at us with contempt. At other times they would just whisper to each other and make eyes and comment. But we were not much ruffled with all that and as time went on we became a common show, a common sight and it was not long before others followed us in wearing *saris*.”⁸⁶

The negative response to these sisters from the above-mentioned circle was but natural as this class was very much lusitanised as pointed out by Cunha, was denationalised. However certain converts like Christian *Kharvis* and others in spite of the colonial pressure had continued with some aspects of Indian attire like *saris* with minimal changes. Gandhi had sent sari to Lalita Kantak a young activists of 18th June civil disobedience struggle, as a token of appreciation for her brave act of refusing to let go of the Indian tricolour in spite of the brutal attack of the Portuguese commandant on the peaceful march that she was leading as a protest against the denial of civil liberties.

Hoisting the National Flag

Hoisting the Indian tricolour was the most noted activity of the non-violent activists. . On 18th June at Margao several Indian flags fluttered and greeted Lohia as he proceeded to challenge the colonial system. The display of flags at the police station of Margão and Panaji when Lohia was arrested was an astonishing sight to watch as told to me by the eyewitness and participants of the movement. The Indian National flag featured prominently in the processions that were organised later as a part of the movement.

As the struggle progressed, the hoisting of Indian flag on public buildings, temples, Government offices became the order of the day. During the 1954 “*Freedom March*” and the subsequent mass *satyagraha* launched by GVSS, the *satyagrahis* entered Goa carrying Indian tricolour. The group led by veteran socialist leader Madhu Dandavate was successful in hoisting national flag on the Terekhol fort on the northern borders of Goa. This action had provoked Portuguese army to open fire on the non-violent *satyagrahis* that led to the death of the ardent nationalist, Hirve Guruji.

Inspired by the nationalist ideology, Hemant Soman of *Janasangh* who was teaching in a school in Goa and at the same time clandestinely working in Goa towards the achievement of liberation, had attempted to hoist the national flag on the Adilshah palace that later became the secretariat building, that is, in the heart of Panaji city. This daring action had created strong repercussions in the rest of India and inspired many non-violent agitators to join the mass *satyagraha* campaign in 1955.

Nana Saheb Gore, while denoting the sources of inspiration that prompted *satyagrahis* to take up such daring acts explained

“Holding of Indian Tricolour sent an electric current in our bodies we were ready to do anything for our country. This was the source of inspiration, courage, to face anything and everything and the

saytyagraha of 1955 proved that. The *satyagrahis* faced bullets with smiling faces. In spite of provocation from the other side we remained non-violent and accepted death, the whole world was astonished with this daring act. How was it possible? It was because of the heightened nationalist sentiments our desire to free our countrymen who were still toiling under subjugation.”⁸⁷

Protest Meetings and Marches

This type of activity played an important role in the struggle launched by Goans. The protest meetings, mass as well as in groups, were organised by nationalists throughout the struggle. One must note that it was Lohia who set the ball of struggle rolling the by initiating mass meetings that disobeyed the stringent laws of the Portuguese State.

However, later due to the fascist policy that was adopted by the colonial state, it became very difficult for the nationalists to organise even group meetings openly. As mentioned earlier, the meeting that was organised to form NC (G) was not held in Goa but was held at Londa. NC (G) began to carry out its activities clandestinely in order to avoid the repression. NC (G) organised secret meetings in the houses of its members. Sometimes premises of the schools were used. NC (G) even organised such meeting at various *zattras* so that their activities would go unnoticed. As the centre of activities was shifted to Bombay the nationalists organised open meetings. Goan Political Convention was organised by the NC (G) in 1950 and in 1959. In 1956, a Goan rally was organised by various political groups that was chaired by Nehru.

The march as a form of non-violent protest and persuasion is practised when a group of ordered people organises a walk to a particular destination and defy the unjust laws. During Indian national struggle, Gandhi organised his famous salt march to the shore of Dandi in 1930 that initiated the Civil Disobedience Movement.

As has been discussed earlier, the non-violent *satyagraha* march was organised by the NC (G) on 15th August, 1954. This “*Freedom March*”, was organised with the sole of liberating Goa. The *satyagrahis* declared, “This movement is to liberate Goa. We aim to integrate Goa with India as it is a part of India.” This march was followed by the *satyagraha* of 1955 launched by the Indians to wipe out the artificial colonial boundaries between the rest of India and Goa. The *satyagrahis*, in spite of brute attack from the Portuguese remained non-violent and faced the ruthless opponents courageously.

Raising Slogans

The nationalists vocalised their protests by raising slogans against the dictatorial regime. When Lohia arrived at the venue where he launched his protest, the crowd that had gathered there cheered him by raising the slogans of “*Jai Hind*”, “*Bharat Mata ki Jai*,” “*Lohia ki Jai*” and “*Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*”. Raising of these slogans by the crowd, which numbered more than five thousand, had suddenly surcharged the atmosphere at this place, subsequently known as *Lohia Maidan*, on 18th June 1946. Purushottam Kakodkar, a strong believer in the ideology of non-violence and an active nationalist had elaborated to me the bold action of a girl named Vatsala Kirtani who displayed staunch nationalistic feelings and raised the slogan of “*Jai Hind*.” She was arrested for raising the slogan and asked by the police commandant to justify her action. She had retorted that “*Jai Hind*” were the two magic words that gave her spirit to fight for her motherland’s freedom. In fact “*jai Hind*” had become so popular that the colonial rulers referred the *satyagraha* action as the “*Jai Hind* Movement.” Moreover, they called the people who participated in this action as “*Jai Hindists*”.

In 1954 when the NC (G) renewed its *sayagraha* campaign, Sudha Joshi offered individual *satyagraha* on 25th November 1954 as protest against the pompous official celebration of the event of the capture of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque from Adilshah of Bijapur for the second time in 1510. She had entered the square in front

of the police head-quarters which was called as Largo Afonso Albuquerque, renamed as *Azad Maidan* after liberation of Goa and had raised slogans such as “*Portuguese Goa chhod Do*” (“Portuguese quit Goa.”) “*Portuguese chale Jao*” (“Portuguese go away.”)

The nationalist who had participated in the “*Freedom March*” launched by the NC (G) on 15th August, 1954, raised slogans like “*National congress(Goa) ki Jai*” “*Bhartiya Lokshahi zindabad.*”(Long Live Indian democracy.”) The mass *satyagraha* of 1955 asserted “*Goa hai Hindustan ka, Nahim kisike Bap ka.*” (Goa belongs to India and to no one else.” One has to note that these slogans were mostly raised in the national language of India, that is, Hindi this again displayed the nationalistic feelings of the participants.

Slogans were also raised in local Konkani and Marathi languages. When mass *satyagraha* of 1955 was organised thousands of *satyagrahis* entered Goa raising slogans “*Shiren Kinwa Maren*” that is “Enter or Die” A very popular slogans amongst others that were raised was “*Chala Dakhanchya Kashmirla*”(Let us March to the Kashmir of Deccan)⁸⁸

Singing Songs

Communicating to the local people by singing symbolic songs representing national character is a very significant form of non-violent protest. We are all aware of the fact that Bankimchandra’s “*Vande Matram*” had inspired nationalistic fervour throughout India. One finds that in Goa’s struggle for freedom the nationalists made very exhaustive use of these popular national songs including lyrics of the local poets exhibiting their patriotic will.

As mentioned earlier Lohia had suggested an elaborate programme that the non-violent agitators could launch simultaneously with their disobedience of the laws. Among other suggestions that he made in this programme, he had stressed on formation of a group that would volunteer to go to villages to create awareness among

people in which a singer had to be included. According to him conveying the political messages through songs would be one of the best methods to communicate with local people. Unfortunately the nationalists could not implement the programme suggested by Lohia for reasons mentioned earlier.

However, the non-violent protestors made use of singing to express themselves during the *satyagraha* action. The non-violent *satyagrahas* commenced by singing “*Vande Mataram*”. The protestors would end their meetings with the National Anthem “*Jana Gana Mana*” They followed this rule for the meetings they convened in Bombay also. The *satyagrahis* sung their heart out when they organised mass protest marches in 1954 and in 1955.

“ *Garja Jaijaikar Kranticha Garja Jaijaikar, Vijayi Vishwa Tiranga Pyara zhenda uncha Rahe Hamara, Eaik Hi Amchi Lalkar, Portugueseano Shantpanane Chala Sagar Par, Gava Gavatlyan ek pukar Goye sodun chal Salazar, Ukhal Bedgi Begin Sayba Hakal Taru Tuzi Samindara, Vha Pudhe Chala Pudhe, Chala Pudhe, Rou Chala Panajivar Vijayi Zhende.*”⁸⁹

These were some of the songs sung by them.

Goa Vimochan Sahhayak Samiti while organising its meetings in Bombay, Poona, Sangali, and in other regions made *Powadas*, *Lavani* (folksongs) on Goa’s struggle a part of their awareness campaign famous shahir of Maharashtra Amar Sheik, wrote famous *powada* on Goa’s mass *satyagraha* action appealing Indians to join the struggle, it said “*Ye Wakt ki Pukar hai Goa Chalo, Ye Zindagi ka raz hai Goa Chalo...*” shahir Atmaram Patil’s *Swatantrychya Bhaji Bhakariti sapadti re Khade/Wechuni kadha Matta Mulasahit an chala Pudhe...* and Annabhau Sathe’s, “*Ghana-Ghor wajala Karna/Jagala Swabhimana/Aaikyane Mukh Kara Goa....*”⁹⁰

Explaining the importance of these songs Jayantrao Tilak commented, “These inspirational songs kept our spirits up through the march that *satyagrahis* launched

from various points that included Banda Sawantwadi, Aronda Castlerock and others."⁹¹ As the chief Minister of Bombay Morarji Desai had suspended all transport facilities the *satyagrahis* had to cover long distance on the foot. "These songs electrified us. Charged with energies the *satyagrahis* crossed the border regions of Goa and suffered the violent armed attacks. Singing of these inspirational songs invited violent reactions from the police who brutally manhandled singers. However they continued to sing till they lost their consciousness."⁹² Lyrics of B. B. Borkar the famous poet of Goa like *Trivar Mangalvar Ajala Trivar Mangalvar Swatantryachi Simhagarjana Ata Ithe Uthana*⁹³ were written on a piece of paper and passed on to the non-violent *satyagrahis*.

Smt. Jyoti Deshpande daughter of Raghuvir Kamat from Madkai, an active worker of the *Azad Gomantak Dal* and the widow of Dattatreya Deshpande, founder member of *AGD* who has witnessed the activities of the nationalist conveyed that

"These songs of national character were sung in the protest meetings that were organised in Bombay and I have seen how they charged the whole situation, aroused deep sentiments of patriotism among the workers. These songs definitely gave us all that strength to face the untoward misery that the Salazar's regime had inflicted on us."⁹⁴

Organising *Prarthana Sabhas* (prayer Meetings)

One of the significant activities of *satyagraha* was organisation of *prarthna Sabha* that Gandhi had organised in his *ashrams*. In Goa too, the *Goa Seva Sangh* undertook the organisation of such prayer meetings, These meetings were organised on the 26th of every month at dawn and included and flag salutation, prayers, discussion on relevant current issues, accompanied by *suktatai* (spinning of *khadi*), and the *prabhat ferries* (dawn marches). Purushotam Kakodkar had spent considerable amount of time in Gandhi's Ashram at Wardha and was well aware of the significance of such activity. When he came back to Goa he decided to start such

meetings in Goa too. "I wanted to spread the Gandhian ideology of nationalism here. This was the only way I thought to awaken the people to rise up against the dictatorship. I also felt that this would also serve as the nucleus of an organisation later."⁹⁵

Since political conditions in Goa did not permit open protests, these prayer meetings served as camouflaged meetings of protests. They were the meetings organised by *Goa Seva Sangh* not only formed as an important part of social activity but also proved to be politically significant. Evagrio George who offered *satyagraha* as a participant of the third *Dashdainik satyagraha* has attributed the entire credit of the initial success of Lohia's Direct Action to Purushotam Kakodkar's "field work" that he conducted through *Goa Seva Sangh* prior to 18th June.

Signature Campaign

Signature campaign is a very important form of non-violent protest action in support of a cause or in opposition to a particular act. These signed public statements may be of that organisation that have stood for the cause and from those people in general who have extended support to a particular cause. NC (G) with its other activities had made use of this form of campaign to voice their demand. Under the presidentship of P.P. Shirodkar, NC (G) had planned to take signatures of Goans to resolve their demand of total independence of Goa and its reintegration with the Indian Union.

In order to propagate the broad perspective of the struggle in the local population they had printed the map of India focussing on the geographical location of Goa within the Indian Union. This map carried an extensive declaration that affirmed,

"Indian citizenship is our birth right. We affirm that we are and have always been part of the Indian people and declare our resolve to become Indian citizens. While Goa shall be an integral part of

the Republican Hindustan, the people of Goa shall on the basis of self-determination determine their status.”⁹⁶

The members were entrusted with this task of circulating this map to the people and collect their signatures. These maps were later to be sent to newly formed Government of India to brief it regarding the aspirations of the people of Goa, that they were eager to weed out the colonial regime and looked forward to join the Indian Union. It was very unfortunate that the untimely arrests of the activists sabotaged the whole plan.

Writing Letters

Writing letters to the authorities was another means adopted by the NC (G) to communicate their political agenda to the colonial authorities as well as to the people in general.

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, as soon as NC (G) was formed Laxmikant Bhembre an activist of the organisation, addressed a letter to the Governor-General of Goa, in which the main agenda of the organisation was declared. The desire of NC (G) to continue the direct non-violent action launched by Lohia was expressed in the said letter. It asked the colonial regime to reconsider all the civil laws that had encroached on the social and political lives of Goans. The letter also expressed that the nationalists would treat these laws as non-existent and would carry out their campaign of holding meetings and giving public speeches.

As we analyse this letter one can notice that the NC (G) had enumerated its course of action to arouse self-activity to project their desire against the regime, yet it also simultaneously had kept itself open for mutual negotiation and discussion with the Portuguese Government. Bhembre had expressed this factor very clearly in his letter, their willingness to cooperate with the Government if the authorities were inclined towards an amicable solution of restoring the fundamental rights to the

Goans. Since this proposal did not receive any sort of positive response from the Government the NC (G) decided to go ahead with its proposed plan of action.

Accordingly Laxmikant Bhembre staged his protest on 18th September 1946 at Margão by organising a public meeting and indulged in public speech without seeking prior permission from the authorities. This action resulted in his arrest on charges of perpetuating vindictive and subversive activities against the sovereign state of Portuguese India. (“*actividades subversivas contra a soberania Portuguesa.*”) Later when NC (G) shifted its activities to Bombay, it carried out a vociferous campaign through means of letter writing for the cause of freedom of Goa.

As the idea of individual as well as mass *satyagraha* began to gain momentum the NC (G) under the guidance of N. B. Parulekar who had set up *satyagraha* Committee in Bombay in order to brief Salazar on the method of non-violent technique posted several letter with attachments that carried exhaustive information on the Gandhian ideology and The technique of *satyagraha*. In the essays entitled “*What is Satyagraha*”, “*Who is a True satyagrahi*,” and other portrayed the ideology of “soul force” and since Goans were planning to use the “infallible weapon of peace” urged Salazar not to inflict on Goans the “brute force” and had expressed confidence that Portugal will soon have to surrender to the will of Goans by surrendering their colonial supremacy on Goa. S. S. Gadre a staunch disciple of mahatma Gandhi popularly known as Gadre Guruji in his letter that he wrote to Salazar and had appealed him to donate the territory of Goa to “Revered Vinoba to carry on an experiment of a *Grama-Rajya*.”⁹⁷ Briefing the Government of Portugal regarding Bhoodan Yadnya (land donation) launched by Vinoba Bhave in the rest of India had sent him a copy of various lectures delivered by Vinoba on the subject. A detailed analysis of NC (G)’s campaign through writing letters is elaborated in the next chapter.

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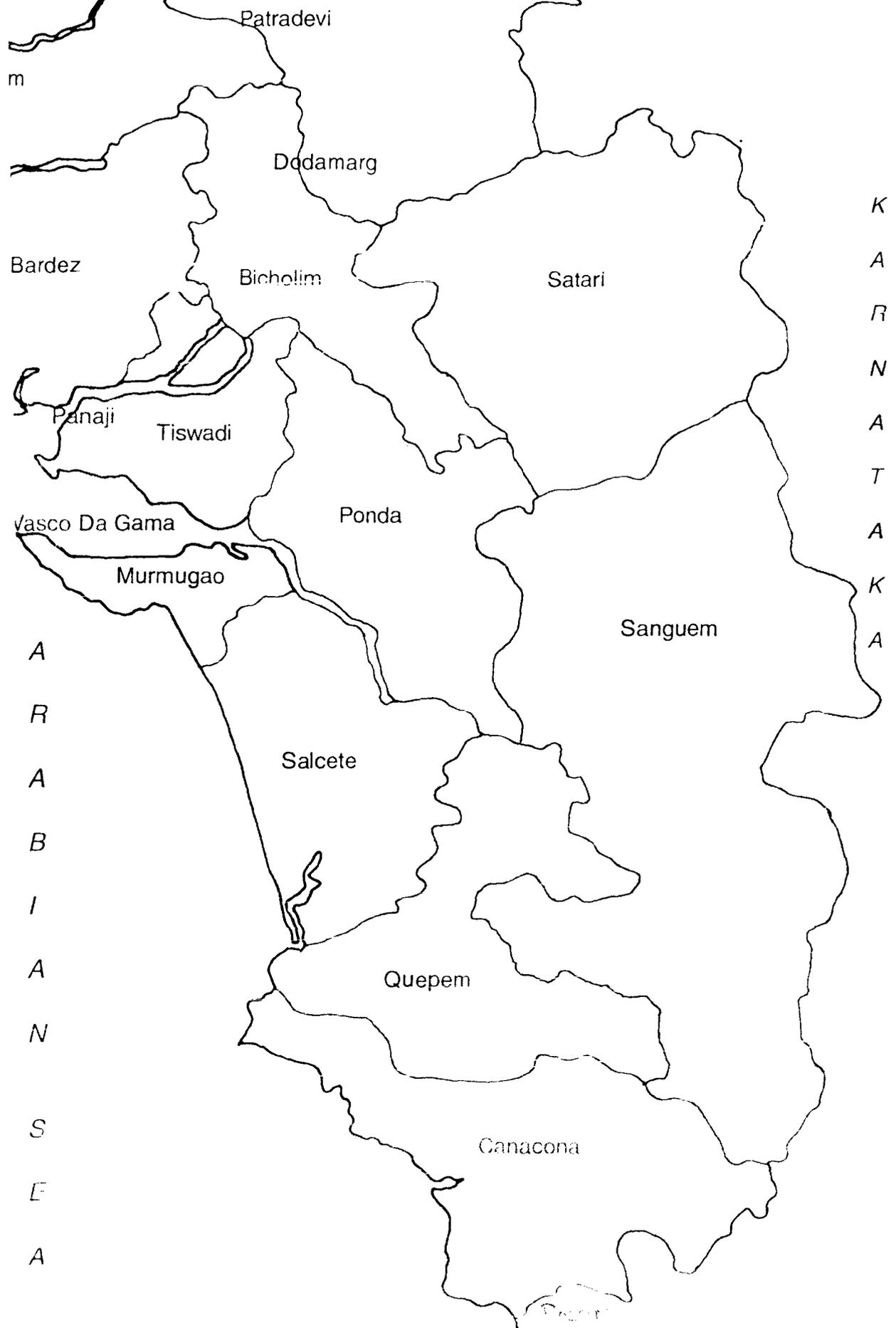
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MHARASHTRA



The prints of each of the Palyagram in 1954

"Freedom March"



Terekhol Fort Captured



GVSS Office located in Kesari building Tilakwada Pune



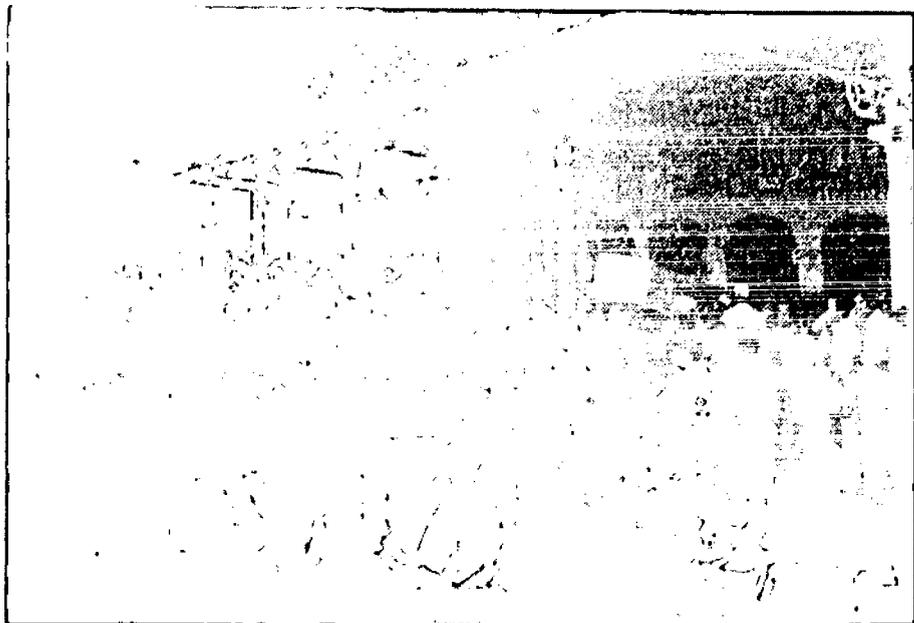
Mass Meeting organised before the launch of *satyagraha* of 1955 at Tilakwada



The Members of GVSS



People gathered to see off *satyagrahis* of Pune railway station



Peter Alvares addressing meeting of *satyagrahis* at Majali



Applying *Tilak* to a *satyagrahi*



The mass *satyagraha* of 1955



CHAPTER VI

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA): NEGOTIATIONS AND NETWORKING

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“India cannot tolerate any footholds of foreign power in its country. We are anxious to give the people in these areas an opportunity to live their own lives and the right to change their future. We do not wish to interfere with their way of life. There are only two ways of bringing this about, through war or through diplomatic means. In pursuance of our ideals, we have ruled out war as a means of redress unless we are forced into one. The only alternative we are left with is the diplomatic method and we are pursuing it.”¹

--- Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

As discussed in the earlier chapter, the National Congress (Goa) employed direct action, that is, the use of *satyagraha* in 1946 as well as in 1954-55 to emancipate Goa from its colonial status. In addition to these direct actions that they pursued, they used other non-violent means, such as diplomatic parleys, to contest the fascist dictatorial rule. Simultaneously, they consistently and continuously urged the Government of India to intervene in this regard. Moreover, building up an alliance with different political parties from Goa as well as from the rest of India, to provide an effective challenge to the colonial rule, formed a very important element of their non-violent strategy. Besides operating with the above-mentioned internal forces, the NC (G) strived to utilise like-minded forces in Asia and Africa who were determined to get rid of the colonial rule.

Since the activities of the NC (G) were directly influenced by the Government of India's foreign policy with Portugal, it is very crucial to analyse the role of the Indian Government vis-à-vis Goa's struggle for freedom. The

following paragraphs will elaborate the endeavour of the NC (G) in this regard and, at the same time, will trace the efforts made by the Government of India to resolve the problem of the liberation and integration of the Portuguese occupied territories in India.

However, before we venture into the details of the Government of India's efforts to resolve the Goa issue, it is vital for us to take notice of the views of veteran Indian leaders such as Gandhi and Nehru, and others, on this matter. Let us very briefly analyse the thoughts of these leaders regarding the Goa issue. When we analyse the various statements that these leaders made after the commencement of the 18th June struggle, it appears that the Indian leaders did not expect Goans to take up the issue of its independence from Portuguese rule on its own. In this context, Lohia had stated that Goans should first struggle to achieve civil liberties and that the question of its independence could be tackled later.²

It seems that Gandhi and Nehru were also of the opinion that the Goans should initially struggle only to attain civil liberties and that the larger question of freedom should be tackled later by Independent India. According to them, once India achieved its freedom from the British, the government of liberated India would take up the responsibility of ending colonial rule in the French and Portuguese occupied territories. With this view in mind, Gandhi had clearly advised Goans in these words: "Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence until much greater India has regained it."³ Berta Menezes Bragança, an active participant in the 18th June 1946 civil disobedience movement, noted that it was Gandhi who had advised Goans not focus on the attainment of freedom from the colonial rule in the initial phase of the 18th June struggle.⁴ According to him, they had to concentrate on restoring civil liberties first and the issue of freedom of Goa "was the question to be solved by free India."⁵ Therefore, Gandhi while extending his support to Lohia's action of *satyagraha*, had also advised Lohia to refrain from entering Goa again. As Gandhi had pointed out to Lohia, once India was liberated, it would definitely take up the issue of freedom of the

Portuguese territories on its soil.⁶ Therefore, at this juncture, Goans could devote their energies to the restoration of fundamental liberties only and the demand for *swaraj* would be the next step that it could take with the help of the Indian Government.⁷

It may be noted that this approach of the Indian leaders towards Portuguese occupied territories in India was very much in tune with their policy, which they had adopted during their struggle against the British. We have already seen in the earlier chapter that the Indian National Congress had resolved in 1934 to restrict its struggle only to those territories that were controlled by the British. Therefore, after 1934, they did not give any encouragement to such a struggle either in the princely states or in any other colonial possession.

It was widely felt that once British India was freed from colonial rule, the other Indian territories would automatically and inevitably revert to India. Therefore the Indian National Congress did not extend its support to or organise any powerful movements in these territories. It has been pointed out in the previous chapter, that the Goa Congress Committee led by T. B. Cunha, acting as a branch of Indian National Congress, had successfully worked to challenge the ills of the colonial regime with the support of Indian National Congress. Unfortunately, due to the Congress policy of limiting the struggle to British India only, it had received a serious setback.

Though the Indian National Congress had decided to restrict its struggle to British India, as a policy matter, it does not mean that their idea of freedom was confined to British territories alone. On the contrary, the notion of freeing the entire subcontinent reigned supreme in the minds of the Indian leaders. This was evident from Nehru's statements made on 15th August 1947. In his speech, Nehru made reference to those Indian subjects who were still under colonial subjugation and could not share the happiness of liberated Indians. He had declared that these Indian were very much a part of, and would soon join, the Indian Union.⁸ Later,

while addressing the Goan rally at Bombay in 1956,⁹ he made it very clear that although the Indian struggle for freedom was confined to British territories alone, the leaders recognised the right of the Indian people to free themselves from colonial hold irrespective of whether they were under Portugal or France and their “idea of freedom included the whole of India.”¹⁰

Therefore, while extending his support to the 18th June Action he had stated clearly “For us, Goa is as much a part of India as any other part, and the freedom of India inevitably includes the freedom of the people of Goa... freedom there becomes part of our own struggle.”¹¹ The Indian National Congress, which met at Wardha in August 1946, also adopted a resolution regarding the Goa issue and extended its support to the struggle launched by the Goans.

Thus, from the above discussion, it is clearly evident that Indian leaders considered that it was the responsibility of the sovereign Indian Government to take up the issue of freedom of territories under Portuguese control. They felt that it was morally binding on them to solve the issue of foreign enclaves on the Indian soil.

Indian leaders had rightly gauged that the existence of princely states and foreign possessions on Indian soil was due to the goodwill and friendship of the British power and therefore once the British rule was put to an end, the liquidation of these powers would be a natural phenomenon. Speaking at a Goan rally in 1956, at Bombay, Nehru had confessed that they (Indian leaders) specially he himself was very much confident regarding the automatic and inevitable reversion of French and Portuguese enclaves after the end of British rule and had admitted that at that point of time it did not even strike him that “any controversy”¹² would emerge regarding the French or the Portuguese enclaves.

If one had gauged the political trend in India at that time, the reinstatement of these territories, which belonged to India, appeared to be the most congenial approach that foreign powers such as France and Portugal could have adopted and

this would have been much appreciated by Indians who were striving to achieve national unity. Soon after India's independence, France acted according to the expectations of the Indians.¹³ However, Portugal's impudent attitude towards her Indian colonies dwindled the hopes of Indians to a find peaceful settlement regarding the existence of foreign rule over the enclaves.

Like the Indian leaders, Goan leaders, too, expected that once India was liberated from British colonial rule it would take up the issue of Goa. They argued that Goa was a part of India and Goans were as much Indians as other citizens of India.¹⁴ Moreover, the existence of the Portuguese state on the Indian subcontinent was a threat to India's relentless efforts to end colonialism. Goans insisted that it was ethically obligatory on the part of the Indian Government to free them from the hold of Portugal and expected that India should immediately take up the issue of liberation of Goa.¹⁵ At this stage it is relevant to point out why India could not take up the issue of foreign enclaves immediately after it was liberated. As soon as India was freed, the nascent nation had to face a series of complex problems. Partition of India and communal problems that erupted on the eve of India's independence exhausted the energies of the new Government. Moreover, the problem of integration of Princely States and that of Kashmir kept India occupied for quite some time. Besides these issues, the Government was faced with economic and constitutional challenges that forced them to pay less attention to these foreign pockets. Therefore, one can say that the question of French and Portuguese enclaves did not find place on India's primary agenda.

After almost 3 years of patient waiting that Indian would take up the case of Goa, in 1950, NC (G) sent a memorandum to the members of Parliament to remind them of their responsibility and questioned whether it was to "India's prestige to tolerate colonialism on her soil three years after achieving freedom from the British?"¹⁶ Their frustrations concerning the policy of the Indian Government regarding Goa was exhibited through the questions that they raised in their memorandum, such as "We ask, are we not Indians? Are we not part and

parcel of India? Did every little *taluka* in India fight separately for its freedom? Did not Mahatma Gandhi tell us in 1946 that we have nothing to fear, that we had strength of the whole of India behind us? Where is that strength now? Has it disappeared with Mahatma and is India really a free country without us?"¹⁷ Goans had thought that as soon as India was freed from the British rule it would take up their cause. However, these expectations of Goans could not be fulfilled and therefore there was disappointment in the nationalist camp.¹⁸

Nationalist activists from Goa demanded immediate action from the Indian Government in this matter. Yet, it appears that they admitted the fact that the main responsibility to work towards the liberation of Goa along with the efforts of the Indian Government lay with the people of Goa. They did not want to shy away from their moral responsibility of freeing their motherland.¹⁹ However they were aware that the situation that existed in Goa was not in favour of any independent action by Goans without the strong support of the Indian nation. NC (G) explained their position and urged the Government of India to intervene immediately in the Goa case.²⁰

NC (G) made it a point to place before the Indian National Congress the difficult situation the Goans had to face regarding the struggle. When it met at Nasik, for its annual session, NC (G) appealed to them that Goan activists had to fight colonialism on two planes, one against those elements that were politically unconscious and lacked the knowledge of democracy and were unaware of its benefits completely. They had to challenge this political depression that was certainly the result of the Portuguese rule and simultaneously they had to combat a powerful and authoritative dictatorship that did not allow even an insignificant protest and undertook measures to quell the urge of freedom and liberty among its subjects.²¹

Therefore it was just impossible for them to fight the colonial administration single-handed without the rest of India's support. Completely

refuting the argument that the problem of the independence of Goa was “entirely a problem of the Goans to solve”,²² they reminded the Indian National Congress of its past backing and demanded their active support to cause of liberation of Goa. They demanded that the problem of Goa should be considered equally strategic and significant as the issue of Kashmir that was receiving prime importance from the Indian Government.

Revealing to the delegates the strategic importance of Goa, in particular of its harbour at Mormugao, they warned that any further delay on the on the part of the Indian Government to solve it would only result in “one more opportunity for the enemy to consolidate its position”²³ and this would be a bitter disappointment to all Goans. Moreover, they brought to the notice of the delegates that if the issue prolonged beyond limits then there was also fear of Goa falling prey to American imperialistic designs.²⁴ Therefore, they asked the delegates to convince the Government of India to take immediate steps regarding the issue.

Salient Features of India’s Foreign Policy

Here it is worthwhile to take note of India’s foreign policy under the stewardship of Nehru. Nehru’s eminent leadership in India’s struggle for freedom and his experience of functioning as the Minister of External Affairs in the Interim Government, that was formed in 1946 just before India’s liberation, made him aware of the basic issues that would predominate India’s foreign policy in future. Moreover, Nehru was very deeply influenced by the Indian cultural traditions and therefore it was but natural that Indian foreign policy evolved by Nehru exhibited the traditional Indian thought process. Moreover, protection of national interest was the main concern of the newly formed Indian nation. Thus these were the factors that shaped the Indian foreign policy of *Panchseela*, the belief in the five principles of peaceful co-existence, which included respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, no aggression, non-interference

in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefits and peaceful co-existence.

Nehru's main stake was peace, to see that social equality was established throughout the world. Peace could be established only when the people who were still subjugated were freed as peace and freedom were inseparable from each other. Therefore, he strongly stood against colonial exploitation that endangered human liberty and led to human suffering. Nehru was clear regarding the basic tenets much before he assumed the leadership of independent India. In fact when he headed the provisional Interim Government itself, on 7th September 1946, Nehru stated the main objectives on which the Independent India's foreign policy would rest. He said, "we believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflicts and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and people and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunity for all races."²⁵

Besides peace and freedom, Nehru strongly believed in non-alignment and was in favour of adoption of peaceful methods for resolving international disputes. Speaking at Columbia University on 17th October 1949, Nehru had defined the main objectives of the international policy as

"The pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or a group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue, the liberation of subject peoples, the maintenance of freedom, both national and individual; the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which affect the great part of the world's population."²⁶

Nehru had further declared, "Opposed as we are to colonialism everywhere, it is impossible for us to tolerate the continuance of colonial rule in a small part of India."²⁷

Resurgent India regarded continuation of western imperialism on Asian and African territory as an anachronism. Therefore, as soon as India became independent it launched tirade against colonial exploiters. It used the United Nations platform and thus took the role of a champion of freedom and peace. It opposed Portugal's admission to the UNO. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit put forward strong arguments against its entry, as Portugal was an authoritarian state and still a colonial power. This was a violation of basic principles of the UN Charter.

Against this background it was but natural for India to take up the issue of the French and Portuguese enclaves that were symbols of decadent colonialism. It has to be noted here that at this juncture India was not in a favour of taking recourse to any coercive activity. As a strong believer in the policy of peaceful negotiations Nehru aimed at solving this problem in a friendly spirit. As mentioned earlier, the Indian Government approached France first and Portugal a little later.

Soon after India's independence, the Governments of India and France started negotiations for a satisfactory solution of the problem of French settlements on the Indian mainland. On the eve of the British departure, the IVth Republic of France had declared that the people of French India themselves would decide whether they wished to join the Indian Union or remain with France.²⁸ They left the decision to the people of India and this was evidence of recognition of the right of re-union of its Indian enclaves with the Republic of India as a natural and legitimate issue. The stand of France regarding their territories in India was definitely democratic that confirmed the historical and liberal traditions of the French. This positive approach made possible for both the countries to open negotiations with each other. The discussions between them headed towards fruitful conclusion and on 8th June 1948 both India and France declared jointly that the people of French pockets could decide their future status through a referendum.²⁹

Overwhelmed by the French response, the Government of India decided to approach the Portuguese Government to arrive at a peaceful settlement. While addressing a political conference at Sitapur in Uttar Pradesh, on 21st August 1955, Nehru declared,

“We are convinced that a peaceful approach to the Goa question is the right one, not only from the point of view of Goa and India but also because of the larger issues and the foreign policy that are never pushed with so much success.”³⁰

It appears that Nehru at this stage did not take into consideration the form of Government that existed in Portugal. He was unable to take into account the psychology of a dictator who would not easily accept democratic principles. Sardar Patel, the then Defence Minister of India, who believed in a realistic approach towards the integration of Indian territories under control of European colonial powers, and had successfully integrated Princely states like Junagarh and Hyderabad, had advocated the use of force to integrate Goa with the rest of India. He was fully convinced that a dictator like Salazar would not pay any heed to such idealistic moves of Nehru. One finds that Patel’s judgement regarding Salazar was confirmed, as events were to show later. Nehru himself admitted his mistake of not taking into account the nature of the Government in Portugal.³¹

Salazar and Goa

Soon after India’s independence, José Albano D’Souza a prominent Goan from Bombay who later became Mayor of Bombay, met Prime Minister Nehru to offer congratulations on behalf of the Governor-General of Goa on the attainment of freedom by the Indian Union and at this time the issue of Goa did crop up in their talks. Later, he took appointment with the Indian Prime Minister to discuss the Goa issue. Since Nehru was a strong believer in peaceful negotiations he had expected the Governor-General of Goa, or some responsible representative of his, to meet him to discuss the whole situation “in a, so to say, heart to heart talk.”³²

Therefore, José Albano wrote to the Consul General of Portugal in Bombay and gave a detailed account of what had transpired between them and made valuable suggestion to the Consul General of Portugal in Bombay that José Bossa, the Governor General of Goa who was out of India at that time, on his return to India “should make arrangements for the interview with Pandit Nehru and get the whole Question settled as amicably as possible.”³³

However, as we are aware, the Government of Portugal did not take into account this suggestion and exhibited an obstinate attitude. Soon after India’s independence, Salazar delivered an important speech in the Portuguese National Assembly on 25th November 1947, in which he analysed the internal and international politics including Portuguese territories in India. In his speech, Salazar stated, “if geographically Goa is India, it is Europe socially, religiously and culturally.”³⁴ Salazar persistently and fiercely propagated this myth. He argued that they no longer had any colonies in Asia and Africa but what they had were overseas provinces of metropolitan Portugal. Goa was an integral part of the unilateral Portugal spread over Europe, Asia and Africa, with its centre in Lisbon. Goans, like other Portuguese citizens in the metropolis, had same citizenship rights. For Portugal, Goa was not just an extension of Portuguese language, culture and religion but it was a link between Europe and the East.

On 10th August 1948, Salazar delivered a radio speech in which he expressed, “In the seas and lands of the East, Portuguese India represents a well defined type of culture and civilisation a characteristic of western expression.”³⁵ According to him, it was the “meeting point and connecting link between the East and the West.”³⁶ Salazar wanted to preserve “the Rome of the Orient” that had transformed itself into such a position due to the efforts of Portuguese rulers who had not only promoted the Christianisation of Goans but had also lusitanised them.³⁷

When the Indian Government approached Portugal with a wish to establish diplomatic relations between India and Portugal, the Portuguese Government had categorically declared, "The real interest of our diplomatic relations with that country rests on the existence of our *Estado da India* and not its liquidation."³⁸ However, as far as the Indian government was concerned, the Goa issue formed a part of their basic international policy that was based primarily on the uncompromising rejection of colonialism in all forms and in all places.

Though Salazar made tall claims that Goa was an integral part of Portugal the fact remained that Goa was a colony of Portugal in the Indian soil, which was a violation of India's territorial integrity and her natural geographic unity. Goa's separate existence in spite of the emergence of India as an independent nation was definitely conforming to non-logical arrangement of the sixteenth century colonial ventures and therefore existence of Portugal's presence on Indian territory in the modern political context was an affront to the right of Indians to be freed from colonial shackles. Therefore, Nehru had stressed that the Goa issue could be discussed only after the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and Portugal. Thus, we find that right from the beginning the objectives of India and Portugal basically differed. On one hand, India wished that Goa would be integrated with the Indian territory through diplomatic moves whereas, on the other hand, Portugal did not give importance to India's claim that Goa was a part of India and made every possible effort to convince the world community that Goa was part and parcel of Portugal and hence the question of its merger with India did not arise at all.

Thus one finds that Portugal was harping on arguments that were based in the colonial policies of the 16th century and was not ready to accept the new ideas of liberty and nationalism that were sweeping the Asian and African continents.

Against this background, India took the lead and opened a Legation in Lisbon in early 1949 with the sole purpose of establishing contact for a negotiated settlement of Portuguese India. According to the critics of Nehru, the establishment of a Legation in Portugal meant failure of Nehru to assert India's sovereignty over Goa. By even agreeing to discuss the matter, they accused him of surrendering the unequivocal rights that India had already established over Goa.

However, Nehru felt that by opening a legation in Portugal, India had taken a step forward to open talks with Salazar in order to solve the Goa issue. But he failed to realise that the policy of peaceful negotiations that the Government of India had adopted depended chiefly on the response of Portugal. As rightly envisaged by his critics it would be impossible to pursue such a policy if Portugal refused to co-operate with India, as later events were to prove.

On 27th February 1950, the first *aide-memoir* regarding Goa was sent to the Portuguese Foreign Ministry in which the Government of India explained that the main objective of the nationalist movement, which had led to the emergence of India as a free nation, was the achievement of historical and cultural unity of India which had "throughout the centuries transcended political frontiers such as those demarcating the French and the Portuguese possessions in India."³⁹

It further stressed that the popular feeling in these territories was for union with the free Republic of India. Since this "movement for union was a part of the historical process which sought urgent satisfaction",⁴⁰ the Government of India was approaching its Portuguese counterpart through the *aide memoir* with a request for an immediate start of negotiations regarding the future of Portuguese colonies in India. The Government of India further declared that once the "principle of reunion was accepted the ways and means to achieve it could be devised by friendly consultation between the Governments of Portugal and of India."⁴¹

The Portuguese Government displayed their arrogance by not replying to the Indian note for nearly three and half months. They sent a note to the Legation of India in Lisbon on 15th June 1950 in which they totally disagreed with the Indian Government and rejected India's request to start talks on the Goa issue.

Portugal, while rejecting the Indian claim that there were popular sentiments in Portuguese India in favour of merger with India, stressed, "the people of Portuguese India enjoyed liberties and privileges much identical with those recognised in any other part of Portuguese territory".⁴² They further argued that Portuguese India enjoyed these privileges "from time immemorial". Therefore, "the dominant feeling is of and cannot cease to be more natural, of loyalty to the state of which they are proud of being citizens."⁴³ They further said that citizens of Portuguese India's expression of loyalty and patriotism towards Portugal was the result of four and half centuries of peaceful, juridical, political and cultural historic process which had integrated Portuguese India with the Portuguese nation. Therefore, the Indian claim that was invoked in the *aide memoir* was "void of bases"⁴⁴ and therefore according to them Goa was a question that "cannot be discussed and much less acceptable".⁴⁵

The Government of India was disappointed with this response but nevertheless it did not consider this note as a final disposition on this issue and continued its efforts to pursue the adamant Portuguese Government. The Government of Portugal was flooded with representations; however it did not pay any heed to these friendly notes. According to Portugal, Goa was already enjoying wide prerogatives with the Portuguese empire than the Indians could get from the British. While addressing the National Union, the only official political party, Salazar reviewed the happenings in India.

He admitted that the events in India provoked great perturbation in the minds of some citizens of Portuguese India. "Creating aspirations which are nothing but mirage",⁴⁶ according to him "Goa can only choose between being a

province within Portugal or a small district in India with a complete overthrow of existing conditions.”⁴⁷ Thus as mentioned earlier, the Portuguese Government totally rejected India’s request to start talks.

The position of India with regard to Goa was firm; Nehru was determined to solve the problem through peaceful negotiations with Portugal. Portugal, on the other hand, was placing hurdles in the path of such a solution. Salazar was not at all ready to recognise the Indian claim on Goa and continued to emphasise that Goa was a part of Portugal, which it would never relinquish. Salazar threw a challenge to the Indian Prime Minister. According to Salazar, there were three possible solutions to the Goa problem. One was by violent means and the remainder entailed the use of pacific methods. Salazar acknowledged Indian military superiority when he wrote “it cannot be doubted that she (India) has the means to take possessions against such resistance as the Portuguese forces there might be able to offer.”⁴⁸

The second alternative according to Salazar was to ignore the Goa issue, which was not at all possible as Goa was geographically linked with India. As far as Salazar was concerned, the “only genuine solution”⁴⁹ of the problem of India was to practise her professed doctrine of peaceful co-existence. He stated, “It is possible that after this attempt and our firmness in the matter, the Government of India may, for sometime abandon this question with the excuse of the principle of non-violence.”⁵⁰ This was because he was confident that India would not take the extreme step of sending its troops into Goa to liberate it. Salazar was right in thinking this for till the end India was not in favour of the use of force in Goa. On 28th March 1951, Nehru explained his Government’s policy towards Portuguese India that rejected war as a means to solve the Goa issue and reasserted the pursuance of Government of India’s policy of bilateral talks with Portugal in this case.⁵¹

As we have seen in the preceding paragraphs, India was attempting patiently and diligently to arrive at a peaceful solution to the liberation of Goa. These attempts were not showing any signs of producing satisfactory results. Portugal gave cold shoulder to the *aide memoir*, which was sent in 1950, by saying that Portuguese India was an integral part of Portugal and felt no need for mutual negotiations. This indifference on the part of the Portuguese Government and the constant pressures from the nationalist circles in India, prompted the Indian Government to send a reminder on 14th January 1953 which recommended that the only solution to this problem was the direct transfer of Portuguese possessions, which ensured the merger of Goa, Daman and Diu with the Indian Union at an early date.⁵²

The Indian Government, refuting Portugal's assertion that there was no popular sentiment in Portuguese India, pointed out the political conditions in which Goans lived. It mentioned the lack of civil liberties and suppression of Goans that had led to the building of public opinion for the merger of Goa with the rest of India. India reiterated that as a sovereign Republic it would not tolerate political barriers within its territory that were a mere accident of history and therefore it "earnestly hoped that Portuguese government will agree to the opening of negotiations for the direct transfer of these territories to India."⁵³ It further suggested that the principle of direct transfer should be accepted first and that this should be followed by a defacto transfer of the administration."⁵⁴

The response of the Portuguese government to this note was the same as before. It reiterated its unwillingness to discuss the Goa question. Portugal's blatant unwillingness to continue any further discussion on the Goa issue compelled the Indian Government to draw the curtain on the policy of bilateral talks and to close its legation in Lisbon since it had ceased to be of any practical utility.⁵⁵ Thus, the Indian Government for six years reasoned, argued and used peaceful methods all without any positive result and finally on 11th June 1953 it closed its Legation in Lisbon.⁵⁶

The news of the end of negotiations between India and Portugal did not in any way surprised the NC (G) as it was fully convinced right from the beginning that the policy of peaceful negotiation was nothing but a “waste of time.”⁵⁷ Since NC (G) was aware of the Portuguese attitude they had expected this development. Therefore the NC (G) welcomed the Government of India’s decision to abandon the policy of diplomatic manoeuvrings to secure Goa’s freedom. According to them it indicated “the conflict between Government of India and Portugal over the Goa case was inevitable.”⁵⁸

And as hopes of accomplishing some concrete results through diplomatic channels had been “blasted”, it called on the people of Goa to take up the initiative to challenge Portuguese imperialism through the medium of direct action.⁵⁹

NC (G)’s Response to “Myths and Reality”

As the Government of India was exchanging friendly notes with the Government of Portugal and refuting its claim that Goa was an extension of Europe on Indian Territory and that there were no popular sentiment favouring the merger of Goa with India, NC (G) ensured that its activities were directed to support India’s efforts to reach a peaceful solution.

On 25 August 1949, NC (G) wrote to Salazar and appealed to him to leave Goa as “good friends.”⁶⁰ It expressed hopes that the Government of Portugal would consider its demands and agree to set free all political prisoners, withdraw expeditionary forces stationed in Goa, grant civil liberties to the people and finally withdraw from Goa. Simultaneously, it carried vociferous campaigns against Portugal’s fictitious propaganda and false assertions regarding Goa.

Through various methods they countered the “myth” propagated by Salazar. Various pamphlets, booklets were published giving the correct picture to the world regarding the Goa issue. A series of articles were published in *Goan*

Affairs, the bulletin of NC (G). In one of the article, the President of NC (G), K.L. Sanjgiri, wrote that Goans were subjected to ruthless repression and had continuously appealed to the Indian Government, expressing their desire to integrate with India.⁶¹

In order to expose the false claims that Portugal was making at the international level, Sanjgiri wrote to the editor of *Financial Times*, London, that it was an irrefutable fact that Goa “historically, geographically, culturally and last but not the least, ethnographically belonged to India.”⁶² He further stated that Albuquerque’s conquest of Goa, in 1510, was a mere accident of history and, did not entitle Portuguese rulers to cling on to Goa. He further elaborated on the fact that the whole world was witnessing the end of colonialism in the Asian subcontinent and existence of European power in Goa was not in tune with the modern aspirations of the people. Pointing out the illegal occupation of Abyssinia and Czechoslovakia by Mussolini and Hitler, respectively, he argued that if Portugal was allowed to retain Goa then “it must be said that Mussolini too was entitled to rule Abyssinia and Hitler Czechoslovakia.”⁶³

In a letter addressed to Salazar on 15th August 1949, NC (G) demanded the withdrawal of colonial rule from their motherland. They asked Salazar to recognise the trend of events in India that favoured the rise of nationalism among the people of India. It further asserted that Portuguese as well as other territories under foreign rule had full right to achieve freedom and integration with the Indian nation. As mentioned earlier, Salazar had criticized the political events that were taking place in India, which proved to be a source of inspiration for Goans to rise against colonialism as “mirage”. NC (G) very strongly refuted this claim and asked Salazar to take cognisance of the present “century of the emancipation of people.”⁶⁴

As the Indian Government was trying its level best to establish friendly relations with Portugal, NC (G) was also attempting to put forward its case to the

world by exposing the factual conditions in Goa.⁶⁵ In their appeal to the UNO, the NC (G) explained how the colonial authorities were curbing the struggle by misusing power and position. They revealed to them how people of Goa were forced to sign statements in favour of the colonial regime.⁶⁶

These suppressive tactics of the rulers were aimed to present a false picture to the world and thereby prejudice the world opinion against India. Since Portugal was an aspirant to the membership of the UNO, the NC(G) appealed to the UNO to take cognisance of its activities in its colonies.⁶⁷

As Portugal continued to act in an indifferent manner and deliberately delayed to respond positively to the efforts of the Government of India, the NC (G) went ahead to demand an army intervention in Goa as in Hyderabad. In their memorandum entitled, "Appeal to Members," that they addressed to the members of the Indian Parliament, they felt that Portugal was taking undue advantage of India's peaceful efforts.⁶⁸

Therefore, although it had full faith in India's efforts to solve the issue through peaceful negotiations, in retaliation to Portuguese insolent behaviour, they demanded that the Indian Government should sever diplomatic relations as "the democratic policy of the Indian Government is not understood by the Portuguese Government and is even deliberately interpreted as weakness on the part of India".⁶⁹ Therefore, it urged the "Government of India to fix a date on which the problem of Goa was definitely solved. Blaming Salazar for Goa's imbroglio, the NC (G) suggested that the Government of India should take steps like economic sanctions against Portugal. As the economy of Goa was completely dependent on the rest of India, it asked the Government to stop all commercial relations with Goa such as investments of Indian capital in Goa and ban anti-Indian newspapers in the Indian territories, especially in Bombay, as retaliation against Portuguese ban on the circulation of Indian newspapers in Goa.⁷⁰

Pandit Nehru's desperate attempts to solve the Goa issue through friendly talks and Salazar's unyielding approach towards it had stirred Goans as well as other Indian citizens residing in India as well as in foreign lands. The state of affairs between India and Portugal had begun to draw their attention; they were genuinely concerned about the whole situation. And were in favour of an early solution of the issue. They were very much aware that what was preventing the integration of these territories in the Indian Union was Salazar's audacious behaviour. The arrogant approach of Portugal of denying that their possessions in India were an integral part of the Indian nation stood as a stumbling block to the liberation of these territories. Their genuine concern regarding the Goa issue and their expectations that the issue of Goa should be solved at the earliest found expression in the letters that they penned to the Portuguese Premier.

Applauding Nehru's efforts to solve the Goa issue by bilateral means, Polyar Lobo, a Goan Catholic advocate practising in the Supreme Court, wrote to Salazar expressing his mind on the issue. Stating that being a Goan Catholic he believed that he had a special claim to address Salazar and draw his attention to the "present trouble" that was going on in the Portuguese possessions in India. While praising Nehru for his sincere anti-colonial views that emphasised "freedom for all colonial people" in the world, Lobo appealed to Salazar's catholic spirit in these words. "Your Excellency is an ardent Catholic. I sincerely believe that negotiations for a peaceful settlement can be opened with a view to granting independence to the Portuguese possessions in India." Criticising Portugal's desperate attempts to hang on to a "small empire" in India that was "more of a burden than an advantage to her" he brought to Salazar's notice the views of the church on political liberty. Quoting an extract from a report that was drafted by a group of Catholic bishops that acknowledged "the right of peoples to self government" as a legitimate right who had extended their support to "every constructive effort to achieve the same", he urged Salazar that "some agreement, be in a peaceful manner reached by which Goa and the other possessions in India be granted their independence."⁷¹

R. N. Puri, an Indian national residing in the United States of America, addressed a letter to the Portuguese Premier, Salazar, on 17th April 1954, in which he expressed his appreciation for India's patient peaceful approach regarding Goa. And at the same time criticising the inflexible approach of Salazar he warned Salazar regarding the changed times. He urged Salazar to accept the fact that India was experiencing the new tide of national awakening and cautioned him that he had "no right to possess any part of India or stay in India without the consent"⁷² of the then Indian Government.

Moreover, he pointed out Goa's strategic and significant place in the context of India's defence and at the same time brought to the notice of the dictator the incapability of Portugal to defend their enclaves in the wake of an armed attack from those countries whose interest were inimical to those of India. He suggested to him that his actions to test India's patience were not advisable as it was not possible for a foreign power to stay in India forever as "sooner or later India will get back all her lands from the foreign nation. Therefore, he cautioned Salazar to "better get ready to talk with Nehru," to "respect the rights of the people of India and come forward to discuss to relinquish its tiny Indian settlement"⁷³.

A month before the launch of mass Satyagraha action that was undertaken by the nationalists from Goa as well as from the rest of India, Salazar was flooded with such letters. S.A. Sundaram Mudliar, working as Secretary-General of a company, M.T.S Marican, in Bangkok (Thailand), had addressed three letters to the Portuguese Government that went unanswered. Heavily criticizing the myths that were propagated by the Portuguese legation in Bangkok by distributing pamphlets to that effect, he had asked Salazar to discuss the Goa Problem in the National Assembly⁷⁴ and come to a satisfactory solution as soon as possible. Further, expressing in strong words that Portugal should not take advantage of the patient policy that India had been following towards the issue, he warned the Portuguese Government that "If Indians wanted to aggress and capture they

would have done so within 24 hours.”⁷⁵ However, since the Indian Government believed in peaceful persuasion, such situation had not arrived. Therefore he had urged Salazar not to try India’s patience and to give up his “adamant persistence” on the Goa issue or else “the consequences would prove bitter and eventually end in an unhappy way.” He demanded the immediate “transfer of power” of these territories to the Indian Government.⁷⁶

Efforts in Collaboration

Goan Political Conference

Many political parties were working towards the achievement of freedom with lack of coordination which resulted in dribbling away the energies of these parties. This was the main impediment in achieving the set goal of liberation of Goa. Countless efforts were made to bridge these divides among political organisations and to bring them under one umbrella that would enable them to pose a united front against their common enemy. Forging unity among various political parties was the main challenge before the nationalists who worked for the liberation of Goa.⁷⁷

The NC (G) took the first step towards this issue in 1947 and a Political Conference was organised in Bombay. Its main aim was to bring the various groups on a common platform to offer a united challenge. At this conference an earnest appeal was made that the political workers working towards freedom of Goa should keep their differing political opinions and their ideologies at bay and should strive to focus on the independence of Goa.⁷⁸

This aim was reiterated in the second Political Conference held in 1950. Indian socialist leader, Jayaprakash Narayan, while inaugurating the Goan political conference in Bombay advised Goans to unanimously resolve their differences and organise an effective struggle against the Portuguese rule. An attempt was made to chalk out a definite plan of action in which all Goans,

irrespective of political affiliation, would join hands and progress with “one voice” to demand the end of Portuguese colonialism. Later in 1951, K. L. Sanjgiri made an unsuccessful attempt to unite the divergent forces and had called for a joint meeting on 16th December 1951, “to have heart to heart talk and to exchange view points”⁷⁹ and thus to sink differences.

However, these efforts to forge unity among them proved to be futile as the confusion among the Goan political parties surfaced often and that created a very poor image of the struggle in the eyes of the people. This had a very negative impact on the struggle and the chances of reaching their goal became feeble.

The Goa Action Committee:

In 1953 when T. B. Cunha arrived in Bombay he tried to unite these political groups and tried to present a cohesive front. He formed the Goa Action Committee that included NC (G), The Goan People’s Party, the United Front of Goans and other organisations. It aimed at the synchronization of the activities of different bodies and groups through a solitary establishment with a common plan of action and propaganda.⁸⁰ The activities of the committee included propaganda through press, joint meetings, display of posters, demonstrations, pouring of nationalist literature in Goa establishing link between workers in Goa and the rest of India, mobilisation of Goans in Goa, as well as those residing in Bombay by establishing contact with *Kudds*, the Goan clubs in Bombay, to seek support from the Indian political parties.⁸¹ In order to intensify the struggle in Goa, the Committee planned to carry propaganda in the border areas to organise *satyagrahas* inside Goa and also lead marches from the neighbouring states to Goa.

It also established a Goa Information Bureau that helped to spread information regarding Goa to the Government of India and to the people from India and abroad. *Azad Goem*, a Konkani fortnightly with its English edition,

Free Goa,⁸² was launched as a part of the Committee's activity. Later when the NC (G) gave a call for nationwide *satyagraha* in 1954-55 the activities of the Goa Action Committee proved to be fruitful in harnessing the support of the Goans for this cause. However, as the *satyagraha* activity was discontinued after the mass *satyagraha* of 1955, owing to Government of India's decision to ban the entry of the *satyagrahis* in Goan territory, once again factions among these political parties surfaced.

The Goan Political Convention

Another attempt to bring together the different political organisations and to pool together the resources fighting against the colonial rule was made in 1959 and a Goan Political Convention was organised in October 1959 to discuss new means to bring about the early liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. NC (G), AGD, the Goan Liberation Council, and the Goan People's Party met on 24th May 1959 and on 3rd July 1959⁸³ to work out the basis on which this convention would be shaped. In order to offer an integrated struggle it was proposed that to all the above-mentioned parties should merge into NC (G). However, there was a very strong objection from all those parties except NC (G) regarding this proposal.⁸⁴ There was also another suggestion that asked to freeze all the activities of these organisations temporarily till the liberation of Goa and a new organisation consisting of all the old parties could be formed.⁸⁵

Although some of the organisations were inclined towards this suggestion the attempt to form the new organisation remained on paper and a decision to organise a political convention of Goans as well as rest of Indians, irrespective of their political and their non-political affiliations, was taken.⁸⁶ The convening Committee of the Goan Political Convention was composed under chairmanship of Divakar Kakodkar. The other members were S. R. Nadkarni, August Alvares, S. S. Carvelho, Mussolini Menezes, Gilman Fernandes, Zotico D'Souza, J. M. Pinto, Nicolão Menezes Cajetan Lobo George Vaz and others.⁸⁷

The convening committee appealed to all nationalists from India to participate in the Goan Political Convention and asked them to enrol as delegates to the convention. The delegates who wished to join it had to sign a pledge that stated,⁸⁸ "I believe in the Freedom of Goa and its integration with India." It further stated that those who wished to participate in the Convention would work towards bringing about the early liberation of Portuguese territories in India. This gathering focussed on inviting national as well as international attention to the urgent necessity of withdrawal of Portuguese from the Indian subcontinent. It also aimed to put forward their demand that those Goans who were residing in India in very large numbers should be regarded as Indian nationals and would be given citizenship rights in India and were to be allowed to participate in the democratic process of the country.

It also stressed on the renewal of the struggle inside Goa as well as in the rest of India to eliminate Portuguese rule "through all means open within the power of Goan People."⁸⁹ Simultaneously, it intended to seek the vigorous assistance of the Afro-Asian countries to participate in the struggle to eliminate the menace of colonisation. V P. Krishna Menon, the defence minister of India, who later became inaugurated the Goan Political Convention. who later became. The deliberation held at Goan Political Convention proved to be fruitful as it concluded on the positive note of establishing a National Campaign Committee for Goa. It was decided that this committee would consist of political workers from different organisations that were working for the liberation of Goa as well as it would also include members of political parties from the rest of India.⁹⁰ It organised various meeting and also celebrated national days to spread the word to national solidarity between Goans and the rest of Indians. On the eve of Goa's liberation the National Campaign Committee for Goa made a commendable effort to mobilise the support of people both within India and from outside for a speedy solution to the Goa issue. It was due to the efforts of the Committee that finally the Government of India decided to take army action to liberate Goa.

NC (G) and Political Parties from India

Right from its inception, the NC (G) drew inspiration from political parties from the rest of India. As we are aware it was the socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia who brought up the issue of Goa to the fore by initiating the 18th June Action. One finds that socialist leadership extended guidance and support to the NC (G) throughout the struggle. The historic meeting that brought the Gomantak Congress and Goa Congress together to form the NC (G) was organised under the guidance of Ashok Mehta. Peter Alvares, a Goan, who became the president of NC (G) in 1953 was the leader of Praja Socialist Party and was very active in Bombay. He took up the strings of Goa's struggle and as we have discussed in the earlier chapter and elevated the issue of independence of Goa to the national level.

When Goans, as well as the rest of Indians, launched an all India struggle in 1954-55 to oust the Portuguese the Indian political parties such as *Praja Socialist Party*, *The Communist Party of India*, and the *Jansangh*, *Forward Block*, *Revolutionary Socialist Party*, *Hindu Mahasabha*, *Shetkari Kamgar Paksha*, *Kamgar Kisan Paksha* and other organisations came forward to extend support to the NC (G). The Goa *Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* that was formed to launch non-violent protest action comprised of the above-mentioned parties. An All-Party Parliamentary Body was created that comprised of Members of Parliament. This was created to facilitate them to take up the issue of Goa in the parliamentary proceedings. Although Congress did not officially participate in the 1955 *satyagraha*. Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee's president, Keshvrao Jedhe, participated in the movement in his individual capacity.⁹¹ Likewise many congressmen participated in the struggle in their personal capacity.

One finds that the Indian National Congress since it was the ruling party could not take direct and active lead in Goa's struggle. However, from time to time it expressed its moral backing to the struggle through various resolutions that it adopted in its annual sessions. As mentioned in the earlier chapter when it met

at Wardha it did resolve to support Goans in their fight against colonial regime. However the Government of India insisted that Goa's struggle for freedom should be confined to Goan only and had disapproved joint efforts of Goan political parties and parties from the rest of India. The question arises here is that why the Government of India was not in favour of allowing the active participation of Indian political parties in Goa's struggle? One of the reasons why it adopted this stand was because the Government of India feared that active participation of Indian political parties would create wrong impression at the international level that Indians were raising the issue of liberation of Goa. Portugal continuously stated that it was Indians who were instigating the Goans and Goans were quite happy with their the existing status of an "overseas province of Portugal". Therefore, Nehru did not want Indians to indulge in any such activity that would favour Portugal's false propaganda.⁹² However, NC (G) leaders as well as other political parties justified the active participation of Indians in the struggle as they argued that Goa was very much a part of India and therefore it was the duty of every Indian to get it liberated.

Peter Alvares, the president of the NC (G), while justifying the participation of these parties against the criticism that was levelled against their involvement in Goa's struggle said "all these political parties feel it their duty to help Goans at this hour in their crisis".⁹³ He expressed his anguish against the policy adopted by the Congress party towards Goa issue and noted that such statements like "only Goans should participate"⁹⁴ in the *satyagraha* had adverse effect on the struggle. Moreover, terming the participation of other political parties as the "opportunist participation"⁹⁵ and such open allegations stating that "it is not yet time to intervene"⁹⁶ had severe negative repercussion on the struggle and encouraged Portuguese regime to act more rigid with the non-violent satyagrahis. He further appealed to Congress Party that if it did not want to participate in the non-violent protest action at least it should at least maintain silence on the issue to avoid further damage to the cause. He said, "It is open upto

anybody to participate. If there is no participation, I hope that there will be at least silence.'⁹⁷

Besides their participation in the satyagraha action, the NC (G) was successful in harnessing support for various deliberations of the NC (G) that were conducted in Bombay and other places. The Political Conference organised by NC (G) in 1947, 1950, 1959, and other rallies and meetings marked the support and guidance from these political parties.

The National Campaign Committee:

The efforts towards orchestrating the energies of various political organisations through the Goan Political Convention organised in October 1959 finally resulted in the formation of the National Campaign Committee for Goa. This body comprised of the members of the Central Council of the Goan Political Convention and of the National Council of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity. Its members also included members of the Indian Parliament.

Its objectives were as under:

1. To emphasise that Goa was a national issue and could be solved as a national problem with massive intervention and united effort of the Indian people.
2. It called for the intensification of the movement in Goa so that it will have
3. its repercussions on the struggles that were launched against Portuguese colonialists in Angola and other Portuguese possessions in Africa.
4. To facilitate the grand unison of all activists and to rally public opinion in anti-establishment forces engaged in the overthrow of Portuguese imperialism, it invited all leaders of the African movement to visit India and to have discussions with Nehru and other leaders from India.

5. Simultaneously it called upon all the Indians to participate Goa's struggle for freedom to annihilate the last residue from the map of India and thereby finish the incomplete task of Free and Independent India.⁹⁸

With these objectives in mind the Committee gave a call to the Indian people to organise the Goa Week from 12 to 18th June in 1961 to put forward the following demands:

1. "Effective Sanctions to bring about the immediate freedom of Goa, Daman and Diu and their integration with India as an AUTONOMOUS Reign of the Republic before the end of 1961.
2. That the United Nations immediately intervenes in Angola and stop the mass murder of the people of Angola.
3. That the Independent states of Asia and Africa close their ports and aerodromes to Portuguese ships and planes and sever diplomatic and economic relations with Portugal.
4. That all support be extended to the Indian Port and Dockworkers in their boycott action against ships carrying on trade with Portugal.
5. That a total boycott of all Portuguese goods be organised and a call upon the workers of Africa and Asia and the whole world to refuse to unload ships coming and going to Portugal."⁹⁹

Goa Week:

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the National Campaign Committee for Goa organised Goa Week from the 12th June to 18th June in 1961. Political parties, such as Indian National Congress, Communist Party of India, Praja Socialist Party, Socialist Party and many others participated in the celebration of Goa Week and thereby reiterated their determination to eliminate

the last evidence of colonialism from India. Aruna Asaf Ali inaugurated the Goa Week in Bombay at a mammoth meeting. The resolution that was passed in the inaugural meeting of Goa Week stated that

“This meeting of the citizens of Bombay expect the Government of India to play its legitimate role in the liberation of Goa and take effective action to liquidate Portuguese colonialism in India.”

It further called all political parties and organisations of the people to take “all possible steps to carry the liberation movement forward”. A Goa Day was held on 15th June by the Bombay working class. Factory and mill gate meetings demanding effective action to free Goa were also organised. Simultaneously the dockworkers also gave a call of universal boycott of all ships trading with Portugal. A special prayer for the freedom of Goa and the other Portuguese colonies was organised by the Indian National Church. *Mushaira* of Urdu Poems on Goa and Angola was organised at Maratha Mandir.¹⁰⁰

A number of meetings were organised in Goans Clubs such as Varca Club, Divar Club, and the Goan Cooperative Housing Society. A mass rally was organised at Cross Maidan on 18th June 1961 that was addressed by the then Defence Minister, V.K. Menon who accepted that Goa’s struggle was a national struggle and asserted that “steps would be taken for its early liberation.” In addition to the organisation of these activities in Bombay, meetings were organised in Delhi, Ahmedabad, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Belgaum and Sawantwadi.

In Delhi, a public meeting was organised at Durbar Hall on the 18th June that condemned Portuguese colonialism in Asia and Africa. Berta Menezes Bragança toured and addressed mass meetings at Eluru, Vijaywada and Guntur. The participants of the Goa Week evoked great response from people all over the world. The organisers were flooded with messages of solidarity that came from Tom J. Mboya, Secretary-General of the Kenya African Union, who in his

message stated that “the struggle against colonialism is indivisible and we in Africa look to those who have themselves been the victims of colonial oppression, or who are still under their rule, to assist us in our struggle.”¹⁰¹ The Vietnam Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee also sent a message that expressed the full support of the people of Vietnam to Goa’s freedom struggle.¹⁰²

Coordination and Cooperation: NC (G) and the Nationalists of French India

In order to counteract Portugal’s audacious behaviour of not heeding to the call of India to settle the Goa issue amicably, NC (G) decided to coordinate with the pro-merger elements of the French territories in India as it felt that the joint efforts of the nationalist forces in these territories would strengthen the efforts of the Indian Government to solve the issue soon. We have seen in the earlier paragraphs that the French Government initially responded favourably to the efforts of the Indian Government regarding the issue of French Indian territories. This had resulted in their joint declaration of holding referendum in this matter. However the nationalists who were fighting for the immediate union of French territories did not accept this proposal of referendum and demanded unquestionable integration of these territories within the Indian Union. French Government, on the other hand, insisted on holding a referendum. The nationalists from the French-occupied territories were against this policy as they were afraid that colonial authority by misusing their power and position would rig the opinion poll and the decision would go against the merger of these territories with India. Therefore, they opposed the French Government tooth and nail against conducting the referendum. Thus a stalemate had arisen regarding the French territories in India.¹⁰³

As the situation regarding Portuguese territories was equally hopeless nationalists from both the foreign enclaves decided to coordinate with each other. They rightly thought that this move would strengthen the anti-colonial elements in these territories and thus expedite the merger of these territories with India. In

order to fight against the common enemy, they decided to pull their resources together to assert the inalienable right of the people of these areas to reunite with their Indian motherland. In this regard a decision was taken to organise a joint front of freedom lovers belonging to Portuguese and French enclaves in order to derive maximum benefit from these two parallel movement whose objectives were identical. NC (G)'s basic policy stressed that struggles conducted in French as well as Portuguese territories for national independence voiced only one demand, that is, reintegration with India. Therefore it felt that if these efforts were well coordinated it would lead towards the desired goal. Accepting this fact NC (G) recognised the freedom movements of the people of French India as a part of the movement of the Indian people as a whole and its own counterpart in another area.

Indian National Congress Session of Nasik

The first step in this regard was taken when Indian National Congress met at its annual session at Nasik on 19th September 1950. At this session the various political groups from French India submitted their Memorandum to the President of the Congress. In this Memorandum, they expressed their desire that the Congress should go beyond just a bare moral support that it had shown in the past regarding the issue of foreign enclaves and should take up the issue of liquidation of foreign pockets seriously and get actively involved in fighting for the cause. They demanded that the Congress should take up the issue at two levels, one by not confining this issue of the foreign enclaves only to these territories but by making it an all-India issue and simultaneously pressurising their "own Government to pursue the goal without any reservation or hesitation."¹⁰⁴ The nationalist organisation from French India placed their humble request at Nasik urging the Congress Committees to take up the cause as early as possible as "the freedom of French India is indispensable to the freedom of their own land."¹⁰⁵

As NC (G) also shared a similar view and also wished that the Goa issue should be treated as an all-India issue with immediate Government intervention, the delegates of NC (G) like Madhav Bir, V. N. Lawande and others who were present at the annual session very strongly supported the demand of the French nationalists and simultaneously also briefed the Congress delegates regarding the conditions of people in Goa.

Memorandum to the Board of International Observers:

As mentioned earlier, France had proposed a referendum on the issue of merger of the territories of French India with the Indian Union. However, the nationalists from French India feared that the existing French Government in the Indian territories would fail to create requisite conditions for an impartial referendum. The chaotic situation in these enclaves would naturally affect the free and fair verdict of the people of these territories. Therefore at this juncture, they presented a memorandum to the Board of International Observers who was deputed to study the factual situation in these territories.

It was pointed out in the memorandum that if France insisted on a referendum then it was to be held: 1. under Joint auspices of France and India. 2. Neutral Observers invited jointly by the two Governments; 3. The whole procedure from the preparation of voter's lists to the declaration of the results supervised by the Governments concerned; 4. All political cases from 8th June 1948 withdrawn; 5. All dismissed and suspended Government officials reinstated with compensation. 6. All political prisoners released. 7. Full compensation given to political sufferers; and 8. Full civil liberties restored.¹⁰⁶

At the same time they forcefully demanded that unconditional merger of these territories was the fundamental right of the people and therefore at the Nasik session demanded that the Indian Government should vehemently oppose the proposal of holding a referendum in these territories and asked the INC members to "forcefully urge their own Government to pursue the matter."¹⁰⁷ The NC (G)

members, K.L. Sanjagiri, Madhav Bir, Frank Andrade, Janardan Sinkre, Lambert Mascarnehas and others extended their full support to the demands made by them to the International Board of Observers, when they met the foreign secretary of India, Rajkumar, with political groups from French India.¹⁰⁸

Joint Conference of NC (G) and Political Organisations from French India:

As mentioned earlier, these political organisations were trying to establish a joint front of nationalist groups from French and Portuguese India as they had realised that small and isolated attempts of forces of freedom had to be coordinated and synchronized in order to challenge the tendency of imperialism that the two powers, France as well as Portugal, was exhibiting more forcefully while dealing with the issue of Indian territories in their possession.

Therefore, a decision was taken by these groups to hold a joint conference and give this thought a concrete shape. The issue of the *Goan Affairs* dated 25th February 1951 very elaborately placed before the people of Goa their desire to establish a coordination committee and announced the proposed Joint Conference.¹⁰⁹

Accordingly the joint conference was called by the NC (G) on 20th May 1951 at Bombay and was attended by French Indian National Congress, Pondicherry Town committee, The National Front of Liberation, Pondicherry Merger Committee, Mahe Socialist Party, Republican Party, *Bharat Yuvak Sangh* and Mahe *Mahadjan Sabha* with other various groups working for the liberation of Portuguese colonies. The conference aimed at putting up a united front of the people of Goa and French India against the colonial powers, Portugal and France. The conference proposed the formulation of a co-ordination committee of five persons from these settlements to formulate plans for ending colonialism in the country. They set up a committee that comprised of C.F. Dharatan, S. Perumal, and nationalists from French India, Kashinath Sanzgiri, Peter Alvares and Lambert Mascarnehas.

The conference very categorically reviewed the Indian Government's policy of negotiations and diplomatic relations and the response which the Indian Government received from both the foreign countries, Portugal as well as France. Therefore, they firmly voiced that "the issue could be solved immediately after the withdrawal of the British power from India "In a simple and straightforward manner, in the way which the French and the Portuguese imperialists seem to understand better."¹⁰

They stressed that the population of these areas had waited patiently for four years expecting that the Government of India would resolve this issue. However, recent developments regarding these territories did not show any further progress. They reiterated that it was the inalienable right of the people of these areas to liberate themselves from foreign yoke and reunite with the Indian Union. Since the solution for the merger of these territories was not insight, the conference resolved to demand that the Government of India must directly negotiate with France as well as Portugal for the outright transfer of these territories. At the same time they cautioned the people of these territories to "prepare themselves for a possible movement for the achievement of their freedom in case the attempts to solve the problem by negotiations" failed.¹¹

Simultaneously, The Goan Affairs gave due coverage to the events in French India, supporting the actions of the pro-merger parties that had boycotted general elections held on 16th December 1951, as they did not expect free and fair elections in the existing conditions and had derided it as "election comedy."¹²

In this manner, NC (G) continued its task of highlighting the colonial onslaught on foreign enclaves and kept on urging that it was high time that the Government of India should take some concrete action with the help of political organisations from French India. However very soon events took a different turn, both in French India as well as in Goa. As mentioned in the earlier chapter in 1954 French Indian territories were liberated and later integrated with the Indian

Union. This was one of the reasons for which the hopes of Goans were raised and they decided to once again shift their actions from such co-ordinating efforts to the direct action of *satyagraha*.

Networking with Afro-Asian Countries

Causes:

Abandonment of policy of *satyagraha*:

As discussed in Chapter V, although the 1955 *satyagraha* had created a world wide impact and had provoked an all-India response regarding the Goa issue, the Government of India decided to ban the continuation of *satyagraha* as the technique to solve the Goa issue. They strictly warned the votaries of *satyagraha* to give up open non-violent action and threatened GVVS that if they continued with it the Government would take stern action against them. Thus this policy of the Indian Government against the continuation of *satyagraha* left no other option for the NC (G) and other political organisations, but to discontinue the conduction of *satyagraha* as it was very difficult for them to conduct it without the Indian Government support. So very soon NC (G) declared its decision to abandon the method of *satyagraha* and headed towards pursuance of other methods.

Failure of Economic Blockade:

The Government of India's decision to ban the entry of *satyagrahis* into Goan territory and to ask NC (G) to give up the method of *satyagraha* meant that now the Government was planning to take up the issue once again in its hands. As expected the Indian Government decided to try new ways of non-violent policy such as economic blockade to pressurise the Portuguese Government. As early as in 1950 NC (G) had suggested economic sanctions against Goa and demanded to stop all commercial transactions between India and the Portuguese state.¹¹³

NC (G) had very strongly reiterated this demand during 1954-55 Satyagraha phase. They had stressed that the blockade should be introduced as a supporting measure along with the direct action that they had planned to launch. According to them, this ancillary action would contribute to the success of the struggle, as the Portuguese Government would come under tremendous pressure.¹¹⁴ As we have discussed in the second chapter, Goan economy was completely dependent on India.

Taking this into account, the NC (G) had asked prevention of export and import facility. This would lead to substantial fall in their custom revenues and would also cause scarcity of consumer goods and this would in turn lead to a price hike. Since export facility to Goan goods was denied there would be a severe fall in the prices of the local product and this would create critical situation, as due to this economic crisis peasant community would fail to pay their dues to the Government. All these factors would contribute to a general resentment of the public against the Portuguese Government and consecutively heighten the activity to oust the colonial power.

NC (G) further asked the Government of India not to renew the railway agreement between India and the Portuguese territories in India. They had also suggested a sea blockade as well as financial blockade to restrict flow of Indian rupee in these territories. They had also demanded severe restrictions on the passage facilities to the people who travelled from Goa to the rest of India.¹¹⁵

However, as we are aware, the Indian Government's decision to impose an economic blockade on Portuguese Goa did not coincide with the *satyagraha* struggle and was implemented after the Indian Government decided to ban the entry of the *satyagrahis* in Goa, and when the movement had subsided.

It was unfortunate that the policy of economic blockade of the Indian Government did not succeed. The reasons cited out for the failure of Indian Government's policy were that the policy of economic blockade to the Portuguese

Government was implemented after the 1954-55 *satyagraha* struggle and not during the movement. Therefore, it could not coincide with the *satyagraha* action and did not create the desired effect. Moreover, it was not employed all at once but came into being in a “piecemeal”,¹¹⁶ thus giving the Portuguese Government time to make alternative arrangements to deal with this by asking help from other countries. Portugal’s NATO ally and India’s traditional enemy, Pakistan, gave tremendous help to Portugal by opening its airways to them. Thus, food grains and other stuff that India refused to give came from foreign lands through Karachi. The strategy of economic barrier could not achieve its end, as Indian authorities could not put check to rampant smuggling activities in the border areas. Indian goods were smuggled into Goa due to inefficiency of the Indian Customs. Thus, due to above mention reasons economic blockade was unsuccessful and could not have desired effects.

Nehru’s refusal to take Army Action in Goa:

According to the NC (G) there were only two ways of solving the Goa issue, one was by an armed intervention of the Indian Government and the other was the continuation of the policy of *satyagraha*. Indian Government’s decision to give up the policy of *satyagraha* left open only other action that was the army intervention in Goa. But Nehru Government did not wish to go for it, as it would mean going against its own international policy. The Indian Government had all the time stressed on the utter belief that the Goa’s freedom would be achieved through non-violent means. The Goan activists who constantly suggested to the Indian Government that the only way to oust the Portuguese was by taking “police action” heavily criticised this attitude of the Indian Government. T. B. Cunha, in his speech delivered at the symposium of the Afro-Asian Study Group on 24th December 1957, had disapproved the “wrong stand” of the Government of India that “had put restrictions on her own right to directly intervene in the matter and to settle the case by herself or through her own means.”¹¹⁷

As Portugal's arrogance regarding Goa continued the opinion of resorting to army action in Goa began to gain strength. But the Indian government refused to take recourse to such an action, as it was feared that this would arouse negative international reaction. NC (G) argued that since Goa was a part and parcel of India and Goa's struggle was the continuation of a larger struggle that India had launched against imperialism, India had full right to intervene in Goa and oust the adamant dictatorial Portuguese rule. However this idea did not convince Nehru. Therefore, only way left with the Goan freedom-fighters was to make him realise that Goa's struggle for freedom would open a new chapter in the history of nationalism in the Afro-Asian colonies of Portugal and serve as an inspirational source to the toiling millions of Africa and would give boost to all the anti-colonial movement in the world.

Indian Government had always championed the cause of de-colonialism in the African continent. It was felt that there was a need to make Nehru realise that Goa's independence and integration with India would not only mean end of colonialism from the Indian soil but would also herald the beginning of a freedom struggle in Portuguese colonies of Asia and Africa.

Casablanca Conference:

A two-day conference of nationalist organisations of Portuguese colonies was organised in April 1961 by the King of Morocco at Casablanca in North Africa. This meet was attended by leading freedom fighters from the African national movements as well as by Indian leaders. Nationalist organisations from Angola, Mozambique, Guine, S. Tomé, Cabo Verde islands participated in the deliberations. P. D. Gaitonde represented the NC (G) in this meet and other members that attended the conference were George Vaz and Cajetan Lobo. A delegate from the Goa League João Cabral and Aquino Bragança, who was a professor at the Moroccan University at Casablanca, attended it.¹¹⁸

The conference resolved against the continuation of colonialism on Asian as well as African soil and demanded that Portuguese must leave the shores of India as well as of its her other possessions in Asia and Africa. The president of the conference, Senhor Mario de Andrade, while greeting the organisers and the participants in Goa's struggle said that the hour had come to "administer the final blow to our common enemy."¹¹⁹ He further said that they had nothing fear to as all the people in the world who loved freedom and peace were supporting the cause. He wished "complete success in the final battle and early reunion"¹²⁰ of Goa with its motherland. It emphasised the need to coordinate the efforts of nationalists in various colonial regions. In order to facilitate this, a permanent body was set up at Rabat in Casablanca with Mario Andrade as its chairperson, Marcilino dos Santos became its secretary and João Cabral took the charge of Administrative Secretary.

National Conference for Afro –Asian Solidarity:

The Bandung conference of Asian countries, held in New Delhi in April 1955 marked the beginning of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement. Delegates varying from politicians, statesmen, parliamentarians and significant personalities from the socio- cultural fields and others from 15 countries had participated in this conference. Indian delegation consisted of over 50 delegates from all political parties and to eminent personalities from different fields. Smt. Rameshwari Nehru led this delegation.

Later the President of Indonesia, Sukarno, convened a conference at Bandung. During its deliberations Nehru had voiced his displeasure against the continuation of colonialism in Africa and had emphasized the need for its speedy retreat. It was at this stage that the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement had come into existence with its headquarters at Cairo and Aruna Asaf Ali headed its Indian wing. These political developments were definitely favourable to Goa's struggle and as NC (G) rightly thought that at this stage if they stressed the global

importance of Goa's liberation that would help the Indian government to take swift action in Goa. With this view in mind, NC (G) decided to establish parleys with their African counterparts.

The Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity that aimed at uniting the people who had divergent views in internal matters but who principally agreed with the foreign policy of India and believed in the Afro-Asian Solidarity had organised two national-level conferences on this issue. The first conference was organised in October 1955 at Hyderabad. The second conference of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity was held in Calcutta from April 2-5 in 1959. The conference was called "to discuss and unanimously resolve to support the struggles of the people for freedom and preservation of national sovereignty and to further the cause of world peace and international cooperation." 2500 delegates attended the conference. MP's from political parties such as the Congress Party, Praja Socialist Party and Communist Party attended the conference along with representatives from different states of India. There were fraternal delegates from the Afro-Asian solidarity Committees of Ceylon, China, Japan, Iraq and U. S. A. Egypt, Iran, Indonesia, Pakistan, Japan, Mongolia, Ethiopia other countries sent their representatives to the conference.

The conference extended its absolute and wholehearted support to the struggle for freedom in Algeria, Camerouns, West Africa, Tanganyika, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, Madagascar, Congo, Mozambique, Angola, West Iran and other states. The Indian Council also took up the question of Goa in special meetings as well as in conferences at international levels.

The Indian Government called Portugal's' claim over Goa as a "preposterous proposition that no sane person can accept".¹²¹ Further, it strongly objected to the plans of Portugal to link the Goa issue with NATO and use Goa as a military base and pointed out that this meant a grave threat to the security of the newly born Indian nation. At the same time the conference protested against the

brutal Policy that the Portuguese Government pursued in dealing with freedom fighters and demanded the immediate release of political prisoners.

It extended its full support towards the freedom struggle in Goa and called upon Afro-Asian Governments and people “to render all help to expedite the cause of Goa’s struggle for freedom.” Moreover, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council’s Secretariat gave a call to all national organisations to observe 25th November 1960 as “Freedom for Goa Day”.¹²²

Seminar on Portuguese Colonialism:

Against the above-mentioned background, the National Campaign Committee for Goa requested the president of the India Council of Africa, Aruna Asaf Ali, to organise a seminar of nationalist leaders from the Afro-Asian colonies of Portugal. By this time the freedom movement in the Portuguese colonies had become active once again. There was a revolt in Angola in 1959 and other colonies also were showing signs of resistance against the colonial rule of Portugal. Therefore, NC (G) felt that it was the appropriate time to coordinate with these struggles and voice an universal protest against Portuguese colonialism. Moreover, NC (G) also wanted to put pressure on Nehru to take a decision regarding Goa. “We came to a conclusion that Pandit Nehru was undecided about anything and the discretion that he said he would exercise was not forthcoming.”¹²³ Therefore, in order to persuade the Government of India to take tangible steps against the existence of colonial regime over Goa, Daman and Diu, the seminar on Portuguese colonialism was organised.

The India Council of Africa organised a seminar in October 1961 in Delhi and its concluding session was organised in Bombay. Nehru inaugurated it and significant leaders like Kenneth Kaunda President of Zambia, Swai who was holding ministerial position in Tanzania, the Moroccan Foreign Minister, Abdel-Khatib and Wedgwood-Ben, the British Labour MP, and others, participated.

Peter Alvares, Sudhatai Joshi, Ram Hegde were among the Goan leaders who contributed to the seminar.

At its concluding session, Nehru made a very significant remark that indicated that the Government of India was toying with the idea of using “other methods” to get rid of the Portuguese colonial presence from the Indian soil. He said “ India could no longer let the brutalities committed on freedom fighters and other citizens in Goa...¹²⁴ and if these things continued then the Government of India will have to think of some measures by which it will have to put a stop to this. Speakers who addressed this seminar considered Portuguese colonialism, which denied fundamental human rights to its people and colonies, as a definite threat to world peace and therefore it was urged that all efforts must be coordinated and directed towards its end.

Holding the dictatorial regime responsible for these barbarous and shameful deeds it was emphasised by them that such a system could no longer be tolerated. While criticising NATO powers for extending help to Portugal to continue its vicious rule on 15 million people who were held in bondage, the delegates urged that

“No effort should be spared to bring about the end of Portuguese colonialism, no means eschewed to hasten it. Moral, material and other support should be extended to all fighters for freedom in the Portuguese colonies.”¹²⁵

Taking all these points into consideration the seminar was concluded on a very significant note that “the freedom of Goa would now be of the greatest importance in the liberation of other Portuguese colonies and is therefore, a matter of special urgency.”¹²⁶

Thus, NC (G)’s efforts to coordinate with the Afro-Asian leaders seemed to be fruitful as it spelt out a significant shift in the policy of the Indian

Government regarding the Goa issue and the hopes of the Goans were raised that very soon India would decide to intervene in Goa. As rightly expected within two months the Indian Government launched its army action in December 1961 and put an end to Portuguese rule in Goa.

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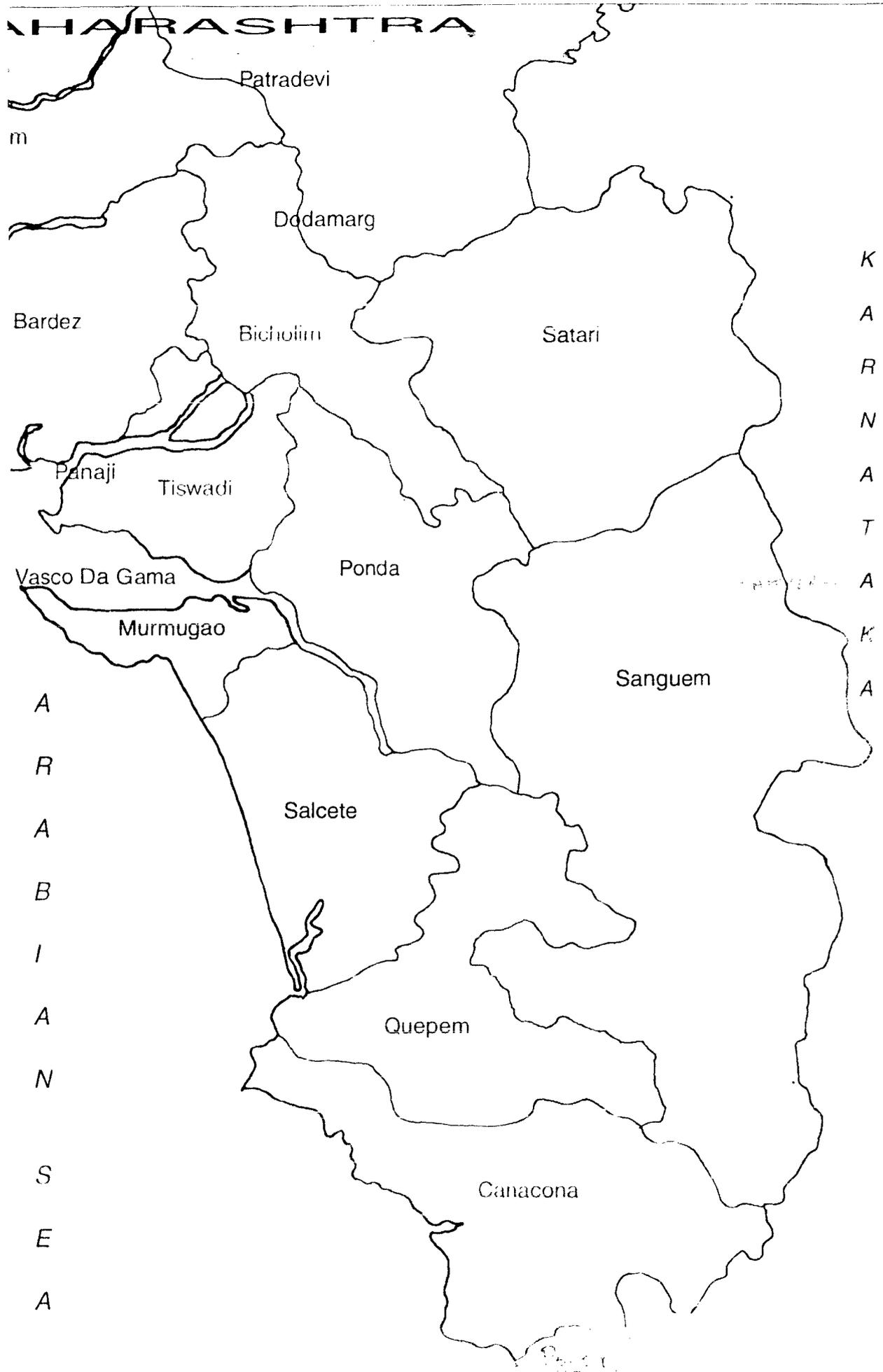
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- ¹²² National Conference for Afro-Asians Solidarity, New Delhi: Indian Association of Afro-Asian Solidarity, p. 31.
- ¹²³ Personal Communication with August Alvares.
- ¹²⁴ Oral History Interview Transcript of Peter Alvares, p. 97.
- ¹²⁵ Personal Communication with V. N. Lawande.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

MHARASHTRA

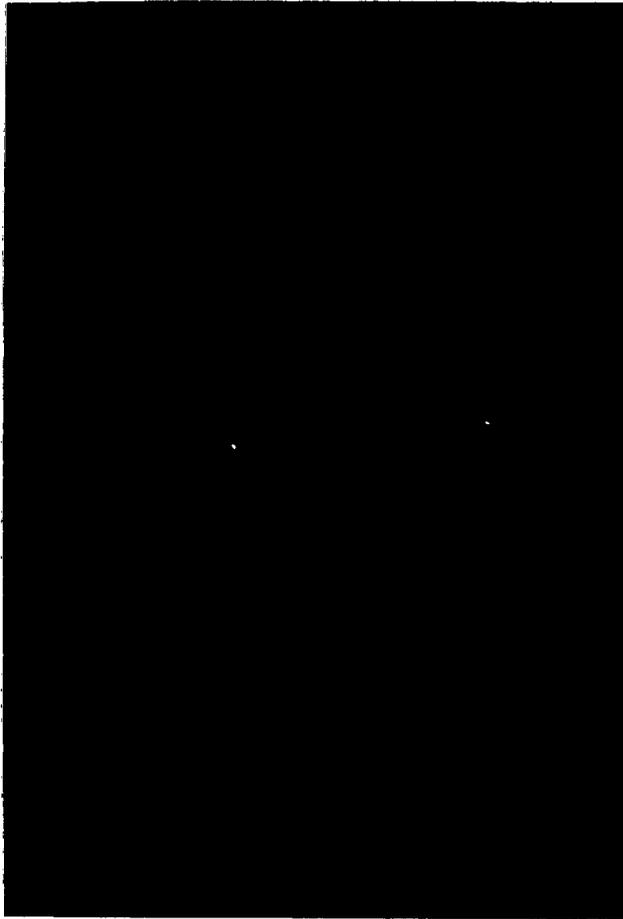


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NC (G) Poster Depicting Terekhol Day



Message of Mahatma Gandhi



Peter Alvares and others at Seminar on Portuguese Colonialism



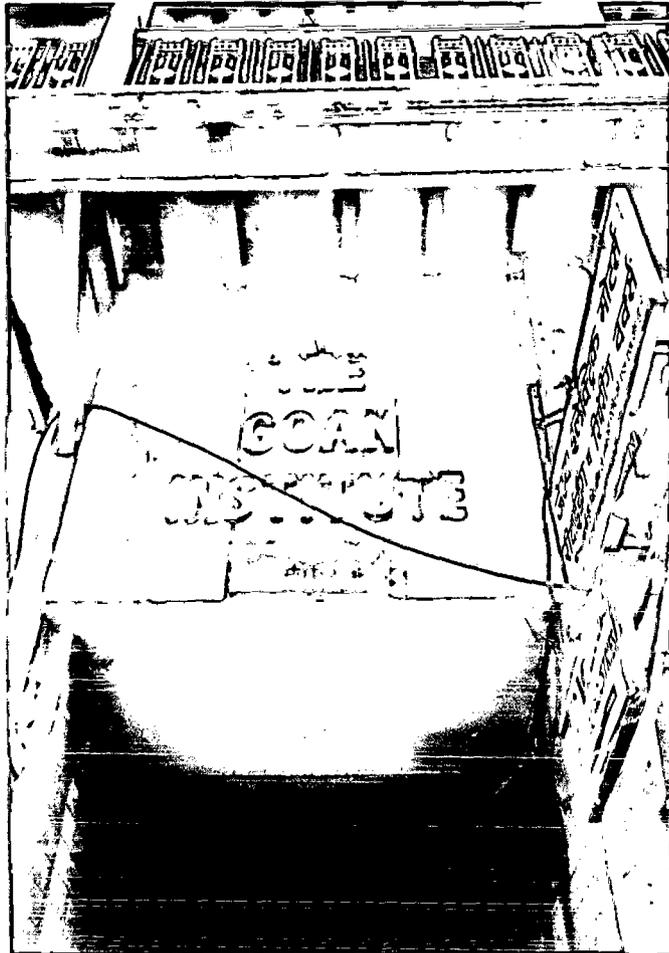
NC (G) meeting organised in 1955



NC (G) Office Premises – Girgaon, Bombay



AGD Office premises, Dabol – Girgaon, Bombay



CHAPTER VII

ACTIVITIES OF THE AZAD GOMANTAK DAL

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ACTIVITIES OF THE *AZAD GOMANTAK DAL*

“I want to speak on methods, as I cannot keep quiet. Since tyranny is going on in our country, and so many Deportations are cabled everyday, and all peaceful means are denied to us... why should we deplore the use of violence when our enemies drive us to it? If we use force, it is because we are forced to use force... Tyranny is tyranny and torture is torture wherever applied. Success justifies any action. Struggle for freedom calls for exceptional measures. Successful rebellion against the foreign rule is patriotism.”¹

--- Madam Cama.

The activities undertaken by the *Azad Gomantak Dal* in the course of their battle against Portuguese colonialism can be divided into general activities, that included the work of organisation, propaganda activities, organisation of training camps, collection of funds and other miscellaneous activities. Their special activities included violent militant actions such as political dacoity, political murders “*vadh*”, attacks on police outposts, attacks on mines, collection of weapons, sabotage, ambush, their strikes with bombs and such other violent acts.

Building up *AGD* as an Organisation

AGD had a detailed plan for the establishment of a hierarchical type of an organisation. There was a network of centres, regional committees and other organisational set-up. The *AGD* was organised step by step. Although from the initial stages the *AGD* was “a cadre-based”² organisation, in the beginning its organisation was based on simple rules and “it did not subscribe to hard and fast rules.”³ However, later “they based their organisation on certain disciplinary notes.”⁴

It was only after the expulsion of Lawande and his associates from NC (G) in 1954 that the task of building it up geared up. As has been already mentioned, Lawande wanted *AGD* to be a branch of NC (G). However, NC (G) did not accept such a suggestion. Due to serious differences between Lawande and Peter Alvares on ideological grounds, Lawande was expelled from NC (G). According to Lawande his expulsion from NC (G) served as a blessing in disguise. He now took up the challenge of building up *AGD* as an independent organisation. He had worked as a general secretary of NC (G) during 1950-51 and this had given him ample opportunity to tackle organisational issues. Moreover, Prabhakar Sinari had staged a daring escape from the Portuguese prison and had joined Lawande. Sinari's escape was a blow to colonial regime but was to the advantage of the *AGD* which now applied itself with renewed vigour to the herculean task of expanded its base.

Territorial jurisdiction

The *AGD* had a detailed plan for the establishment of a hierarchical type of an organisation. There was network of centres, regional committees and other necessary bodies. From the organisational point of view and for good management the *AGD* had a strict division of different territorial units with definite areas and their headquarters. Since *AGD* activities went beyond the borders of Goa, a careful division of territorial regions was done by the organisational committees. The region of Goa was divided into North Goa, Central Goa and South Goa with the Northern Goa Regional Committee, Central Goa Regional Committee and Southern Goa Regional Committee looking after these regions respectively. Headquarters of North Goa was based at Mapusa and it covered areas of Bardez, Sanquelim, Sattari and Pernem. Panjim was the centre of Central Goa that covered areas of Tiswadi, Ponda and Sanguem. The *concelhos* of Salcete, Mormugao, Quepem and Canacona were controlled from its Margão headquarters.⁵

In addition to Goa, the *AGD* had its base in Daman, Belgaum and Bombay. The Daman Regional Committee, with Daman as its headquarters, controlled the

areas of Daman, Diu, and the liberated areas of Dadra and Nagar-Haveli. The Belgaum Regional Committee, with Belgaum as its headquarters, covered the area of Mysore State, the region of Kolhapur and Ratnagiri. The city of Bombay was in charge of the whole of Bombay State excluding the regions of Kolhapur and Ratnagiri districts.⁶ The Bombay Regional Committee was in charge of this region. These units were control by the working committee, the nucleus of the *AGD*.

In view of the situation in Goa, Daman and Diu and to ensure effective and smooth functioning of the organisation and because of the exigencies of the political situation in Goa, Daman and Diu, only the Belgaum and Bombay Regional Committees were given authority. Belgaum and Bombay Regional Committees were empowered with extra power and the regions of Goa, Daman and Diu were not allowed to function as separate units but were controlled by the Belgaum and Bombay Headquarters.⁷

The regional committees were further divided into local units and were looked after by a local regional committee that consisted of a chairperson, a secretary, a treasurer and six other members who constituted an Executive Committee for the Regional Unit. The regional Committee was entrusted with the duty to carry out the programme and activities of *AGD* as per the directions of the Working Council of the *AGD*.

The *AGD* comprised of its primary members, various Regional Committees inside and outside Goa, All Goa Delegates Committee Working Council and those Committees or bodies appointed by the Working Council or the Regional Committees of the organisation.

Working Council

The overall governing body of the *AGD* was the Working Council. It was the nucleus of the *AGD* and was its highest executive authority. The Working Council was constituted with the President of the *AGD*, General Secretary, treasurer and eight

other members, all nominated by the President from among the members of *AGD*'s All Goa Delegates Committee (=A.G.D.C). The Working Council was responsible for enforcing the constitution and was entrusted with the work of execution of the General Policy and programme laid down by A.G.D.C. The Working Council had the discretionary power "with full authority"⁸ in case of "emergency situation or in case of any point of disagreement or problem"⁹ that arose between the Working Council and the A. G. D. C.

The working council of the *AGD* was empowered to frame rules and issue instructions for the working of the *AGD* in accordance with its constitution. It superintended, directed and controlled all regional committees, and other committees except the A.G. D. C. It was also empowered to take disciplinary action as "it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default in the discharge of duty."¹⁰ It also looked after finances of the organisation and other related issues such as audit of the accounts of the *AGD*. According to Narayan Naik, this was the most significant committee and "it consisted of around fifteen to twenty members."¹¹ This committee met regularly to decide on significant matters or to carry out certain actions. "The decision of the majority ruled but in certain exceptional cases our leader had powers to execute decisions."¹²

Local Centres:

The *AGD* established twelve local units on the borders of Goa and Daman. 7 These were Aronda, Satarda, Banda, Netarda, Kalne Dodamarg, Vazre, Terekhol, Kankumbi, CastleRock, Kadra, Majali, Vapi and Kuntha.¹³ The three main important centres on the North Goa border regions were Kalane that included area between Aronda and Dodamarg; Vazre that included the stretch of area between Dodamarg to Chorla Ghat, and Kankumbi was the centre that established links in the Ghat region. Kanhoba Naik was in charge of the Kalne centre, Atmaram Mayenkar looked after Vazre and KanKumbi was under Krishnarao Rane and Anand Shirodkar.¹⁴ Inside Goa, Bicholim and Sattari units were placed under Krishna Mainkar, Savoi-Verem

and Shivoli centres received guidance from Mohan Ranade, Majali in the south Goa border was under Dattaram Desai and Rajani Kenkre, Sadguru Savardekar and Nilkanth Naik were in charge of Castlerock unit. To coordinate between these centres and to maintain a line of communication Prabhakar Sinari was appointed as in charge of the north Goa region and Prabhakar Vaidya took the responsibility of the south Goa region. The *AGD* had certain prescribed rules for the local units.¹⁵

According to the directions from the Working Council, the highest executive body, each unit was ordered to maintain inward and outward registers that provided for the details of correspondence of the unit with higher bodies such as regional committees and others. They were also asked to keep a station diary in which an account of the day-to-day happenings of the respective region was maintained. These centres were expected to submit weekly reports to the headquarters with details such as various activities undertaken by the local unit. It also asked these units to maintain a record of accounts and receipts of expenditure incurred on maintenance of the members and of their unit. Details of amount spent on food, stationery expenses, and travel accounts of the activists within and outside Goa, medical expenditure, postage and other miscellaneous details were to be reported.¹⁶

These units were expected to keep a register that contained particulars of the activists who were based at that particular centre. They had to submit details of those volunteers who were arrested by the police, their names, addresses, occupations, reason for arrest and date of arrest as well as of release. A list of residents of the region where the centre was located was also maintained. The centres had to submit a detailed study report of topography and communication network of their respective areas to the headquarters.¹⁷ Lawande stated that “Based on these details we planned our action. Our militant activities such as attack on police outposts, raids on government offices and ambush needed such details that proved helpful in planning our programme. Therefore, we had made it compulsory for all the local units as well as Regional Committees to file reports with such details.”¹⁸ The unit maintained attendance files in which *AGD* activists had to sign. They also had an equipment

register and maintained files that contained a copy of leaflets, pamphlets, posters and other propaganda material that the *AGD* distributed in Goa.

Recruitment of Members

Recruitment of new members and their training were two important activities of the *AGD*. Although in the initial stages, the *AGD* did not have strict recruitment rules, later made certain requirements that were mandatory. A person who wished to become a member of the *AGD* was required to be eighteen years of age or above. The most important requisite was that he had to be a resident of Goa, Daman and Diu and the liberated territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli who subscribed to the aims and objectives of the *AGD*. He had to pay a nominal fee of fifty *naye paise* per annum and had to fill up an application form. Local regional committees of the *AGD* received these applications and after detailed scrutiny forwarded the same to the Working Council. Lawande, while discussing the issue of the organisation of the *AGD*, stated that they took utmost care in recruiting new members. Before a member was recruited, detailed information about him was to be collected by the local unit and then sent to the headquarters.¹⁹

There was always the possibility of somebody turning a traitor therefore before admitting new member candidate was interviewed. "Only if it was found that he or she was patriotic and revolutionary"²⁰ was he or she recruited and later gradually initiated into the struggle. He further stated "since ours was a secret underground organisation, recruitment of a wrong person would be harmful for our smooth functioning."²¹ He added that the colonial Government sent their informers and spies as candidates who were anxious to be a part of our organisation.

One such incident had occurred in 1948 when the *AGD* had its base at Ambedgaon in the north across the border. Sukdo Naik, a police informer disguised as Sagun Gawas, approached *AGD* workers at Ambedgaon and expressed his wish to join the organisation. Lawande thoroughly interviewed him to find out why he was keen on joining *AGD*. "I noticed some discrepancies in his answers and became aware

that something was cooking against us.”²² After further inquiries he was searched and it was found that he was a Portuguese spy. His finger ring, engraved with his name that he had hidden in his luggage, gave away his “real identity.” Besides this a written note and other evidence proved it. Later after much persuasion Sukdo confessed that he was sent by the authorities to collect information regarding *AGD*’s activities.

The Portuguese were planning to raid Ambedgaon and capture Lawande and Atmaram Mayekar. The whole plan was prepared at the central police station under Agente Diuo and in this operation, the Bicholim police station under chief Eduardo Marquis Sequiera and landlord of Maye, Evrick Silva, were assigned a major role. Lawande stated that the Portuguese had planned “to apprehend all the *AGD* activists and kill us.”²³ However *AGD*’s timely action foiled the whole plan and after this incident the *AGD* camp was shifted to Matne in the interiors that came under the jurisdiction of the Indian border services. This incident cautioned the *AGD* who accepted only those persons who were “patriotic, courageous and trustworthy.”²⁴ If the candidate had the above qualities, the *AGD* recruited them irrespective of their marital status and gender.

Active Volunteers Corps

After the successful liberation of Nagar Haveli, the *AGD* leaders spent some time in discharging the administrative responsibilities of rehabilitating the newly liberated areas. After the task was accomplished, the organisation decided to once again shift their centre of activities in Goa. In order to revitalise the *AGD* within Goa, a decision was taken to establish an Active Volunteers Corps =AVC which aimed to “ensure efficient and successful implementation”²⁵ of the *AGD* policy. It was formed to function as a section of the *AGD* with all its cells and centres attached to it. The AVC had freedom of action within the framework of the policy that was adopted by the Working Council of the *AGD*. In order to ensure the smooth functioning of the AVC, a three-member committee, consisting of the chief organiser and two assistant

organisers, was appointed by the president of *AGD* to whom the committee was directly responsible.

Membership the AVC was restricted “only to those *Dal* members who were not a member of any group or a party other than the *AGD*.”²⁶ They had to follow strict discipline and actively participate in the “activities organised by the *Dal* without any hesitation.”²⁷ Besides this, they were expected to follow all the decisions, instructions and orders of the AVC Committee and its chief organiser. An AVC volunteer was expected to work tirelessly to raise the prestige and dignity of the organisation by his “good conduct, excellent character and win the confidence of the masses and his leader.”²⁸ He was also expected to express his loyalties to the motherland “exclusively through the *Dal*.”²⁹

For militant violent actions that were conducted by the AVC, it was obligatory that a member who wished to serve on this body had to be on the roll of the *AGD* for at least three months. Interested candidates had to give detailed information about their full name, address, marital status, education and other qualifications. The person had to inform the organisation regarding his or her monetary status such as annual income and its source. He had to inform the organisation whether he had any political party affiliation before joining the *AGD* and had to present a brief account of details of when and how the candidate first entered into the political field. A brief history with date of arrest and release, if any, and such relevant facts were asked in the recruitment form.

The *AGD* also asked other details such as names of children, parents and other dependents with details such as their age and educational qualifications. Even names and addresses of the nearest relative or an intimate friend outside Goa was asked. While commenting on this issue, Mussolini Menezes said. “Joining *AGD*’s AVC was like risking one’s life, nobody knew when and how we would encounter with the authorities”.³⁰ Therefore this information proved to be of great help in case of emergency. Lawande added, “we had to know the details of the dependents of AVC

members as in case of fatal incidents it became morally binding on us to take care of those who had depended on our brave soldier who had sacrificed his life for our country.”³¹]

The candidate had to produce necessary certificates duly signed by the secretary of the *AGD* Regional Committee, either of Bombay or of Belgaum, or by the Assistant Organiser of the AVC. The applicant had to submit three copies of passport size photograph. After completing all the above-mentioned formalities these forms were duly scrutinised by the Chief Organiser of AVC-*AGD* who was the President of the Working Council. Enrolment of new members in the organisation was the right of the leader of the *Dal* who was empowered to admit or reject any application without giving any reason.

In order to become a full-fledged member of the AVC, the candidate had to sign a pledge form “B”. The contents of the pledge were as follows:

“1-I, a member of the *Azad Gomantak Dal* and a volunteer of the Active Volunteer Corps, solemnly pledge to strive for the attainment of independence of Portuguese occupied parts of India and their reintegration into the Indian Union.

2- I shall faithfully obey the orders of my superiors under whom I shall be placed and strictly abide by the rules and regulations of the A.V.C, framed from time to time.

3- I shall endeavour to the best of my ability not to spoil the fair name of the A.G.D and my country by my misconduct and indiscipline in my behaviour.

4- I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to promote peace and goodwill among all classes and communities of Goa, Daman and Diu.

5- I am conscious of the sacrifices and sufferings one has to undergo in the freedom struggle. I am also aware that irresistible temptations often arise during such struggles to mislead a freedom-fighter to the betrayal of the organisation and the cause. I solemnly pledge I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to resist all such temptations and be ever prepared for sufferings and sacrifices even of life.”³²

Commenting on the organisational aspects of the *AGD*, Narayan Naik informed that it functioned more or less like a military organisation. “We had chosen Lawande as our supreme leader who was given all the powers. In the beginning, I was next in command. Tukaram Kankonkar and others worked under me.”³³ When Narayan Naik was arrested Prabhakar Sinari acquired the position of second-in-command. Later as the organisation started growing others like Mohan Ranade, Prabhakar Vaidya took up the charge of the AVC.

According to Narayan Naik, the *AGD* right from its initial stages had its own cadre though at that stage “we did not subscribe to hard and fast rules but later we based our organisation on certain disciplinary principles.”³⁴ He further added that for them “their commander’s orders were the ultimate.”³⁵ While going through the records of the *AGD* housed at Lawande’s residence one realises that the *AGD* developed as a full-fledged organisation with ranks such as second-in-command, captain, etc. They also had a group commander who looked after the regional committees. The duty of the second in command was to coordinate between various units of the *AGD* and basically he worked as a coordinating link between them. Prabhakar Sinari commented that they also had appointed “a subaltern officer”³⁶ who was responsible for his group leader and his commander. He further stated that the captain who was assisted by the AVC members executed all the violent operations. As *AGD* became active in its militant attacks, its central office issued a number of circulars regarding the code of conduct to be observed by its comrades. According to circular no. eight, the activists were asked to maintain utmost secrecy regarding the

operations of *AGD* in Goa. They were asked to avoid public places like cafés, village *chawdis* as there was a fear that Portuguese informers in these villages would reveal the whereabouts of the *AGD* activists. Further the boards revealing the existence of the *AGD* local units, and such other identifications, were to be removed immediately and the activists were asked to maintain confidentiality by remaining underground.]

Territorial Topographic Survey Operations:

One of the major activities undertaken by the *AGD* in the initial days was the survey operation regarding the territory inside as well as on the border areas. From the point of view of underground guerrilla attacks that the *AGD* had planned to undertake in course of its struggle, the thorough study of the topography of Goa was absolutely necessary. Knowledge of Goa's terrain, that comprised of jungles, mountains and valleys, was one of the prerequisites for launching a militant movement in Goa. Lawande was aware of the significance of such a study that would help them in confronting the powerful Government machinery. Location of strategic points from where the activists could attack the Portuguese and then escape in the wilderness was very much important. Therefore, he laid great emphasis on the fact that this study should be undertaken on a priority basis. The founder members of the *AGD* divided themselves into three groups.

The first group was led by Dattatreya Deshpande who carried out exploration in the area between Pernem and Sawantwadi Border Region. They surveyed regions that covered the area between Reddi, Assnora, Banda, Dodamarg and collected information regarding strategic locations, suitable hideouts as well as gathered use full information regarding custom posts and police outposts in the regions of Mopa, Morjee and Palaye in Pernem *taluka*.³⁷

The second group led by Jadhav Master and Gavas Master examined regions of Sattari *taluka* that included Bicholim, Sakhli, Parye, Surla, and also inspected regions of Matne, Ambedgaon and other border villages. The supremo of *AGD*, and Narayan Naik who surveyed the regions in south Goa that included Canacona led

third group. They toured Talpan, Palolem, Majali, Galjibag areas Neturli, Goandongri and hilly areas of Khola were also reviewed. The *AGD* prepared a detailed report of their expeditions that highlighted strategic points and shelter spots where they could hide in case of emergency.³⁸ This reconnaissance activity of the *AGD* "had far-reaching benefits and was a significant move when we launched our actions."³⁹ Lawande, while stating the importance of this survey, reports stated that "only after preparing a through survey of geographical and other strategic locations we decided to launch our struggle."⁴⁰ Based on this fact-finding mission, the *AGD* prepared its scheme of challenging the Portuguese. They divided their activities into two provisional and long-term programmes. The provisional scheme included establishment of communication centres in these areas and through these centres to harness support for the underground struggle. The support of the people from these areas would provide for a strong base that would facilitate their military actions.]

Organisation of Training Camps:

One of the most significant requisites of a militant nationalist is to acquire the skills of fighting. Militant nationalist should learn to fight in different ways and use different means that would sometimes involve an offensive attack and also a defensive measure. Only then one can become a good underground worker who can challenge the established Government. Physical training accompanied by knowledge of technical aspects such as mechanics of communication systems like radio, telephone and other electronic media, knowledge of making maps and such other technical aspects is very important for a successful underground struggle. As has been rightly said "No one can become a guerrilla without undergoing a period of technical preparation."⁴¹]

Initial actions of the *AGD* were spontaneous and were limited in nature and therefore proved to be abortive. After their second action, that is, the attack on the van carrying cash from *Banco Nacional Ultramarinho* at Porvorim the *AGD* received a serious setback. Most of the members of the *AGD* like Sinari, Narayan Naik and

others, except Lawande, were arrested. This was a period of great test for its existence. *AGD* activities had almost come to a standstill. Moreover, Lawande had joined NC (G) and worked as its general secretary. Later Prabahakar Sinari escaped from the clutches of the police and joined Lawande in the border region.

With the arrival of Sinari, Lawande and other activists decided to revive the *AGD*. Past experiences had taught them that the actions to be launched against the Portuguese were not to be conducted in haste but required an organised effort. *AGD* was aware of the military value of such. *AGD* leaders were convinced that in order to fight the colonial state a band of trained revolutionaries was a must. The activists of *AGD* were to be trained in the use of violence. Therefore, they organised training camps that would prepare them in skills such as how to handle weapons, like revolvers, mortars, and various kinds of guns, ammunition and explosives.

A ten-day training camp was organised at Amboli in May 1952 to prepare fifteen volunteers. In the Amboli camp 15 volunteers participated under the guidance of Captain D.G. Gole, a retired army officer from Pune who had successfully organised such training camps for jawans on the India-Pakistan border. A Local leader from Amboli, Eknath Joshi, extended tremendous help to the *AGD* in organising this camp. Col. Sherjung Chaudhari's guidance in this matter also proved very fruitful for the *AGD* workers. An elaborate training programme was prepared by these colonels that included training in battle craft, application of fire, handling of rifles, grenades, map reading, battle drills, guerrilla warfare and the use of disguise.

Their training programme laid great stress on the conduct of guerrilla warfare. Elaborate lectures were organised on basic strategies involved in this method. In addition to these subjects like general strategy, tactics, organisation of underground propaganda machinery, mobility of guerrillas, surprise attacks, ambush, hit and run method, sabotage activities were some of the topics that were dealt in great detail in these camps.⁴²

As we are aware the underground movement demands not only the above-mentioned skills but also requires a cool head and steady hand in making explosive devices. Therefore, special training was imparted regarding the technicalities of grenades. The *AGD* workers were taught how to make explosives such as bombs dynamites, mines. They were taught about its mechanism that included stripping and assembly inspection, preparation and use. They were taught the method of throwing bombs as well the art of self-protection in case of emergency. The use of hand grenades and booby traps was also taken up.

In their first camp at Amboli, V. N. Lawande, Mohan Ranade, Prabhakar Sinari, Dattaram Desai, Tucaram Kankonkar, Mahableshwar Naik, Kanhoba Naik, Krishna Mainkar and others actively participated in the action.⁴³

As we have seen, use of firearms, explosives, conduct of guerrilla warfare, strategy of attack and defence were some of the subjects that were handled in these camps. Besides teaching these physical as well as technical skills a special emphasis was made on the indoctrination of volunteers. Lectures were organised on nationalism, revolutionary militant movements, both Indian as well as international, the concept of freedom and other subjects. Shamrao Lad, Nath Joshi, Sanjgiri Lawande and others delivered these lectures. After the success of the Amboli camp, such these training camps became a regular feature of the *AGD*'s activities and they organised these camps in Vazre, Kudal, Pargad and other places. Thus by April 1954 the *AGD* had around fifty- to-sixty volunteers trained in the art of militant warfare.⁴⁴

One finds that the *AGD* could not conduct their training with arms and ammunition in the Indian Territory, as the Indian government did not permit it. Therefore training in arms was conducted in the jungles of Morlem, Krishnapur in Sattari *taluka*, at Dudhsagar and Molem in Sanguem *taluka* and other subjects were taken up in the Indian territory at Amboli, Vazre, Kudal and other places. Lawande admitted that the

“Organisation of these camps was an uphill task. We had to organise them outside Goa as well as in Goa. We could not undertake any such activity that included the use of arms within the Indian Territory as it could be termed as an illegal operation according to the Indian law therefore training in firing guns and exploding bombs was conducted in remote places inside Goa.”⁴⁵

Propaganda Activity:

Propaganda is one of the powerful weapons of an underground militant struggle. It boosts the morale of the activists as well as strengthens the people's faith in the struggle thereby harnessing their active support for the movement. Moreover, it aims to shatter the enemy camp. The *AGD* had developed a strategy to attack the Portuguese colonial regime. They launched a three-fold attack on them: one by carrying out propaganda at the individual level; two, by publishing and distributing weeklies, fortnightlies, bulletins, pamphlets, leaflets and other literary material such as plays on the struggle, and thirdly, through radio transmissions, they tried to counter the colonial propaganda and attempted to convince the people of the significance of the militant ideology. *AGD* published bulletins like *Jwala*, *Kranti*, *Amcha Ladha*, *Navjeevan*, plays like *Jalata Gomatak*, leaflets like “*Magne ani Takid*” in English, Konkani, Marathi and Portuguese.

***Azad* Goa Radio:**

As the militant struggle progressed the establishment used various means to throttle the movement. In face of severe measures that were adopted by the authorities, it became very difficult for *AGD* workers to distribute written propaganda material in Goa. An urgent need was felt to have a transmission centre from which nationalist ideas could be broadcast to the people. This was possible only if they established a radio station. They seriously thought on this issue and a decision was taken to install *Azad* Goa Radio. While explaining their purpose of starting a radio station Sinari commented,

“We wanted to transmit the ideology of militant nationalism to the people of Goa. We wanted to instigate people against the colonial regime to get their support to the cause. Portuguese radio in Goa relayed all falsified news and disseminated colonial ideology. We wanted to confront this by relaying local news about the national struggle and also to provide factual data regarding our movement.”⁴⁶

Captain Gole, who trained *AGD* workers, made arrangements to procure a radio transmitter. This set was purchased by the *AGD* for RS 8,000/-. One of the major problems regarding this was where to install it. It had to be installed in such a place where there were no threats to it from the Portuguese. Moreover, it had to be in such place from where it would function regularly and effectively without any interruption. Lawande commented on this thus:

“In the initial stages we decided to function from across the border. We chose such a place that was neither with the Indian government nor with in the range of Portuguese authorities. We chose no man’s land and installed our transmitter there.”⁴⁷

AGD could not install the transmitter in Goa as it feared major threat from the Portuguese and unfortunately because the Indian Government did not approve of the *AGD*’s violent activities there was a fear that the Indian police would confiscate the transmitter. Therefore they had a place that would secure them from the above-mentioned authorities. They were successful in finding such a place at Ram Ghat, a remote village that was around fifty miles away from the Goa border.

It was from here that the *Azad* Goa Radio carried out its campaign. It announced news regarding various activities of the nationalists and also kept the people informed about the activities of the Goan émigrés settled in Bombay and other parts of India on every alternate day. At the same time on certain fixed days it broadcast the news of underground activities. Moreover, it rebuffed the false

propaganda of the Portuguese Goa Radio. It has to be noted that the transmission of the *Azad* Goa Radio was not smooth and faced a number of difficulties. *AGD*'s activities were noticed by the Indian police who suspected them of indulging in forgery of Indian currency and even raided the radio station. Since the Indian Government did not allow such activities the radio transmitter and other equipments were confiscated. Lawande, Captain Gole and other activists were put under arrest. After their release, the *AGD* once again started its transmission from Vazre in Pernem taluka but this invited a lot of problems and constant interruptions. Therefore, they decided to seek permission from the Government of Bombay to install a transmitter in their jurisdiction on the Goa border. Since permission was granted, the radio station was installed in the Goa-India border region and it functioned till Goa was liberated in 1961.

***Navjeevan* 'New Life':**

On 15th August 1959, the *AGD* launched a periodical named *Navjeevan* (New life) This periodical was published from Belgaum and was edited by B. V. Nayak. In its inaugural editorial, *AGD* explained the basic aim behind. The launch of this periodical. It pledged to conscientise the people of Goa by instilling new life in the struggle for freedom that was undergoing a phase of frustration. It further pointed out that this had resulted in frustration setting into the Goan political scenario and the movement had come to a standstill. It stated that this situation had strengthened the enemy camp who were tempting Goans with economic benefits and dissuading them from the national cause. In order to foil the vicious plan of the colonial regime, *Navjeevan* urged Goans to shed "tears, sweat and blood for the ultimate achievement of the nationalist objective."⁴⁸ It asserted that only complete independence from colonial rule and its reintegration with the Indian Union would restore lost glory to the territory and urged Goans to be united in their struggle.

It waged a tireless war to counter the myths and misrepresentation of facts that were being circulated by the colonial authorities regarding Goa's struggle. It

published articles on Portuguese colonialism and placed before the people the factual position regarding the Goa issue.

It also carried out a series of articles on the policy of the Indian Government towards the Goa issue and emphasised the point that the struggle of Goans against colonialism would not be successful without active support of the Indian Government. It pointed out discrepancies regarding the policy of the Indian Government in handling the Goa issue and pointed out that while on the one-hand, Indian Government stressed that Goa was a part and parcel of India, on the other, it was reluctant to permit the rest of Indians to take up the cause of Goa. It also criticised the Indian Government for not extending necessary help to the militant nationalist forces that were fighting to liberate Goa and pointed out that it was high time that the Indian Government changed its policy regarding the use of force in Goa.

In their subsequent edition *AGD* constantly and continuously urged the Government of India to actively intervene in the Goa issue. It appealed to them to give up their policy of peaceful methods in dealing with the dictatorial regime and adopt the use of force to remove the last vestige of colonialism from the Indian soil. Beside these issues, *Navjeevan* published various articles on the organisation of revolutionary struggle in the world as well as in India. It wrote about the underground movement of the Jews in the article "*The Revolt—Story of the Irgun*" which described the organised struggle of the Jews against the British and the Arabs. They also carried out articles on revolts and uprisings that were organised by Ranes and Pintos to challenge the Portuguese regime in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁹]

Plays and dramas:

In addition to the above-mentioned literature, the Bombay Cultural Committee of the *AGD*, led by Mussolini Menezes organised cultural events such as dramas and plays and wrote a number of plays that propagated the ideology of militant nationalists. They also staged such plays for the people. Sakhram Barve, an active supporter of the national struggle, wrote a play called "*Jalata Gomantak*" ("Goa in]

Flames”). The central theme of the play was based on Goa’s struggle for freedom mainly from 1954 and the contribution of *AGD* towards it. The play hailed revolutionary militant means vis-a-vis the Gandhian technique of non-violence, and asserted that Rani Laxmibai, Tatyá Tope, Vasudev Balawant Phadke, Bhagat Singh, Sawarkar and Subhashchandra Bose had a very significant role to play in bring the British imperialist regime in India to an end. Besides this the liberation of Nagar Haveli and its impact on Goa’s struggle was dealt exhaustively in this play. This play was first staged on 17th March 1956 at night at Sawantwadi. Later they continued to organise its shows in Bombay, Pune and Belgaum. While talking about the response that the play received. Mussolini Menezes, an active member of the *AGD*, commented,

“the play was very well received not only by Goans but also by the people of India. At the end of the play the whole atmosphere in the theatre used to be surcharged with nationalist aspiration. People expressed their anguish regarding the existence of the colonial regime on the Indian soil. We received a lot of moral as well as financial support by staging this play.”⁵⁰

AGD also staged plays on the Martyrs of Cuncolim written by Mussolini Menezes. It was performed on 28th January 1956 at Kawaji Jahangir Hall in Bombay.

A Konkani drama “Raoji Rano” depicting Rane revolts was organised at St. Xavier College Bombay. A Konkani play on the Pinto revolt entitled “Goan Priest Revolt” was staged at Sapru House in New Delhi. While speaking on this issue, Mussolini Menezes commented the plays served a “two-fold purpose, one was to spread word about our movement and other, to obtain financial aid.”⁵¹

Besides these activities *AGD* established its Ladies Wing in 1956. Mrs Silvia Menezes was its general secretary and this wing was entrusted with the responsibility of undertaking propaganda activity as well as fun collection drives. These activities were undertaken regularly on Sundays and on public holidays. The *AGD* volunteers

engaged themselves in door-to-door campaigns in Bombay, Poona and other places. They also paid regular visits to the “incoming ocean-going”⁵² ships at the Bombay docks and also visited railway stations to spread the message. Mrs Silvia Menezes stated that these drives aimed “to create public opinion in favour of Goa’s freedom-struggle and received good response from the people.”⁵³]

Jwala and Kranti:

AGD leaders were toying with the idea of establishing a printing press to produce literature that could disseminate the militant ideology among the people of Goa and this opportunity was provided by the Portuguese authorities who issued a search warrant against Janardhan Shinkre. Janardhan Shinkre was a teacher by profession and worked clandestinely for the nationalist cause from Chodan, a village in Tiswadi *taluka*. He had set up a printing press at Chodan and published *Jwala*, a weekly in four languages, that is, English, Marathi, Konkani and Portuguese. Through his fiery articles he exposed the misdeeds of the Portuguese rule.]

News of *AGD*’s daring attack on the van carrying cash from the bank cash was published in *Jwala*. The police arrested Naresh Sukhtankar and Dattaram Sukhtankar who were involved in the task of distributing the pamphlets. Search warrants were issued against Shinkre. In order to escape arrest Shinkre fled to the border region at Banda where he came in contact with the *AGD* leader Lawande.

With the help of *AGD* activists the printing press as well as copies of *Jwala* were shifted to Ambedgaon where the *AGD* had established its headquarters. It was from here that the publication of *Jwala* was continued. *AGD* accepted the task of distributing *Jwala* as one of its leading activity. *Jwala* was distributed in Bicholim, Mapusa, Panaji and Margão and was well received by the people. Lawande, while commenting on the significance of the publication of *Jwala*, said,

“We had developed a special distribution system to see to it that *Jwala* reached the people. This task of distribution benefited the *Dal* in two ways. One, it

indoctrinated the people, it carried a valiant propaganda against the colonial regime and created awareness among the people. This, in turn, helped to harness support of the people to the organisation and secondly, it provided for an excellent opportunity for the comrades to penetrate into every nook and corner of Goa. . This helped to establish contact in different parts of Goa that later proved to be very helpful.”⁵⁴

Unfortunately, the publication of *Jwala* could not go on for a long time as the authorities raided the *AGD* centre and its machinery was confiscated. Thus its publication came to a halt. Later in 1953 the *AGD* resumed its publication by printing a bulletin name *Kranti*. Besides *Jwala*, *Kranti*, *Navjeevan* and other literary material, *AGD* also published a weekly called *Amcha Ladha* (Our Struggle) in Marathi from 1956. This weekly kept the people of Goa informed about the activities of the *AGD* and carried news about the various actions undertaken by the organisation.

AGD's Active Volunteers Corps, who undertook valiant activities after 1959 on various check posts and police outposts, used to distribute leaflets in Konkani that warned the authorities. After the attack on Keri police outpost leaflets entitled “*Magne Ani Takid*” (“Demand and Warning”) “Our propaganda activities, thus systematically dinned into the ears of army personnel and the police force the sacred cause for which the people of Goa were fighting and how false was their (Portuguese) cause was in keeping people of Goa under subjugation against the people’s will.”⁵⁵ It called Goans to support the noble cause of the *AGD* that aimed to destroy the enemy of freedom and at the same time warned the authorities not to underestimate Goans and leave the shores of Goa immediately. AVC also distributed the Manifesto entitled “What Do You Mean by Freedom” in which they put forward blueprint of development for Goa after its liberation and integration with the Indian Union. Lawande pointed out that through “this systematic campaign *AGD* could harness support of the people to Goa’s struggle through revolutionary means. According to him this propaganda activity caused unrest in the Portuguese army and police and he pointed out that some of them even deserted the outpost, fearing the *AGD*'s attack on them. Such incidents became common after Nagar Haveli’s liberation.”⁵⁶

A massive propaganda activity was launched by *AGD* units in Goa, from 15th December 1954 to 20th December 1954. Almost whole of Goa was painted with slogans “*Azad Gomantak Dal Zindabad.*” *AGD* experimented with the novel idea of sending Christmas greeting cards to Portuguese officials and selected citizens of Goa that propagated nationalist sentiments. Shivoli centre undertook immense drive to paint slogans on canoes, ferryboats, Government offices, houses etc. Railway platforms as well as railway compartments were painted with slogans such as “Long Live *Azad Gomantak Dal*”, “Self rule within three months.” School buildings, walls of the classroom as well as school benches, were carved with nationalist slogans.⁵⁷ }

Establishment of communication centres:

Besides making use of the above-mentioned ways to spread the message of “*Kranti*”, or rebellion, the *AGD* also utilised the Marathi primary schools for this task. Let us analyse the role of these Marathi schools in spreading nationalism in Goa. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the Portuguese education policy rested on discouragement of education in the local languages. They imparted education in the Portuguese language and, as pointed out in the earlier chapter, this was a bone of contention between the locals and the colonial authorities. Madhav Bir had pointed out that the locals considered Government schools as a symbol of colonialism. The local Hindu community was not in favour of sending their children to these schools where nothing about the local Indian culture was taught to them. }

“Goans wanted to preserve their Indian culture, their local language, customs and traditions which was endangered by the colonial regime right from the time when they stepped on this land.”⁵⁸

Local people who wished to teach their children Indian culture opened private Marathi schools in the villages and invited teachers from the then Bombay state, that later was transformed into the state of Maharashtra. Prior to 18th June 1946, Marathi schools were allowed to function in Goa and hence these institutions could be used to

further the nationalist's ideas. These schools were conducted in the vicinity of the temple and the villagers arranged for the handled payment of fees to the 'master' (teacher) and such other expenses. And therefore these very schools would later became the breeding ground for political unrest. Flaviano Dias has pointed out that these Marathi schools not only made Hindus of Goa politically conscious but also tried to include the Christian community within the fold. According to him

“these schools inculcated a feeling, an awareness, among the average Goan that Goa and India were not separate entities as been badgered by the Portuguese educational institutions. Goa from its core represented the Indian cultural roots”⁵⁹

AGD took advantage of this state of affairs and utilised teachers to create awareness among the youngsters of Goa. As we are aware, the locals invited Mohan Ranade to teach in Goa; Ranade later became an active comrade of the *AGD* who shook the Portuguese with his valiant action in 1954-55. *AGD* founder-member Suryakant Naik was also a school-teacher, who taught in a school at Ekoshi.

While talking about the role of teachers in propagating the mission of the *AGD*. Lawande pointed out,

“a teacher was a central figure in the village. He enjoyed the same status such as the village elder and had a good rapport with the locals, They were revered and respected. Moreover, the locals approached them with their problems and sought their guidance in various social matters. Besides performing their regular duty of teaching the school syllabus they performed the noble mission of sensitising the locals to the political situation in Goa and inculcated in them the nationalist spirit.”⁶⁰

AGD decided to make the best use of this position and established contact with these teachers who were already teaching at several paces in Goa. While discussing

this issue, Lawande had spelt out some of the names of those teachers who associated themselves with the organisation in the early stages of the struggle. These were Gavas 'master' from Assonara, Jadhav 'master' from Shigão, Jayawant Kunde, Nagde 'master' popularly called Bhai, from Haldone, Chandrakant Vernekar from Kumbharjuva and others. Their assistance proved to be valuable to the *AGD* in harnessing the support of the villages to their cause. Moreover it helped them to conscientise the people and harness the support of villagers to cope with emergency.⁶¹

With the help of these teachers *AGD* drew up an elaborate plan to establish communication centres in the villages. According to this plan, in each village, two teachers were assigned the task of systematic and regular conduct of classes with a special emphasis on the creation of nationalistic feelings among the students as well as parents of the children. This also included a systematic effort to indoctrinate the villagers in militant nationalism. At the same time, these teachers had to locate the centres and shelters that would be suitable for the *AGD* Comrades. Moreover, the teachers gather information regarding the village and the surrounding areas and made arrangements for the guide to take *AGD* activists safely to their destination.]

Militancy in Action: Attack on Mapusa *Fazenda* and attack at Porvorim

Soon after the formation of the organisation, *AGD* workers had to face a number of challenges. First of all, *AGD* workers had no formal training in the art of militant strategy. They had not handled arms. Therefore, to teach the founder members use of arms was the basic need of the hour. Besides this, another problem that they faced was procurement of arms. In addition to this, they were plagued with the problem of paucity of funds. Procurement of arms as well as organisation of training camps required finances. They needed finance to carry on their activities and this was the most important task before them. Ulrike Menino of the Brazilian militant movement puts forward the significance of the procurement of finances in an underground movement in these words: "Money is the fuel of terrorism without it nothing runs."⁶² Thus *AGD* felt the need of finances at every stage. Though in the]

beginning it was successful in receiving donations from those persons who were sympathetic towards the struggle they soon realised that this financial assistance was no longer sufficient. Narayan Naik while talking on the issue stated “we did receive subscriptions from like-minded donors who sympathised with our cause but these were not sufficient for our survival.”⁶³ Hence, the *AGD* came to the conclusion that the teething problem of finances could be solved by looting Government institutions such as revenue departments or banks. The course of the struggle through militancy required great amount of resources to build up the organisation on a sound footing as well as to carry violent actions. This was the only way in which a revolutionary organisation could resort it self to. *AGD* also subscribed to this ideology and in the initial phase of their struggle restricted their activities of looting to Government funds alone. However there were instances when *AGD* activists engaged themselves in committing ordinary dacoities specially looting resources from pro-Portuguese persons. They attacked only those who had amassed wealth by dishonest means. Revolutionary thinkers like Aurobindo Ghose and others who propagated armed struggle against the British oppressor have expressed that no moral guilt can be attached to those dacoities committed for the national cause. However, these actions were in tune with all other militant organisations in India as well as in other parts of the world. Through the pages of revolutionary movement in the world history such as Italian armed revolution under leadership of Garibaldi and Russian revolutionary organisation also had taken recourse to such action. The revolutionaries of Indian national struggle had set a precedent in the use of dacoity. With this aim in mind the *AGD* members decided to attack the Mapusa *Fazenda* building. “revolutionary organisation means first of all a solution of financial problems. It is logistically correct, since otherwise the financial problem could not be solved at all. It is tactically correct because it is a proletarian action, it is strategically correct because it serves the financing of the guerrillas.”⁶⁴ According to the militant ideology “once they have abandoned normal morality and convinced themselves that anything is justified in pursuance of their cause”⁶⁵ then such actions of attack on the treasury office or looting

an van carrying bank cash and other such forms of procuring finances as kidnapping and hijacking become not only justified acts but acts of virtue.

Although the initial actions of the *AGD* were mainly motivated by the need to augment of finances, they also aimed at making

“an announcement to the people of Goa that the struggle had taken a violent turn and a section of nationalists had adopted the militant ideology and from now onwards the struggle for liberation of Goa would be fought by means other than those which were non-violent.”⁶⁶

As seen earlier, due to the setback that the non-violent movement received at the hands of colonial authorities there was a lull in the struggle. This had caused frustration among the activists.

The first attack launched by *AGD* was on the Treasury office in Mapusa on 21st July 1947. A group of six consisting of Prabhakar Sinari, Narayan Naik, Mukund Dhakankar, Dattatreya Deshpande and Suryakant Naik attacked the Mapusa *Fazenda*, burned down the office and tried to seize the cash. In a small skirmish, the security guard was gunned down. The whole plan to loot *Fazenda* was planned in Jayawant Kunde's residence. They had planned to steal the safe of the *Fazenda*, that is, the *Cofra da Fazenda*.

Though this attempt did not derive any monetary benefits, it did warn the Portuguese authorities of the existence of a militant group and raised the hopes of Goans who supported the nationalist cause. Prabhakar Sinari, while talking about this issue to me, said that the *AGD* activists had debated whether it would be wise to take up such a daring act without preparation. Lawande also stressed on the same point that they did not have requisite ammunition to challenge the Portuguese forces. Moreover, they were all inexperienced. However, after much discussion they decided to go ahead. According to them this action would kill two birds in one shot; it would

boost the lowered morale of the people starting armed activity and procure funds for the organisation.

The attack also provided an opportunity in guerrilla fighting and emboldened the *AGD* workers. It surcharged Goa with political tension and made the people aware of the *AGD*. Prabhakar Sinari, while replying to the interrogation conducted by the Bardez Court, stated that this action aimed to provoke “disorder, assault and violence”⁶⁷ in Goa.

AGD's attempt to raise funds had failed therefore a meeting was organised and this issue was once again taken up. After much discussion *AGD* decided to attack the train that carried Portuguese currency worth one lakh rupees to Belgaum on a regular basis. *AGD* made a careful study of the situation and noticed that only two armed guards guarded the treasury box and looting this train would help the *AGD* workers to stabilise their financial position. However the second thoughts this was abandoned as they found it “impracticable,”⁶⁸ instead they decided to attack the van on the Mapusa-Betim road that carried bank cash from *Banco Nacional Ultramarinho* to Panjim. Once again *AGD* struck in December 1947, and in a broad daylight ambushed a van that carried bank cash from *Banco Nacional Ultramarinho*. This operation was carried out on Mapusa –Porvorim road.

These two actions of the *AGD* proved contradictory to be abortive in receiving financial resources. However, they did create a stunning impact on the political front. The nationalist scenario was once again surcharged with a wave of enthusiasm and simultaneously it created a sense of fear and anxiety in the hearts and minds of the establishment. At the same time it must be mentioned that it had a crippling effect on the organisation as most of the leaders were caught by the Government.

The entire territory of Goa was put on alert and the *Policia da Estado da India* carried out a massive hunt for the “culprits”. The police succeeded in arresting founder members of the organisation, namely, Narayan Naik, Prabhakar Sinari,

“The Politics of Bomb”: The Final Battle with the Colonialist:

AGD made use of not only pistols, guns, revolvers, along with crude weapons such as sticks, rods, lathes, spears, stones and others, but also time bombs, dynamites, land mines, book bombs, fly bombs, molotov bombs, baby hand grenades, booby traps and other explosive material. The manufacture of bombs was “a significant activity”⁷¹ of the *AGD*. A special laboratory was established at Vazre under the supervision and guidance of Kuldip Singh, an expert scientist from Punjab, to prepare explosives and train *AGD* activists in this method. These bombs were manufactured with the use of gelatines and detonators.

As we have already seen in the second chapter, mining developed in Goa in the 1950's. The required raw material for preparation of explosives could now be obtained from these mines. *AGD* activists attacked these mines and looted the required raw material. However there were some mine owners in Goa who were supporters of *AGD* such as Dayanand Bandodkar, who had mines in Pali, Surla and Amona regions of Goa who later after Liberation became the first Chief Minister of Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. “He was our supporter and clandestinely lend his backing to our activists. We not only received gelatines and detonators but also gave financial help to the Dal.”⁷² Manohar Pednekar and Chandrakant Gaitonde of *AGD* kept in touch with Dayanand Bandodkar and collected the requisite amount of gelatine and detonators from him.

Earlier, owners were permitted to store a certain amount of explosives in their storehouses to conduct blast in the mines. However as bombs started exploding not only in mines but also at other places such as in Government buildings and police outposts, the Government became alert in this regard and increased its strict vigilance mine areas and specially patrolled near godowns that stored raw materials. This made the task of Dayanand Bandodkar to continue with the supply of raw material to *AGD* very difficult. “Moreover to smuggle manufactured bombs from Vazre to Goa also became very difficult due to Indian border police restrictions”⁷³ Therefore a decision

was taken by *AGD* to manufacture bombs within Goa. Instructions to this effect were given to Savoi-Verem centre by the *AGD* headquarters. Mohan Ranade and his group accepted this challenge and the Savoi-Verem centre decided to obtain the required raw material by attacking godowns and mines in Goa.

Ranade with his associates, Dasu Chaphadkar, Madhav Korde, Shambhu Palkar, Babani Tari, Rohidas Tari, Balkrishna Bhonsle, Laxman Hankonkar and others, raided the Bandekar mines at Pali. This attack was a joint effort of Savoi-Verem as well as Volvoi units of *AGD*.

Their plan of looting the godown was successful and they could capture a large quantity of gelatine and detonators. However on their way back, they came across police who were patrolling the Ponda-Honda highway. In this encounters one of the two policemen was injured and *AGD* activists successfully escaped with the explosive material. This event put Goa on alert. Casimiro Monteiro, the police commandant, began an extensive search for *AGD* activists. Pali, Surla and Amona regions were declared as sensitive areas and the police began their search to recapture the explosive material that was stolen by *AGD*. *AGD* activists had hidden the explosive material in a small canoe that was parked near Amona region. Unfortunately, the police sighted them and recaptured most of the stock. However, one quarter of the raw material was safely transferred by the *AGD* to three centres where bombs were manufactured. *AGD* used the bombs to derail railways, blast bridges and attack important Government buildings. Their main aim was to disrupt the communication system in Goa and paralyse the Portuguese administration. . On 28th March 1955, *AGD* successfully placed a time bomb at the palace of Adil Shah, now known as Panjim secretariat building. However, this time bomb was detected by the authorities and was defused.

However, *AGD* was successful in blowing up Railway Bridge No. 120 between Sawarde and Kale and was successful in paralysing railway transport facility on this route. *AGD* activists Rajaram Kenkre, Duliba Vishnu Pawar and Raju Naik

conducted this action. On 9th June 1955, Prabhakar Vaidya, with his associates, Rajnikant Kenkre and others, was successful in blasting the rail route between Castlerock and Goa. This created hurdles for railway transportation and caused much trouble for the colonial regime.]

AGD's plan to blow up Goa Radio Station

AGD had planned to blow up the Goa Radio station, which “propagated the nation of Portuguese sovereignty over the East and disseminated anti-India information”.⁷⁴ Prabhakar Sinari stated, “They carried out systematic propoganda against our Prime Minister Nehru and ridiculed him. This we could not tolerate.”⁷⁵

Kedar Anvekar, who worked as mechanical engineer at the Goa Radio station, was approached by the *AGD*. Anvekar had been educated in Bombay and was a staunch nationalist. During his studies he had come in contact with Goan freedom-fighters. Later, he had applied for a job at the radio station in Goa. It was a coincidence that Kedar Anvekar, who was residing in Merces, a village on the outskirts of Panjim, came into contact with Balkrishna Chopdekar, who was an active underground worker of *AGD*. This brought him close to the *AGD* leadership which now decided to use Anvekar to blow up the station.

After much deliberation and discussion, the *AGD* decided to carry out this operation in the month of July 1955. Kedar Anvekar was supplied with two time bombs, one was to be placed in the operation room and the other in the control room of the station. Since these bombs were heavy, Kedar placed one in the operation room and returned to his residence to pick up the other. Unfortunately, while he was setting the time on the bomb, it exploded prematurely.

Lawande, while narrating this incident, said that the bomb was so powerful that the entire room where Kedar resided was blown away. Kedar's body was completely torn into pieces and could not be identified.⁷⁶ This unfortunate tragedy revealed the entire plan and the bomb detecting squad made a thorough search of the

radio station and found the time bomb from the operation room and defused it. However, Anvekar's martyrdom served as a source of inspiration to the *AGD* workers.

The Use of 'Flag' Bombs

AGD used flag bombs when they celebrated the anniversary of Nagar Haveli's liberation in August 1955. According to *AGD*'s plan, the villages of Maye, Siolim and Palolem in Canacona *taluka* were to be captured temporarily and declared free as "a sort of token independence"⁷⁷ by hoisting the Indian tricolour at prominent places in the villages. However, these flags were not just flags but "bombs" *AGD* had envisaged that when police would notice hoisting of tri-colour they would immediately rush to the site to "pull them down"⁷⁸ Therefore, powerful bombs were planted at the root of the poles on which the flags were hoisted.

As expected, when the police attempted to pull the flags down, bombs exploded and injured four policemen at Mayem, three at Palolem and one at Shiroda who suffered heavy injuries and died. In this manner, these villages were "liberated" for nearly eight hours. Colonial authorities "feared to remove an Indian tricolour or even to come near it"⁷⁹

These Flag bombs were based on the "Molotov technique" or "Molotov Cocktail", a Russian technique in the Second World War to blast German tanks. In this technique, rubber and gasoline was stuffed in a bottle and was covered with a small container of acid. This container was then attached to a sugar packet. Russian soldiers threw the "Molotov Cocktails" at German tanks. As the bombs exploded, it generated tremendous heat, which forced German soldiers to rush out of the tanks and fall a prey to the waiting Russian soldiers.⁸⁰

AGD prepared flag bombs keeping in mind the same technique. Gelatine was stuffed in a glass bottle with battery wire and detonators attached to it. This bomb was placed at the root of the pole on which the Indian flag was hoisted. This attempt to

pull the flag triggered the bomb causing serious damage to the persons near the flag. *AGD* used these flags successfully against the police as well as pro-Portuguese anti-nationals. Prabhakar Vaidya noted that the police used to pull down the Indian national flag and trample on it. "This act hurt us tremendously. We were thinking to put an end to such anti-national actions".⁸¹ Vaidya took the help of the mining engineer, Sunder Rajan, who worked with P.R. Nayak, a mine owner who had his mines at Supa, Kudal and other places on the Goa -Karwar border. His association with Sunder Rajan revealed to him a book entitled, "*Nitro-based Explosives: Their Handling and Uses in Mining.*" This book revealed the "Molotov Technique" to the *AGD* activists who used it to prepare flag bombs and successfully strike terror in Portuguese officials.

Prabhakar Vaidya used flag bombs to teach a lesson to the *regedor* of Lolaye village, José Fernandes, who was notorious for his anti-national activities. He tortured and abused those nationalists who supported the nationalist struggle. Vaidya and his associates hoisted a flag bomb in an open ground near a school and a temple on a Sunday. The news of Indian tricolour hoisted on the pole spread like a wild fire in the village. Local villagers gathered near it and shouted slogans such as "Jai Hind" and "Lolaye mukti chiryu ho" ("long live freedom to Lolaye"). Jose Fernandes was permanently disabled while attempting to pull the flag down.

AGD made extensive use of this technique. On 5th August 1956 a flag bomb injured policemen at Shiroda near the Portuguese Primary School. The impact of the use of flag-bomb was very severe on the police force in Goa. It wrecked their morale and served as a "punishment" for having insulted the Indian national flag.⁸²]

The Use of Book Bomb

Like flag bombs, *AGD* used book bombs to terrorise the of Portuguese Government. *AGD* decided to punish beaurocrats and pro-Portuguese Goans by sending them "gifts" in the form of powerful book bombs. This decision was taken by the *AGD* at its Majali meeting. The plan was to be executed by Rosario Policar]

Leonardo de Silva alias Polly who was a young enthusiastic AVC volunteer. *AGD* also prepared its hit list of “anti-national, infamous and pro-Portuguese officers”. This list consisted of Josè Joaquim Militão Quadros, resident of Rai-Margão and a judge of the Territorial Military Tribunal, notorious for his colonial mindset and anti national approach. Nagesh Karmali, an active nationalist of the struggle, while discussing the issue with me informed how this judge used to ridicule freedom-fighters and used abusive language during the trials. He was responsible for infliction of severe punishments on the nationalists. Therefore his name featured prominently on *AGD*’s hit list.⁸³ Others on the list included the administrator of Panaji, José Fornato de Miranda, Damodar Mangalji, a mine owner and businessmen. Viscount of Pernem Deshprabhu, Socrates da Costa, Government official, and police commandant, Capitão Braz Pinto. From these six only four were chosen. According to plan, Polly posted four book-bombs from Panjim post office to Damodar Mangalji, Judge Quadros, Viscount of Pernem, Deshprabhu and Administrator Miranda. Before this action, *AGD* had issued a leaflet entitled “*Alert Traitors*” that warned the traitors not to indulge in anti-national activities. These leaflets were issued in all four languages, English Konkani, Marathi and Portuguese.

Judge Quadros received the “gift” on 12th April 1956. The bomb was placed in a book entitled *The Way of Life* authored by Marilenko, a Russian writer. The bomb was placed under a square white paper with a message written on it. Curiosity to read this message compelled the Judge to tear open the paper. The book bomb exploded, severely injuring the judge. The impact of the bomb was so much that his whole house was shattered. He lost his eyesight that he later recovered after an operation and his fingers were mutilated. The news of this blast spread like wildfire and the police undertook an exhaustive search for other such parcels. These were later apprehended from those individuals who did not dare to open them up. The bombs were taken into police custody and were defused.⁸⁴

AGD detonated a police outpost at Kudchire; they also bombarded a bridge at Mulgaon on Bicholim-Mapusa highway. The Assnoṛa bridge and the bridge at Thivim

were also damaged by placing land mines they blew up a police jeep patrolling in north Goa. *AGD* also attacked regional post offices by bombing them. Thus an attempt was made to destroy Government machinery by damaging transport and communication links. *AGD* also experimented with test tube bombs that were posted in some of the post offices.⁸⁵ While explaining to me how these bombs worked, Lawande said “these bombs were incendiary bombs. As soon as they were posted they used to explode, lighting the entire police office. These actions were usually carried out in the dead of night and to watch the lighted post boxes and local post offices was a treat to our eyes.”⁸⁶

Political murders or Assassinations (*Vadh*):

Assassination political murder or *Vadh* can be defined as the “killing of a person in public life from a political motive and without legal process.”⁸⁷ The revolutionary organisations normally chose a prominent personality from the political field as a victim and then they either hired a person to assassinate the target or prepared a volunteer from their own organisation to carry out the murder.

The first reference to the word assassination in a western language occurred in Dantes *Inferno* which was explained by a near contemporary commentator as “one who kills another for money.”⁸⁸

Political assassinations tend to occur most often in conjunction with guerrilla warfare that a militant organisation takes up against a despotic Government. A pamphlet entitled “*Bande Mataram*” issued from London in 1909 asserted the motive behind such acts in these words: “Terrorise the officials, English and Indians and the collapse of the whole machinery of pressure is not very far.”⁸⁹ According to revolutionaries, the persistent execution of such a policy would soon cripple the British in India. The revolutionary groups have always stressed that such assassinations is the best convincing method of paralysing the bureaucracy and arousing the people.

Motives for such “political murders” may be classified as personal motives, to seize power, diplomatic assassinations, murdering for national cause and others. These were not ordinary murders but acts usually directed against individuals in public life, motivated by political rather than personal factors. Most assassinations that *AGD* committed were politically motivated and occurred in the particular political context in which it aimed to create a systemic political impact on the public:

“These Assassinations were definitely deliberate, though extralegal. We supported the killing of an individual for political purposes.”⁹⁰

While they were realistic enough to realise that these attacks could not achieve the goal of liberation of Goa, they made use of these murders as a shock treatment. “We did not expect Portuguese to change their way of dealing with the nationalist forces. We were aware of the fact that dictatorial governments do not change their way with such minor acts, the only way they understand is the military coup that would overthrow such regimes.”⁹¹ *AGD* was fully aware that such assassinations would force the state into more draconian channels to hunt for the “culprits” and that it would invite state reprisals and vengeance. *AGD* did not derive any immediate personal benefit from these acts but did acquire an emotional and psychological uplift and the much-needed strength to fight the tyrants. It aimed to just give shock treatment to the autocrats and “to convince selfish rulers that selfishness has its limits of impudence”.⁹²

Tilak supported political murder committed by revolutionaries. He regarded them as the retaliatory measure against the oppression of the British government. He defended them as he argued that these murders were not for any personal cause but were “a sort of beneficent act”.⁹³ He further laid stress on the oppressive pattern of the imperial administration and pointed out that unless the authorities were singled out and individually terrorized they would not consent to change the system.

Most of the assassinations that *AGD* committed were against those police officers, informers, spies and Government officials who were hostile towards the freedom-struggle and were notorious for ill-treating the local population. Insisting on the tyrannical character of the victim, *AGD* claimed that their acts therefore aimed at eliminating those who caused tremendous sufferings to the people: “We could not just sit and accept injustice that was not our policy.”⁹⁴ *AGD*'s leaflet “Punish the Traitors” propagated this logic.

One such political murder that the *AGD* committed was of an informer named Kistod who resided in Savai-Verem and was notorious for his colonial affiliations. The plan to murder him was going on in the mind of *AGD* nationalists for quite some time and they were looking out for an apt opportunity and this opportunity was provided when Kistod pulled down the Indian national flag hoisted on a tree at Savoi-Verem and trampled and spitted on it. Under Mohan Ranade's leadership, *AGD* activists, Balkrishna Bhonsle, Manohar Pednekar and Krishna Pomburpekar planned to kill him. They rushed to his house in the dead of night, disguised as policemen who had come to him to collect information regarding national activities in Savai-Verem. When Kistod opened the door, they killed him Kistod died on the spot. The *AGD* activists did not cause any harm to his family members. Mohan Ranade while talking to me on the incident said “we did not even touch his son who was standing in front of us in a completely stunned position.”⁹⁵ He further stated that for us his presence was dangerous as he had seen us we could have easily killed him. But we followed one principle in such acts that only those who were directly responsible for anti national activists were punished by us.”⁹⁶

This action projects the humanitarian nature of the militant nationalists who had adopted violence as a method, It was an expression of their “righteous anger”. Revolutionaries referred to *Bhagwat Geeta* to justify that killing for a worthy cause was justified. Indian revolutionaries during the course of their struggle against the British rulers had appealed to the sons of India to rise and slay the firangis as the

Mother India was thirsty for the blood of firangis who had bled her profusely.... According to them killing the firangis was no murder.

Another assassination carried out by the *AGD* was under the leadership of Prabhakar Sinari of a forest officer named Marcelo Chaves on 27th April 1956 in the jungles of Sattari. This forest officer was on official visit to Sattari to survey Government land that was to be brought under a horticultural project. At Vagheri he confronted *AGD* activists, Prabhakar Sinari, Krishnarao Rane, Balkrishna Sawant, Appa Chodankar, Sukha Shirodkar, Rama Palkar, Vithoba Paryekar and Govindrao Desai. In fact this group was stationed at Vagheri to attack Casmir Monteiro the infamous police officer. "We had received information that he was coming to Sattari to carry out his search operations. We did not want to miss this opportunity of confronting him. Therefore, we waited for him in our hideout at Vagheri."⁹⁷ As Chaves approached *AGD*'s hideout along with his associates *AGD* activists mistook the forest officer for Monteiro and challenged him, Chaves at once fired shot at the activists and the activists retaliated. Chaves suffered heavy chest injuries and died on the spot.

In 1956, the *AGD* killed a police constable (*cabo*) named Jeronimo Barreto. He was responsible for the inhuman killing of non-violent *satyagrahis* at Karanjol on 15th August 1955. He had approached these *satyagrahis* in a tunnel and mercilessly butchered them. The stories of torture that he inflicted on the *satyagrahis* as well as other nationalists and locals were circulated and had reached the *AGD*. His use of third degree on the nationalists had mentally and physically disabled many. Such a notorious person was posted at Canacona police outpost. He continued his abusive behaviour not only to torture nationalists but also harass locals that included *pujaris* of Parthagal *Math*, the sacred place revered specially by the Saraswat community of Goa. He was responsible for hurting the feelings of locals by deliberately throwing muck on the *samadhi* of Swami of Partgal *Math*. He also abused and manhandled several Pujaris including Krishnanath Ramchandra Bhat and Srinivas Acharya who had objected to his insolent behaviour.

This news reached *AGD* headquarters at Belgaum. The leader of *AGD* called an emergency meeting to review the situation. In this meeting a decision was taken to give responsibility of handling Jeronimo to Prabhakar Sinari. He along with his associates came to Ardphond, a village near Partagal where Jeronimo resided. Sinari and his group attacked his residence and demanded that he should come out of his house. Since there was no response from Jeronimo to their angry calls, *AGD* activists blasted the door of his residence with a hand grenade and entered the house. Sinari and other fired shots at Jeronimo. He was dragged out of the house, beaten up and shot dead. In this incident, the father of Jeronimo was also killed as he rushed to save his son from the wrath of *AGD* activists. "Our victim was a tyrant who could not be reasoned with and for whom there is no alternative but death."⁹⁸

AGD also attempted to murder the notorious police officer, Casmiro Monteiro, who had intimidated local, by his vicious behaviour. He was a thoroughly despicable person, responsible for a number of hideous crimes in the name of defending the Portuguese state. Mohan Ranade had planned to shoot him at Farmagudi at the outskirts of Ponda. This was his regular route and *AGD* had planned to ambush his jeep. However this plan failed, as Monteiro did not travel in his regular vehicle and thus escaped. The Netrada unit of *AGD*, under the leadership of Kanhoba Naik, made another attempt on 15th December 1955. They had placed dynamite on Chandel road as they had received information that Monteiro along with his associates was to pass that area. The police jeep passed through the Chandel road and ignited the device, killing two police officers on the spot. However, Monteiro was not on duty on that day and therefore was saved. *AGD* made another unsuccessful attempt to kill Monteiro at Mopa and attacked a police jeep that was patrolling the northern boundaries of Goa. There was heavy exchange of fire that injured three policemen who later died at Ribandar hospital. *AGD* had also planned to kill the Military Commandant who resided at Betoda and was in charge of a large military force in north Goa. Mohan Ranade and his associates had planned to attack him at his residence. However, their attempt failed. During the month of April 1960 *AGD*

murdered pro-Portuguese elements *Pakhle* numbering around 22 and this had created panic among Portuguese authorities.⁹⁹ }

AGD Attacks on Police Outposts and Mines

Attacks on Police Outposts

The attacks on police stations were organised with the following aims: }

1. Disruption of law and order in Goa that would weaken the dictatorial hold on the people of Goa.
2. To “terrorise” Government machinery that operated against the nationalist movement. The police committed enormous acts of violence against the local population. As seen in the second chapter, the police force was given discretionary powers to ruthlessly muzzle the nationalist movement in Goa. Armed with such wide powers, the police force in Goa was engaged in inhuman acts of repression and many times their targets were innocent civilians. Therefore, strikes on police outposts aimed to counter the state violence.
3. The third very significant reason behind these acts was collection of weapons in order to engage in a “perpetual war” with the colonial regime.

The revolutionaries while justifying their aim of collecting weapons, declared “As long as every bullet bore the word *swadharna* and *swadesh*, every victim is just our oblation in the sacrificial fire.”¹⁰⁰

Azad Gomantak Dal in the initial stages was in possession of only two short-ranged weapons. Therefore, procurement of weapons and ammunitions as well as source for explosives was the biggest challenged them in the initial period. While stating the importance of collection of arms, Prabhakar Sinari said “we needed arms to defend ourselves from monstrous Portuguese forces and of course for assassination of obnoxious officials.”¹⁰¹

Lawande stated that

“our violent actions such as murders, bomb blasts were based on two broad principles. We wanted to avenge the crimes that the state was engaged in against nationalist forces, and secondly to see to it that our organization would stand safe and would be secured.”¹⁰²

Lawande informed me that after their attack on Mapusa *Fazenda* they could manage to get two rifles. They had also committed a dacioty in Ponda by attacking the house of a landlord. Moreover an attempt was made to procure arms from the princely state of Hyderabad. *AGD* activists like Babla Singbal, Narayan Naik and Prabhakar Sinari were in touch with activists of Hyderabad liberation struggle and could manage to procure arms and ammunition. However, as this was not enough and hence strikes on police outposts continued.

In December 1954, the Central Command of the *AGD* issued orders to its regional committees to organise attacks on police stations, military posts, mines and seize the stock of gelatine, arms and ammunitions and explosive material. The *AGD* activists conducted a series of successful raids on police as well as military outposts.

On 31st December 1954 the Savoi-Verem centre, under the command of Mohan Ranade, attacked the Banastari police outpost. The Banastari Police station at that time was located at the other end of Banastari Bridge and Mohan Ranade and his associates attacked it at around four am. Dasu Chafadkar, Shambhu Palekar and others overpowered the sentries guarding the station with only “lathis.” One of the sentries was killed in this attack.

Mohan Ranade and his associates, with the help of Krishna Mainkar and Krishnarao Rane from Sattari, led a joint attack on 9th February 1955 on the guleli police outpost near Patradevi, they captured arms, a few cartridges and seized two police uniforms.

Inspired by this success, the Savoi-Verem centre, under the leadership of Mohan Ranade, and Siolim centre, under the leadership of Kanhoba Naik, attacked the Assonara police station on 11th February 1955: “we locked the policemen on duty in the post and captured the weapons. Our raid was totally successful.”¹⁰³

This raid was followed by *AGD* action in the southern region on 22 February 1955. The Canacona centre, led by Dattaram Desai, launched a heavy strike against Partagal forest outpost. Prabhakar Vaidya, an active *AGD* volunteer, prepared an elaborate plan to attack the Cuncolim police station on 13th April 1955. “ This date had significance in history as on 13th April 1919 India had experienced the worst event in history of colonial rule, that is the Jallianwala Bagh incident.”¹⁰⁴ *AGD* decided to attack Portuguese on the very same date to commemorate the martyrdom of hundreds of innocent civilians. In this operation the Majali centre, along with Castlerock centre, successfully raided the police station and captured large stock of arms and ammunitions. Police led a massive hunt in the village in search of “criminals.” Around two hundred houses were searched and approximately one hundred persons were arrested and repression became the order of the day.

Before this, the *AGD* had raided the Calangute Police station. Prabhakar Sinari had led the Valpoi-Bicholim units against the Ravan military post, Kalem police station as well as Aldona police station were raided in the month of May. On the 27th May 1955 *AGD* successfully attacked Aldona police outpost wounding one policeman and seized arms. On the very same day another group of *AGD* attacked Salem custom outpost. *AGD* also attacked *Regedor* of Ibrampur and *Regedor* of Charão and punished them severely for the abuses inflicted on innocent Goans.

AGD had kept their activities on hold during 1955 *satyagraha* and devoted their energies to lend support and muchneeded help to non-violent *satyagrahis*. *AGD*'s base in the border regions proved to be of tremendous help to non-violent *satyagrahis* to enter Goa. *AGD*'s Knowledge of the lay of this land proved to be helpful to the non-violent *satyagrahis*. Later in 1956, *AGD* resumed its efforts.

On 14th Feb 1955, Majoli unit under leadership of Dattaram Desai and others that included Prabhakar Vaidya raided the custom outpost of Sopangodi (Canacona). The police were overpowered and ammunitions were captured. This was followed by their attack on 19th March 1956, in which the *AGD* commandos set fire at Pale outpost in Sattari and captured the large stock of ammunition stored there. *AGD* also engaged itself in “minor operations” such as dislocating telegraph and postal services, disrupting road, rail and river traffic to paralyse the Government.]

Ambush:

AGD also of ambushed police jeeps that patrolled in the territory of Goa. On 6th May 1961 Goa commandos attacked 18 Government jeeps at Morle in Sattari taluka. This abuse on the government jeeps sent waves of jitter in the Portuguese camp. Much before this incident, on 16th January 1956, *AGD* activists had ambushed a Portuguese police Jeep at Chandel injuring the driver of the jeep. They captured arms and set the jeep on fire. This was followed by attack on a police jeep at Mopa. These attacks were direct or with the use of land mines. He further informed that our attacks forced Portuguese Government to be on alert round the clock. On 14th February 1956 Lt. Col. Rafael Alves, chief of staff had to come down to Goa to carry out investigation and inspect the security arrangement of the Portuguese army. This was specially done to sabotage the heightened militant activities.¹⁰⁵]

Buses that were plying on remote hinterland routes were also attacked. *AGD* activists claim that they had burned down around five to six buses. At the same time they pointed out that care was taken not to harm innocent passengers: “As soon as the buses were caught hold of by our workers, all the passengers were asked to stay away from them and the vehicles were set on fire.”¹⁰⁶ In this way they tried to paralyse communications and create panic among the Portuguese authorities.

From 1959 till the liberation of Goa on 19th December 1961 one finds that there was a great upsurge in violent actions in Goa. In Lisbon there was great discontent against the Portuguese dictatorship. General Umberto Delgado with a band

of seventy armed men had captured a Portuguese ship. There was a bid to capture Angola and Cabo Verde. Angola and Mocambique and other Portuguese African colonies were involved in their own struggle against the colonial state. Umberto Delgado had planned to associate with these revolutionaries and capture Lisbon as well as O Porto. Though this attempt failed, it had given a boost to the morale of violent revolutionaries in Goa.

The outbreak of revolt in Angola and Mozambique proved to be a blessing in disguise as the Portuguese Government diverted its military forces to these colonies. This was a golden opportunity to the *AGD* to attack the Portuguese with renewed vigour. *AGD* expressed their views through *Navjeevan* and asked people of Goa to support the universal struggle against Portuguese colonisation. They urged Goans to uproot the colonial rule.

On 22nd March 1961 the *AGD* attacked the Keri military outpost in Sattari taluka. This sent a shock wave in the Portuguese camp who alleged the Indian Government was supporting such activities to weaken the border. *AGD*'s leaflet, *Magne ani Takid*, declared open war against the Portuguese and called this attack as the first step to put an end to colonialism in India.¹⁰⁷

On 25th April 1961 the *AGD* attacked the Betim police station and captured weapons. In this encounter, the chief of the police station, Antonio Viegas, was killed. This attack was very significant to *AGD* as on the same date Mohan Ranade attempted to capture the Betim police station and had failed. Police arrested Mohan Ranade and later tried him in the Territorial Military Tribunal and sentenced him to exile.

These attacks completely shook the Portuguese authorities who felt helpless and they abandoned the military outposts in the northern border region at Keri, Molem, Pali and Sanquelim. Fearing attack on the capital city the Portuguese government tried to stay put at Marcel, Ribandar, Shiroda and Mardol and increased its staff in Salcete. The *AGD* attacks in the border region proved to be very significant

as *AGD* could harness public support by establishing communication links with the Dhangar community of this region. These contacts later proved to be important when the Indian military charged Goa. The *AGD* attack had already weakened the morale of the Portuguese forces and, therefore with not much resistance, the Portuguese government surrendered to the Indian military forces. As it became clear that the Indian army would attack Goa, *AGD* immediately drew up a plan to “expedite the entire process”¹⁰⁸

According to Lawande when the Indian army came in, *AGD* was in control of the larger part of the bordering area. A week before “Operation Vijay” Dodamarg outpost was vacated by Portuguese Government same was the case with Ravan and Assnora and sattari. *AGD* assisted Indian army and lead them to certain places and gave them all the necessary information and supplied them “pilot volunteers” to lead them to the capital city of Panjim.

Attack on Mines

As has been discussed in the second chapter, mining as an industry developed in Goa in the 1950s. It saved Goa’s bankrupt remittance based-economy and to some extent Goa witnessed prosperity. According to *AGD*, development of mining industry was nothing but the “looting of Goa’s natural resources for their own benefit.”¹⁰⁹ According to them this industry was disastrous for Goa’s agricultural sectors.

AGD aimed to rock the foundation of Portuguese imperial power on every front. Therefore a decision was taken to disrupt mines that were saving the Portuguese weak economy and were creating a wrong impression that the people of Goa were living under better economic conditions than the people across the border. Moreover, as has been discussed earlier in the chapter, these mines were stocked with explosives. Motivated with the aim to cripple the economy of Goa and capture the explosive material stocked in these mines, *AGD* attacked mines at various places.

Chowgule M/S and Company had its mines at Shirgaon. After successful raids of *AGD* on their mines located in Goa, police were put on the alert and had increased patrolling in the vicinity of mining areas. Shirgaon mines that had large quantity of explosives were kept under strict vigilance and were guarded constantly by the police as well as by the company's security guards. To strike at this mine was a challenge and Prabhakar Sinari accepted this. In this operation, eight centres of *AGD* coordinated. Around fifty commandos from Vazre, Talere, Kankumbi, Netrada, Maye, Assnora, Shivoli, Pomburpa attacked Shirgaon mine and captured large amount of gelatine and other explosive material. Bandekar mines also suffered a heavy attack at their hands.

This had very adverse effect on the investors. Japan was one of the nations that were interested in investing capital in the mines in collaboration with local investors. But after these attacks they showed reluctance to invest in Goa as they feared that political instability would lead them in trouble. Therefore, local investors like Chowgule and others approached the Portuguese Government to take stringent action against the militant revolutionaries.

Liberation of Nagar Haveli

As stated earlier, diplomatic efforts to solve the Goa issue failed. Government of India's futile attempts compelled political forces that were working towards self-determination for Goa realised that the Goa issue would not be solved through bilateral means and decided to launch stern action on their own.

Political organisations such as NC (G), *AGD*, Goan's People's Party, United Front of Goans (UFG) began preparations to strike at the roots of Portuguese colonisation. The following paragraphs will discuss the activities of these organizations with special reference to the role played by *AGD* in liberating Nagar Haveli.

Events leading to Liberation of Nagar Haveli

Liberation of Dadra

On 22nd July 1922, United Front of Goans liberated Dadra that was a part of Nagar Haveli, a district of Daman. In 1783, Portuguese conquered Nagar Haveli and Dadra, part of Nagar Haveli came under their control in 1785. Thus these territories of Gujarat region along with Daman and Diu became part of the Portuguese *Estado da India*.

The UFG was an offshoot of NC (G) that was led by Francis Mascarnehas and Vaman Narayan Desai who walked out of NC (G) on account of serious differences with NC (G) leadership and formed a separate political organization. UFG was formed in 1950. It also engaged itself in the process of liberation of Goa Daman and Diu. It was in touch with Government of Bombay State that was headed by chief minister Morarji Desai. The leaders of UFG put forward their plan of liberation of Dadra to Morarji Desai. He supported UFG'S plan of action and agreed to lend support on the condition that UFG activists who would enter the territory of Dadra would not carry any arms from the state of Bombay. UFG activists agreed and entered Dadra without carrying a single weapon. However, once they entered Dadra, they managed to acquire some weapons from the locals who were supporters of the liberation struggle. They acquired guns, revolvers, knives, and *lathis*. These weapons were very inadequate as compared to the Portuguese police force. The activists were armed with passion to liberate this territory and this was enough to turn the tables on the enemy. Armed with courage and spirit of confidence, UFG workers launched attack on the police outpost of Dadra. In fact, the UFG had made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Dadra on 19th July 1954. However, their second attempt met with success and they could overpower the colonial police force and Dadra was liberated on 22nd July 1954. This was a significant event in the history of Goa's struggle for freedom as it marked the beginning of the end of Portuguese rule in India and motivated *AGD* to take immediate steps to liberate Nagar Haveli. Liberation of Dadra

by the United Front of Goans exposed the myth of invincibility of Portuguese rule in India.

According to the leaders of *AGD*, they had made plans to liberate the entire Nagar Haveli. Lawande asserted that they were preparing to attack Nagar Haveli on 15th August 1954. He stated, “we had planned to launch our action and that would coincide with the proposed Freedom March of NC (G) in Goa that was organized on 15th August 1954.”¹¹⁰ Criticising UFG’s action in Dadra as “untimely action”¹¹¹ he stated that this forced *AGD* to “prepone” their plan and attack Nagar Haveli immediately. Mohan Ranade who was carrying out nationalist activities in Savai-Verem also commented that when he first heard the news of liberation of Dadra, he was convinced that it was “our action”.¹¹² Though there were some differences between *AGD* and UFG regarding this incident, nationalist, were happy with the fact that the Portuguese had been dealt serious blow.

Sudhir Phadke, the well-known music composer and an active worker of *Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS)*, has supported *AGD*’s claim that plans of liberation of these enclaves were being prepared since 1952. His personal diary provides valuable information regarding this issue. According to him, Appa Karmadkar who was an employee of *Banco Nacional Ultramarinho* and who worked clandestinely for *AGD*, had come across files of Anna Mayenkar of Goa Congress Committee. These files contained valuable information regarding geographical conditions and strategic location of Nagar Haveli. Anna Mayekar had personally surveyed these territories in 1947 and had filed these reports. However, his untimely death had left the work undone. Appa Karmalkar made a careful study of these reports and began visiting Vapi to establish contacts with nationalist forces in Nagar Haveli around 1952-53. *AGD* workers upheld Appa Karmalkar’s plan and they approached Trimbak Bhat, an activist of *RSS*, to chalk out a plan for action.¹¹³

Series of deliberations took place between *RSS* activists and *AGD* workers in the month of April as well as in May 1954. An important meeting in this regard took

place in the vicinity of Elphinstone College in Fort area of Bombay. This meeting was attended by *AGD* leader, V. N Lawande, Shamrao Lad, Appa Karmakar and *RSS* volunteers from Bombay and Pune, namely Trimbak Bhat, Raja Vadanda, Nana Kajrekar, Madhukar Mahajan and Sudhir Phadke.¹¹⁴

Some important decisions were taken at this meeting. Firstly, in order to make provision for funds, it was decided to organise a concert of Lata Mangeshkar in Pune. Secondly, a very important decision was taken by *RSS* that they would participate in this activity in an on individual capacity and not as workers of *RSS*. This decision was taken as the then Congress Government of Bombay did not share a favorable relationship with the *RSS* and therefore their participation under *RSS* banner would create more hindrances. A month later, once again the activists met and took a very crucial decision that even if the Government of India expressed unfavourable approach towards an armed attack on these territories, they would go ahead with their plan of action. Once this decision was taken, they began to make preparations for the “proposed action.”¹¹⁵

However as we have seen, *UFG*'s capture of Dadra on 22nd July was criticized by Lawande as a premature action organized by some “over zealous nationalists.” This action had left the major area of Nagar Haveli, with its capital city Silvassa, “stupidly untouched.”¹¹⁶ And according to him this was a “major threat”¹¹⁷ to the newly liberated Dadra. Therefore, *AGD* immediately rushed to liberate Nagar Haveli.

While emphasising the need to attack Nagar Haveli, Lawande commented that at this stage “clouds of frustration”¹¹⁸ had gathered on the nationalist front. Eight years had already passed since Lohia had launched his 18th June protest in 1946. Still Goa remained a colony. “We wanted to take up action that would strick terror in the hearts of the enemy and would bring down the prestige of Salazar and simultaneously generate great enthusiasm among nationalists to carry on the struggle for liberation.”¹¹⁹

AGD had initially aimed to develop itself as a militant branch of the NC (G) but this was not acceptable to the latter. “we wanted to challenge the Portuguese with two pronged attack one by non-violent peaceful *satyagraha* on Goa front and simultaneously by capturing the weakest link.”¹²⁰

NC (G)’s Decision to launch Direct Action

As discussed in Chapter VI, NC (G) had very little hope that the Goa issue would be solved by peaceful means owing to the unyielding fascist rule in Portugal. However when the Government of India decided to tackle this issue at their level by diplomatic means, it kept *satyagraha* on hold and undertook other open activities that would go along with Government of India’s mission of peaceful negotiations. At the same time they constantly reminded the Government of India to adopt rigorous action against the Portuguese rulers. NC (G)’s fear proved to be logical and as expected the negotiations between India and Portugal failed to deliver the goods. On 11th June 1955 India closed its legation in Lisbon. This political development motivated NC (G) to restart the struggle at its level through the method of direct action.

NC (G) under the presidentship of Peter Alvares, once again devoted its energies to restart individual as well as mass *satyagraha* action. In a public meeting organized at Belgaum on 5th July 1954 the decision to launch *satyagraha* action was announced. Mahadev Joshi, B.R. Sukhtankar and others attended this meeting.

Difference of Opinion between Peter Alvares and V.N. Lawande on means

As has been pointed out earlier, Lawande had joined NC (G) once again in 1948 after the unsuccessful raid on Mapusa *Fazenda* and the van at Porvorim. The embryonic organisation was in disarray after the arrest of his founder members Narayan Naik, Mukund Dhakankar, Prabhakar Sinari and others. This left no choice for Lawande to go underground and re-join NC (G) in 1948. During 1950-51 he was holding the important position of General Secretary in this organisation. Although he continued to be with NC (G), he simultaneously mobilized his efforts to consolidate

the revolutionary organisation. He secretly organised training camps to prepare a band of young volunteers who could take up arms in due course of time.

While talking on this issue, Ramesh Hodarkar had pointed out that Lawande had joined NC (G) in 1948 and had accepted the significant position of its general secretary “to prove to the Portuguese that he was not a mere criminal as they were calling him, but a represented leader of Goans.”¹²¹ However he further added that though being in NC (G) “he did not fully subscribe to the concept of non-violence.”¹²² Thus under the “coat” of NC (G), Lawande continued to work towards constituting a militant organization that would take up arms against Portuguese colonialism.

Being with NC (G) gave him an opportunity to put forward the idea that his group could operate within NC (G) as its “wing” like *Rashtriya Seva Dal* of Indian National Congress, “a sort of volunteer corps”. However, he failed to convince NC (G) regarding this matter. Peter Alvares who took up the mantle of NC (G) was opposed to this idea and this marked the beginning of serious differences between them on ideological grounds.¹²³ Peter Alvares, the well-known socialist, tried to activate the “On Paper” NC (G)’s struggle by proposing an action plan. His plan included introduction of improvised technique of agriculture based on Japanese method of rice cultivation that would increase production of rice. His socialist ideology directed him to do something to empower the peasant community and bring peasantry under the fold of nationalist struggle. At the NC (G) meeting held at Vazre in 1953 Peter Alvares had put forward his idea in front of NC (G) workers.¹²⁴

However, Lawande totally disagreed with this scheme and voiced his objection to such a programme. According to him, such activities could be unsuccessful under the realm of dictatorship. He stressed that to supplement such socio-economic programme the establishment of democratic government was necessary and this could be possible only when the Portuguese had been ousted.¹²⁵

After the Vazre meeting the differences between two came to the fore. Thus with diametrically opposite approach of some of the members it was difficult for NC

(G) to work towards achieving its goal. Soon NC (G) announced its decision to launch non-violent *satyagraha* action in 1954. On the other hand, Lawande and his associates began their preparation to launch violent action to liberate Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

Expulsion of Lawande:

As serious differences had emerged between Lawande and NC (G) on the means to be adopted, the NC (G) decided to expel Lawande as his policies were contrary to the non-violent policies of NC (G). NC (G) cancelled the primary membership of Lawande and his associates. Lawande very strongly reacted to this decision and heavily criticised NC (G) president Peter Alvares as “arrogant dictator”¹²⁶ and insisted that the *AGD* was a voluntary wing of NC (G).

Replying to *AGD*'s allegations, NC (G) issued clarification in which it rejected *AGD*'s claim that it was a wing of NC (G) and asserted that *AGD* in its capacity as an organization did not belong to NC (G) nor was it a constitutional wing of NC (G). NC (G) made it clear that Lawande had joined NC (G) in his individual capacity. It justified its decision to expel Lawande as Lawande was spreading wrong notions in the Goan political circles that *AGD* was a wing of NC (G) and since NC (G) was committed to pursue its goal with non-violence, *AGD* and NC (G) could definitely not go together.¹²⁷

Thus, the expulsion of Lawande opened a new page in the history of Goa's struggle for freedom as Lawande now openly declared the establishment of *AGD* as an independent organization based on revolutionary ideology and began to prepare for concrete action to liberate Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

Rampant Repression:

NC (G)'s decision to restart its non-violent direct action had alarmed the Portuguese authorities in Goa. They pursued all the techniques of repression and left no means unturned to see to it that the proposed non-violent action of NC (G) was

unsuccessful. From 18th June to 30th June 1954, more than 200 activists of NC (G) were arrested and mercilessly tortured.

House search became the order of the day. Police arrested civilian on mere suspicion, detained them in jails and treated them inhumanly. The NC (G)'s committee working in Goa, that consisted of Gopal Apa Kamat, Pandurang Mulgaonkar, Ganaba Dubhashi, Nanda Gaitonde, Felix Cardoso, George Andrade, Shamrao Madkaikar, Shivaji Sawant and others, was arrested before the Committee could launch its proposed action.

Earlier, on 17th February 1954, Pundalik Gaitonde a well-known surgeon, was arrested as he had protested the statement of a Portuguese bureaucrat that Goa was a province of Portugal. Gaitonde's arrest and the other repressive acts of the authorities convinced the *AGD* activists that the non-violent direct action of NC (G) "would not deliver the desired goods and the only way to teach them (Portuguese) a lesson was to strike them with planned violent action."¹²⁸

Course:

Mobilisation of activists:

Fall of Dadra had tremendously upset the *AGD* camp. After the news it convened an emergency meeting of the Working Council and took the decision to liberate Nagar Haveli, as "liberation of the tiny area of Dadra, without the major area of Silvasa, the capital, Nagar Haveli, would not serve any purpose. Moreover, the United Front of Goans did not have "any plan or resources such as manpower to liberate it."¹²⁹ Therefore *AGD* decided to immediately rush to Nagar Haveli.

AGD immediately sent messages to its volunteers scattered in different areas of Goa and assured them to report to the Vazre camp. *RSS* volunteers were also contacted and messages were sent to Bombay, Pune, Daman and other places such as Sangli, Dhule, to immediately start for Nagar Haveli. Mohan Ranade while discussing

this issue stated, "I received message from the *AGD* leader who was based at Vazare. Bala Paryekar, an *AGD* worker, asked me to immediately to proceed to Goa border immediately."¹³⁰ They both reached Vazre to join Krishna Maienkar had come from Aronda from there they left for Belgaum. At Belgaum, Tony Fernandes and Prabhakar Vaidya from Cuncolim were already stationed. Prabhakar Sinari, Dattaram Desai, Kanhoba Naik, Krishnarao Parab had already left for Karambela.

RSS activists were also mobilising activists in Pune. Baba Saheb Purandare, an active worker of *RSS* and a well-known historian, has stated that while he was caring out his routine study in *Bharatiya Itihas Sanshodhan Mandal*, a research institute in Pune, Vasudev Ganesh Bhide a *RSS* worker, approached him and said to him "Raja Vakankar has called you immediately to meet him. Volunteers are leaving to liberate Nagar Haveli."¹³¹ *AGD* volunteers had already stationed at Lawacha, a small village near Nagar Haveli, along with some *RSS* activities. Baba Saheb Purandare, V.G. Apte, Raja Vakankar and others joined V.N.Lawande Prabhakar Sinari, Appa Karmalkar, Shamrao Lad, Nana Kajrekar, Shantaram Vaidya, Vishnu Bhople and others early in the morning of 2nd August 1954.

Local people of Nagar Haveli were also mobilised. Sudhir Phadke a well-known singer who has contributed to the Bombay film industry, organised his musical programme at Lawacha. All the volunteers disguised themselves as a musical troop and entered Lawacha. A local village headman, Jayanti Bhai Patel, organised a clandestine meeting of locals and volunteers to decide on the plan of action. Nana Kajrekar, who was working in disguised as a farmhand on Jayantibai Patel's, property had harnessed support to local population and prepared the base for proposed action.

The *AGD* activists who participated in Nagar Haveli action were Prabhakar Sinari, Shamrao Lad, Manohar Krishna Pednekar, Dattaram Uttam Desai, Kanhoba Naik, Krishna Babli Mainkar, Appasaheb Rane, Tukaram Hari Gaonkar, Atmaram Dhaktu Mayenkar, Vishnu Puti Pednekar, Sakharam Kavlekar, Vishnu Bala Shirodkar, Ramesh Phondur Naik, Tony Fernandes, Sadguru Sawardekar, Anand

Thali, Namdev Vasu Vernekar, Appasaheb Karmalkar, Vishwanath Lawande and Mohan Ranade and others.¹³²

The *RSS* group consisted of Raja Wakankar, Nana Kajrekar, Sharad Mungi, Vasantrao Zanzle, Pilaji Jadhav, Trimbak Bhat, Dhanaji Jadhav, Vasantrao Badve, Raman Gujar, Vajjubhai, Gajjubhai, Shantaram Vaidya, Sharad Joshi, Dhanaji Burungule, Vishnu Bhople, Vishwnath Naravane, Shyam Bhat, Govind Bhai, Sudhir Phadke, Shantaram Apte, Babasaheb Purandare, Namdev kanchi, Mukund Kelkar, Ramdas Inamdar, Venket Deulkar, Balkrishna Bhide, Chandrakant Kelkar, Manohar Nirguli, Govind Malse, Raghu Kunte, Visu Dabke, Yashwant Kajrekar, Sadubhau Patil, Bindu Madhav Joshi and others.¹³³

Collection of Funds:

Collection of funds to execute their plan of action was one of the challenges faced by *AGD*. Monetary assistance was a must for purchase of weapons as well as to mobilise workers from Goa, Pune, Bombay and other places to Nagar Haveli. In their meeting in Bombay, the issue of raising funds had come up and the activists had decided to organise a music concert of India's well-known singer, Lata Mangeshkar, on 19th April 1954 on Hirabag ground in Pune. Mohammad Rafi and C. Ramchandra, a veteran music director, were to be the other main participants. The real intention behind this show was not disclosed as there was a fear that the Government of India would raise objection for such plan of action. Therefore this show was to be organised for a very personal reason. The programme was launched in order to celebrate the occasion of birthday of Sudhir Phadke's son, Sridhar Phadke. Sudhir Phadke was a well-known figure in Maharashtra and this show received very good response from the people of Maharashtra. However, unfortunately, Lata Mangeshkar while on her journey to Pune, with her troupe met with an accident, near Thane and therefore the show was cancelled. However, this programme of musical concert finally took place on 22nd May 1954 and this was a grand success. The funds raised by this show were utilised for the liberation of Nagar Haveli.

Besides this the “liberators”, the *AGD* activists along with *RSS* volunteers from Pune, organised door-to-door fund collection drives in Pune, Bombay and nearby areas. “The response of the Poona people was very encouraging. Even Goan students studying in Pune joined us and collected money throughout the day”.¹³⁴ Volunteers were stationed at Poona railway station to make collection of funds for Nagar Haveli attack.

Collection of Arms:

There was a dearth of modern weaponry with the activists. They could collect seventeen rifles, one pistol, six revolvers and seven hand grenades. With scarcity of arms some of them did not understand how they could wage an attack on the enemy. Those who did not carry guns and hand grenades were armed with sticks, axes, spears and also carried *lathis*. The activists could not assemble weapons to attack Nagar Haveli as Indian Government had kept strict vigilance on the border areas and it was not possible for the activists to carry arms across to Nagar Haveli. Later as they crossed the Bombay borders and entered NagarHaveli, arms were supplied to them by locals from Nagar Haveli.

Sudhir Phadke clandestinely took a rifle to Nagar Haveli by hiding it in his guitar box. The India Government policy against use of force against Portuguese Government made it very difficult for the “liberators” to go armed to attack Nagar Haveli. However, though there was scarcity of modern weaponry, the activists were armed with nationalist spirit that made situation tilt in favour of the activists.

Capture of Naroli:

AGD volunteers along with *RSS* activists marched on Naroli singing the “*Dal Geet*” “*Age Badhte Jaye, bus Age Badhte Jaye*” *Azad Gomantak Dal ke hum kahi na rook paye... Nagar Haveli le lenge hum, Le lenge Silvasa ...*¹³⁵ Fired with the spirit of liberating Nagar Haveli they proceeded towards Naroli under the leadership of Shamrao Lad, Prabhakar Sinari and Raja Wakankar. Naroli was a significant and a

strategic point that was three miles away from Indian border region on the way to Silvassa, the capital city of Nagar Haveli. The capture of Naroli had a strategic importance that would give the volunteers a strong base from where they could launch their attack on the capital city. Therefore the “liberators” decided to capture it first and then proceed towards Silvassa.

On 28th July 1954, “liberators” consisting of *AGD* and *RSS* volunteers that numbered around twenty-four attacked Naroli. Sudhir Phadke while narrating the event said “ we attacked Naroli amidst a very rainy night and Darotha river was over flooded.”¹³⁶ He further stated that with the “help of ropes we crossed the river.”¹³⁷ Prabhakar Sinari, “To cross the roaring rivulet, a tributary of Damanganga, was a great challenge to us and we did it with much difficulty.”¹³⁸ He explained how they tied ropes to their waist and proceeded towards their target. “This was a great lesson to us that on such operations one required strong cooperation and coordination between volunteers.”¹³⁹ “Liberators” crossed Darotha River in almost one hour and reached Naroli around 3 am in the morning. They staged an attack on Naroli frontier police outpost that consisted of six constables. The authorities did not expect any such attack and they were in shock. They surrendered to the “liberators” without much resistance. Mohan Ranade stated, “Naroli was liberated without even firing a bullet.”¹⁴⁰

Liberation of Silvassa:

Success of Naroli had boosted the morale of the “liberators”. Now they were all set towards their next goal of liberation of Silvassa, the capital city of Nagar Haveli that was seven miles from Naroli. The capture of Silvassa was planned after much discussion and deliberations. Since Silvassa was a capital city it had a very strong force that would defend it. Therefore, the “liberators” did not want to take any chance. They decided to launch a three-pronged attack on the city by dividing themselves into three groups. All the three batches were to close in on Silvassa.

As per the planning, one batch attacked the Piperiya outpost that was one and half miles away from Silvassa. The other attacked Silvassa from south and the third group proceeded towards the east. According to Ranade the volunteers “ numbered around hundred”. Ranade further stated that “we attacked Silvassa on 2nd August 1954 by bursting bombs.”¹⁴¹ He confirmed that these were not real bombs but firecrackers that are normally exploded on festive occasions such as *Ganesh Chaturthi* or *Diwali*.

Few shots were fired by Prabhakar Sinari and Raja Wakankar that was “enough” to strike terror in the heart of the enemy and the colonial forces “timidly” surrendered without much resistance. Babashaheb Purandare, in his dairy, has noted that when they reached near Silvassa and had to cross a small bridge to reach the police outpost they had seen a slogan written with charcoal powder that stated “Conquest of Silvassa tomorrow on 2nd August 1954.”¹⁴²

With the fall of Silvassa the “liberators” were overjoyed and the atmosphere was filled with slogans of “*Jai Hind*” and “*Bharat Mata ki jai*.” The liberators immediately brought down the Portuguese Flag, “the symbol of enslavement”. Prabhakar Sinari, who like other nationalists had undergone tremendous mental as well as physical harassment and was victimized for activating the nationalist cause, could not hide his antagonism and immediately tore the flag into pieces. Sinari’s anger was witnessed by another activist who immediately put this event down in the form of a *Powada*, a folk song in Marathi. I quote “*Sthambhavarli Nishani gulamgirichi Takli todun dili zaminiwar fekun mitwali nishani gulamgirichi. Dhvajhache Tukde Karuniya dhawale, Prabhakar Sinari Sarsawale.*”¹⁴³ (“Portuguese Flag, a symbol of slavery, that was hoisted in front of police outpost was brought down and thrown on the floor, to wipe out the traces of enslavement, Sinari rushed towards it and tore it into pieces.”). Later, he entered the police outpost broke the frame that contained photographs of Salazar, tore his photograph and spitted on it. Salazar’s photo was later replaced with the picture to Lord Krishna.

During the course of their Silvassa action, the “liberators” arrested around seventy policemen and five civil administrative officers. However captain Fidalgo who was holding the position of administrator of Nagar Haveli, police commandant Falcão, Police Inspector Pegado and some armed policemen managed to escape from Silvassa and took shelter in Kandevel. There were fears that these officials, with the help of resources drawn from Daman, would recapture Silvassa. Therefore, under the leadership Prabahakar Sinari, thirty five *AGD* activists, that included Kanhoba Naik, Dattaram Desai, Krishnarao Rane, Prabhakar Vaidya, Rajendra Desai, Anand Thali, Krishna Mayenkar Tukaram Gawas and others, proceeded towards Khandevel and captured it on the 10th August 1954. They arrested eighty policemen and secured liberated Nagar Haveli.

At Khandevel, Sinari addressed a gathering of local *Warli*, a tribal community and hoisted Indian tri-colour amidst ovation. As a part of the ceremony, bullets were fired in the air. People of Nagar Haveli enthusiastically responded by raising slogans of “*AGD Jindabad*”, “*Jai Hind*” and “*Long live liberation of Nagar Haveli.*” Prabhakar Sinari put forward the future plan of *AGD* regarding the liberated territories to the people, that *AGD* had planned to commemorate 15th August 1954 and officially declared liberation of Nagar Haveli and would ask Indian government to take Nagar Haveli. During the transitional period, *AGD* would act as the caretaker of the liberated area.

On 15th August 1954, T. B. Cunha unfurled the Indian tricolour on the ramparts of Nagar Haveli and officially announced its liberation. These events received worldwide attention as it began the downfall of the Portuguese colonial hold in Asia and Africa. The Portuguese Government reacted very strongly against this act and asked the Indian Government for the right of passage to send its troops to recapture its lost territories. The Indian Government denied such a right to passage. This furthered strained relations between the two and Portugal approached the International Court of Justice and filled a case against the Indian Government in

demand of the right to move in its troops. The case continued and in 1959 the International Court of Justice gave its verdict in favour of India.

The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli was a very momentous episode in the process of decolonisation of Goa, Daman and Diu that exposed the legend of the supremacy of Portuguese imperial hold in Asia and Africa. On the other hand it gave a moral boost to the nationalist forces that with full dynamism launched a fight against the Portuguese colonialists.

Helping Hand Extended to 1955 *Satyagraha* Action

In addition to this *AGD* extended helping hand to *satyagraha* in 1954-55 and they were also involved actively with NCG in negotiations and networking as has been discussed as under.

The *AGD* disillusioned with *satyagraha* had adopted armed action however, it was not “averse”¹⁴⁴ to the use of this method. Hence, it was ready to render all kind of assistance to the *satyagraha* campaign organised by NCG: “we were willing to help the *satyagraha*.”¹⁴⁵ During the 1954 *satyagraha*, *AGD* was engaged in the liberation of Nagar Haveli and hence could not help the *satyagraha* to a greater extent. They could only permit the NCG activists who entered clandestinely in Goa to use their centres located along the border. For example Anthony D’Souza stated that his clandestine entry to Goa was arranged by the *AGD* centre in Sawantwadi.

At this time the *AGD* directed its commandos to operate in those areas that were not earmarked for *satyagraha*. This was done with a view to impress upon the Portuguese, two different forms of protest made use by the Goans. Hence it was hoped that the Portuguese would meet out approximate punitive action in keeping with a method of protests used by the Goan freedom fighters. Lawande asserted that they took every step to see to it that their activities did not adversely affect the non-violent *satyagraha*.

During 1955 mass *satyagraha* action that was organised on 15th August 1955, *AGD* suspended all its activities and decided to co-operate and co-ordinate in “in all aspects and were committed to do anything short of offering *satyagraha*.”¹⁴⁶ *AGD* could not offer *satyagraha* but were nearly to take up activities that “would help the *satyagrahis*.” *AGD* centres along the border region right from Aronda in Sawantwadi Vazre, Neterda, Castlerock, Majali, Kankumbi and in the south, where he issued special instructions “to be prepared,”¹⁴⁷ and to provide all kind of assistance. *AGD* study regarding the hinterland and territorial geography that they had undertaken in the initial years made them “good guides” to assist the non-violent *satyagrahis* in their march across the border. According to Jayantrao Tilak, *AGD*’s guidance proved valuable as Government of India had suspended transport facilities and had raised all kind of hindrances to us.”¹⁴⁸ *AGD* with their established contacts in border villages arranged for foodstuff like *chapaties*, *Bhakri*, fruits, milk and other eatables to be provided to the *satyagrahis*. They also provided for medical assistance to injured *satyagrahis* with first-aid facilities. The non-violent *satyagrahis* who came across the Ghats from all over India recollected the valuable help rendered by Lawande and his group to them that have made their action possible.

Negotiations and Networking

Another activity with which the *AGD* was involved, was networking with like-minded nationalist organisations from both within Goa and outside. The important events that *AGD* co-ordinated with NCG and other organisations were The Goan Political Convention, The National Campaign Committee The Afro-Asian Conference as well as the Seminar organised on Portuguese Colonialism that aimed at bringing together individuals and institutions that were working to ring the curtain on Portuguese colonialism in India. All these aspects have been discussed extensively in the previous chapter that enjoyed the wholehearted support and participation of *AGD*.

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- ⁴⁸ *Jwala* was Published by Goan National Conference and its founder members were Janardan Shinkre, Guilrmo Ticklo and P.R. Kuncolikar. *Jwala* was replaced by

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SCENES OF LIBERATION OF NAGAR HAVELI

Forces of Liberation in Action



RSS Liberation Force



AGD Commandos



RSS Activists



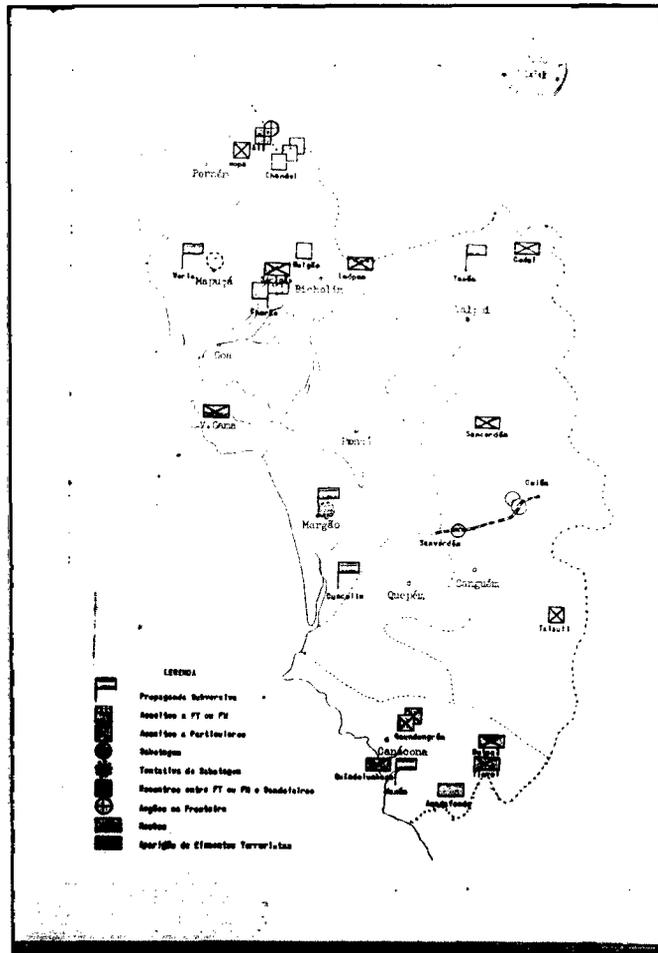
AGD Activists



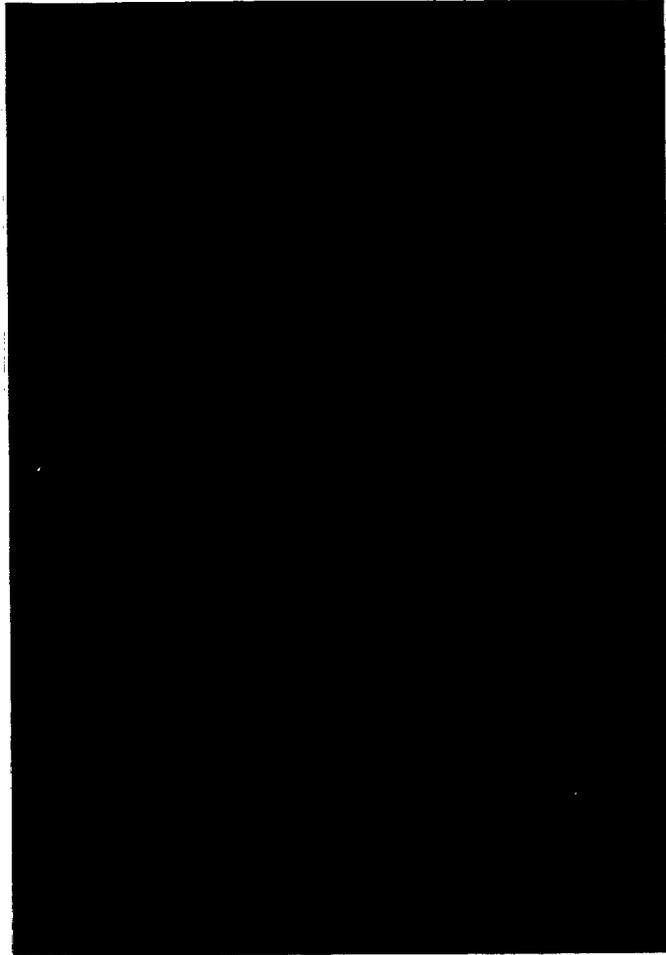
Meeting Held to announce Liberation of Nagar Haveli



**Map indicating heightened militant action in Goa.
(Picture 1)**



**Map indicating heightened militant action in Goa.
(Picture 2)**



CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

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Conclusion

“Freedom can never be had by begging. It has to be got by force. Its price is blood. We will not beg freedom from any foreign country. We shall achieve freedom by paying its price... We shall pay the price of our freedom with our blood...By doing so, we shall lay the foundation stone of national unity.”¹

--- Subhash Chandra Bose.

In 1498, Vasco da Gama’s epoch-making journey opened a new chapter in the history of the world. On one the one hand, it brought glories to Europe and on the other it proved to be critical for the Asian, African and American continent. These regions, for the next three-four centuries experienced the colonial domination of Europe in the political, social, cultural and economic fields. The process of establishment of European dominance over these regions by turning them into subservient cultures gave way to what can be termed as colonialism.

Colonialism was manifested in the settlement of territory, the exploitation of its resources, and the politico-economic and socio-cultural enslavement of the colony that was often accompanied by violent exploitation of the local population.

What was the motive behind the invasion of the unknown foreign lands by Europe? The European countries justified their actions by promoting the theory of white man’s burden, that God had bestowed on them the great task of “civilizing” the “ignorant savages” of the colonised lands. This so called civilizing mission thus became the main argument in favour of legitimisation colonization.

Balandier George, while pointing out the basic characteristics of colonialism states that it reflects the domination of an alien minority that asserts

its racial and cultural superiority over a materially inferior local majority. According to him it is the contact between a machine oriented civilisation with Christian origin, a powerful economy and a rapid rhythm of life and a non-Christian civilisation that lacks machines and is marked by a backward economy and a slow rhythm of life and thus it is the imposition of the first civilisation upon the second.²

This foreign rule resulted in economic exploitation, deprivation of freedom of faith, suppression of culture of the people of the occupied land and deprivation of basic rights. Colonialism does not result only in economic misery but it also leads to socio-cultural degrading as Nicholas B. Dirks puts it that colonialism is a “cultural project of control.”³ It is not just the result of the power of superior arms, military organisation, political power or economic wealth but as of cultural onslaught on the locals through which colonialism is nurtured, sustained and strengthened as happened in Portuguese Goa.

As has been discussed in Chapter II, Afonso de Albuquerque introduced the policy assimilative policy of mixed marriages between the Portuguese and the Goan population to strengthen the Portuguese hold by producing an obedient and servile progeny, loyal and faithful to the royal crown in Portugal.

The policy of miscegenation was accompanied by attempts to convert “pagan” souls into Christian souls through brutal means. Conquest of Goa by the Portuguese brought Goa under a Catholic monarch. Portugal had claimed that their main aim in embarking on the conquest of the East was to spread the word of Christ. Therefore *Padroado Real* (Royal Patronage) and the Papal Bulls conferred on the state the exclusive right to subjugate the territories to spread the Christian faith.

Thus Portuguese policy did not restrict itself only to conversion of locals to Christianity but this meant denial of traditional Indian way of life and adoption of the lusitanian culture. Conversion was the first step towards this cultural

onslaught. The Goa Inquisition prohibited the converts from practicing the Indian way of life. They had to forgo their Indian names, dress, customs and manners. Like all other colonial power, the Portuguese made use of education as tool to promote the colonial control. Education was used to de-link the local population from their original culture and to impose an alien culture on them. The policy of evangelization, and assimilation had devastating effects on the local population and led to the denationalisation of Goans as been argued by T. B. Cunha, the foremost nationalist, vehemently attacked this policy of mass conversions that led to the brutal sacking of the locals.

The policy of religious intolerance as well as racial discrimination that was practiced by the Portuguese was responsible for raising the banner of revolt by the locals against the foreign oppressor. The local resistance continued well into the twentieth century when the struggle of Goans to emerge free from the subordinate colonial status and join the sovereign republic of India took a significant turn.

The freedom fighters, with whom I interacted, while stating the nature of Portuguese colonialism spoke about poor economic opportunities, neglect of education backward social conditions. For them freedom was a matter of self-respect and self rule and only if they had self-power they could think to “create a new Goa”. Restoration of basic civil rights denied to them by Salazar, freedom from Portuguese colonial rule and reintegration with Indian Union were major aims of the national movement launched in Goa and cultural freedom that would weed out the denationalised characteristic of the colonial state. According to them, Goa’s struggle was a “movement of the people” that aspired to be freed from colonial shackles. It was to gain fundamental rights that were denied to them by Salazar’s dictatorship. Moreover it was a part of the broad-based struggle launched by the Indians as well as rest of Asian and African nationalists against western colonialism.

Nationalism was the most powerful force that dominated the mid-twentieth century. Third world countries it emerged as the most significant sentiment as response to colonial onslaught of the West. The Third World countries that toiled under the subjection of European imperialism rose with their full strength to challenge the unjust colonial domination. These countries influenced by the ideal of self-rule, experienced tremendous growth in political consciousness and were fired with the spirit of nationalism. Nationalism to Carlton J. Hayes is as a “fusion of patriotism with a consciousness of nationality,”⁴ that constitutes a historical process that establishes the modern political institution of a nation. To Hans Kohn “ it is the first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness...the individuals identification of himself with the ‘we-group’ to which he gives supreme loyalty”.⁵ Anthony H. Birch has defined nationalism as a political doctrine that describes loyalty to the state. It is a political movement that based on nationalist ideal aimed to attain and defend national integrity.⁶

Though liberation and self-determination are universal phenomenon, each nation encounters them in its own particular way. Manifestation of nationalism differs widely according to regions, history, cultural traditions and social structure. All these factors play a significant role in shaping the nature of national consciousness.

National self-awareness is chiefly a sense of affinity with a definite social ethnic community, an awareness of one’s relation to the material and spiritual requirements of its progressive development. It depends on the historical level of the community and its individuals.

As mentioned earlier, nationalism in Asia and Africa based itself on a feeling of collective grievances against foreign rule. It sought freedom from the oppression inflicted on them by the alien rule. The ideology of nationalism emphasised the fact of foreign rule itself is an affront to human dignity. Thus here

the national question was historically fused with a colonial question. The assertion of national identity was therefore a form of struggle against colonial exploitation. Nationalism thus developed as a movement of opposition to colonial rule accompanied of the movements for the nation building.

Nationalism as an ideology asserts itself in three stages. Stirrings are the first stage wherein nation becomes aware of itself as a nation suffering from oppression. With this political awareness people begin to refute alien “myths” notions and foreign ways. It is the period that seeks to revive the local cultural identity by casting away the imposed identity of foreign rule. In the second stage the politically conscious people raise the banner of struggle to achieve independence from the colonial rule. Acts of peaceful protest, demonstrations violent manifestation of anger against foreigners is expressed very vitally in this stage. The third stage of nationalism involves consolidation of nations self-respect. For example, nation that has achieved independence strive to consolidate and maintain its national integrity.

If one analyses India’s independence struggle based on these three stages it is realized that the socio-religious movements that promoted cultural revivalism formed a part of the first stage of nationalism which was followed by the actual struggle for independence that was launched with violent as well as non-violent methods. The third stage of Indian nationalism began with independence. India’s attempt to consolidate itself by integrating the princely states and liberating the remaining Indian territories from the French and the Portuguese hold aimed to maintain the national unity of the country.

In India nationalism emerged as an organised political movement to further the aims and the interests of the people of India *vis-à-vis* imperial exploitation of European powers. The Indian national struggle was a reaction to the repressive policy of the British Indian Government, their racial arrogance and economic disparities. Though initially it was confined to the elite community, the

doctrine of nationalism in due course of time spread in the Indian subcontinent taking recourse to different techniques, sometimes-violent methods and at other times, constitutional means. Large number of people joined the Indian national Movement. By mid-twentieth century Indians witnessed two parallel movements, a revolutionary movement organised by those who believed in gunpowder nationalism and a non-violent *satyagraha* by Gandhi.

The sense of solidarity of people assumed a mass character. Nationalist like Aurobindo Ghose, Bankim Chandra conceptualized Indian nationalism as a mother who was in chains of British oppressors. Furthering a vision of free and united India Aurobindo Ghose stated a free and united India will be there and the mother will gather around her sons and wield them into a single national strength in the life of a great and united people.

It is generally stated that the spirit of nationalist consciousness was a British legacy. Indian nationalism was a by-product of British rule. No doubt British rule generated the high spirit of nationalism and there is ample evidence that it was British colonial exploitation that inflamed the flames of nationalism. However to say that national consciousness was entirely a British product is entirely wrong. This sense of national solidarity was present in ancient India. The concept of *Bharatvarsha*- united India was the basic feature of ancient polity and culture. *Bhismaparva* of *Mahabharata* highlights the spirit of national consciousness. Indian *Vedas*, epics, *puranas* echoed the sense of patriotism and political consciousness that stressed on the ethical ideal of the well being of the people and freedom of the country that was threatened by aliens. This was called *Svadharmā*. Ancient Indian patriotic conception revolved around the Mother-cult *Janani-bhakti*, devotion of oneself to the mother earth the sacred land.⁷

The intense devotion to *Bhutadhatri*, the earth mother is expressed in “Bharathavakya” in *Mudraraksha* of Vishakadatta. The poet has stressed on an urgent emergency of giving protection (*avanavidhi*) from the aliens, that is

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सलमा

- 1) 'Azad Gomantak T. - ?
- 2) Role of Satyagraha for freedom struggle.

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Mlecchhas, to her. Therefore, I would like to refute such claims that nationalism, as a principle was imported from Europe. According to me spirit of nationalism formed a basic principle of Indian cultural polity. However, whenever the freedom and independence of *Bharatvarsha* was threatened this spirit erupted as a volcano to challenge the enemy of the country.⁸

As mentioned earlier, the Indian national movement that developed to oust the colonial European powers from the Indian soil and to build a free and united India made use of peaceful as well as violent methods to achieve their goals. In fact before the advent of Gandhi and the experiment in the use of *satyagraha* technique, the violent revolutionary movement formed the mainstream of the national struggle. Both these methods of protest, that is *satyagraha* and violence were adopted by the Goans during the course of the territory's struggle for freedom from colonial rule during the period, 1946 to 1961, through the agency of organizations such as NC (G) and the *AGD*.

The present thesis was conceptualized with a view to analyse Goa's struggle for freedom with reference to the multifaceted responses of the National Congress (Goa) and the *Azad Gomantak Dal* to the colonial regime while undertaking a critique of the Portuguese colonial regime in the context of which Goa's anti-colonial struggle was launched in the twentieth century. The thesis therefore makes an evaluation of the reaction of the Salazarist dictatorial regime to the nationalist struggle in Goa and an assessment of the impact of the struggle on the Government of India. Finally, it has examined the factors that ultimately resulted in the Indian Army's "Operation Vijay".

On 19th December 1961 "Operation Vijay" was successful in freeing the Indian subcontinent from European colonial hegemony. Goa had joined the anti-imperialist movement when the national struggle for independence against the British had reached its peak. At that very crucial juncture, when the British were planning to leave the Indian territory, Lohia kindled the torch of direct nonviolent

action against Portuguese colonialism, thus bringing it into the national mainstream crusade for freedom.

The process of decolonisation of Goa, with two parallel movements that the Goans simultaneously launched, one of nonviolent pursuit through the method of *satyagraha* and other with the technique of gunpowder nationalism, has been focus of much debate and discussion. Therefore, in this thesis an attempt was made to analyse Goa's struggle in detail in the context of the methods and techniques used by NC (G), the non-violent organization, as well as *AGD*, the militant underground organization.

WAS NC (G)'s adherence to non-violence a tactic or principle?

NC (G) was a united front that represented all Goans who believed in nationalism. Therefore, even those ideological currents were permitted to function within it that were committed to non-violence as a tool but did not believe in it as an ideology. For example, Vishwanath Lawande who was disillusioned with the method of non-violence was not only accepted in the organisation but was entrusted with the work of General Secretary in 1950. Of course this was a strategic move to strengthen anti-Portuguese forces. The other very prominent example that could be cited is of Peter Alvares, the leader of *Praja Socialist Party*, who became president of NC (G) in 1953 and worked diligently to make the Goa issue a national issue and organised the 1954-55 *satyagraha* with support of *Goa Vimochan Sahhayak Samiti* that was constituted of non-Congress activists who were Socialists, Communists, Royists, activists of *Janasangh*, *Bajarang Dal* and others.

A very positive feature of Goa's struggle during 1953-55 was its ideological and organized open-endedness. It assumed the dimension of a broad anti-imperialist movement of an entire Indian people. It included within its ranks widely divergent ideological and political tendencies that could freely participate against the imperialists. This ideological openness thus enhanced the possibility

of transforming Goa's struggle into a political expression of the historic movement of all anti-colonial forces and it acquired an all-India character. The NC (G) adopted non-violence as a tactic and not necessarily as a principle. As has been already discussed in Chapter V, *satyagraha* was used as a means to pressurize the Government of India to take up the case of Goa. I have elaborately brought out this aspect of the organisational strategy in the above-mentioned chapter where the views of the then President of NC (G), Peter Alvares, have been analysed to indicate that for them non-violence was just a means; its strategy did not have a "purely non-violent approach".⁹

Therefore the *satyagraha* action of NC (G) could not reach the level of *satyagraha* movement conducted by Gandhi to fight the British. According to Madhav Bir moral aspect involved in non-violence could not be obtained. While criticising the *satyagraha* action conducted in Goa's struggle he had confessed that the activists working towards it "wanted a short-cut."¹⁰ He has further stated that they did have "patience to wait and see the awakening of the people which is an inherent necessity in a non-violent struggle."¹¹

It appears from the above statement that the *satyagrahis* who participated in the action were not "convinced *satyagrahis*" and as non-violence was the only means that was acceptable to the Government of India, NC (G) had to adopt it. Further one can come to the conclusion that if the Government of India had given the green signal to NC (G) to adopt violence as a method "NC (G) would also have accepted violence".¹²

In a sense these statements can be backed by the fact that if one takes note of the participation of the *satyagrahis* that joined the nonviolent struggle they belonged to those political parties such as Praja Socialist Party, *Jana Sangh* and others of the non-Congress front. Peter Alvares, a Praja Socialist activist, led the NC (G) during the 1954-55, period. Therefore, when mass *satyagraha* action of 1954-55, after having world-wide reaction did not compel Nehru to send in armed

forces for reasons already discussed in Chapter V, and the Government of India's strict decision to ban *satyagraha* as a strategy adopted to solve Goa issue, NC (G) toyed with the idea of establishing a "revolutionary Council". In their joint letter, Peter Alvares and T. B. Cunha, taking the existing political conditions into account and the reluctance of Government of India to take concrete action regarding Goa, had expressed their mind "to raise a cadre of Goan resisters". At the same time they had told Nehru that they would take care "not involve the Government of India" and would "respect its policy."¹³ It appears from the above-mentioned facts that some members of the NC (G) were toying with the idea to drift away from its non-violent policy. This became a reality when a group of former NC (G) members that included Urselino Almeida, Augustus Alvares, Shivaji Desai, Jayasingrao Rane, Ramesh Hodarkar and others formed the Goa Liberation Army in 1956. GLA carried extensive violent actions on the Goa front that nearly rocked the Portuguese authorities.

While discussing this issue with me, Lawande reacted very strongly regarding the formation of GLA and stated that this organisation had Peter Alvares's "blessings". According to him the very existence of this group was in "contravention" of the principle of non-violence that NC (G) had advocated. He further questioned that if finally NC (G) supported the formation of a violent organisation then why did it did not accept *AGD* as its wing and expelled it in 1954. He called Alvares "patron" of GLA and said that it was formed when Alvares realised that the *satyagraha* action would not produce the "right" results. He accused the NC (G) leadership of creating a division in the struggle by introducing a group based on violent means when the *AGD* believed in the same strategy. He also referred to the clash between these two groups and stated that due to this "a number of actions of the *AGD* had to be suspended inside Goa."¹⁴

On the issue of "Patronisation" of GLA by NC (G), Madhav Bir has stated that NC (G) did not directly support GLA. Flaviano Dias has also subscribed to this view and had stated that the members of NC (G) who wished to follow the

“other path” were told to leave the organisation. “We had adopted non-violence as a method constitutionally, how we would allow those persons to continue in our organisation who wished to follow violent means?”¹⁵ He further said that Urselino Almeida, Augustus Alvares and all others were asked, “to leave the party.”¹⁶ Bir has also pointed out that the members of GLA were no longer with NC (G) and the formation of GLA was “not the decision of the general body”¹⁷ of the NC (G). Based on the above-mentioned facts one can come to the conclusion that although NC (G) had constitutionally adopted non-violence as a means to achieve its end, its workers in their individual capacity supported violent method.

This was because they were skeptical regarding the use of *satyagraha* as a means in a dictatorial set-up.

Whether the NC (G) activities constituted an open action or operated as an underground venture from 1947 to 1953?

After analysing the meaning of *satyagraha*, its components and the basic features of the *satyagraha* struggle with special reference to its relevance to the Indian National Movement as well as its application in Goa’s struggle for freedom, one is forced to ponder over one of the most important questions regarding the potentiality of *satyagraha*. Whether *satyagraha* as a political technique can be successful to challenge a totalitarian form of Government? Can people living in a dictatorial set-up apply *satyagraha* to fight injustice and oppression inflicted on them by an authoritarian Government? Gandhi very strongly believed in the universal applicability of *satyagraha*. As we are aware, one of the worst effects of the First World War in Europe was the rise of fascist dictatorships. Italy, under the tyrant Benito Mussolini, and Germany under Adolph Hitler, was forced to submit to totalitarianism.

Gandhi had very strong faith in the goodness of human nature. According to him even dictators were basically human beings and had feelings of tenderness and affection. As one of the basic aims of the *satyagrahi* is to win over the heart

of the wrongdoer, one wonders what effect such self-suffering would have on an authoritarian personality. Gandhi expected that even Jews could effectively use the weapon of *satyagraha* to challenge the Nazi menace. However the sufferings of the Jews had very little effect on the Nazis and Hitler continued with his brutalities in spite of the non-violent submission of Jews to him.

As we are aware, one of the main characteristics of the non-violent struggle is that it is an open movement and the use of secret methods is avoided in its practice on moral grounds. Gandhi who introduced the methodology of non-violent struggle to Indians always insisted that the use of *satyagraha* was to be done openly and had outrightly rejected the use of secret methods as he very strongly believed that the infiltration of secrecy in an open struggle tends to demoralise the public.

Most of the scholars who deal with the question of universal applicability of *satyagraha* have raised serious doubts regarding the success of *satyagraha* against authoritative dictatorships. They argue that *satyagraha* as a technique can be used only in a relatively liberal set-up and not in totalitarian states. Karl Jasper, in his work, *The Future of Mankind*, has stated that *satyagraha* as a political weapon cannot be successful in challenging dictatorial regimes: In the struggle against totalitarianism Gandhi's procedure would not be a political way, but a way to certain doom. Because no echoes would reach the public no political consequences would result. Against a terror that knows no restriction by legal or conscientious qualms, sacrifice is futile in so far as it remains outside the communication of human activities.

Lohia had strongly advocated the use of open direct action as he very rightly believed that only open non-violent direct action would lead to psychological and attitudinal changes among the people of Goa. The very basic attitude of the people, that was characterised by fear, submissiveness, feeling of apathy towards socio-political life and general inertia among the people, that was

the result of the long colonial rule, This had to be replaced by courage, righteousness and active political participation on their part. Therefore, he decided to break the unjust laws openly so that his demonstration of confidence and daring would inspire in others confidence and willingness to challenge the oppressive system of which they were victims.

The open technique of struggle was very much needed to break the chain of weakness that had been deliberately induced by colonial masters. Building up of a strong will power by openly challenging the dictatorship would definitely lift their public image. This enhancement of dignity and respect was equally necessary to boost the morale of the general public and would ultimately result in popular awakening. Lohia, a man of action, hated the passive approach of the unawakened people and rejected the idealism of Gandhian thought and believed its practical utility that all action should be aimed at the expression and organisation of the people's will and at reconstructing the nation in whatever manner possible.

Therefore Lohia had also placed an elaborate programme that non-violent activists of NC (G) could take up along with the disobedience of unjust civil laws in order to paralyse the colonial administration. In an open letter to the Goans, Lohia elaborated on this programme that included mass resistance, peasant *morchas*, demonstrations against custom duty on rice, picketing of liquor shops, mobilisation of students and women, organisation of strikes and non-payment of military taxes. Lohia had also indicated that the people could form *Gram Panchayat* and Voluntary Corps so that they could challenge the Government by establishing parallel Government of the people.

He had suggested that NC (G) should prepare at least 200 volunteers who were ready to follow a *satyagrahi* who had defied the ban and had addressed a public gathering. Further he had advised them to form propaganda units comprising of one speaker, a singer and two others who could go to the villages

and create mass awareness among the people and activate them by holding meetings, by raising slogans and singing patriotic songs. As we have seen Chapter II, the totalitarian regime deliberately created an atmosphere that installed fear and submissiveness among its subjects. Therefore, in order to throw an open challenge at such a regime, strong moral strength and courage on the part of the people was required. Creation of strong will power in the minds and hearts of the people was the most important duty of the leaders. Therefore, Lohia had volunteered to challenge the colonial authorities as he had rightly thought that his action would help Goans to regain their lost confidence. The fearless situation was created only for a short term and the people of Goa could not cast off their fear of the Portuguese rule totally due to the repressive policy unleashed by the regime.

However after reviewing the working of NC (G) in the light of above-mentioned suggestions made by the leaders one finds that NC (G) could not continue its programme of open non-violent movement. *Satyagraha* as socio-political action argues that its application requires certain prerequisites such as comprehensive planning and preparation. "Widespread publicity and propaganda conducted without secrecy required in an ideal *satyagraha* campaign would be impossible under the circumstances obtaining in monolithic authoritarian states"¹⁸ in which each and every aspect is controlled by the state. Since *satyagraha* is the truth force, every action of the *satyagrahi* is based on truth. This very characteristic of *satyagraha* does not permit a *satyagrahi* to indulge in any kind of secret activity or underground action. Gandhi, as a true *satyagrahi* always declared his plan of action to the people as well as the British authorities. He always notified to the concerned authorities well in advance the reason behind his action and would reveal place, date, time and the names of the participants who would be willing to offer *sayagraha*. Gandhi had declared his schedule of the civil disobedience struggle to the authorities well in advance pointing out the objectives that prompted him to take such an action to defy laws. But can such

openness be successful in a totalitarian set-up? Once the authorities learnt about such action they would naturally react to it in a most forceful manner.

By 1947, NC (G) as an open organisation became completely defunct. Shifting its main office to Bombay it continued to act in Goa secretly, in an underground manner as it was desperately trying to survive in the wake of repression that it faced. It could not continue its open direct action. We have noted that even when it was carrying out its civil disobedience actions, nationalists like P.P. Shirodkar, who made voluminous efforts to organise it, had used secrecy as a means to counteract the vicious methods adopted by the colonial authority. Its meetings were organised secretly and the activities were carried out clandestinely. The workers of the organisation were given the task of establishing contacts in villages. However, they were clearly instructed not to undertake any propaganda or such other activity and were advised to avoid open means.

Now the major question that haunts us is why did the nationalists resort to such a policy? Was there any other better option available to them that would prevent the infiltration of secrecy in a non-violent struggle? Most of the nationalists who were questioned by me on this issue opined that there was no other option left to them other than resort to secret methods. The Portuguese regime was not a liberal regime and therefore it had adopted all sorts of measures to crush the struggle such openness is impossible in a fascist or dictatorial set-up. Staying in Goa openly and operating from here meant nothing but giving an invitation to Portuguese wrath, arrests, long imprisonment and deportation to either Portugal or its colonies in Africa. This would not serve their purpose.

Therefore they preferred to live outside Goa, unarrested but at the same time carrying on their crusade through other means such as forceful propaganda activities which they carried on through newspapers, journals as well as other non-violent measures.

The use of secrecy can prove to be harmful to the movement in the long run, however, if we look at the conditions in the Portuguese colonial regime, that was a fascist dictatorship; one can argue that the NC (G) had no other option than the use of secret means. However, the dictatorial regime rests on political violence, which permeates fear in the minds of people by controlling the strings of socio-political and economic life. In this regime there is no scope for any democratic tradition nor does it offer any opportunity for true expression of opinion through any medium such as the press. It does not allow any kind of political or socio-cultural organisation. In such a rigid atmosphere how far can the peaceful non-violent technique be nurtured and popularised. This type of non-violent action could be a failure due to practical difficulties. Since the main aim of *satyagraha* is to awaken the spirit of self-rule among the people, *satyagraha* acts contrary to the basic nature of a forcible state. Therefore such states would take every step to curb non-violent action.

Gandhi's non-violent actions were successful because they were performed against the background of the relative freedom that the British administrators granted to the colonies. Thus so it appears that although *satyagraha* was regarded as a universal method to combat injustice by Gandhi, many rejected this idea and emphasised that *satyagraha* as a political tool would not be practised successfully in restrictive societies specially under dictatorship. State Governments make use of repressive systems to "terrorise" their own citizens. The Government employs state machinery; specialized agencies to systematically unleash terror on the population. The use of secret police to murder, torture and use other means of repression is well known in political history. The totalitarian regimes were notorious for having such organisations that could destroy the slightest political or cultural dissent. Their main aim was to liquidate political opponents that they termed as "enemies" of the state. The Portuguese colonial state employed systematic terror that included police terror, martial terror as well as ideological terror on Goans for more than four hundred years of their rule. The study of repressive terrorism of the state that was very

relevant and necessary for our understanding of Goa's struggle for freedom in the right perspective is elaborately dealt in Chapters II, III and IV and the thesis has tried to bring to the fore a detailed analysis of the totalitarian regime's methods to spread terror to suppress the will of the people.

As the regime was authoritative in nature, moral principles like truthfulness, openness would not work for the benefit of the organisation. Therefore the use of secrecy was the strategic answer to challenge the wrath of Portuguese colonialists. This was the most practical solution. Its decision to shift its headquarters to Bombay and operate in Goa clandestinely can be justified in the light of the situation that existed in Goa.

One has to note that in the initial period of the struggle, nationalists definitely followed the principle of non-violent direct action that Gandhi and Lohia had set before them. They took recourse to secret methods thanks to the authoritative regime. Unfortunately the Portuguese colonial authorities in Goa were unable to understand the nature of the struggle and acted in a completely dictatorial manner. We have already seen that as the organisation was formed, Laxmikant Bhembre who offered to perform *satyagraha* as a part of *Dashdainik Satyagrahas* had written a letter to the Governor-General of Goa well in advance and had explained to him the aims and objectives of the organisation. Simultaneously, he had also declared to the Government the schedule of his action that included the place, time and even date of the event.

However, as the authorities took advantage of these details to arrest the *satyagrahis* on the spot and not allow them to address the gathering, it was decided not to reveal such details of the action to the authorities. NC (G) conveyed this decision to the authorities in an appeal in which they declared that from now onwards they would not declare the plans and activities of their workers openly. As mentioned in earlier paragraphs, NC (G) had shown its willingness to sit across the table with the Governor-General of Goa to discuss various issues

regarding the socio-economic and political conditions of Goa. However, the Governor did not respond to their demands, and on the contrary declared NC (G) as an illegal organisation. The regime that had denied them basic civil rights and imposed extreme political conditions on the people of Goa was not at all politically wise in responding to the call given by the non-violent *satyagrahis*. Therefore, to deal with them in secrecy seemed the most suitable way in the given totalitarian conditions.

Activists of NC (G) like Madhav Bir, Narayan Bhembre, Purushhotam Kakodkar, P.P. Shirodkar, V.N. Mayekar, Flaviano Dais and others while discussing the issue of secrecy adopted by the NC (G), pointed out that there was no other option left for them in the existing political conditions of Goa:

“Portuguese regime that prevailed in Goa had completely created an atmosphere of fear. We were living in such circumstances where not even four persons could get together even for a casual talk in any public place. Citizens were not allowed to be in groups even on the road side.”¹⁹

Sharing the above views, Narayan Bhembre said,

“After sunset even two people could not come together as they were suspected of carrying out anti-national activities. The authorities had full power to interrogate and detain them till they were convinced that they were not ‘*Jai Hindistis*.’”²⁰

Flaviano Dias, who worked with Peter Alvares incognito during 1954-55 *satyagraha* struggle, stated that in such conditions only underground activities could be carried out in the strictest possible secrecy without letting your right hand know what your left hand was doing. NC (G) workers entered Goa in disguise, assuming different names, and the leadership took care not to reveal the details of one worker to others who were working inside Goa. This was done to

avoid group arrest. The NC (G) activists who came to Goa to work had to take oath of secrecy to avoid trouble.

The NC (G) therefore operated from its underground centres in Goa fearing that open action in Goa would root out its foundation completely. It not only took resort to secret means to operate within Goa but also adopted the same even while operating in India. For example, the annual session of the NC (G) that was held in 1950 at Belguam was held “*in camera*” and the names of its president and the executive members were not revealed to the public. Why did a non-violent organisation like NC (G) take such steps? The reason was that the nationalists feared that if they had organised the annual session openly, the Portuguese authorities would depute P.I.D.E agents to get details of its working and would go for a rapid witch-hunt of political suspects endangering the work of underground activists in Goa.

Therefore, to be on the safer side, the nationalists took care to announce only certain names that included V.N. Lawande as general secretary of the organisation. As we are aware that Lawande had founded the *AGD* and carried out underground activities in the territories. He was charged with bank robbery and his associates like Narayan Naik, Prabhakar Sinari were arrested and sentenced to heavy imprisonment. Fortunately, Lawande managed to escape from Goa and had returned to the non-violent struggle in 1948. Therefore, announcement of his name would not cause harm to the organization. However, the names of others were kept secret to avoid arrests. It seems that the actions of the NC (G) were completely influenced by the fear of the colonial authorities. When one analyses the techniques of non-violence in the context of Indian freedom struggle, one has to take note of semi-hegemonic nature of British rule in India that was not based on authoritative principles to some extent was democratic in nature that gave scope for for creation of certain civil institutions.

As we are aware, a movement by definition must not only have leadership but a support base and a time frame. Only after these characteristics are met with can sustain itself. Moreover, a mass movement has to be based on the urges of the people and mass consciousness that has to be tapped for the cause. The leadership cannot create a movement at will and stimulate and persuade the masses to join it if the later are bereft of an awareness of their plight. However to sustain such action what is required is the continuous flow of people's participation in the action. In the absences of a second batch of leadership it becomes difficult to rope in masses into the action. As we have already analysed the response of the Goans was quite volatile during the course of 18th June direct action and people in large numbers participated in open defiance by way of *morchas*, demonstrations, *prabhat* ferries that defied Portuguese colonialism. However, the initial enthusiasm subsided as the colonial authorities resorted to dictatorial means to suppress the struggle. Arrest of the leaders and heavy punishments and deportation left Goans leaderless and in a confused state of mind. It became very difficult for the non-violent agitators to establish a correct relation between popular consciousness and its transformation into an organized struggle against colonialism in the absence of top leadership. It was 18th June action that finally led to the establishment of NC (G) which continued with its non-violent strategy to challenge the Portuguese colonial regime as been already discussed elaborately in Chapters III, V and VI.

Thus, by introducing secrecy into a non-violent direct action the organisation was able to survive but at the same time it struck at the very basic characteristic of non-violent discipline, that is, fearlessness. This resulted in the alienation of persons who were becoming sympathetic to the struggle when it was operating openly.

Failure of the nationalists to weed out fear from the minds of the general public was one of the major drawbacks of the non-violent struggle. The people of Goa were scared of the repressive regime and did not come forward to support

those who performed individual *satyagraha*. Ravindra Kelekar, a veteran Gandhian of the territory who has vividly described the scene of individual *satyagraha* in his autobiography has admitted the fact that in the face of police atrocities and *lathi* charges on the *satyagrahis*, the people did not come forward to support the *satyagrahis* and remained as mere spectators. He has revealed that was a strong believer in the of nationalist ideology, he also watched the event like a “coward.” According to him this was the result of the long colonial rule that had made Goans “ spineless.”²¹

Laxmikant Bhembre has pointed out that one of the main causes that led to the failure of the struggle in 1946 was the existence of fear regarding the Portuguese colonial rule among the general public. The Government took due advantage of this to spread false propoganda that people were happy with the colonial regime.

As NC (G) adopted secrecy as its strategy, it refrained from undertaking the programme chalked out by Lohia. The *satyagrahis* followed the individual defiance but failed to convert it into a mass movement

However some limited attempt was made under Shirodkar’s leadership to establish contacts in villages, distribute pamphlets gathering information about the development of the village. Portuguese colonialists had introduced a ban on all nationalist material. The infiltration of secrecy also had an adverse effect on participation of women in the struggle. As we have already seen in 18th June action open non-violent action participation of women was a striking feature. Women had a very volatile participation in processions, march and had played a very significant role in the open action. *Goa Seva sangh*’s attempts to mobilize women under the leadership of Pramilatai Jambawalikar saw the overt participation of women Vatsala Kirtani, Lalita Kantak , Jivan Karapurkar and others were very vocal in protesting against the regime. Later as the dictatorship tightened its grip over nationalists it did affect their participation openly. For

example, at Londa when NC (G) was established women could not attend the meeting. Since it was difficult even for men to cross the border and be present at the meeting, attendance of women was “out of questions as it was an impossible task.”²² One finds that the use of secrecy was responsible for forcing women to play a supportive role. In spite of such adverse conditions women came forward and contributed to the struggle, some by donating their gold ornaments and other valuables for the funding of the struggle others by staging individual *satyagrahas* in utmost difficult conditions. Sudhatai Joshi, Sindhutai Deshpande, Sashikala Hodarkar and others very strongly put forth a women front against the Portuguese colonialism.

As mentioned earlier, it shifted its office outside Goa. Bombay became their main centre of activity. It was from Bombay that they carried out a strong campaign against the colonial regime. During 1947- 1953 the *satyagraha* action had come to a complete halt as Nehru, who was pursuing policy of peaceful settlement with Portugal thought that such activities might create complications. In 1954, NC (G) under the presidentship of Peter Alvares re-launched the *satyagraha* action with full vigour. The 1954 action successfully ignited the urge of independence among Goans as well as among non-Goans who resided in the rest of Indian sub-continent. As mentioned earlier, they flooded the country with propaganda material. The press in the rest of India also gave wide publicity to the Goa question. In this second phase of *satyagraha* action the people from the rest of India supported Goans who were fighting for the liberation of their homeland. This when *Gove Vimochan Sahayyak Samiti* gave a call to launch mass *satyagraha* they enthusiastically plunged themselves into the struggle demonstrating their nationalist feelings. The mass *satyagraha* action of 1955 created a world wide impact against the continuation of Portuguese colonialism on the Indian soil. Although it did not realise the aim of liberating Goa, it was successful in bringing political pressure on Nehru’s Government.

Nana Saheb Gore held the view that “the *satyagraha* of 1955 created a two way impact, one was that those who were struggling in Goa got an assurance that they were not alone, they did not look upon themselves as a separate entity. They were assured of the fact that there were people across the borders who were supporting them. Secondly it was a call for people through out India. By nationalizing the Goa issue *satyagraha* launched by NC (G) tried to bring about moral pressure upon Salazar through non-violence.”²³ The most important contribution of NC (G) was that it continued the struggle right from 1946 to 1961. Of course the organisation had to face up and downs. In the initial period itself, a group led by Lawande broke away, later the organization faced the problem of disunity. In 1953 during the tenure of Peter Alvares a group led by Laura D’Souza broke away from the main organization and formed NC (G) II and called itself as the “legal and legitimate NC (G).” However in spite of internal dissensions and disunity it pursued its goal of challenging the Portuguese colonialist. In the wake o rampant repression by the dictatorial regime NC (G) used various strategies to combat the wrath of Portuguese rule. Its use of secrecy, though failed to mobilize masses inside Goa, through its propaganda tactics, negotiations and networking with organizations from Goa as well as from the rest of India as has been discussed in Chapters V and VI put forward a strong united front against the Portuguese and launched the 1954-55 *satyagraha*. “This created a big uproar not only in India but also in the international circles. The 1955 *satyagraha* exposed the nature of Portuguese colonialism in India that was based on cruelty and barbarity”. The massacre of unarmed *satyagrahis* unmasked Portugal and invited strong reaction from the international forum. Later when *satyagraha* action came to an halt, the NC (G) took initiative to mobilize international support. Afro-Asian Solidarity movement took up the cause of Goa and demanded that Portuguese colonialism should be put and end to as a prelude to the end of colonialism in Afro-Asian countries. The sacrifices of 1955 *satyagraha*, the international reaction that it created forced Nehru t change his foreign policy and he who was unwilling to take steps to liberate Goa with an armed action now “Operation

Vijay.” As has been discussed in the thesis, aggressiveness is a basic instinct of human nature. Throughout the history of development of human life violence has played a predominant role. It is the spontaneous reaction of the human being to express discontent, anguish, resentment towards an unwanted situation. The use of violent behavior could be manifested as personal reaction or as a planned, organized action in a political realm. The use of force is employed by a discontent group or by an individual to draw attention of the political authority towards specific demands or to show resentment. Violence is a basic feature of history of human life manifested through wars and revolutions. Political violence is a significant technique to achieve certain definite aims that aspire at redressing or changing the existing socio-political or cultural order.

Most the anti-colonial movements in the world engaged themselves in violent means to achieve political aims. The Indian national movement was also not an exception to this rule. The policy of petition and prayers as well as bullets and bombs flourished together in India and ran parallel to each other.

Thus here we are confronted with an important question, that is, is terror a basic feature of revolution? In order to search the answer to this question one has to review the concept of revolution. The dictionary meaning of the term revolution is a “great upheaval” or a “radical change.” which has significant impact on the history of mankind.

Generally terms like revolution and terror are use in conjunction with one another. Violence is common feature of revolution as the changes that are being aimed at are often sought by extralegal means because normal channels of political influence are being short-circuited. Terror, the atmosphere of fear and despair brought about by threats or acts of violence, sabotage, or property spoliation, either deliberately or accidentally engendered, is a common ingredient in revolution.

However one has to consciously note that the use of violence on a large scale is inadequate to term it as revolution if it fails to bring about the new beginning. According to Hannah Ardent “where the liberation from oppression aims at least at the constitution of freedom”²⁴ we can call it a revolution. The Indian revolutionaries described revolution as a living force that indicated the eternal conflict between the Old and the New, Life and Living Death, between Light and Darkness.

Paul Wilkinson in his treatise on political terrorism has identified six categories of revolutionary terrorism. They are as follows: (1) Organisation of pure terror in which terrorism is the exclusive weapon, (2) revolutionary and national liberationist parties and movements in which terror is employed as an auxiliary weapon, (3) guerilla terrorism-rural and urban, (4) insurrectionary terrorism, (5) the revolutionary Reign of Terror (6) international terrorism.²⁵ Since our main scope of the study is the analysis of struggle for liberation from the colonial yoke in Goa's struggle for freedom, while the *AGD* used violence as a means openly and NC (G) who had adopted peaceful nonviolence means constitutionally but in the later stages of struggle did extend its secret support to GLA a revolutionary organisation that also used terror used by the colonial regime on the people of Goa.

In Defense of Violence:

Here the question arises is whether the use of violence or terror is ethical? Is it rational to use it to redress the grievances? Hannah Arndt has called violence a “perennial ghost”²⁶ that universally haunts the conscience of civilized humanity. Brian Crozier, while condemning the use of terrorist's acts has called terrorism the weapon of the weak. According to him, the activist in a desperate situation often uses it and is generally a useful auxiliary weapon rather than a decisive one. One cannot generally predict final result of the violent acts. Those who strongly refute the use of violence say that unprecedented use of violence often leads to an

uncontrollable situation and may lead to major catastrophe and loss of human life. Therefore, the use of terrorism is socially as well as politically unacceptable as the terrorist actions are often atrocious and psychologically damaging.

Although some have condemned the use of violence as a political tool, the legitimacy of employment of using violence against a hated foreign invader seems to be almost unquestioned and was accepted as a political means to oust the colonial oppressor. George Sorel exalts violence as a “life Force”. Jean Paul Satre’s introductory note to Franz Fanon’s famous treatise entitled *Wretched of the Earth* declares violence as the rebel’s weapon. And for Fanon violence is the “cleaning force in history.” According to him the use of bloodiest violence was the only practical method of smashing the ruthless and vicious dominance of European racialism. The most popularly and widely used justification for the use of violent means by political activists is self-defence.

The other justification is the morality of Just vengeance, or ‘an eye for eye and a tooth for a tooth’. The European imperialism in Asia and Africa was built on the foundations of terror and violence; therefore the most effective means of retaliation was “counter-terrorism”. For Sachindranath Sanyal, an active member of Hindustan Republican Army, shedding of blood for the sake of motherland was just like “a surgical operation” in which in order to get rid of the unwanted growth the blood is spilled. The Manifesto of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association stated, “We believe in Violence, not as an end in itself but as a means to a Noble End.”²⁷

Militant revolutionaries of Bengal declared their open and unequivocal support to the use of violence against the British imperial power. According to them, these acts of violence were a part of the “righteous war” which Lord Krishna had justified in *Bhagawat Gita*. They argued that it was the prime duty of the children of the mother nation to slay the enemies of the nation. This ideology was propagated by the revolutionary organization Yugantar.

Madanlal Dhingra who shot Curzon who was responsible for the partition of Bengal in 1905 in his court statement clearly stated that “ I believe a nation held in bondage with the help of bayonets is a state of perpetual war and since guns are denied to me, I drew forth my pistol and attacked by surprise.”²⁸

The votaries of violent act in justification of their acts promoted the theory of lesser evil, that is, the use of limited violence. According to them the political system that they had to confront with is so ruthless and uses unlimited force to exterminate the voice of dissent that it cannot be challenged by conventional means and in such a political condition what one requires is the use of violence to destroy it, but the violence that they use is much less than violence used by the state.

Futility of other means

The argument of ‘futility of other means’, declares that the imposition of state control to suppress their voice of dissent leaves them no other means other than the use of violence against such Governments. According to Ernest Gellner, nationalist violence mainly grows out of embedded mistrust between the state government and the nationalist forces. Waves of nationalist violence almost always emerge in the wake of significant nonviolent contestation and chains of precipitating events usually escalate into violence. He further states that in most of the cases where nationalism takes a violent turn, state institutions themselves initiate violence directly as a way of consolidating authority against the nationalist challenges. They further claim that only such strategy is successful against such regime as no open means of agitation is possible in such conditions. The method of constitutional agitation or any other democratic means is unsuccessful in such a political system when state repression is the order of the day. Kenyan leader, Tom Mboya, while defending the violent *Mau Mau* movement against the British put forward a similar argument. According to him, the question in such cases was not whether it was wrong to employ violence but what bothered him was the fact that

for how long strong nationalists feelings could be expected to remain silent where there was no constitutional channel through which the nationalist could achieve their objectives. They justify the acts of violence as “pure deeds of revolution designed to bring down an evil and corrupted political and social order.”

The revolutionaries do not use violence without trying peaceful means. They try all other means to redress their grievances “ he asks for them, pleads for them, argues for them, wills to attain them with all the Soul-force at his command....”. However, peaceful agitations are trampled under the iron heels of terror by the ruling Government. In such situation finally revolutionaries are left with no other choice then to resort to physical force and they believe that this is the only right and just way to deal with repressive regimes. *AGD* based its militant underground struggle on the above-mentioned arguments as has been elaborately discussed in chapter IV.

One can state that *NC (G)* and *AGD* had some similarities, such as, both used underground techniques in the territory of Goa. However both openly organized activities in the rest of India such as propaganda activities, conduction meeting, organising session's, negotiations and networking and harnessed national as well as international support. If one analyses the aims of both the organisations, that are more or less similar in nature one finds the influence of the policy of Government of India under Nehru who had adopted a socialist pattern to develop India. As far as their final aim was concerned both wanted the Government of India to launch a military attack on Goa and free it from the shackles of colonialism. However basic difference in them were the methods that they adopted *NC (G)* constitutionally adopted the legitimate way of nonviolence the policy that was accepted by the Government of India and was in tune with the policy of *Panchsheel* and peaceful negotiations on the contrary *AGD* adopted violent means to protest against the colonial regime that was dissimilar to the policy followed by the Government of India who refused to support the use of force in any kind until 19th December 1961.

As far as *AGD* was concerned it was a secret underground militant organisation that had made use of armed attacks and guerilla strategy to combat the totalitarian regime. Secrecy was the essence of its existence as we have already pointed out. The *AGD* emerged as a distinct organisation on the Goa front only after 1954, though theoretically it was formed on 18th June 1947. Its formation was kept secret and its existence was not known beyond certain circles and in the initial period it had assumed a code name *Valmiky*. Its actions of looting Government treasury office at Mapusa as well as attack on a van carrying bank cash flared up Goan struggle when nonviolent action was going through a trying period. The direct open action that NC (G) had initiated had almost come to a stand still and the armed actions of *AGD* did break the pause. Most of *AGD*'s founder members were arrested and fortunately Lawande had a narrow escape. Due to the setback that it received in its embryonic stage, Lawande rejoined NC (G) and assumed post of General Secretary of NC (G). However, while in the NC (G) he worked to build *AGD* as a militant organization and raised a cadre of comrades.

The systematic training through various camps that were organized by Lawande in guerrilla warfare proved to be significant in the recapture of Nagar Haveli. In 1954, when NC (G) announced the restart of its open nonviolent action the differences between Lawande and Peter Alvares came to the fore. This led to the expulsion of Lawande from NC (G) as stated in Chapter VII. This proved to be blessing in disguise as now Lawande and his associates took up a challenge of liberating the Nagar Haveli. *AGD*'s aim in exposing the invincibility of Portuguese colonial power was successful.

Their aim was restricted to creating the situation of unrest in Goa by paralysing the Government machinery. They believed that counter terrorism was the only answer to the authoritative rule that prevailed in Goa. With its activities such as attacks on police outpost, custom *chaukis*, assassination of pro-Portuguese elements Government bureaucrats it tried to weaken the Portuguese regime and

tried to create terror in the hearts and minds of Portuguese elements. *AGD* did not aim at an armed revolution or a *coup* that are a part of violent strategy used by revolutionaries in the world. This would require mass support and in order to do that mobilisation of masses to a greater extent had to be taken up.

Its violent actions helped tremendously when there was a lull in the movement. It did boost the morale of the activist working to end colonialism. *AGD* did not aspire to liberate Goa on its own, as it was an impossible task without the support of Government of India but it was successful in pressurizing the Government of India to take up armed action against the Portuguese colonialist. *AGD*'s success of liberation of Nagar Haveli had positive effect on the *satyagraha* struggle and had uplifted the moral of *satyagrahis*. Its partnership with NC (G) in its effort to mobilize the like-minded organizations Goan as well as Indian political parties was successful in establishing The National Campaign Committee of Goa that later culminated into the Afro –Asian Solidarity movement and set Goa on the road of freedom. This does not mean that *AGD* lacked a support base. It worked from the hinterlands and from the border areas and their activities of targeting the Portuguese with guerrilla tactics required a support base that was provided to them by the local communities such as *Dhangars Gawada* and *Kunbi*. However as they did not aim at armed rebellion the question of mass mobilisation did not arise. *AGD* was aware that such a mass upsurge in Goa was not possible in wake of civil liberties. The only means available to them to spread the word was communication through literature, radio and such other means that were inadequate as most of the material that it pumped in Goa was confiscated and destroyed. They did their best to circulate literature. *AGD* leader agreed that they received a very limited mass support. Therefore they restricted their activity to guerilla tactic or hit and run tactic in which they expected people of Goa to share relevant information or provide for a hideout for the workers. Lawande stated, “We did not aim to acquire a mass participation in the kind of activities that we were indulged in.”²⁹ *AGD* became agile on the Goa front only after Government of India banned the *satyagraha* action and carried out

maximum actions during this period between 1956-61 when nonviolent direct action had almost come to a stand still. When Government of India planned to attack the *Estado da India* in 1961, *AGD* with its attacks on the border posts could clear the way for the Indian army to penetrate into Goa and could harness mass support for the army action.

Like revolutionary parties, *AGD* also used violent means as an auxiliary weapon and not as an exclusive mean as been discussed while analysing the nature of activities. Along with armed action they laid great stress on propaganda machinery. *Azad Goa Radio*, bulletins like *Jwala*, *Kranti*, *Navajeevan*, *Amcha Ladha* and number of leaflets that they distributed through out Goa to disseminate the concept of nationalism is exhaustively dealt with in the above-mentioned chapter. Moreover the cultural committee of *AGD* was quite active in spreading the word about history of Goan unrest by staging plays on early revolts such as Pinto revolts, Rane revolt and also the then current nationalist movement in their play called *Jalata Goamantak*. Therefore one can state that Sinari's suggestion of naming *AGD* as *Azad Gomantak Dal* and not *Azad Gomantak Fauz* as Lawande had suggested seemed to be correct as we analyse the nature of the activities of the *AGD* that were not only limited to army action but had a broader connotation.

This issue has been considerably analysed while discussing the establishment of *AGD* in Chaper IV. Sinari had perceived this aspect of the militant organisation and though their ideal was Subhash Chandra Bose's *Azad Hind Fauz* they decided to address the militant organisation as *Azad Gomantak Dal*.

As has been already stated that *AGD* with the help of *RSS* activists was successful in their guerilla attack on NagarHaveli. Then why *AGD* was unable to replicate such kind of action in Goa. In context of Goa, Government of India followed a very ambiguous policy. From time to time it declared that the struggle for Goa should be restricted to Goans only. On the one hand it was all the time

stating that Goa was a part and parcel of India but on the other hand it did not want to support the political organization directly or indirectly, as it feared that such action would be misjudged by the international world as deliberate incitement of the Goa issue, or a shift in the policy of *Panchsheel* that India advocated from time to time. Government of India was not against non-violent agitation raised by Goans but had strong objection for participation of non-Goans in it and this was the major challenge before the NC (G) to convince the Government of India that since Goa was a part of the Indian subcontinent the freedom struggle of Goa could not be restricted only to Goans but it formed a part of India's struggle against colonialism. The passport and the visa system that was made compulsory by the Government of India during economic blockade aggravated this contradictory policy. The "non-cooperation" of Government of India especially during Nagar Haveli episode was vividly described by Mohan Ranade who stated that the then Bombay Government headed by Morarji Desai went to the extent of releasing the Portuguese police that were captured by the nationalists.³⁰ He further stated that the *AGD* activists were not allowed to carry arms openly to Silvasa after their successful capture of Naroli which they had to clandestinely. According to him Government of Bombay feared that "this conclave would fall in the hands of communist group"³¹ led by Godavari Parulekar.

Lohia did not favour the use of violent means to achieve socio-political changes and had playing a game advocated the use of non-violence to Goans specially in the Indian context according to Lohia Indian political conditions were more favourable for the effective use of non-violence to achieve justice and he felt that deliberate use of violence may be self defeating in the Goan context. As far as *AGD* was concerned this prediction of Lohia came to be true as events were to later prove. One finds that *AGD* that used violent means had to face challenge on two fronts one against Portuguese authoritative regime and the other the Government of India that did not favour existence of an organisation on Goa front. There were no instances that can be cited that made difficult for *AGD* to

pursue its violent technique without the support of Government of India. Border Security Force on the Goa India border created hurdles for *AGD* to carry arms into Goa and many times there were tiffs between them. Therefore arms had to be smuggled into Goa. This was one of the reason that *AGD* had to carry out their actions with limited arms and ammunitions and therefore their actions were limited to attacks on police out post, custom *chaukis*, mines, political murder and others and could not engaged in a mass rebellion that would require large consignment of arms and ammunitions plus mass mobilization.

AGD activists have vehemently criticised this policy of Government of India and has blamed it for not “cooperating with it”³² This was one of the reasons why *AGD* that had successfully liberated Nagar Haveli could not employ the same technique in Goa. Narayan Naik expressed his unhappiness towards the Indian border police who not only created hurdles for *AGD* but also created division among *AGD* activists by encouraging groups in *AGD* He blamed I. G. P. Nagarwala for creating a rift in *AGD* especially between Lawande and Sinari that led to a split in *AGD*. Sinari broke away from *AGD* and established *Rancour Patriotica* a militant organisation that carried out number of actions in Goa.

Serious differences arose between Sinari and Lawande on the issue whether help of Nagarwala should be taken to pursue the struggle. It was a fact that without support of border police, *AGD* could not function. Therefore Sinari felt that if Nagarwala was sympathetic towards a group led by him he should make utmost use of it to strike at the Portuguese. Lawande blamed Nagarwala for creating a faction in *AGD* by providing help to certain persons in *AGD* and responding in a negative fashion towards others. The situation worsened and in *AGD* there were two groups Pro-Nagarwala and anti-Nagarwala that finally led to split in the party. After successful recapture of Nagar Haveli, *AGD* was in possession of a large number of arms and ammunitions as well as state treasury. With these resources they could have easily built a strong-armed cadre that could have attacked Goa as well and the issue of Goa would have taken a different turn

in 1954 itself. However, Government of India compelled *AGD* to surrender arms and ammunitions as well as financial resources.

This was a set back to *AGD* in a way because later when it became active on the Goa front it had no major weaponry with it and the commandos of *AGD* had to launch attacks on police outpost to procure arms that were needed for an armed attack. Lawande while discussing the issue of support of Government of India to his organisation mentioned a incident that had occurred when Lawande as a part of delegation of Goan leaders, had met Nehru in 1953, at this meeting Nehru made a reference to violent struggle that was launched on Goan front and clearly stated that such a struggle would not be very helpful and had advised Goan delegation to carry the Goan struggle through non-violent means. According to Lawande shift in Government of India's policy regarding the Goa's struggle came when Dadra and Nagar Haveli was liberated. In 1955 when Lawande, Shamrao Lad and Kashnath Sanzgiri called on him after the successful liberation of NagarHaveli Lawande noticed that Nehru did not lay "stress on the non-violent movement".³³

For nearly fourteen years the Government of India had repeatedly pursued the Portuguese Government to unlock the stalemate on the Goa issue and open negotiations for the peaceful reintegration of Goa with its motherland. These diligent attempts of the Indian Government met with very little success as Portugal indignantly turned down every offer to settle the Goa issue by bilateral means. The dictatorial regime had very bluntly refused to accept that Goa was a part of India and shared national aspirations with the India, on the contrary it had always stated that Goa was an overseas province of Portugal with all the characteristics of lusitanian culture that was the result of more than 451 years of Portuguese rule over it. In his radio speech delivered on 12 April 1954, Salazar had refused "cessation of Goa and the Portuguese citizenship of its inhabitants"³⁴ and had asserted that Portugal "will watch over its defence to the limit of our force."³⁵ Moreover, Salazar had tried to drag the Goa issue into cold war politics.

Salazar who had declared a moral interest in Goa, and the lofty ideal of pan lusitanism displayed treacherous attitude when regarding Goan struggle that had reached its peak and there was considerable shift in the Government of India's policy when stated thing of making use of force to get rid of Portuguese rule. On the eve of Goa's liberation there was a fear among Goans that the Portuguese army might carry a "scorched earth policy" regarding Goa. Salazar had hinted this on the 26th anniversary of his dictatorship; that if Portuguese were forced to evacuate Goa nothing would remain except a ravaged, deserted land.³⁶

This was confirmed as the Nazi trained chief of staff of Expeditionary Force of the Portuguese, Major Alves, had declared much earlier that "Goa will be reduced to shambles the same way as Guernca, Lidice and Rotterdam".³⁷ Freedom-fighters Naguesh Karmali, Flaviano Dias, Prabhakar Sinari, Trivikram Shankhawalkar, P. P. Shirodkar, Madav Bir, Ramkrishna Nayak and others, while discussing this issue, stated that the Portuguese had planned to blow up the territory of Goa. Police had confiscated the stock of landmines and placed them under important buildings, prominent places, land routes, bridges etc. Bombs were placed even in post offices at border areas in Pernem, Cancona and other places.

There is a popular belief in Goa that the last Governor-General of Goa, Vassalo e Silva, a "true gentleman", rejected Salazar's orders to blow the place and had "saved Goa". However, Vassalo e Silva as well as the last military in charge of Goa, Col. Martins, had to pay the price for "their good deeds" as they were court-martialed by the dictatorial regime and were sentenced to heavy punishments. The family members and relatives of these persons whom I contacted during my stay in Lisbon narrated to me the humiliation that they had to undergo when surrendered Portuguese army-men and bureaucrats returned to Portugal after allowing "safe reintegration of Goa with the motherland."³⁸

Vassalo e Silva's letter dated 22nd February 1962, that he wrote when he was detained at Ponda by the Indian army, reveals the feelings that he had developed during his tenure as the Governor-General of Goa. He states that he is writing this letter "in a very sad situation" and "bitterness of tragic days at the end of 1961 has taken a deep root in my soul."... Calling Goa a "charming land" he further states, "Whose population so good and hospitable forever conquered my heart." Regarding the faint response of the Portuguese to "Operation Vijay" he states that he had suffer painfully "the certainty of our impotence... which the destiny had in reserve, that nothing could deviate its course which had no remedy." This was the time when "I realized from close and with a bleeding soul that we could not, nor should not honestly go further" and decided to surrender to the Indian army although he was fully aware of the "sad realities"³⁹ that awaited them in Portugal.

The fear expressed by Goans regarding the scorched earth policy was not unwarranted as is evident through the "last message" that Salazar sent to Vassalo e Silva on 14th December 1961. Though this message was set in a code language the Indian secret service station at Moscow decoded it. This last message exposed the true colours of the so-called philanthropic nature of Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. This message clearly shows that Salazar's pride refused to accept any kind of negotiation through peaceful means though he was very much aware that Portugal's victory with the Indian Army was an impossible venture. Therefore he asked his solders to choose death and not to give up Goa at any cost. This reflected the psyche of a dictator who preferred to slaughter his army men just to maintain "his shaken prestige". As we are aware Portuguese armed forces surrendered without much fight to the Indian army. It appears that one of the reasons behind their weak response was the unhappiness of Portuguese armed forces with the dictatorship and therefore they might have refused to "fight in the conditions which gave them neither honour nor glory."⁴⁰

Salazar was toying with the possibility that the Indian Government would succumb to international pressure and would deviate from its peaceful stand. Therefore he was mobilizing international “friends” like USA, UK, Brazil, South America, Spain, and the NATO signatories to dissuade Government of India from military attack. He personally contacted President Kennedy of USA to pressurise Nehru to call back the Indian Army. In addition to this, an exhaustive use of international media was made by Portugal to project India’s action on Goa as uncalled “aggression”. It was V. K. Krishna Menon, the then defence minister, who strategically convinced Nehru that the troops had already been sent and could not be called back as he had no means of communications.

As the Indian army moved closer to Portuguese possessions in India Salazar ordered his defense forces to retaliate with “extreme violence”. He said, “I do not foresee possibility of truce nor Portuguese as prisoners as they will not be surrendered navy and Mariners either victorious or dead.”⁴¹ Moreover he wanted to do this in order to prolong the war with the Indian army for “at least eight days”⁴² so that Portugal would get sufficient time to mobilize international troops against the Indian army. Salazar’s message clearly indicates that Portugal was deliberately provoking the Indian Union to “mount military operation”⁴³ that would create “world scandal”⁴⁴ and would not be termed as a simple police action. This is evident when we take notice of series of incidents that had flared up as the year 1961 was coming to an end.

Portuguese had increased the patrolling of Portuguese warship *Afonso de Albuquerque* near Karwar in spite of Government of India’s continuous representations regarding this matter. Further, On 17th November 1961, a Portuguese garrison that was stationed at Anjediva islands near Karwar, opened fire on the “Sabarmati”, a passenger liner that operated between Bombay and Mangalore. The other act of provocation was attack on fishermen at Mazali who had set their fishing boats on high seas near Karwar leading to serious injury and death of Atmaram Kochrekar fishermen by profession.⁴⁵ This incident of 24th

November 1961 that took life of an innocent civilian had provoked an angry response and was condemned severely by Indian leaders. Moreover, there were rumours that Portugal was planning to organize naval exercises of SEATO powers in the Arabian Sea that would include US UK, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran.⁴⁶ Portuguese Government continued with its threatening messages that it broadcasted on Radio Goa to bomb the Indian cities if India continued with its decision to launch an army action in Goa.⁴⁷

The Indian Government that was tackling the Goa issue very patiently and diligently since 1947 had to act in response to the adamant attitude of the Portuguese colonial mindset. One has to note that after the mass killing of nonviolent *satyagrahis* and inhuman treatment that these nonviolent soldiers received from the Portuguese, Nehru did not succumb to gunpowder politics and had pursued peaceful measures like economic blockade to pressurize the Portuguese Government. It declared its decision to stick to the principle of *Panchsheel*, the cornerstone of Indian foreign policy in case of Goa.⁴⁸

Morarji Desai, while asserting the peaceful approach towards Goa when the issue of Goa was taken up in discussion in the Bombay assembly, had categorically stated “that Government of India cannot launch war against the Portuguese Government it would be “wrong” and “would be against our fundamental policy.”⁴⁹ Nehru had tirelessly adhered to nonviolence from 1947-1961 and asserted that the Goa issue must be solved through peaceful means. He also rejected any move on the part of NC (G) to continue the launch *satyagraha* or peaceful entry into Goa after the horror of 1955. Peter Alvares and T. B. Cunha had jointly appealed to Pandit Nehru to grant permission to continue the non-violent *satyagraha* action that NC (G) had launched in 1954-55 that was banned by the government of India.⁵⁰ Replying to their appeal, Nehru rejected any such action that would be considered as adventurism in the international world. Expressing his concern regarding Goa he stated “I know and am much distressed by conditions in Goa and by the suffering of the people there. But, I do not think

that this would lead us in to what might be considered adventurist action.”⁵¹ For India, the Goa issue was significant as it was the “unfinished business” of ending colonialism and achieving national unity. To all Indians it was “natural finale to the movement of Indian freedom struggle that was launched against foreign rule a hundred years back.”⁵² By December 1961 Government of India realised that the Portuguese colonial regime was based on undemocratic principles and would not relinquish Goa on their own. The only solution left with the Indian Government was to use force to drive them from the Indian soil. The event that boosted morale of India was UNO resolution passed in December 1960 that upheld the right of freedom to colonial countries from their colonial master. The Un General assembly had already condemned Portugal fro its continued statements that Goa Daman and Diu were its provinces. The UNO resolution appointed a special committee to look into the matter and in December 1960, Un General Assembly resolved that Goa Daman and Diu were not part of Portugal as claimed by that country. All these factors made India’s case very strong. Though Nehru wanted to avoid use of force and was upholding nonviolent policies, one has to remember that India was a sovereign nation with a well-equipped armed force. The nature of the salazarist dictatorship compelled it to send in army. V. K. Krishna Menon had informed the Security Council that “even through our people are a peaceful lot, as a state we have never abjured force to preserve our sovereignty and national dignity.”⁵³

However Indian army action of 19th December, 1961 on Portuguese *Estado da India* was looked by Portugal as an “Invasion of the Territories of Portuguese State of India”⁵⁴ that was written in *campo de prisioneiros de Alparqueiros* as well as in Lisbon after referring to the reports of Commandants of group of P. E. I., G. F., Chefes do Repartição do Q. G. and of other services that existed in other camps. The report dated 29th July 1962 alleges that Government of India led a “forced attack with their qualitatively and quantitatively superior armed forces” on Portuguese military forces that were “diminutive and ill-equipped”. He further states that this act of the Indian Union

“exposed and ridiculed the preaching of peace policy of Nehru.” Regarding the victory of Indian military forces over Portuguese military he states, “Portuguese forces spared no efforts” to retain Goa however their efforts did not meet with success as probably “destiny also wanted the same.”⁵⁵

And Thus “Operation Vijay” began and was completed by 19th December 1961. The last Governor General of Goa, Vassalo e Silva, in his capacity as the Commander in chief of Armed forces of Portuguese state of India signed surrender treaty of “unconditional surrender.” Pandit Nehru sent his congratulatory message to Major Gen. K.P. Candeth in which he extended “warm congratulations”⁵⁶ to the India army and applauded the action that it carried “with efficiency, courtesy and Humanity.”⁵⁷ Thus the noble task of ending colonialism on the Indian soil was achieved and Goa Daman and Diu were reverted to the motherland with this was Completed the Indian National Movement in the true sense of the term.

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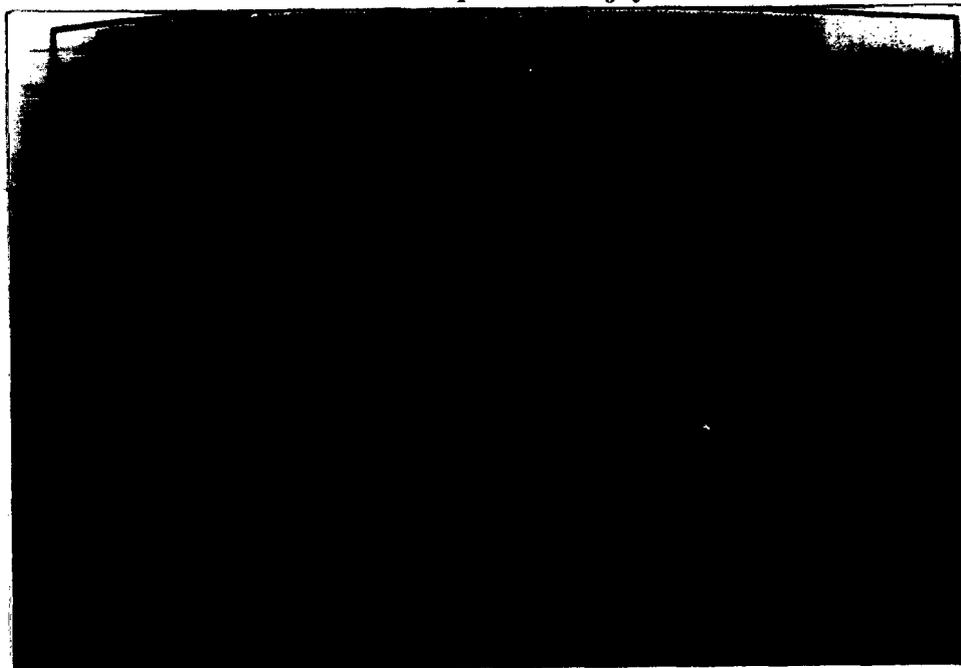
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- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

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- ⁴⁵ Personal communication with Prabhakar Sinari.
- ⁴⁶ *Kesari*, 29th November 1961 p. 4.
- ⁴⁷ Personal communication with Jyoti Despande.
- ⁴⁸ The Economic blockade failed as Portuguese Government brought goods via sea and air route.
- ⁴⁹ Bombay Legislative Assembly Debates Vol. 28, part 11, February – March 1955, pp365-367.
- ⁵⁰ Joint letter of Peter Alvares and T. B. Cunha to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, 16th October 1956, for Further reference refer to Appendix XVIII.
- ⁵¹ Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's reply, 27th August 1956, for further reference refer to Appendix IXX.
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RE-INTEGRATION OF GOA WITH THE INDIA UNION

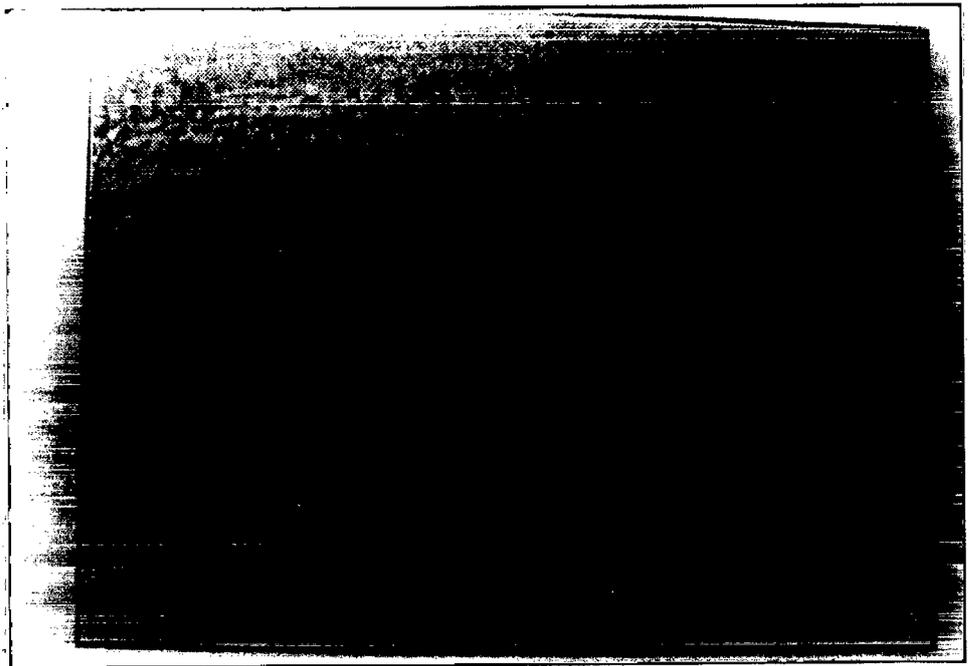
“Operation Vijay”



Model of NRP Afonso de Albuquerque at Museu de Marinha



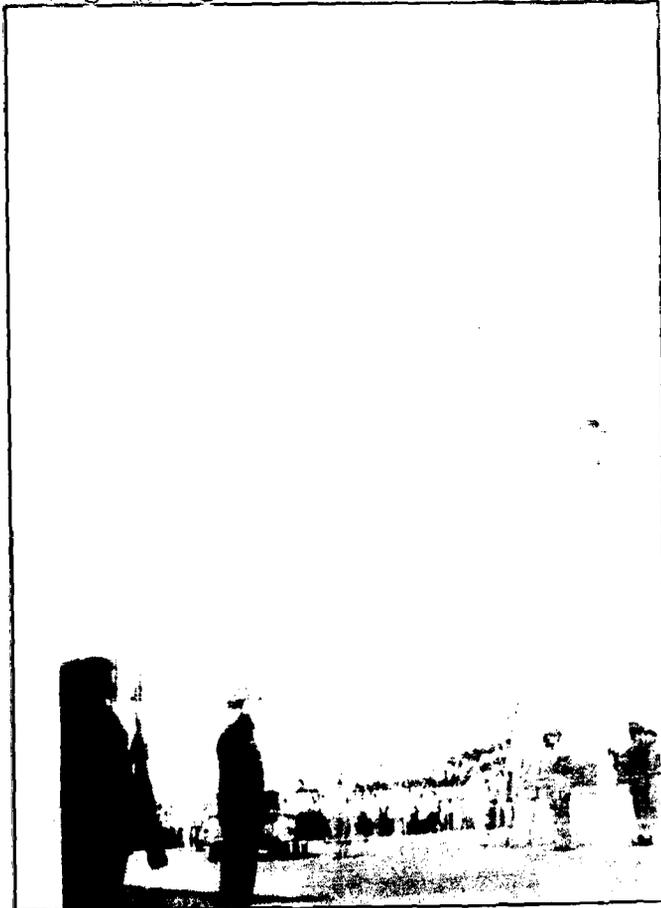
Portuguese Army Surrenders



Indian Armed Forces



National Flag Hoisting Ceremony held at Adil Shah's Palace Panaji



GOA BACK WITH THE MOTHERLAND
FINIS

**AN FLAG OVER PANJIM
ROCLAIMS LIBERATION
M COLONIAL TERROR**

**lhuri Accepts Surrender Of
agueese: G.-G. Has Fled**

**NG FUGITIVES FAIL TO SET
F DYNAMITE CHARGES**

"The Times of India" News Service

BEJALM December 21
MIL FORCES ACCOMPLISHED THEIR MISSION BY
ING THE PORTUGUESE SPOCKETS IN THE COIN
TODAY.

al Choudhuri (Lt. Col., Southern Command), and the
der of "Operation Vijaya" flew into Panaji from Be
mpter early this morning to accept the surrender of the
ces in Goa.

Resistance by the Portuguese at the end
only abandoned.

Indians, lined up in a market square
rival from through the city in a joy
the way by enthusiastic crowds, many of
Indian children and women "Jai Hind".

needed to the Portuguese army had
was received by the Portuguese gen
conded to come for on Monday night
their side.

The capture of Panaji, the last town in
Goa, was the final step in the
liberation of the territory from
Portuguese rule.



**Goa Will Be
Governed
By Centre**

**Money Grant
When Needed**

**Lisbon May Not
Complain To U.N.**

MENON FOR NEW YORK **West Evades Issue Of Colonialism** **3 MEN-OF-WAR SUNK**

Jubilant crowd celebrating Goa's Liberation, 19th December 1961



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15. P.P. Shirodkar
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26th August, 1950.

The Prime Minister,
H. M. Dr. O. Salazar,
Lisbon, Portugal.

Sir,

Here a son of Goa is writing to your highness, from his far off country Goa, on behalf of all the Goans, in order to bring in front of you the difficulties, injustice and unfairness which we the Goans have got to undergo under your Government.

Goa such a rich land, a very fertile place, a place flowing with milk and honey up to this 20th. century has been left undeveloped. Our culture which is agriculture, which is the most important, "a matter of life or death" to us is still to this present day carried on by the methods of 15th to 18th. century, when rest of the world is carrying on its agriculture with modern machines working on diesel and electricity.

Electricity which in this 20th. century being enjoyed by even the remotest countries, desert like places, so to say throughout neck and corner of the world is completely unknown in many of the big villages of Goa specially by the whole of Bardes and Salset with the exception of towns and cities. If by bringing technicians or by giving contract to foreign companies electricity was tapped from the waterfalls of Dadasagar the power of electricity would have been enjoyed by each and every village of Goa and not only that heavy machinery would have been able to run on that power.

The mineral wealth of Goa which consists of Manganese, and Iron ores is dug and taken and exported to foreign countries. Why I ask you this is not melted in Goa, purified and then iron is exported? This would have given opportunity for the development and growth of industries which on the other hand would have given employment to thousands of Goans who have to go out of Goa for jobs and work like slaves in Persian Gulf, Africa, etc.

Almost 500 years of Portuguese rule in Goa, nothing but encouragement of emigration, a curse on land. Goans have prospered on other soils rather than on their own, why? soil of Goa is thousand times better and fertile than other countries. Due to this emigration, today what we find in Goa-- houses deserted, villages uninhabited, and ruins everywhere today there are houses and people to our disgrace one old lady in a huge house with one servant. Why your Government did not check or keep an eye on the masses going out of Goa? Today the best youth of Goa the best people of Goa who would have brought honour to their own country, if they were to get employment in Goa are working under most degrading conditions in foreign countries.

Your Government; how many colleges, schools, hospitals in Goa? only one--medical college-- to those students who undergo portuguese course. The most important is what about other students studying in many English schools established in Goa? They have to go to the Indian Union if they want higher education and only rich people who can afford to send their sons to Bombay are blessed and the rest of the boys or sooner they pass their B.S.C. have to go on hunting for a job in jungles and desert places of Africa and Arabia. Is this Government for the people?

Your Government's attitude towards the justice, the rights of the people is a disgraceful one. The people of Goa are suffering under the most degrading conditions.

ibunal, Comunidades of the Villages, Police and military etc. etc. Just
e and you will see. Policemen kept in various military stations in villages
ily and catch hold of anyone give severe beating take to the court where
ng is given and without any public fair trial imprisoned for years. Even if
ect not knowing anything of politics; being reported to these drunkard police-
enemy just to put him in trouble they without investigating into the matter
t and take him and lock him up. Here is where we suffer. Goa a huge military
hold of ignorant people and they are made to suffer without any reason. You
ssia for its Government; you call them communists and bad disciplin, that means
dom for people to talk; what freedom do you give for us? Your Government being
ractices things which are inhuman. You at once take us and lock us up or expel
we speak right. "Your government in Goa; Right is right". You speak in terms
cism, equality and in high sounding words but your actions and Government
l reveals your talk and at the same time give testimony that what you speak
bluff the rest of the world just to put dust in the eyes of the public.

son of Goa there is not even freedom to play, to have a club, and even to
t form of entertainment. For every dam thing liscence "Declaracao" and such
pharnelias all troublesome and do we get work done at once? One who has
ke liscence from the authorities will only tell you well. The famous word in
of your Government employes "Aranha" is heard when one wants to do his work
tly. If you tell him your difficulties they drive you out or keep you waiting
hours untill you are prepared to give them "Carveja" beer; than only your
ne. How much money charged for the work no rates anything that comes to
h.

he roads of Goa. Oh! the worse roads as if the place is uninhabited or the
ly built. Big holes on the roads, stones have come up and when rain falls
ins on the roads and these water preserved holes looks to be well and rivers
d. You will say we spend so much money, thousands of rupies every year and
complain? yes; the money that is taken from the Camara, comunidades etc.
, suppose \$1000 out of which only 100 rupies or \$200 are spend by the con-
throw the mud, pieces of glasses and stones from the gutters on the road
st of the money goes in his pocket: none to look into the matter and see.
come to see the road or inspect it are bribed by the contractor and the con-
sses the roads to be well made. We poor people have no word and have to be
with what they do. If all this money were collected instead of taking them
and spend to cement the roads once for all the roads would have been good
would have no need to spend money every year.

ow much pure water is wasted which could have been made use for irrigation
any parts of Goa? If by building dams all water was preserved to water the
summer season Goa could have been made self-sufficient. There would have
ed to import rice from Pakistan, and other countries. Your Government
did not do this and by not doing this you suffocated us. Is it not?

because there is pressure from the other side the economical blockade of India
at the last moment after your rule of almost 500 years, run to do some
is you bring toys implements and tractors of your country, to bluff the people
ow are your tactics and your work? Now at the last moment you show
nd the catholic authorities to ask their Bishops, why not during all
s? where there are not better priests than those who are consecrated? Why
o become bishops; but you have send them to work in the missions in
y not we have loan bishop in Goa.

the fishing industry of Goa employs 13th century means to catch fish. Why
our government doesn't help them; deep sea fishing? The vast growth of manges
their fruits are wasted because they are not canned or tined and exported. So
by other things, other different kinds of products of Goa goes to waste
there are no proper means to make use of them. Why other countries have
by making use of their natural resources and why not our Goa?

now try to throw dust in the eyes of the Goans by publishing on your
papers by broadcasting on radio, that Portugal looks for the welfare of the
that Portugal is trying to bring Goa up, you broadcast a message of solid-
understanding. How can there be understanding and solidarity when you
thrive and live by sucking our blood our Goans blood. Your Government be-
a "Might is right" and this is being practiced in Goa. Goans have got no
just as cows and sheep takes beating from the shephard so also we Goans state
is the same. The Landlord doesn't know how his cows are treated by his
and so too you may not know what is our state and to what position we Goans
reached but this letter which is written to you by a true son of Goa, who all
we have spend in Goa, now working in Persian Gulf just to earn his daily-
will tell you that things in Goa by your Government are done in this way.

now at least hope that you will investigate into the matter and put things
I know that you will tear this letter and throw it in your waste-paper basket
remember because you are the head you can do anything you can even kill us Goans
because we are the sufferers, but remember today you big God knows to-morrow you
I. You have free-will you have power you can do what you want, but if not
at least one day you will have to give account "the account of your colonies,
left them saying that they are part of Portugal, but to God you won't be
deceive. Either you amend your dictatorial ways now only or you will be a
of the catastrophe. "Yes" you will say "I know, I have done my best." All
excuses and many such things you will say. But I only ask to the Goans who
in villages Goans who are unemployed and left to your mercy in Goa and you
not correct answer, but don't ask to those Goans who by looting poor people
back full who live in cities of Pangim etc. don't ask Goans who are Editors
papers because they are robbers they want to enjoy under your Government
sucking the blood of our people.

being a small place is definitely must be having one of the greatest record
nation. So also much money you make on these people but security have you
of these emigrants? Is there any Emigration Office in Goa where we Goans
and explain our difficulties and sorrows? Foreign companies just send permit
to us for jobs, and you allow Goans to go out of Goa without giving them any
thing, you don't know what we Goans do whether they are alive or killed or im-
prisoned, whether they are treated well or like slaves. So Goans know if they are
in Goa they will be unemployed and will have to starve so they are forced to
go to foreign countries even like slaves where if they are given beating and
kicks they take them with thanks. Why to such state we Goans have reached?
only on account of your Government. "Mal-administration". See the security
government of India give to its emigrants. No one is allowed to go out of India
by a company who takes them to work in foreign countries signs a contract
security has to be kept so much pay has to be declared second class passage
protection in foreign countries. But we Goans nothing of this kind. Whether we
die or we are alive whether our state have reached to the state of degrada-
tion and brutality you don't bother. you don't investigate for our welfare.
For the tears and blood of emigrants prays for your denunciation and murder
will not escape from this.

I know you have no time to read this so now I stop. I don't more to bother you. I am a true son of Goa. I tell you honestly 'I have not enjoyed any happiness under your Government. Your Government can be compared to the Government of Russia. You will ask "Will you get happiness if Indian Union takes Goa? No we won't get happiness but are we happy now? This is the answer for you Colonialism has got no place in this 20th century. We want Independence Freedom of Speech work in Goa Government and not Goa a dead land as we see now under your dictatorial Government.

"Oh! let mightyness declines from its position
And let righteousness rise and be strong.
Then only Happiness will rise from age to age
Taking invincible shape.

Yours truly,

L. S. Miranda
(L. S. Miranda.)



FALLIANCHO SOJNSAR.

DRAMA C PORDGANIE

DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

FREDERICK	----	PAI	-----	BARRISTER
FLAVIA	.....	MAMA	.....
RAYMOND	.....	PUTTO	.....
RITA	.....	DHU		
DR. SAMUEL	.....	AMIGO VOIZ	.....
DAMIAO	.....	BOTLERO	.....
SHRELLA	.....	MOG-CORNAR		
TONY	.....	CAZARI	.....

*Transcribed
by ...*

am: Och "FALLIANCHO SOJNSAR" ! Jivitachi moriad soddun jietolia
aiz-fallianchea dadleanc hench pirachit.

(Raymond eta ani Flaviac polleun campta)

i: 'roddon) con - mama !

z: (Dhukan) Raymond anchem Flavia amcam ~~xxxxx~~ sandun ghuelem
Devac muje churchure dissonc naim !

i: (Mottean Fredericac) Cuxin sor. To tujo patki hat muje ~~xxxx-~~
~~xxxx~~ mamanc nimanea vellar lainaca.

(Flaviachea cudir tocli temcoita) Mama.

PORDO.

C O B A R .

ESTADO DE ESTADOS UNIDOS
COLOMBIA

Visto

Margad, 26 de Mayo de 1953

Alberto de Jesus Fernandez

A MIM GAUDI

Atam sounsar baba osso zala amcam boreac podta
Amgue nok Bombaim zelear roode tarvar serviss meta
Chdeam nocac servis nam mun bombil bazun khata
Empregadanc pag paunam mun bail muntai naca.

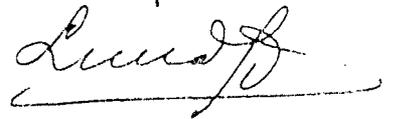
Tarvar servis con xembrea zotai noteo
Chiream ghor bandilim sodun tuljam homteo
Amge chede xincon bakram baieanc matai chaieo
Atam tumim bazun kahai zeteo.

Amge locac antan sirvis cholli ecdom otai odun
Amcam tarvar ani emcam zina otai lotun
Bacram atam marog podta embil menan mun Motunc
Decun calsaum sodun bacran zotam geilaim khosunc

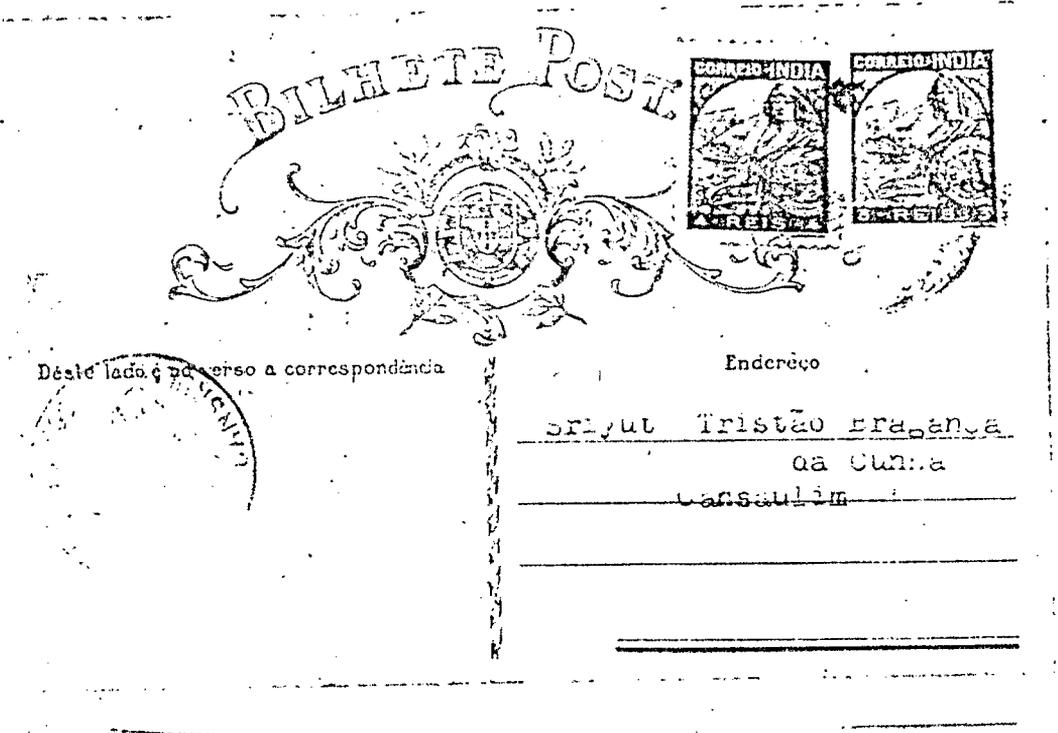
Chadeam cheduanc sangtai aicon gueai
Amgue chedeancore sacrament tumim zodeai
Sacram chedeanc atam tumim sodunc lagai
Borea gent pieon bailanc te matai.

Antem mina otai amcam sogleas truceantu ~~xxxxx~~ boranu
Dandgue chede cheduam ektain eostai chempuna
Cudi amxie pavetiai Fordan pottocochi allona
Excon moga bhim killeitai mina ani ossonu.

Mina gelo coren kutu boream dissota
Dadule matvar anim sociac nidta
Zalte pauti amje mog cholota
Excon sacrament dobul jeta.



@@@



✠

Vande Mataram

Sriyut Tristão Bragança da Cunha, Cansaulim.

Sai lind. Tenho a honra de comunicar a V. Excia. que no dia terça-feira, 10 do corrente, às 16 horas, o sr. doutor Rammanonar Lonla, ilustre patriota e líder congressista, vai falar ao povo de Goa. Tenho extremo prazer de convidar a V. Excia. à mesma conferência que terá lugar em Margão.

Agradecendo o favor que espero merecer assino-me
de V. Excia.,
Margão, 10/0/40. ato. e obgo.,

Purushottam Kakodkar

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

CONSTITUTION

Adopted at the Open Session of the Congress
Held at Belgaum on 5th June 1949.

: OFFICE :

J. K. BUILDING, No. 4/20
GAUMDEVI, BOMBAY 7.

WORKING COMMITTEE OF
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

For 1949-50

Sjt. S. B. D'Silva, M. A., LL. B.

President

Dr. T. Mascarenhas

Hon. Treasurer.

Sjt. Vasant P. Borkar

„ Wamanrao Desai

Hon. General Secretaries.

Dr. Eric Rosaria DeMello, M. D.

Sjt. Kashinath S. Lad.

Sjt. Balkrishna B. Borkar

Sjt. S. G. Lad.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

(Adopted at the open session of the Congress
held at Belgaum on 24th June, 1976.)

Art. 1. Object:

The Object of the National Congress (Goa) is the attainment, through peaceful means, of freedom from foreign rule and the entry of Goa into the Indian Union on the basis of self-determination.

Art. 2. Constituents: The National Congress (Goa) comprises:—

- a) Primary members enrolled under the provisions of Art. 3 of the constitution.
- b) District, Town, Village and other local Committees.
Note: A District corresponds to Concelhos.
- c) The Annual Session of the National Congress (Goa).
- d) The All-Goa Congress Committee.
- e) The Working Committee.
- f) Committees or Associations which may be directly organized by the All-Goa Congress Committee or by the Working Committee.

Art. 3. Membership:

- a) Every Goan of the age of 18 years or over who believes in Art. 1 hereof shall, on making a written declaration in that behalf or in the form of application herein prescribed and paying a fee of 1/4 as., become a member, provided the applicant is not already a member of any communal or other organization whereof the work, objects or programme is in the opinion of the Working Committee anti-nationalist or in conflict with those of the National Congress (Goa).
- b) All applications for enrollment shall be forwarded to the Working Committee and upon enrollment a member shall receive a certificate of membership in the form hereinafter provided.
- c) A member shall continue to exercise the rights of membership until he resigns or is expelled; provided he shall have renewed his application together

with the payment of the annual membership fee every year after enrollment.

- ✓ d) For the purpose of the payment of the membership fee the official year of the National Congress (Goa) shall be reckoned from the 15th of June to the 17th of June and unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee, there shall be no reduction in the fee to be paid by members in the course of the year.
- e) The name of any member who fails to apply for renewal of membership and to pay the fee provided for in Cl. (a) hereof shall be liable to be removed from the membership rolls and in any event such member shall not be entitled to exercise the rights of membership.

Art. 4. Membership Registers :

Every District, Town, Village and other Committee shall maintain a permanent register of members enrolled within their respective jurisdiction and/or territorial unit, showing the name, address and the date of the enrollment of each member or his renewal of membership. A copy of each such roll shall be forwarded to the Working Committee from time to time as directed.

Art. 5. Settlement of Disputes :

- a) A Tribunal consisting of three members who shall not be office-bearers of the All-Goa Congress Committee or of the Working Committee or of the District, Town, Village or other Committee or Association organized under Art. 7 Cl. (f), shall be appointed at each annual session of the Congress and shall hold office during the ensuing official year or until its successor shall take office.
- b) All disputes regarding any matter affecting the affairs of the National Congress (Goa) and including the interpretation of the Constitution or rules made thereunder or of the conduct of any member or office-bearer shall be referred to the Tribunal who shall decide upon the reference according to right, equity and good conscience after hearing all parties concerned. The decision or verdict of the Tribunal shall be final and binding upon the parties to the dispute and the Congress.

omission of the name of any person on the membership rolls shall forward such objection in writing to the Tribunal whose ruling thereon shall be final.

- d) Any member who is party to any dispute or in sympathy with any such party and being dissatisfied with the verdict or decision of the Tribunal, leaves the National Congress (Goa) he shall be deemed to have been expelled and his name shall be published.
- e) The members of the Tribunal shall choose one from among their number to be the Chairman of the Tribunal.

Art. 6. Territorial Units: The following shall be the territorial units of the 2nd Constituent under Art. 2 of the constitution :-

1. Pernem, 2. Sanquelim, 3. Satari 4. Bardez,
5. Ilhas, 6. Ponda, 7. Salcette, 8. Marmagoa,
9. Quepem, 10. Sanguem, 11. Canacona,
12. Bombay City, 13. Poona, 14. Belgaum,
15. Dharwar and any other territorial unit or subdivision of any unit which may be designated by the Working Committee.

Art. 7. Membership Rights :

All present workers and members of the National Congress (Goa) who are on the rolls at the date on which this draft constitution shall have been approved by the present provisional working committee or by a General Meeting or Conference of members and workers whichever shall be first in the order of time shall be entitled to exercise the right to vote and to stand for election to office. After the adoption of this Constitution as aforesaid, no member shall be entitled to vote or to stand for election to office unless he shall have been continuously a member for not less than three calendar months prior to the occasion for the exercise of such right.

Provided that no worker or member who fails to qualify for the right to vote or to stand for election to office by reason only of being or having been in custody as a political prisoner, shall be debarred from the exercise of such right.

Art. 8. Elections :

- a) Every constituent territorial unit hereinafore mentioned in Art. 2 Cl. (b) shall prepare a list of members entitled to exercise the rights of membership and shall forward the same to the headquarters of the All-Goa Congress Committee on or before such date as shall be fixed by the Working Committee.
- b) The Working Committee shall fix a date for the election of delegates upon receiving the lists mentioned in Cl. (a) hereof and only those whose names are included in such lists shall be entitled to exercise the rights of membership at such election.
- c) Upon the date fixed by the Working Committee an election of delegates shall be held in each constituency by the members residing therein. Each constituency shall elect not more than 30 and not less than 3 delegates who shall represent such constituency at the ensuing Session of the Congress. The names of the elected delegates shall be forwarded to the Working Committee as soon after the election as possible.
- d) Any constituency which shall have failed or is unable to prepare and forward the list of members mentioned in Cl. (a) hereof within the time fixed by the Working Committee shall be disentitled to elect its delegates.

Art. 9. The All-Goa Congress Committee :

- a) The All-Goa Congress Committee shall be comprised of the delegates elected by the constituent territorial units mentioned in Art. 2 of the constitution together with the President.
- b) The All-Goa Congress Committee shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from Session to Session and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office.
- c) The All-Goa Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution for the regulation of all business connected with the National Congress (Goa).

Chairman of the All Goa Congress Committee. In the unavoidable absence of the President at any meeting of the Committee it shall elect a chairman for the occasion.

- e) The All-Goa Congress Committee shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than 24 members of the National Congress (Goa). The requisition shall specify the purpose for which a meeting is desired. Such meeting shall be confined to the purpose for which it is called. Additional business may be allowed at the discretion of the President provided notice thereof shall have been given two clear days before the meeting.
- f) Forty or one-third the total number of the members of the Committee whichever shall be less shall form a quorum for the transaction of business. No quorum shall be necessary at an adjourned meeting.
- g) The All-Goa Congress Committee shall continue in office until the next session of the Congress in the event of the annual session being impossible to hold for political reasons.
- h) The All-Goa Congress Committee may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such organizations as it may deem desirable provided such organizations are such as may further or assist the objects of the National Congress (Goa).

Art. 10. The Election of the President:

- a) Any five delegates may jointly send in the name of any member duly qualified under Art. 3 of this constitution whom they propose for the office of President of the next ensuing annual session of the Congress so as to reach the Working Committee on or before such date as the Working Committee shall fix in that behalf.
- b) The Working Committee shall publish such name or names to the Committee of the Constituent units. It shall be open to any person whose name

has been proposed to withdraw his candidature within 10 days of the publication of the names by informing the Working Committee accordingly.

- c) In the event of there being only one name proposed the candidate shall be declared elected. In the event of there being more than one candidate for election to the office of President the Working Committee shall fix a date on which the delegates shall be entitled to record their votes in favour of one of such candidates. The one who shall receive the majority of the votes shall be declared to be duly elected. In the event of a tie between any two candidates a second vote shall be taken in respect of them.
- d) In the event of the President for the time being in office or a President-elect being unable to serve for any reason he shall have the power to nominate his successor.

Art. 11. Subjects Committee :

- a) A Subjects Committee shall be formed before each session of the National Congress (Goa). This shall be a Sub-Committee of the All-Goa Congress Committee not more than 9 and not less than 3 in number. The subjects committee shall discuss the programme and shall frame all the resolutions for being moved in the open session.
- b) All private members' resolutions shall be sent in to the subjects Committee three clear days before the open session.

Art. 12. The Congress Session :

- a) The open session of the National Congress (Goa) shall be held annually at such time and place as shall be decided at the previous session or, in the absence of such decision, appointed by the Working Committee.
- b) The session shall consist of, the President and the delegates duly elected under Art. 8 of this constitution.
- c) Arrangements for the open session shall be made by the Committee of the constituent unit within whose territory it is decided to be held.

- d) The Committee concerned shall also appoint a Reception Committee in such manner as it may deem fit consisting of a Chairman and other office-bearers. All accounts shall be submitted to the present Committee.

Art. 13. The Working Committee :

- a) This Working Committee shall consist of the President of the Congress, two general secretaries, 1 Treasurer and 11 members selected or nominated by the President from among the members of the All-Goa Congress Committee. One of the general Secretaries shall serve as the General Secretary of the National Congress (Goa) and the other as the secretary of the Working Committee and the Treasurer shall be the Treasurer of the National Congress (Goa). This clause will remain in force for one year only.
- b) The Working Committee shall be the executive authority and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and the programme laid down by the All-Goa Congress Committee and shall be responsible thereto.
- c) The Working Committee, in addition to its other functions, shall have the power to superintend, direct and control all committees of the constituent units and to take disciplinary action as it may deem fit against any committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default.
- d) The Working Committee shall place before the All-Goa Congress Committee the reports of its proceedings, the agenda of the meeting and allot the time to be devoted to the discussion of resolutions of which notice shall have been given either by members of the All-Goa Congress Committee or by private member-delegates.
- e) The Working Committee shall have power to frame rules and to issue instructions for the proper working of the constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for.

Art. 14. District, Town, Village and Other Committees :

- a) The delegates elected under Art. 8 of the constitution by the members of the National Congress (Goa) in their respective territorial units shall constitute the local District, Town or Village Committee, as the case may be, of such territorial unit. They shall elect from among themselves a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

- b) In the event of the number of delegates being insufficient for the purpose of the Committee such Committee shall have the power to nominate such additional number of workers as they may deem fit provided such nominated members shall have no right to vote in the deliberations of the Committee.
- c) The local Committee shall have the power to frame rules for the transaction of their business in addition to those provided hereunder.

Art. 15. Funds :

The Treasurer of the National Congress (Goa) shall be in charge of the funds and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure and shall present an audited statement of accounts to the Working Committee in good time before the annual session of the Congress.

16. General Secretaries :

- a) The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the offices of the All-Goa Congress Committee and of the Working Committee respectively.
- b) The General Secretaries shall keep a record of the meetings of the All-Goa and of the Working Committee and prepare the annual report of the proceedings of the Open Session Annual or other in co-operation with the Committee which was in charge of the arrangements for the holding thereof.

17. Head-quarters :

The Head-quarters of the All-Goa Congress Committee shall be in Goa unless exigencies of the political situation there make this impossible. In such event it shall be at such other place as the All-Goa Congress Committee shall decide.

Art. 18. Amendment of the Constitution :

Amendments of the Constitution by alteration, addition or deletion shall be made upon the advice of the Working Committee but they shall not be effective unless adopted by not less than two-thirds of the delegates present at a Special Meeting called for the purpose or at an Annual Session.

CONSTITUTION AND RULES FOR THE DISTRICT, TOWN, OR VILLAGE COMMITTEES.

Objects : —The objects of the (Name the District, Town, or Village Committee as the case may be) Committee shall be the aims objects and programme of the National Congress (Goa).

2. **Composition :** — In pursuance of the terms of the Art. 14 of the Constitution of the National Congress (Goa) the Committee shall be composed of the delegates elected or co-opted thereunder.

3. The President, Secretary, Treasurer and not less than four and not more than 12 members elected by the delegates composing the Committee shall be the executive of the District Town, Taluka or Village Committee.

4. The District, Town, Taluka or Village Committee shall remain in office for one year or until a new Committee shall be elected and take office.

5. The Committee shall meet once a month and oftner if necessary one-third of the members thereof or six being deemed to be a sufficient quorum.

6. The District Town or Taluka or Village Committee shall inter alia organise:

- a) Local or Ward Committees as and where the Committee shall deem proper.
- b) Such other local committees or sub-committees as it may be proper.

7. The Committee shall have the power :

- a) To frame rules and issue instructions for the proper working of the subordinate committees and in all matters not otherwise provided for.
- b) To superintend, direct, control all ward or other sub-committees organized by the Committee.

8. The Secretary shall maintain records of the proceedings of District, Town, Taluka or Village Committee and of the Executive Committee respectively and prepare reports of the working of the Committee to be submitted to the Working Committee of the National Congress (Goa).

9. The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds and shall maintain accounts of all income, investment and expenditure and shall prepare balance-sheets for submission annually to the Treasurer of the National Congress (Goa).

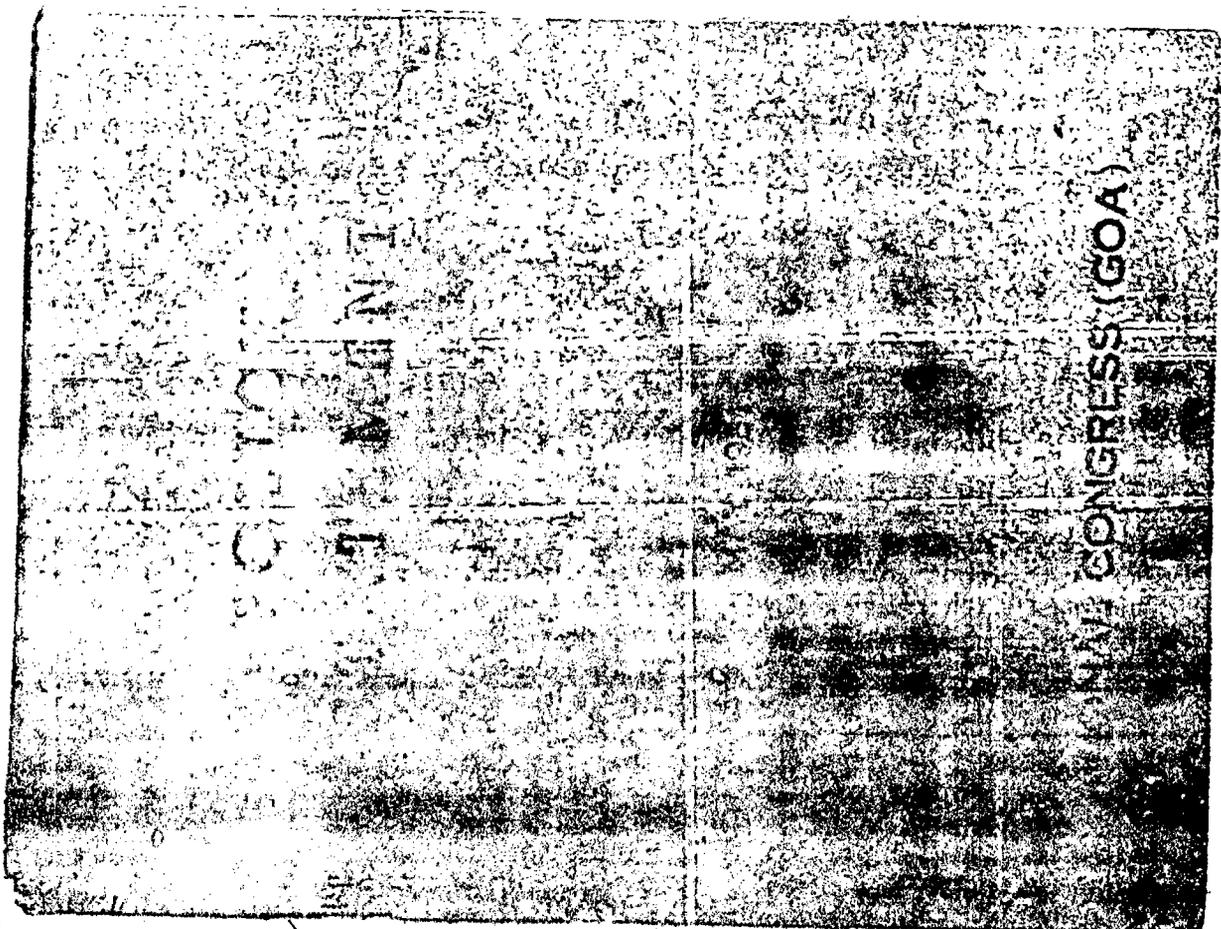
10. The Executive Committee shall meet once a week or earlier if necessary.

11. The President of the Committee shall preside at all meetings of the Committee or of the Executive and in his absence the meeting shall choose its own chairman.

12. The Committee shall carry out the programme of the National Congress (Goa) as laid down from time to time by the All-Goa Congress Committee in so far as it affects the area in its jurisdiction and shall generally carry out the directions of the Working Committee of the National Congress (Goa).

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR ?

The immediate aim of our movement is to liberate Goa from the Fascist Foreign Domination; but it will be a mistake to understand this aim narrowly. Basically our aim is to create new Goa, where every single Goan is a worthy and happy citizen who tries to acquire the dignity of Full Democracy and is willing to live and die for the greatness of the motherland.



... 6th Annual
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FOREWORD

1. The struggle for the freedom of the territories of Portuguese India (Goa, Damaun and Diu) from the imperialist domination of Portugal has assumed various forms in its expression. Historically it began with the revolt of the 'Ranas' in the form of an armed uprising in Sattari. It was brutally suppressed and many of its leaders were exiled out of India to distant Portuguese penal settlements where most of them died in exile.

2. From this stage the struggle took on a different aspect. The basic policy and the course of the Indian freedom movement under the direction of the Indian National Congress gave birth to the Goa Congress Committee which functioned for some time in Goa and then transferred its offices to Bombay. The Goa Congress Committee was affiliated to the A. I. C. C. of the Congress but lost its affiliated character when all foreign Congress Committees (London, New York etc.) were disaffiliated in 1934. The Goa Congress Committee confined its field of activity to agitation for freedom, educating the people into the economics of Portuguese rule in India and in explaining and seeking redress of particular issues in Goa.

3. The present stage of the struggle began in 1946 with the assertion by the Goan people, under the leadership of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, of the right to full civil liberties. Dr. Lohia and his colleagues were arrested. This started the new and latest phase of the movement—agitational, active and constructive, which acquired structural and

Though from a point of view it can be asserted that the present is the final stage and form of struggle for Goa's freedom, yet in the course of the fulfilment of its basic mission—the freedom of Goa, Damann and Diu from Portuguese rule and their integration into the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India—and in the development of the character of its struggle the National Congress (Goa) has been assailed with various charges and confronted with issues and problems which might have arisen at a later stage. These have to be properly understood and placed in their proper perspective. It is with this purpose that the following policy statement, adopted unanimously by the Third Annual Conference of the National Congress (Goa) in Bombay in May 1951 is placed before the people of Goa and India.

The objective of the National Congress (Goa) and of the movement of the people of Goa is the attainment of the freedom of Goa, Damann and Diu from Portuguese rule and their integration with the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

2. With the attainment of India's freedom from British rule there still remain a few territories in India under Portuguese and French rule and domination. They are Goa, Damaun and Diu under the Portuguese and Pondicherry, Mahe, Yanam and Karaikal under the French. As long as these areas remain under foreign political domination and the people of these areas continue to exist in political and cultural servitude, and so long as they continue to do so, the freedom of the people and the territory of India is not complete. This conception of our freedom has been supported by our Prime Minister when he stated that the Indian Freedom Movement can never be complete so long as the Foreign possessions of the Portuguese and the French remain under their rule. It is therefore incumbent upon the people of these areas, as also upon the people of India as whole, to carry on an irresistible struggle for freedom of their areas from their respective imperial rulers, to provide for themselves conditions of political, economic and cultural freedom in which their personalities and potentialities can have full scope for development, and also to enable the people of India as a whole to realise the complete fulfilment of their long standing objective—the full personal and territorial freedom from all foreign rule.

CHAPTER II BASIC POLICY

1. **Organisational:** Even though the question of Goa's liberation is a part of the question of India's freedom itself, yet the primary responsibility of freeing the territories of India from Portuguese rule must rest primarily on the initiative and efforts of the people of Goa themselves. In this firm belief and confidence in the victory of all progressive forces the National Congress (Goa) is endeavouring to organise the people of the areas of Goa, Damaun and Diu, wherever they may be, for the liberation movement.

On the method and manner of the freedom struggle will depend very much the character and content of that freedom. The National Congress (Goa) believes that the freedom for the mass of the people can be effectively and correctly organised only if the people themselves are organisationally integrated into the liberation movement. In this belief the Congress will constantly endeavour to draw more people into its organisation and activities so that the people themselves may determine its policies and shape the political, economic and cultural future of these areas.

The democratic way of life is never more securely established than when the participants in a liberation movement base their deliberations and actions upon the consent of the people and acquire the habit of democratic behaviour, which develops itself as a second nature in the process of development.

2. **Co-ordination of Freedom Efforts:** The various movements for National Freedom are but expressions of one

liberation movement. To be effective in their total effort they must be properly integrated. From this point of view the National Congress (Goa) recognises the freedom movement of the people of French India as a part of the movement of the Indian people as a whole, and its own counterpart in another area. The strategy of freedom movements is the same basically though their tactics may vary. Progress of such a movement in one area is bound to support and further the forces of its counterpart in another area. Both lend strength to one another. To derive the maximum benefit from these two parallel movements the objectives of which are identical, the National Congress (Goa) took the initiative to hold a conference of all pro-merger organisations in Portuguese and French India. The Conference set up a Co-ordinating Committee of the two movements in order to co-ordinate their efforts and to derive mutual aid and benefit from each other's activities.

3. **Plebiscite:** The Goan People categorically reject any suggestion of a plebiscite of the people of Goa, Damaun and Diu to ascertain their views on the question of freedom and integration of their areas, into the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

Freedom is the inalienable right of every people, it is the most fundamental of rights, the basis on which human society is founded, and the precondition of its progress. Therefore to subject this right of freedom to a plebiscite is to deny its fundamental and absolute character, and to subject to a hypothetical vote the inalienable basis on which human society is founded. The Goan people can never agree to a plebiscite on this question, and therefore demand

...an ulterior moti-
...confuse the people
...They seek to profit by the
experience of the French administration in India where the
French administration persuaded the Government of India
to agree to a plebiscite of the people of Pondicherry, Mahe,
Yanam and Karaikal and soon manoeuvred to destroy the
impartial basis of that plebiscite. By political manoeuvres
and goondaism the French authorities jerrymandered the
election to the town municipalities in these areas and
obtained a majority in them of anti-merger elements. What
great advantage they secured will be evident when it is
realised that these municipalities were made responsible for
the modalities of the plebiscite. By this method the French
authorities got into their possession the machinery to
determine the method and agency of the plebiscite. The
Government of India promptly refused to have a plebiscite
under such circumstances and insisted upon the conduct
of a plebiscite under the joint supervision of French and
India Government personnel. The French are unwilling to
surrender their advantage and a stalemate has ensued which
has defied attempts to solve it. Naturally the Government
of India distrusts the bonafides the French Government.
This agreement has since been abrogated. We must profit
by this experience. The Goan people welcome the categoric
rejection by the Government of India of any suggestion
of a plebiscite for they can never consent to the assertion
and exercise of a fundamental right being subjected to
a political vote.

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...the integration of the ...
...Daman and Diu into the Sovereign Democratic Republic
of India. If it is necessary for the Goan people to realise
their inalienable right to freedom so also for this freedom to
be complete and effective these territories must be integrated
into the Indian Union, unconditionally and unequivocally
as an automatic process flowing out of freedom, so that the
people of these areas have for themselves conditions
favourable for political, economic and cultural progress.

Goa, Damaun and Diu have always been a part of
Indian territory and civilisation. In spite of a foreign rule
of over 400 years and a ruthless attempt at stamping out
the indigenous culture, the economic, cultural and family
ties that existed before the Portuguese have been maintained.
Though the rupture of political relations was attempted,
and for many years very successfully, yet historical forces
have asserted themselves and the people of these areas are
now more closely dependent and united in a common pur-
pose for their common future. Integration is merely the
political expression of a common nationhood, of common
interests of a common civilisation and inter-dependent eco-
nomic conditions.

5. **Interim Government:** While the issue of freedom
is entirely above controversy there are two issues of a post-
freedom character that are the cause of much controversy,
so intense and preponderating that they are threatening to
eclipse the more urgent issues that are of necessity prior
to them. The first one is about the immediate form
of Government during the period between the day of

freedom and the final decision as to its ultimate set-up in the Indian Union, and the second about its future permanent political status. On the first issue the people of Goa, Damaun and Diu welcome the assurance by India's Prime Minister of a special arrangement of a democratic character to carry on the government of these territories immediately after freedom. The National Congress (Goa) however desires that this arrangement should be of a specific nature, and that these territories should be elevated to the status of a "C" class state provided for in the Constitution of India. This status will provide for the people of these areas the machinery and the method of self-government in as much as they will have an elected Assembly and a cabinet of Ministers responsible to it.

6. Future Political Status: Interim Government by its very nature and concept can only be a transitory provision providing for an evolution and a passage on to a permanent arrangement. It is about the character of this permanent arrangement that the second controversy arises. The controversy is premature. It is also unfortunate because many irresponsible accusations are being levelled all around, prejudicing the efforts for freedom and jeopardising the unity in our ranks. This controversy can only be solved, not at this stage, but after freedom is won. What can be indicated at this stage, is a constructive approach to and an understanding of the issue so that fears may be allayed and accusations cease to be levelled around.

After integration, which is an organic assimilation, there is more than one possible form of political status or future form of Government that the territories of Goa, Damaun and Diu can accept or assume. One such form is that

of a Part "C" State, the same arrangement of form of Government as that proposed for the interim period in Section 5 of Chapter II.

Another alternative is to merge into an existing state of Part 'A' Status.

There may conceivably arise demands for other forms of Government.

Which of the possible alternatives the Goan people should adopt only they can decide. This decision can only come after a period of time has elapsed after freedom's victory. The choice must evolve after a mature understanding and sympathy all around and for each other's point of view. But the choice must be unfettered and no conditions must be allowed to intervene which are prejudicial to a free choice. The choice must be of the people. It is a right of choice obtaining not on any grounds of principle but because of peculiar circumstances of the case.

In this context a reference to a particular controversy is relevant. The protagonists of linguistic provinces (States) are engaged in an agitation over the issue of Goa's political future. Some are for the assimilation of Goa alone into the proposed State of Maharashtra others are for some sort of vague autonomy. The appeal of the Goan people to these persons is not to take the fact of freedom for granted and carry on an agitation about what should be Goa's future form of Government, but to lend their powerful support to the actual struggle for freedom without which precondition all these controversies are premature.

The National Congress (Goa) desires to emphasise the need to steer away from all these controversies so that the

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desires that this arrangement should be of a specific nature,
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support to the actual struggle for freedom without which
precondition all these controversies are premature.

The National Congress (Goa) desires to emphasise the
need to steer away from all these controversies so that the

maximum concentration can be put on the liberation movement. Such a concentration of mind and effort can only come when there is confidence all around that nobody is forestalling the other in these issues. In spite of repeated statements from the Congress doubts still persist. The National Congress (Goa) desires to set them at rest.

For this purpose there is need for confidence and good faith in the bonafides of the National Congress (Goa). It is necessary to give evidence that the issue of the future form of Government has not been prejudged or decided by the Congress, or even that the Congress has an opinion about them. Again there is the need to assure all the forces that build up the liberation movement of the National Congress (Goa) that they, who have for the period of the struggle restrained themselves in the pursuit, as far as Goa is concerned, of their particular political philosophies, will be free to devote their time to their pursuit after freedom is won.

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL FREEDOM

1. **Failure of Portuguese Culture:** Perhaps the most outstanding failure of the Portuguese in India is that of their culture. The much boosted policy of "Lusitanisation" of the people has failed tragically. If the policy had failed for itself it would have been of no consequence, but its failure was tragic because it failed to achieve a real expression of the inner-self of the people and resulted, instead, in achieving intellectual and artistic degradation. It brought into existence an attitude of swagger and bravado among those of the Goan people who attempted to imbibe

Portuguese culture. It made such people look down and away from those who were not of the 'Assimilado' type as themselves and in many cases such persons were even ashamed of fraternisation with those who did not speak the Portuguese language. The whole attempt on the part of such of the Goan people as tried to be classified as 'Assimilados' was slavish in character because its only purpose was to please the ruler by imitating him. As a result the moral and material veneer that was put on failed to radically affect the life of the people for the better.

It is not that Goans are not capable of or have not attained great standards in cultural and intellectual progress. Those who have escaped the programme of cultural regeneration of the Portuguese have been capable of this. The teachers and the professors, the artists and the musicians are evidence of their versatility; only it required a free atmosphere to develop their latent talents and this was possible and obtainable only outside Goa. It proves that fulfilment cannot come under an oppressive regime. Or in other words it proves the failure of the Portuguese in India in as much as that rule here of over 400 years could not provide either the atmosphere of freedom or the opportunities that are necessary for cultural progress. Their policies resulted in a flight of the Goan spirit to places beyond the influence of Portuguese rule where it found expression, fulfilment and even ascendancy.

A culture can never grow in an atmosphere of authoritarianism and slavery. It must flow out of an inborn necessity of the human spirit for expression, and not be imposed or regimented. It cannot be copyist for it flows out of local traditions and environment. It is therefore that history

of a continuity of a common civilisation and cultural heritage.

2. Freedom of Religious Expression: The National Congress (Goa) holds that religious avocation must always remain a free choice of the person, and an individual and personal affair. That the community of persons of a particular religious calling must have the right to freely practise their religion and this right must be guaranteed to both the individual and the community by the State.

The people of Goa, Damaun and Diu are deeply religious and proud of their respective religious calling. About 40% of the people belong to the Christian faith and 57% to the Hindu religion. Other denominations make up the remaining 3%. While it recognises that purely religious practice differs in its expression in all the communities it deprecates any attempt on the part of any one to build up an isolated community of thought and expression on the basis of religion alone. The Goan people spring from a common ancestral origin. If a section of them follow the path of one religion and another section that of another, it is its own business. But they must remember that they are members of one social community with common cultural and economic ties, and with a common future—one that transcends the narrow confines of religious denomination.

Not a...
ment of Portuguese India... as propaganda both inside and outside... that the religion of the Christians is in danger if Goa is free and integrated with India. Goan welfare has been identified exclusively with the Christian religion forgetting that 57% of the population is Hindu. By interference with the financial autonomy of some religious endowments, and patronage—financial and political—to others, a policy of religious discrimination has been carried by the government. This policy, foreign as it is to Indian tradition and sentiment, is now a source of exploitation against the Indian freedom movement, and particularly so against Goa's freedom. Religion has been made to serve the cause of Imperial Portugal.

The National Congress (Goa) demands the immediate abolition of all religious discrimination and patronage in all forms. It bases its assurance to the Goan people on the principle of the Indian Constitution guaranteeing to all people complete religious freedom and practice. The Government of India's secular policy has received praise from the highest Church dignitaries. Such a policy the National Congress (Goa) desires to be introduced in Goa.

3. Civil Liberties: Civil liberties are the basis of cultural and religious freedom and expression. Its absence will spell the disaster of all progressive thought and expression and will be an instrument of oppression of sections of the people

that find disfavour with the rulers. The existence of civil liberties is itself the greatest guarantee of the freedom of religious avocation. It is therefore necessary to help achieve the full enjoyment of them for their own benefit.

Civil liberties implies the free expression of thought, in word or writing, the right of assembly and also the right to social change.

The brutal suppression of all free thought and speech by the Portuguese in Goa is evidence of the totalitarian character of its regime. In conditions where every newspaper is pre-censored, where political freedom is non-existent and no rival to the Government party—the "Uniao Nacional"—is permitted, where even the text of a wedding invitation has to be pre-censored, where meetings and assemblies cannot be convened, in such an atmosphere it becomes incumbent upon the National Congress (Goa) to decry the fascist rule of the Portuguese in Goa and demand for the sake of the people's future the establishment of full civil and political liberties.

CHAPTER IV ECONOMIC POLICY

1. **Parasite Economy** : The pomp and grandeur of the Portuguese in Goa has been maintained all through the years of their rule by the sweated earnings of the Goan emigres of Goa. Their economic policy, or perhaps the absence of one, has been so bankrupt that the economy of Goa still remains a parasite one in spite of vast opportunities available there. No efforts have been made to raise the standard of the people through the development of its remarkable natural resources. The economic situation has been allowed

to drift till the burden of finding the means of livelihood has become unbearable.

Because of the narrow conception of their political function the Portuguese have remained satisfied with what income flowed in through the customs revenue and the remittances of Goan emigrants in India and elsewhere. The quantum from these two sources entirely determined the extent of trade and commerce in previous years. This would have remained static for all time had not the high standard of living in the surrounding districts in India had its repercussions on the people of Goa. Consequently, as the demands of the people increased the pressure upon the overstrained economy had to find some relief somehow. The only way was for more and more people to emigrate outside Goa for seeking a means of livelihood so that more and more moneys could be remitted to their dependents in Goa. No national income has been computed for the areas of Portuguese India, but if one indication is to be taken as a basis, the adverse trade balance of over 5 crores of rupees is made by upto 4/5ths by the remittances of Goan emigres alone. Such is the extent of the dependency of Goa economy upon the employment of Goans outside Goa, or in other words the extent of Goa's parasite economy.

2. **Flight of Talent** : The net effect of the policy pursued so far has resulted in a flight of talent to areas outside Goa. If this talent could have been utilised to exploit all the natural resources available in Goa it could have helped to develop the indigenous industries and raised the standard of the people. On the contrary the traditionally slothful life of the Portuguese has been a tragic drag upon our energy and enthusiasm and also on the economic prosperity

of Goa the exploitation of Goa
utilization of the area so
the people for self-sufficiency, prosper and
get the full benefit of their labours which are now lost to
them because of the reduced purchasing power of their rupee
in Goa. Only under such circumstances can equality of
opportunities be made available to all Goans, and the basis
of an egalitarian society be established.

Economic Re-Arrangement.

Any economic re-arrangement of Goa must take note
of the agricultural problem of the land and of the people
who derive their sustenance from it, of its industrial poten-
tial and its age old handicrafts. Such a re-arrangement
must seek a co-ordination of all the potentialities of these
three aspects so that a balance between them is achieved,
this in turn providing for maximum employment of local
talent and the development of initiative.

Agriculture, as elsewhere in India, is the basic occupa-
tion of the people. Unless the fundamental problems of this
aspect of our economy are resolved no successful solution of
our socio-economic problem can be achieved.

In the sphere of agriculture, the Comunidades occupy
a place of special importance. Nearly two thirds of the
total productive lands is under the control of these Commu-
nidades. Unless these Comunidades are restored to their
former position of economic co-operative life with the

tion can never be introduced

But the analytical basis for such a re-arrangement is
absent. It is therefore proposed to appoint a Land
Commission to survey the entire land tenancy and revenue
system and make recommendations to the National Congress
(Goa) for formulating a progressive land policy for Goa.

Alongside with agricultural development the technical
adaptability of the Goan must be harnessed for production.
With ample manpower, but scarce capital resources, Goa's
industrial development must take on the character of decen-
tralised small scale units so that the equitable technical
development of all parts of Goa can be almost simultaneously
achieved.

There yet remains the field of Goa's traditional handi-
crafts, which once flourished and are no more. The vestiges
must be carefully nurtured and developed so that expansion
can soon be achieved. The development of the handicraft
industry will afford that section of our community, the
means for economic regeneration at the same time contri-
buting to India's rich and artistic life.

4. **Loss in Earnings:** This reduced purchasing power of
their earnings occurs by reason of the exploitation of the
emigree. While on the one hand the situation in Goa has
left Goans bereft of any material prosperity and forced
them to emigrate outside Goa, on the other hand Portuguese
fiscal policy deprives the emigrants of a large part of their
hard earned wages. This is because incomes earned outside
Goa and that are remitted for the support of their families

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at home has less purchasing power than that rupee outside Goa. This will become evident when it is realised that more than 60% of all the total imports are subjected to a heavy tariff duty which raises the price of these commodities by that extent. Now all these imports are available to Goans in India at prices obtaining in India while the same are available in Goa at Indian prices plus customs duty. Therefore these imports are costlier in Goa to the extent of the customs duty; or in other words the total remittances by the emigrants for the support of their families in Goa for the purchase of these imports purchases less or has less purchasing power than the rupee in India. It is thus that the Portuguese Government maintains itself on the sweated earnings of the emigrees.

5. Customs Union: In order to protect the purchasing power of the emigrants' earnings and also in order to resurrect indigenous Goan industries it has become imperative to withdraw the customs barrier between Goa and India so that goods of Indian and Goan produce can move freely from one to the other.

Customs barriers are reciprocal. When the Portuguese imposed them as means of finding sources of revenue for the bankrupt economy naturally India followed suit. The effect of this imposition is, as explained above, that while Indian imported goods became dearer in Goa, indigenous produce of Goa that had a favourable market in India went off the trade on account of the higher imported cost of Goan produce as compared with that of the neighbouring Indian districts. Loss of an export market resulted in strangulation of those productive industries in Goa and consequently unemployment of the people employed in such industries.

The customs barrier has worked to the detriment of our economy. It is necessary if our economic life is to be stabilised that indigenous productive activity in Goa be revived. This can only be done if the customs barrier is removed and goods of Goan produce can compete in the Indian Market without the encumbrance of import duties.

The Goan people must demand a Customs Union so necessary for their own economy. Only by abolishing the customs barrier can the purchasing power of their earnings be protected and the indigenous produce of Goa be revived again to provide economic life to our people and ultimately raise their standard of living.

Appendix I

Early in 1955, the National Congress (Goa) adopted a programme for the reconstruction of Goa's social, economic and political life. This programme is outlined in the following 14 point programme. It is a minimum programme for immediate implementation. The list is only illustrative.

Goa's freedom must be secured soon so that:—

1. The masses of the Goan people may be united with their Indian brethren in political, economic and social union.
2. The peasants may be released from economic exploitation, and that they may enjoy the fruits of their labour by producing the rent to one-sixth of the produce, as in India.
3. The rich produce of Goa—Cocoanuts, betelnut, cashewnuts, mangoes and dry-fish etc. may be

- and avail themselves of the... and... of India so as to be enabled to live within their purchasing power.
5. The small trader, businessmen and professional men may pursue their professions without the crushing burden of the present government's taxation (Industrial Tax.)
 6. The business community, deprived of artificial income of smuggling, may henceforth develop in the larger context of wider fields of commercial and industrial opportunities in Goa and in India.
 7. The village communities (comunidades) may be reorganised on the basis of genuine co-operative efforts, thereby eliminating the middlemen and the pernicious system of giving out its land by auction.
 8. The personnel, of the services may serve a free government rather than a foreign ruler, and in conditions approximating to those in India.
 9. The people of Goa may find easy and fruitful employment so that the splitting up of the family units may be avoided, and employment may be offered to them where their families can reside.
 10. The people of Goa may be able to avail themselves of educational and cultural opportunities.
 11. The backward masses should find such employment as will help them to be released from traditional employment that binds them to an inferior position.

- The isolated communities... by social cum historical... and in the participation of freedom economic opportunities, that help them to discard their traditional professions and take their place on an equal footing with other sections of society.
13. The youth may grow up in an atmosphere of Freedom where opportunities are plentiful.
 14. The people of all religious persuasions may follow the observance and practice of their religion secured from interference of prejudices and racialism, and that their religion may grow in an atmosphere of cordiality and security.

Appendix II

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)

CONSTITUTION.

(AS AMENDED AT THE ANNUAL SESSION OF OCTOBER 1953)

ARTICLE—1. The object of the National Congress (Goa) is the attainment of freedom from foreign rule by all legitimate and peaceful means, and the integration of Goa, Daman and Diu into the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

ARTICLE—2. **Constituents:**—The National Congress (Goa) shall comprise of

- (a) Primary members enrolled under the provision of Art. 3 of the Constitution.

- (b) Taluka, town, village and other local committees as decided by the Working Committee under Art. 5. (Note:—A Taluka corresponds to a Conselho).
- (c) The Annual Session of the National Congress (Goa.)
- (d) The All Goa Congress Committee.
- (e) The Working Committee.

ARTICLE—3. Membership:—

- (a) Every Goan of the age of 18 years and over who believes in Art. 1. hereof shall, on making a written declaration in that behalf or in the form of application herein prescribed and on paying an annual fee of annas eight, become a member provided the applicant is not already a member of any parallel organisation whereof the work, object or programme is in the opinion of the Working Committee anti-nationalist or in conflict with those of the National Congress (Goa).
- (b) All applications for enrolment shall be forwarded to the Working Committee.
- (c) The Official Year of the National Congress (Goa) shall be reckoned from the 18th June of the following year.

ARTICLE—4. Membership Registers:—

Every Taluka, Town, Village and other committees shall maintain a permanent register of members enrolled within their respective jurisdiction or territorial unit, showing the name, address and the date of enrolment of each member. A copy of each such roll shall be forwarded to the Working Committee from time to time as directed.

ARTICLE—5. Territorial Units:—

The following shall be the territorial units under Art. 2 (b) of the constitution:—

- 1—Pernem. 2—Sanquelim. 3—Satari. 4—Bardez. 5—Tiswadi.
- 6—Ponda. 7—Salcete. 8—Marmagoa. 9—Quepem.
- 10—Sanguem. 11—Canacona. and any other territorial unit or sub division of unit which may be designated by the Working Committee.

ARTICLE—6. Membership Rights:—

All members of the National Congress (Goa) who are on the roll shall be entitled to exercise the right to vote, provided that no member who fails to qualify for the right to vote or stand for election, only by reason of being or having been in custody as a political prisoner, shall be barred from the exercise of such right. No member shall be entitled to vote or to stand for election to office unless he shall have been continuously a member for not less than three calendar months prior to the occasion for the exercise of such right.

ARTICLE—7. Settlement of Disputes:—

- (a) A Tribunal consisting of three members, who shall not be Office bearers of the All Goa Congress Committee, the Annual Session, the Working Committee, or of the Taluka, Town, Village or other Committees, shall be appointed at each Annual Session of the Congress and shall hold office during the ensuing official year or until its successor shall take office.

... who shall decide upon
to right, equity and good
for all parties concerned. The
decision or verdict of the Tribunal shall be
final and binding upon the parties to dispute
and the Congress.

- (c) Any member who object to the inclusion of the name of any person on the membership rolls shall forward such objection in writing to the Tribunal whose ruling thereon shall be final.
- (d) Any member who is a party to dispute, and being dissatisfied with the verdict or decision of the Tribunal leaves the National Congress (Goa), shall be deemed to have been expelled.
- (e) The members of the Tribunal shall choose from among their number to be the Chairman of the Tribunal.

ARTICLE—8. Delegates:—

- (a) Every Constituent territorial unit herein before mentioned in Art. 5 shall prepare a list of members entitled to exercise the rights of membership and shall forward the same to the Working Committee on or before such date as shall be fixed by the Working Committee.
- (b) The Working Committee shall fix a date for the election of the delegates and only those whose names are included in such lists shall be entitled

of membership

- (c) Upon the date fixed by the Working Committee the election of the delegates shall be held in each constituency by the members residing therein. Each constituency shall be entitled to return delegates to the Congress on the basis of one delegates for every 50 members entitled to exercise the right of membership, subject to a minimum of 10 for each branch.
- (d) Any constituency which shall have failed or been unable to prepare and forward the list of members mentioned in (a) within the time fixed by the Working Committee shall be disentitled to elect its delegates.

ARTICLE—9. Annual Session:—

- (a) The Annual Session of the National Congress (Goa) shall be held annually at such time and place as shall be decided at the previous Session, or in absence of such decision as decided by the Working Committee. The Session shall consist of the President and the delegates duly elected under Art. 8 of the Constitution.
- (b) The Annual Session shall:—
 1. Adopt the report of the General Secretary.
 2. Adopt the statement of accounts.
 3. Formulate any policy and programme not inconsistent with the object of the Constitution.
 4. Elect the Tribunal.
 5. Elect the Honorary Auditor.

27. 10 members
Elect the W.C.

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- (c) Notice of all resolutions and amendments from delegates of the constituent units shall reach the Working Committee at least ten days before the Session.

ARTICLE—10. The All Goa Congress Committee:—

- (a) The All Goa Congress Committee shall be comprised of the members elected by the constituent units from among the delegates, entitled to represent each constituent unit and shall be in proportion of fifty per cent of the total number of elected delegates to the Annual Session.
- (b) The All Goa Congress Committee shall decide all issues that arise between two Sessions and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office, except those specially reserved for the Annual Session.
- (c) The All Goa Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules not inconsistent with the provisions of the constitution for the regulation of all business connected with the National Congress (Goa.)
- (d) The President of the Session shall be the Chairman of the All Goa Congress Committee.
- (e) The All Goa Congress Committee shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than ~~twenty four~~ members of the All Goa Congress Committee. The requisition shall specify the purpose for which meeting is desired. Such meeting shall be confined to the

purpose for which it is called. Additional business may be allowed at the discretion of the President.

- (f) The All Goa Congress Committee shall continue in office until the next Session of the Congress.

ARTICLE—11. Working Committee:—

- (a) The Working Committee shall consist of the President of the Congress, Vice President, General Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer and ten members nominated by the President from among the members of the All Goa Congress Committee.
- (b) The Working Committee shall be the executive authority and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and the programme laid down by the All Goa Congress Committee and shall be responsible to it.
- (c) The Working Committee in addition to its other functions shall have the power to superintend, direct and control all Committees of the constituent units and to take disciplinary action as it may deem fit against any Committee or individual for misconduct, willful neglect or default.
- (d) The Working Committee shall have power to frame rules subject to the approval of the All Goa Congress Committee and issue instructions for the proper working of the Constitution in all matters not otherwise provided for.

ARTICLE—12. Taluka, Town, Village & other Committees:—

- (a) The delegates elected under Art. 8 of the Constitution of the National Congress (Goa), in their

may as, of, ... They shall elect from among the ... a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer and not less than four and more than twelve members.

- (b) In the event of the number of the delegates being less than the maximum and insufficient for the purpose of the Committee, such Committee shall have the power to co-opt additional number of members as they may deem fit.

ARTICLE—12 Election of the President:—

- (a) Any five delegates may jointly send the name of any delegate, duly qualified under Art. 8 of the Constitution whom they propose for the Office of the President of the next annual Session of the Congress so as to reach the Working Committee on or before such date as the Working Committee shall fix in that behalf.
- (b) The Working Committee shall communicate such name or names to the Committees of the constituent units. It shall be open to any person whose name has been proposed to withdraw his candidature within ten days from the closing date of the accepting of the nomination forms by informing the Working Committee accordingly.
- (c) In the event of there being only one name proposed the candidate shall be delegated elected. In the event of there being more than one candidate for election to the Office of President, the Working

of one such candidate ... the maximum number of votes shall be decided to be duly elected; in the event of tie between any two candidates a second vote shall be taken in respect of them.

ARTICLE—13 Quorum:—

- (a) Forty or one fourth of the total number of delegates to the Annual Session whichever shall be less shall form the quorum for the Annual Session.
- (b) Twenty or one fourth of the total number of members of the All Goa Congress Committee whichever shall be less shall form the quorum for the All Goa Congress Committee.
- (c) One third of the total number of members of the Working Committee shall form the quorum.
- (d) The quorum for all other official meetings shall be one fifth.
- (e) No quorum shall be necessary at an adjourned meeting.

ARTICLE—14 Funds:—

The Treasurer of the National Congress (Goa) shall be in charge of the funds and shall keep accounts of all investments, income and expenditure and shall present an audited statement of accounts to the Working Committee before the Annual Session of the Congress.

ARTICLE—15 Head Quarters:—

The Head Quarters of the All Goa Congress Committee shall be in Goa unless exigencies or political situation

there makes this impossible. In such event it shall be at such other place as the Working Committee shall decide.

ARTICLE—17: Secretaries:—

- (a) Secretaries shall be in charge of the offices of the All Goa Congress Committee and of the Working Committee, and shall be its chief executors.
- (b) The Secretaries shall keep a record of the meetings of the All Goa Congress Committee and of the Working Committee and prepare the annual report of the proceedings of the Annual Session.

ARTICLE—18: Amendments:—

Amendments to the constitution by alteration, addition or repeal shall be adopted by not less than two thirds of the delegates present at the special meeting called for the purpose or at the Annual Session.

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National Congress (Goa)

12

Ref. No.

Date 21/11/1952

प्रिय भास्कर,
र. व. वि. वि.

मुंबई आदिवासी परिषदच्या वतीने आपल्या वतीने २० दिवस आठ पर्यंत
इसवी. या आदिवासी संस्थांनी सामान्य आरक्षण प्राप्त होण्यासाठी आदिवासी
संस्थांनी आदिवासी संस्थांनी संस्थांनी संस्थांनी.

म्हजे मातल मुंबई व आठ पर्यंत. आपण मुंबई आठ पर्यंत मुंबई व आठ पर्यंत
ही आदिवासी संस्थांनी संस्थांनी. आदिवासी संस्थांनी आदिवासी संस्थांनी. हे मुंबई
संस्थांनी संस्थांनी. मुंबई आठ पर्यंत संस्थांनी संस्थांनी.

आपण

V.P. P. P.

संस्थांनी संस्थांनी.

श्री. भास्कर संस्थांनी संस्थांनी.
२०/११/५२
मुंबई

NATIONAL CONGRESS [GOA]

To,

The Delegates of Nasik Session of

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Gentlemen,

Goa—the tiny Portuguese Possession in India to-day looks to the Indian National Congress for help in her hour of need. India became free three years ago, but the people of Goa still breathe in the suffocating air of subjection to foreign power.

This little strip of land which the Prime Minister of India described as a pimple on the face of the country came under the heel of the Portuguese, 440 years ago. A people groaning under repression and measures calculated to curb the spirit of freedom plead with the Congress that the problem of Goa should never be relegated to the background, but should be given the same importance as that given to Kashmir. Even a pimple may disfigure a face and must be incised.

In so pleading for the cause of the freedom of six hundred thousand inhabitants of Goa, we invite attention to the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress in its 1942 Session, pledging its support to all people who were struggling for their independence, the assurance given by Mahatma Gandhi that the whole of India would unanimously support our cause, the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, at Wardha in 1946, and the resolution passed by the Jaipur Session of the Indian Congress in 1948. These were the sources of our inspiration and contributed a great deal to keep up the morale of our non-violent fighters who are locked up in an unequal struggle with the powerful Fascist Government. But to our great surprise we find that those who wield power now, are prone to temporize, and unwilling to face the realities. We are grieved at this attitude, all the more when we see the generous efforts of the Indian Government to help Indonesia attain her independence, to secure representation for China in U. N. O., and to secure the release of the political prisoners in French India. Not that we belittle the importance of the issues involved in the facts mentioned above, but we do believe that the problem of Portuguese possessions has not received from the Government of India the attention it deserves.

It is our humble contention, that the problem of Goa should receive at least as much attention, from the Indian Government, as does the problem of Kashmir. For we believe that in the swift changing international scene, Goa has an immense strategic importance, and we pray and hope that it may not prove to be the thin end of the wedge of the American Imperialism.

The issue before the Indian Government is clear and simple. Is Goa an integral part of India or not? If it is not an integral part, the Indian Government should treat Goans as foreigners, and if it is an integral part, the Indian Government should call immediately a halt to all the anti-Indian propaganda that is going on in Goa and in India through the Government subsidized press, and the so-called Radio Goa, and should show by action their firm determination to see that Goa is liberated from Portuguese domination at any cost.

Moreover, the Indian Governments' friendly negotiations with Portugal have not only failed but even met with an insolent reply, followed by statements by responsible Portuguese officials, which are nothing short of an affront. The following extract from a recent speech of the retiring Colonial Minister is an instance in point:—

" I shall begin with the very delicate aspect regarding our sovereignty over our territories in the East. The present situation though not unclouded, has, however, been gradually improving. But we must keep in mind the most disconcerting alternatives which are the characteristic of the policies of the peoples of the East."

It is sometimes argued that the problem of the independence of Goa is entirely a problem for Goans to solve. Had it not been advanced sometimes from responsible quarters, we would have ignored this argument completely. To any one who is at all conversant with the situation obtaining in Goa at present, the specious nature of the above argument will be perfectly clear, and we do believe that it is only devised to screen the inactivity or unwillingness to share the responsibility in the matter.

We are aware of the main responsibility that rests on us. We have entered the struggle fully conscious of our responsibilities and with a firm determination to attain our goal. But it would be well also for the Indian people to realise the difficulties with which we are confronted. We have had to fight on two fronts. (1) against elements not politically conscious in our own land and their sense for democratic freedom completely benumbed by domination over a period of 440 years and (2) against a powerful Fascist Government that would stoop to any barbarous measures to quell the spirit of freedom and completely suppress civil liberties.

The worst calamity that has befallen the Goans is the total suppression of their fundamental human rights for the last 28 years. This long, dark period has benumbed all our sense of human values, degrading us socially, morally, mentally and economically, to the level of mere brutes. There is no freedom of speech, freedom of association or press, every matter to be printed is made subject to a hard pre-censorship. Restrictions are daily increasing even on the workers in the educational and cultural fields, as is evident from the recently promulgated security act, which is a *Coup de Grace* to that infernal machinery of suppressive measures. Every Indian citizen, on his entry in Goa is keenly watched and often harassed. The increasing white and negro troops, brought to suppress the "civil liberties" movement, only deteriorate the economic conditions of Goa undermining the public morality and instilling fear into them. That this ugly situation which nowhere in the world is to be found should be tolerated in a small but strategically important part of free democratic India, is all the more undesirable as it is detrimental to the healthy growth of democracy in India and deserves, therefore, an immediate active attention from our brother Indians.

Before the advent of the Portuguese in Goa, Goa, the capital city, alone had a population of 5 lacs. But today the whole population of Goa plus that of Daman and Diu is less than 6 lacs, for one fifth of the total population of these territories have had to go abroad to earn their livelihood. It is these people who are mainly responsible for the maintenance of their relations in Goa and who share to a great extent the burden of the expenditure of our spendthrift Government.

The following figures show the cost of living in pata: Rs. 5,13 01,832.
Exp. Rs. 1, 12, 000

In the educational sphere the manner that Portuguese Government has done is immense and irrefragable. It has stifled all initiative, and has reduced the Government of the state in every respect before the eyes which cannot secure a government of the people. The fast increasing number of students who are receiving education in English schools is a clear indication of the fact that people have realized now the utter futility of Portuguese Education.

All its talented young men having gone abroad in search of their livelihood Goa has become now a land of petty landowners, greedy profiteers and corrupt bureaucracy.

Add to this, an intensive propaganda campaign against everything Indian and for which the Portuguese Government is spending Rs 30 lacs per year, an increased production and import of liquor, a rigorous censorship, a complete banning of any news paper that may refer to the problem of Goa's independence, and you will have a fair idea of the tremendous difficulties the National Congress (Goa) has had to face when it launched its non-violent movement for independence on the 15th June 1946. It may be recalled here that more than 50 Indian papers have been banned their entry in Goa.

As a result of this movement 22 Congress workers were sentenced from 4 to 29 years of imprisonment and who are still rotting in jails of Anandia (Goa), Reis Magos (Goa) and Peniche (Portugal), hundreds of Satyagrahis were mercilessly beaten and detained for months without trial, many had to seek refuge in the Indian territory, certain as they were that they would be sentenced to many years of imprisonment, and many are still underground.

The National Congress (Goa) has largely succeeded in creating a political consciousness among the Goan masses. It is a common front of all non-violent fighters whose chief aim is the casting of the Portuguese from the Indian Soil.

The history of the Indian movement for independence has been a constant source of inspiration to us. All of us are determined to free Goa by following the path of truth and non-violence as shown by the Father of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi.

We therefore humbly request you of the past pledges of the Indian National Congress and of the constructive support in our cause. If sometimes in the past we have given an impression of shouting ourselves hoarse for immediate intervention of the Indian Government with a view to liberating Goa, it is because we realize the paramount importance of the time factor in our struggle. Portuguese bureaucracy is trying its utmost to perpetuate its hold on Indian Possessions. Any delay on the part of the Indian Government in solving the problem of Portuguese possessions, will only mean one more opportunity for the enemy to get a chance to consolidate and to bitteren its position. We shall all the Goans who have been suffering at the hands of our oppressors.

Yours faithfully,

General Office,
BELGAUM.
18th June 1946 or 1945

Yours faithfully,
W. M. Lavande,
General Secretary.



CONSTITUTION
OF
The Azad Gomantak Dal

(revised and adopted at the General Body Meeting of
the DAL held in Bombay on 24th November 1957.)



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APPENDIX IX

FORM 'A'

To,
The General Secretary
The Azad Gomantak Dal

I hereby declare that I believe in the following object of the Dal contained in the Article II of its Constitution:

"The object of this organisation shall be the attainment of Independence of the Portuguese occupied parts of India by ~~means of~~ legitimate means and their reintegration into the Indian Union."

I further declare that I am a resident/citizen of Goa/Daman/Diu/Nagar Haveli and I desire to become a member of the Dal. I give below the particulars required.

Full Name _____

Father's/Husband's Name _____

Address _____

Age _____ Occupation _____

Village in Goa/Daman/Diu/Nagar Haveli _____

Date _____ (Sd.) _____

Remarks _____

Gen. Secretary of Wky. Council.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AZAD GOMANTAK DAL

Art. I — Name.

The name of this organisation shall be the AZAD GOMANTAK DAL.

Art. II — Object.

The object of this organisation shall be the attainment of independence of the Portuguese occupied parts of India by ~~means of~~ legitimate means and their re-integration into the Indian Union.

Art. III — Constituents.

The AZAD GOMANTAK DAL will comprise:-

- (a) Primary Members under Art. V.
- (b) Various Regional Committees inside and outside Goa.
- (c) All-Goa-Delegates-Committee.
- (d) Working Council.
- (e) Plenary Session of the AZAD GOMANTAK DAL.
- (f) Committees or bodies which may be directly organised by the A. G. D. C. or Working Council or Regional Committees.

(g) Active Volunteer Corps.

Note:- Goa here includes Daman, Diu and liberated areas of Dadra and Nagar-Haveli.

Art. IV — Territorial jurisdiction.

Section 1: The following shall be the regional units with the areas and headquarters mentioned therewith:

- (a) Northern Goa Regional Committee with Mapuca city as Headquarter, covering areas of the *concelhos* of Bardes, Sanquelim, Satari and Pernem.
- (b) Central Goa Regional Committee with Panjim city as Headquarter, covering areas of the *concelhos* of Goa, Ponda and Sanguem.
- (c) Southern Goa Regional Committee with Margao city as Headquarter, covering areas of the *concelhos* of Salcete, Mormugao, Quopem and Canacona.
- (d) Daman Regional Committee with Daman city as Headquarter, covering an area of whole of Daman, Diu and liberated areas of Dadra and Nagar-Haveli.
- (e) Belgaum Regional Committee with Belgaum city as Headquarter, covering the area of whole of Mysore State plus Kolhapur and Ratnagiri Districts from Bombay State.
- (f) Bombay Regional Committee with Bombay city as Headquarter, covering the area of whole of Bombay State minus Kolhapur and Ratnagiri Districts.

Note:- For effective and smooth functioning of the Organisation and because of the exigencies of the political situation in Goa, Daman and Diu, it is provided that the regional committees in clauses (a), (b) and (c) and (d) with their respective areas shall be deemed to be merged into Regional Units in clauses (e) and (f) respectively till such time as the A. G. D. C. may decide by a resolution to allow them to function as separate units.

Section 2: The Working Council shall have power to constitute a new regional committee outside the area mentioned in Section 1, provided such a demand is made in writing by not less than 200 members residing in that region.

Section 3: The Working Council shall have power to direct that any region or regions in Goa, Daman and Diu be included in a neighbouring region, if it is of the opinion that such a step would facilitate the smooth and effective functioning of the organisation.

Art. V — Membership.

Section 1: Any person, 18 years of age or above, regardless of Cast, Creed, Religion, Race or Sex, residing in Goa, Daman and Diu and free Nagar Haveli and Dadra, or any citizen of these territories residing outside, who subscribes to the views and object of the DAL, shall on making a written declaration to that effect on form "A" and on payment of the membership fee of 0 50 nP per annum be deemed to be a primary member of the DAL.

Section 2: Every application for membership must be made individually to the local Committee and after being duly certified by it, must be forwarded to the Central Committee for its approval.

Section 3: Provided that the applicant is not a member of any other organisation, communal or otherwise, whose programme and policy are not in opinion of the Working Council conflicting or not in conformity with those of the DAL.

Art. VI— Membership rights.

- (a) Every member shall be entitled to exercise the right to vote and to stand for election to any office provided he shall have been continuously a member for not less than three calendar months prior to the occasion for the exercise of such right.
- (b) Provided that no worker or member who fails to qualify for the right to vote or to stand for election to office by reason only of being or having been in custody as a political prisoner shall be debarred from the exercise of such right.

Art. VII— All-Goa-Delegates-Committee.

- (a) The President of the Dal Session and the Delegates elected by the constituent units under Art. III shall constitute All-Goa-Delegates-Committee (A. G. D. C.)
- (b) The A. G. D. C. shall discuss and confirm the reports of the Working Council or if it feels, shall revise and change the programme, policy

and statute of the DAL and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office.

- (c) The President of the Dal Session shall be the Chairman of the A. G. D. C. unless he is absent for unavoidable circumstances in which case it shall elect a Chairman for the occasion.
- (d) The A. G. D. C. shall meet ordinarily every year with at least a week's notice to the Delegates, or as often as required by the Working Council, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Council by not less than forty members of the Dal. The requisition must specify the purpose for which the meeting is desired. Such a meeting shall be convened within three weeks from the date of receipt of the requisition. The President may allow additional business provided notice thereof shall have been given two clear days before the meeting.
- (e) The A. G. D. C. shall continue in office until the meeting of the next newly elected A. G. D. C.

Art. VIII— Election of Delegates.

- (a) Every constituent Regional Committee shall prepare a list of members entitled to exercise the right of membership and forward the same to the Central Office on or before the date fixed by the Working Council.
- (b) The Working Council shall fix a date by which the election of delegates must be held.
- (c) All those members whose name will be on the list duly forwarded to the Central Office, shall

be entitled to exercise the rights of membership at such election.

- (d) Unless otherwise resolved by the A. G. D. C. there shall be only two constituencies for the purpose of election viz. Bombay and Belgaum with Daman and Goa constituencies merged with them respectively, as provided under Art. IV.
- (e) Every constituency shall, upon the date fixed by the Working Council, elect not more than 30 delegates who shall represent such constituencies at the ensuing Session of the DAL. The names of the elected delegates shall be forwarded to the Working Council as soon after the election as possible.
- (f) The delegates shall be elected for a term of two years.

Art. IX — Election of President.

- (a) Any five delegates may jointly send the name of any delegate duly qualified under Art. VIII, whom they propose to be elected as President of the next DAL Session, so as to reach the General Secretary of the DAL, on or before a date fixed by the Working Council.
- (b) It shall be open to any person whose name has been so proposed, to withdraw his candidature within 10 days of the publication of the proposed names, by writing to the General Secretary to that effect.
- (c) In the event of there being more than one candidate, the Working Council shall fix a day

on which the delegates shall be entitled to record their votes in favour of one of such candidates. The one who shall poll majority of the votes shall be declared to have been duly elected.

- (d) In the event of any emergency arising by reason of any cause such as death, resignation, arrest of the President elected as above, the General Secretary shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the delegates as prescribed above.

Art. X — Working Council.

- (a) The Working Council shall consist of the President of the DAL, one General Secretary, one Treasurer and eight other members, all nominated by the President from among the members of the A. G. D. C., provided, however, that the proportion of the members on the Working Council not devoting full time for the organisation shall not exceed one half of the total membership of the Council.
- (b) The Working Council shall be the highest executive authority of the DAL and shall be responsible for enforcing the Constitution and securing the execution of the General Policy and programme laid down by the A. G. D. C. The Working Council represents the DAL as a whole and has the right to take decisions with full authority on any problem facing the DAL between the two A. G. D. C. meetings.

(8)

(c) The Working Council shall place before every meeting of the A. G. D. C. the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting and shall allot time for unofficial resolutions of which due notice of at least a week may have been given by the members of the A. G. D. C.

(d) The Working Council shall have power :-

(i) to frame rules and issue instructions not inconsistent with the Constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for.

(ii) to superintend, direct and control all regional and other committees except the A. G. D. C.

(iii) to take such disciplinary actions as it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default in the discharge of duty.

(e) The Working Council shall make arrangements to have audit of the accounts of the DAL by an auditor appointed by the A. G. D. C. at its first meeting.

Art. XI — Regional Committees.

(a) The delegates elected under Art. VIII by the members of the DAL in their respective territorial units shall constitute the Local Regional Committee of such territorial unit. They shall elect from among themselves a Chairman, a Secretary, a Treasurer and six other members who will constitute an Executive Committee for the Regional Unit.

(9)

(b) The Regional Committee shall have power to frame rules and issue instructions not inconsistent with the Constitution for the proper working of the subordinate committees and in all matters not otherwise provided for.

(c) The Committee shall carry out the programme of the DAL as laid down, from time to time by the A. G. D. C., in so far as it affects the area in its jurisdiction unless otherwise instructed by the Working Council and shall generally carry out the directions of the Working Council of the DAL.

Art. XII — Active Volunteer Corps.

(a) In order to ensure efficient and successful implementation of policy and programme of the DAL with respect to the resistance movement in Goa, Daman and Diu, there shall be an Active Volunteer Corps (A. V. C.) with all cells and centres in Goa, Daman and Diu attached to it.

(b) It shall have no jurisdiction outside the territories and shall function as a section of the DAL entrusted to deal with all agitational activities and carry out corresponding responsibilities incidental to the work.

(c) Unless otherwise instructed, the A. V. C. shall have freedom of action within the framework of the policy adopted by the Working Council.

(d) The A. V. C. shall be headed by a three-men Committee consisting of Chief Organiser and two assistant organisers, all appointed by and jointly responsible to the President.

(e) Any member of the DAL who fulfills the conditions in clause (f) and signs the pledge form "B" shall be qualified to become member of the A. V. C.

(f)(i) A member of the A. V. C. must observe the strictest discipline, actively and regularly participate in the political life of the DAL and carry out strictly and without hesitation all decisions, instructions and orders of the A. V. C. Committee and its Chief Organiser.

(ii) He must tirelessly work to raise the prestige and dignity of the organisation by his good conduct, excellent character and win the confidence of the masses and his leaders.

(iii) He must not be a member of any group or party other than that of DAL.

(iv) His loyalties to the Motherland must be exclusively through the DAL.

(g) The A. V. C. Committee shall have power to take such disciplinary action as it deems fit against any member of the CORPS for misconduct, wilful neglect or default in the discharge of duty or for any other reason justifying such an action. An appeal against such action will lie only to the President whose decision will be final.

(h) The President of the Dal shall have right to reserve such information regarding the A. V. C. which he feels should not be disclosed in the interest of the organisation and the cause.

Art. XIII – Subject Committee.

One third of the A. G. D. C. shall form the Subject Committee under the Chairmanship of the President soon after the inaugural session. The outgoing Working Council shall submit to it the draft Programme of work of the DAL Session, including the resolutions recommended by the Regional Committees or by private members.

Art. XIV – Session

(a) The Session of the DAL shall be ordinarily held every two years at such time and place as decided by the Working Council.

(b) The Session shall consist of the President and the delegates duly elected under Art. VIII.

(c) The Regional Committee in whose jurisdiction the Session is held, shall make all necessary arrangements and for this purpose shall form a Reception Committee which shall work under its general guidance and which may include therein persons who are not its members.

(d) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office bearers from among its own members.

(e) All accounts of the Reception Committee after they are audited, shall be submitted to the Working Council by the Regional Committee not later than 2 months after the termination of the Session.

Art. XV – Funds.

The Treasurer of the DAL shall be in charge of the funds of the DAL and shall keep proper accounts of all investment, income and expenditure.

SECRETARY GENERAL

PLEDGE

Art. XVI — General Secretary.

- (a) The General Secretary shall be in charge of the Central Office and shall be responsible for keeping all essential records.
- (b) The General Secretary shall prepare the report of the work of the A. G. D. C. and the Working Council and submit the same to the meeting of the A. G. D. C.

Art. XVII — Quorum.

One third of the total number of members shall form the quorum for a meeting of any Committee. No quorum shall be necessary at an adjourned meeting.

Art. XVIII — Emblem.

The emblem of the DAL shall be a whole coconut at the centre of which are placed two uniform "katis" crossed at an angle of 60 degrees with edges apart. There shall be inscriptions "Azad Gomantak Dal" and "De or die" at the top and bottom, in Hindi and English respectively. The whole shall represent the unity of the resurgent Goan masses determined to be free and eager to join their Indian Brethren in their endeavour to reconstruct the Indian Nation.

Art. XI — Official year.

The official year of the Azad Gomantak Dal shall be taken to begin from January 26 and end with Jan. 25, for all purposes.

Art. XX — Changes in Constitution.

The Constitution can be amended, altered or added to only by the A. G. D. C. specially convened for the purpose or at its annual meeting. For the amendments to be effective, they shall have to be adopted by a majority of not less than two thirds of the members present and voting at such meetings.

- 1— I, a member of the Azad Gomantak Dal and a volunteer of Active Volunteer Corps, solemnly pledge to strive for the attainment of independence of Portuguese occupied parts of India and their reintegration into the Indian Union.
- 2— I shall faithfully obey the orders of my superiors under whom I shall be placed and strictly abide by the rules and regulations of the A. V. C, framed from time to time.
- 3— I shall endeavour to the best of my ability not to soil the fair name of the A. G. D. and my country by my misconduct and indiscipline in my behaviour.
- 4— I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to promote peace and goodwill among all classes and communities of Goa, Daman and Diu.
- 5— I am conscious of the sacrifices and sufferings one has to undergo in Freedom Struggle. I am also aware that irresistible temptations often arise during such struggles to mislead a freedom fighter to the betrayal of the organisation and the cause. I solemnly pledge I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to resist all such temptations and be ever prepared for sufferings and sacrifices even of life.

Date.....

Sd/-.....

Full Name.....

Address.....

The Chief Organiser.

(4)

- For right of freedom against exploitation;
- For all round and speedy development of the territory;
- For unity of India and of Indian people including Goans;
- and lastly for Peace in the world.

I am confident that the workers and members of the Dal will strive hard to implement this Manifesto and explain its meaning and revolutionary implications to every home in Goa, Daman and Diu and thereby create a new atmosphere pulsating with vigour and determination in the areas that are still to be liberated from the Fascist regime of Portugal.

V. N. Lawande,
President
Azad Gomantak Dal.

Belgaum,
7th March 1961.



Manifesto of Azad Gomantak Dal

Goa's battle for freedom goes on and it will not end till liberation is won from Portuguese enslavement, till Goa, Daman and Diu return to Mother India from whom they were cut off.

It is exactly 450 years since Albuquerque wrote to his Portuguese Sovereign, "I then burnt the city and put everything to the sword."

That was the beginning of the Portuguese conquest of Goa. For full four-and-a-half centuries, the people of these beautiful territories enslaved by the Portuguese have stood the brunt of inhuman atrocities and suffered untold miseries. But never have they given up their sacred war for freedom, for the return to the motherland. Lives have been lost, the lives of our martyrs, blood has flowed, the blood of our people. We pay our homage to them, we pledge in their name that we will not rest till their cause is victorious.

In recent years, Goa's struggle for freedom has taken a new sweep. The events of July 1954, viz. the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, of August 1954, viz. the satyagraha by Goans and of August 1955, viz. the joint satyagraha by Goans and non-Goans, are still fresh in the memory of all patriots, they are events which inspire us forward to make our final bid for freedom.

Learning from the rich experience of our struggle so far, the Azad Gomantak Dal is pledged to unite all patriotic forces of liberation and use all legitimate means available

APPENDIX X
X

Foreward

It was a long felt need of the Azad Gomantak Dal to have to draw up and adopt a Manifesto that would declare in unambiguous terms what this organisation stands for, what it meant by FREEDOM, and what ideas and principles it held. The A. G. D. never considered FREEDOM to be an end in itself but a means for fulfilling certain national aspirations. To the A. G. D. FREEDOM from Portuguese rule is but a stepping stone, a basis for the all-round progress of our people. A slogan, howsoever loud, of mere freedom cannot have a deep appeal for the general masses of the people unless it is translated in terms of economic and material uplift for the common man.

Only an assurance of this nature is capable of inspiring the masses to participate wholeheartedly in the Freedom struggle and thereby giving it a mass character. No active party in the Goan political sphere, has until recently made any such attempt with the natural result that the masses have remained indifferent towards our 14 years' old struggle. The A. G. D. realised this draw-back and at its bi-annual session in the year 1953, appointed, by a special resolution, a committee to draw up a draft manifesto which would commit the organisation to a definite line of policy in all important fields affecting the Goan life, particularly in the economic and agrarian fields. This was, indeed, a difficult task as a great care had to be exercised while dealing with certain controversial issues that threatened to divert the attention of the freedom fighters from the main issue of freedom. In matters affecting economic, land and

prohibition policy differences were bound to exist. It was because of this that the draft could not be rushed through within the speculated time. The Working Council finally, after considering all shades of opinions and making necessary changes, succeeded in recommending in the last December, an agreed manifesto to the A. G. D. C. which gave its seal of approval at its historical meeting of February 26, 1961, held in Bombay.

It is this Manifesto that now stands before us. Adoption of this important document that embodies principles of revolutionary character, is a great leap forward in the direction of Goan Freedom Struggle. It has come at a right moment and will no doubt enthuse and inspire the people to rally round the A. G. D. to overthrow the Portuguese rule and establish a social order based on democracy and socialism. The A. G. D. has now a great chance to emerge as a party of the masses because it now can rightfully claim to represent the real aspirations of the overwhelming mass of the population.

It is now crystal clear that the A. G. D., as to its solemn declarations in the manifesto, stands not only for the Freedom of Goa, Daman and Diu and their reintegration with India but it also stand :

- 1 — For Fundamental Human Rights;
- 2 — For equality in all fields and equal opportunity to all irrespective of caste, creed or religion;
- 3 — For abolition of landlordism and for socialisation of means of production;
- 4 — For free and compulsory education;

(6)

freedom fighters to wrest our freedom and reunite with Motherland. No dictatorship, not even Salazar's, can overcome the strength of such a united force, the adamant Portuguese colonialists will have to bend their knees before our people's might, our victory is assured.

Freedom from foreign rule and integration with India would mean for our people, enslaved longer than those in the rest of the country and artificially separated from our Motherland for four-and-a-half centuries, full enjoyment of fundamental human rights — the Freedom of Press, Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Association, Freedom of Worship, Freedom from Exploitation, Right to equal opportunities, equality in all spheres of life — and full-fledged citizenship India i. e. Bharat. Freedom and integration would mean, not a change of masters, but an unqualified and full right — (i) to shape our common destiny, jointly with our Indian brethren; (ii) to participate in the great task of development and build-up of the Indian nation as a whole on the basis of equality, liberty and brotherhood. In short, the Azad Gomantak Dal visualise: a joint effort in shaping the common destiny of our beloved country, full citizenship rights and a socialist order of society for our liberated people,

as declared by the Indian National Congress. We stand to become a part of the broad stream pledged to the same cause in the whole of the Indian Sub-Continent.

Despite the tremendous and strenuous efforts made by the Portuguese to force down unnatural changes on the Goan society and in their ways of living, the Goan people have continued to maintain, against heavy odds, their integral cultural and economic ties with India. However, 450 years' rule of the Portuguese

(7)

religious fanatics, was bound to produce some impact on Goan society and mind although Goans have throughout resisted the process of hybridization and denationalization claimed by the Portuguese as *assimilation*. To that extent, therefore, the situation in Goa must be considered as slightly different from that of the rest of the country before or after the national independence. This creates for us the realization that an immediate merger of the Portuguese dominated territories with the surrounding States may not prove beneficial and suitable for the population of the territories concerned as some disparities are bound to exist as a result of the long political separation.

With this as the background, we have given a great deal of thought to the question of the status of the colonies, once liberation is won.

The Azad Gomantak Dal is of the considered opinion that immediately after liberation and integration with India, the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu should enjoy the status of an autonomous State within the constitutional framework of the Indian Union. We would also suggest that Daman, Nagar Haveli and Diu, being small in area and population, should have the option of merging with the surrounding states, if they so desire.

This initial set up will pave the way for the next stage when the people of Goa shall decide: i) whether to merge with the neighbouring State; or ii) have the status of an Indian State. Such a provision alone will inspire confidence among the people of the colonies that after freedom is won, they would have access to full opportunities for overcoming their backwardness and going along the path of advance.

Our liberation from the Portuguese rule need not mean the end of all contacts between Portugal and these territories. But they can no longer be the same as they were in the past. The winning of freedom for these territories will lay the basis for new relations and wider contacts. *In spite of the extreme bitterness and hatred of Salazar and his regime of oppression, we would like these relations to be friendly. But it does not depend entirely on us; to a very large extent, it will depend on how Portugal and her people behave towards us in our struggle for freedom.* Whatever character they might assume, these contacts with Portugal will naturally be maintained through the Government of India.

Goa possesses, more or less, fertile soil, rich mineral deposits, a long coast line and a very industrious people. But after 450 years of Portuguese rule and exploitation, the territory remains poor, backward and undeveloped. Only one third of the land is cultivated and is deficit in its requirements of food to the extent of one-third approximately. There is no industry in Goa worth the name except the recently-started manganese and iron ore mining. The traditional cottage industries are in dying state and no avenue is open to the people to earn their living or supplement their meagre income from agriculture and supplementary occupations.

This picture becomes all the more dismal when we view it in the perspective of the rapidly developing economy of the rest of the country.

As a result of the position stated above, the cream of Goa's youth, both men and women, go out to all parts of

India and even overseas to find work that could keep them and their families alive.

Nearly one fifth of Goa's population comprising able-bodied men, women and even children are compelled to migrate in search of means of livelihood. Nowhere in the world does such a large portion of population live outside their homeland. But the Portuguese rule in Goa has reduced it to such a miserable plight.

The educational policy under the Portuguese rule in Goa throughout has been intended to produce clerks for feeding the Portuguese bureaucracy. This must change. Portuguese, which is the official language, is fraudulently regarded as the language of the people. Even primary education is imparted in this foreign language in flagrant breach of the fundamental law of educational training while education in the mother-tongue is deliberately neglected; and even private efforts are objected to.

There are no facilities whatsoever for higher education even in Portuguese language and students have either to seek it in India if they happen to pass out of English schools which are privately owned and therefore suffer from all the evils of private ownership or else discontinue their studies.

Freedom to become real to the people, will have to change all this and the unity that is built today to fight the battle for freedom will have to continue tomorrow in the battle for implementing a programme of Goa's economic advance.

The Azad Gomantak Dal places before the people a plan for future development of Goa in broad outlines.

The aim of any such plan has to be :

- i) to reduce the difference between the rich and the poor; and
- ii) to raise the standard of living of the people.

While the former aim can be achieved by taking from the rich and improving the lot of the poor, the latter task is to be attempted by putting through comprehensive agrarian reforms and by developing all categories of industries for which there are resources as well as talents in the territory.

Agrarian Reforms

These are old but valuable institutions, *Comunidades*: indeed, a treasure and heritage of the past. They have played a very useful and important role in the past. Under the Portuguese rule, however, they have failed to move with the times in account of direct interference on the part of rulers and therefore could not maintain many of their characteristics. Consequently they have acquired a more and more reactionary role in their day-to-day functioning. They have to be reorganized on the basis of *Panchayat Raj* and present day co-operative societies. They have to be transformed into dynamic community welfare centres retaining the best that is in them and enlarging their scope after taking local conditions into consideration. Their original role of functioning as *Gram Panchayat* has to be revived and developed to conform to the modern times and ideas. "Zonn" (dividend) and "agoes" system are to be abolished and the right of "Gaunkar" now restricted to a privileged few, shall be extended to all the residents of the village under the *Comunidade* without any discrimination whatsoever.

All the land, arable or otherwise, shall be pooled in the *Comunidades* and gradually brought under their ownership.

Until this programme becomes possible, ceiling shall be imposed on private land holding, thus abolishing ownership over large holdings akin to the Zamindari system of India.

Tenants shall be protected against eviction, exploitation and other unfair treatment. The rent shall be fixed at 1/5 of the total produce due from a private holding.

Farmers will have to be given debt-relief, minimum wages for agricultural labourers will have to be fixed and forced labour abolished.

Absentee landlordism will have to be abolished along with *Mokasso* and similar medieval systems existing in some areas of *Novas Conquistas*.

The aim of all agrarian reforms will be the socialization of land and to make Goa self-sufficient in food with increase in the agricultural output of the territory. For this purpose irrigation facilities will be made available. Research and demonstration centres and nurseries will be opened. Improved implements, better seeds and fertilizers will be put at the disposal of the farmer.

Labour Reforms: In the past Goa never had any big industry worth the name and hence, the labour problem was never acute there. In recent years, however, with the growth of the mining industry, a labour class of 50 to 60 thousand strong has emerged and is bound to grow in the coming years. Their interests as a class, are of special importance for us. The Portuguese Government which is a fascist colonial rule

representing capitalists and vested interests, has not only neglected their interests but has also taken measures where the working class is deprived of all its fundamental rights—right to form unions, right of collective bargaining, right of protection against exploitation, right to compensation for death and injury through accidents, etc. and hence, denied better conditions of existence for labour. Their exploitation by the rapacious capitalists continues unchecked and if any loss of life or limb to the workers—which is very common occurrence in the mines—takes place, little heed is paid to it, let alone the compensation to the dependents of dead or maimed workers—a principle which is accepted in a civilized world.

The Azad Gomantak Dal pledges itself to introduce all the reforms of the type now prevailing in India in order to improve the lot of our working class. All measures including the nationalisation of major industries will be adopted in order to protect the interests of labour and the general public. No exploitation of any kind will be tolerated and full compensation shall be given for any accident involving death or injury during the course of work.

Industrial Development: Small scale and cottage industries along with suitable heavy industries have to be developed quickly. This is the only way to achieve the rapid advance of the economically backward territory and also to solve the enormous problem of unemployment and underemployment—the main cause of perennial mass migration of Goan youth today.

Cheap power being one of the most essential requisites of industrialisation, hydro-electric power will have to be

generated from the water falls of *Dudh-Sagar* and *Avelem*. Among the industries to be developed, priority has to be given to the mining industry, fisheries, canning industry, cashewnut and coir industry.

The problem of alcoholism is a special one in Goa since the Portuguese, as excise statistics prove, have been trying to destroy the Goan race through unrestricted production, imports and consumption of alcoholic drink. The production and distribution will, therefore, have to be regulated in consideration of demands of the health and welfare of the people. The alcoholic industry is capable of being developed for industrial uses and export trade which should constitute a valuable economic asset.

There is already, fortunately for us, a wide natural network of creeks and rivers extending to the remotest parts of Goa. Their use and importance are at present completely ignored with the result that their navigability has decreased and life become dull along their banks, where once huge trading centres flourished with vigorous and profitable activities. To restore this lost importance and charm, there should be a proper plan to develop the network of the creeks and river ways, to increase their navigability as deeper inside as possible, to establish new trading and industrial centres along their banks and develop all the allied industries.

Goa possesses an excellent modern harbour and is already linked by air and sea with other parts of the world. But longstanding slavery has robbed Goa of her opportunity to make full use of these advantages. This situation has strangled the scope and prospects of these assets. Development of communications by sea, air and land should therefore receive immediate attention. A naval centre and an air force base

st be set up in Matrnagoa. This will increase immediately strength of the population and provide tremendous opportunities of employment and prosperity and open up new avenues for young men and women to exercise their talent and skill either in the defence forces or in the industries connected with defence services.

Educational Reforms: Education under the Portuguese rule has suffered ignominiously and the kind of education that is provided is opposed to the nature, requirements and aptitude of the Goans. This most unnatural system of education, which has been in force for centuries, has deprived Goans all their talents, creative faculties, self-respect and vitality and has suppressed the growth of their personal, social and moral individuality. This system therefore, must be immediately discontinued and better reforms on a sound basis introduced. With this aim in view we propose:—

1. Immediate replacement of Portuguese language by local languages in primary schools, so that all instructions could be imparted in the mother tongue of the Children. Portuguese may continue in secondary schools and colleges for a maximum period of five years or less and thereafter it will be replaced by the local language, English and Hindi.
2. Introduction of compulsory and free primary and secondary education; opening of more colleges and technical schools and establishment, if feasible, of a University.

Facilities will also be provided in an adequate measure for the development of art and culture.

Public Health Proportion of the beds in our hospitals in Goa to the population as it exists today is hardly 1 to 2000. This figure is glaringly significant in as much as it belies the Portuguese propaganda that they have cared more for public health than the British colonialists. The awful conditions in the number and quality of the hospitals must change drastically. Sanitation and drainage system throughout Goa is so poor that it needs immediate attention. Health of our children - our future citizens—is criminally disregarded and medical treatment as well as maternity care are totally neglected.

The A. G. D. proposes to sponsor a scheme whereby a sound public health is ensured. Every comunidade will be compelled to maintain and run adequate number of dispensaries and maternity homes according to the strength of the population of the village, in order to provide free medical aid to the poor and maternity care. Efficient health service will be organised throughout Goa and places affected by malaria cleared off.

The health of the children, until they complete their secondary education, will be the concern of the state. They will receive supplementary diets and preventive treatment in order to improve their health. Sanitation will be improved and made up-to-date and the hospitals in the cities, increased, equipped and run in the most modern fashion so that no patient may feel going out of Goa for lack of proper amenities and experts' advice.

X X X

Goan society as a whole is **Social and other Reforms** : distinctly divided into two major communities based on religion as a result of forced conversions by the fanatical Portuguese rulers. Their ways of living differ to a great extent, so much so, that a big wall stands in between the two communities which prevents, or tends to prevent, any kind of close social intercourse between the two. All the old social evils continue and many new ones have crept into the various sections of Goan population. Untouchability in various forms prevail. Numerous types of social discriminations, based on caste and religion still exist, dividing the whole society in a number of groups and sections. The rulers have never attempted to abolish these evils or to remove the disabilities suffered by women. On the contrary, they have added more such evils and disabilities to the already existing ones. As a result, the Goan Society as a whole has been stagnant and exposed to many contradictions. This state of affairs must end and that can be achieved only by introducing properly worked out social reforms. Reforms like abolition of untouchability in all forms, creating conditions for all communities to forge social links with one another, removal of disabilities suffered by women, reforms for the uplift of backward classes, etc. etc. will have to be rushed through in order to revitalise the whole society and forge a well integrated emotional unity among various communities.

Public health will also receive due attention. Along with the preventive measures, free medical aid to the poors will be provided. For this purpose, medical dispensaries and maternity homes will be opened wherever found necessary.

× × ×

Goa cannot at one stroke become prosperous enough to welcome back all its emigrants. Any programme for Goa's development has also to include provisions for the improvement of the lot of Goan emigrants, especially those living in Bombay City.

This is only an outline. Details have to be worked out to make it an inspiring programme for the healthy and harmonious development of Goa.

An Appeal

The entire colonial world is aflame, awake and bursting asunder its chains of age-long slavery. Many are the African countries which have won their liberation this year. The battle for freedom is going on relentlessly and with renewed vigour, in those that still remain colonies.

Colonialism is on its last legs. Now is the time to end it forever.

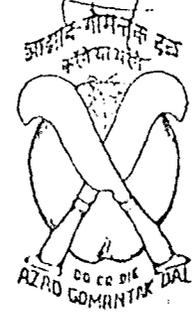
So, let us, Goan patriots, rally our forces, unite in a solid phalanx and deal a final death-blow to the worst of the colonialists — the medieval Salazar dictatorship. At our back are the people of India; along with us are the brave fighters of the African colonies of Portugal, we have the sympathy of the freedom-loving people everywhere, and they are a strong force.

Our victory is assured if we take our destiny in our hands. Let us, then, march on and make final bid for freedom.

Printed by:- G. K. Kutre, at Rajkamal Press, Belgaum.

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B. C. 138, Camp, Belgaum.

Adopted at the meeting of A. G. D. C., on 26th Feb. 1961



What we mean by Freedom

Manifesto of the Azad Gomantak Dal

Adopted at the meeting of A. G. D. C., on 26th Feb. 1961

Published by:

The Azad Gomantak Dal,
B. C. 138, Camp,
Belgaum.

REQUERIMENTO DO FLS 92

From

Dattatray Atmaram Deshmukh
Cadeia Civil de Reis-magos

Dr. Juiz de Bireito da Comarea de Bardêz

the undersigned, beg to bring before your notice the following being very important, to be included in my statement and apprec-
cerning my imprisonment and charges levelled against me by
t.

ave been incriminated and brought before the court for certain
of mine. But my actions are not such as to be classified as
ones. Those who wield the power to day, have taken resort
w to prove me a criminal and my actions criminal. But the
proves my innocence.

is a historical fact that once Portugal was under Spanish
on. Portuguese had to live as slaves for a period of sixty
The sufferings of Portuguese under the Spanish rule can be
to those of ours under the Portuguese rule. The Portuguese
ed the standards of a neighbouring country, as foreigners
d heaven and earth to overthrow the alien rule and attain

The portuguese who fought for the independence of their
by whose great sacrifice the revolution succeeded, were
ed as criminals. They are heroes of Portugal. They have
he ideals of all the freedom-loving people of the world. I
Isham. How can I, who was a soldier fighting for the
ence of God, be called a criminal? It is more than 100 years
is under Portugues domination. Havent I the right of fight-
freedom which is every body's birthright? What did he
use themselves do when they were under an alien ruler? What
ey have done were their country under our domination?
aim was to establish a republic Government for the people
looked forward to was not a mere transfer of power or change

overnment, but a complete transformation of our country. This to be possible only after the establishment of a democratic regime in Goa.

I took considerable risk to save my people from the clutches of foreign power. It was an endeavour to make man a man. I never committed crimes of which I am charged. My actions were aimed at the recovery of the money accumulated by the Govt. through the exploitation of people. I wanted the money to use for the welfare of people to whom it rightly belonged.

History clearly shows man's struggle to attain freedom in every part of his life. The struggle started from the time he came into this world. It is man's birthright to have liberty of thought, expression, belief faith and worship. Man's natural instincts make him wish for a guarantee of social, economic and political justice. He wants to be assured of status and opportunity based on equality. He gives much importance to the sustaining of moral and individual dignity. And all this is quite natural.

Under an alien rule all these aspirations can never be brought to reality. That is why people have repugnance towards an alien domination. We too are not exceptions to this rule. The reasons for this state. In the meshes of Salazar's dictatorship in the guise of a republic. Goa and other parts of our country were entangled. Here the elementary liberties were suppressed. The press was gagged. There were thousand and one restrictions on publishing anything. The right of criticizing Govt. was denied. This was striking at the root of people's freedom. Today too there is no change in the mentioned situation. In no democratic countries of the world such a state exists.

I knew that this regime had made people powerless in every respect and warned the conscience of Goans and made them forget the habit of enjoying our freedom. What did the inhuman sentences and barbarous treatment given to many during 1976 signify? The dictatorship was the arrangement. The Govt. wanted to rule over the thoughts of people.

is not possible for me to welcome such a control. I could not see degeneration and denationalization of my people. The Govt. being authoritarian, had not fear of losing anything by the degeneration and denationalization of my people, on the contrary they welcomed and created favorable circumstances for the destruction of the good in people.

This had to be prevented at any cost. The elementary liberties do not exist and so I was driven to adopt means which are called violent means. But I am sure that the responsibility for using those means is not on my shoulders but on the shoulders of those who corrupted democracy and freedom. There was no other form of protest which the disoriented and frustrated masses could make against the dictatorship, with the object of altering it into a good one. The fact that there is a widespread movement to convert Portugal of today into a democratic nation state, shows what sort of administration exists in the country. United Nations Organization rejected the application of Salazar's Govt. for a seat in the United Nations Assembly. (U.N.O. would never have rejected the application of Portugal) This was because the Salazar Govt. was based on authoritarianism. Democracy had no voice there.

In the beginning, the movement was conducted according to the principles of Indian National Congress and on the same principles was formed National Congress (Goa). I always advocated that our movement should accept the democratic methods and popular appeal. But as the policy of Govt. became clear, we found ourselves unable to adopt democratic methods. It was not our fault that we became violent. All responsibility is on the Govt.

I am an Indian national. I could not tolerate being dubbed as 'stranger' in my own country. An elementary knowledge of geography will show that Goa is an integral part of India. How then could we accept the insult of being called 'alien' in my own country? The domination of a foreign Govt. over a people who are culturally and ethnically one with Indians was an insult and challenge to Free India as a national humiliation to allow any part of India remain under foreign power. I could not bear such an insult to the sovereignty

ty of India. We wanted the pockets of Portuguese colonialism to
We could never afford these pockets to remain as dynamite under
foundation of our newly acquired freedom. We wanted to clear the
roosting places of parasites which would have proved menace to our
national health. I knew that the existence of foreign possessions
Indian soil was a threat to the national integrity of our country
new how iniquitous and reactionary colonial policy was being
poted by the Salazar Govt. + regarded it unjust both economically
ethnically and as such I had to stand for independence, economic
political.

Whatever might have been the reasons that brought the Portuguese
to this country and established their settlements, the situation
our movement started, was different. They had no right, by
stretch of imagination, to consider that they could continue
stay in Free India as rulers. We wanted them to respect the
h of people over whom they ruled. But they did not show the least
inclination of doing so. We wanted them to quit this country gracefully
as the British and maintain friendly relations with us as the
lish. But Salazar's Govt. did not wish to follow the steps of
wise ones. And then it became clear that it was my duty to
l them to quit and force them to quit.

The people of Goa are our people. They are proud to say that
y are Indians first and Indians last. They don't glory in being
led 'coloured Portuguese'. That is why it was my duty to help
Goan brothers in their struggle for freedom.

Sir, categorically you are the authority in justice and so I
e that I shall be judged in the light of truth and real justice.

I beg to remain

Sir,

Your obedient servant

s-Magos 17 April, 1948

AZAD GOAN POLITICAL PARTY

To,
The Chief Organiser,
Active Volunteer Corps,
G O A .

Sir,

I hereby declare that I am a resident/Citizen of Goa/Daman/Diu/
Nagarhaveli and belong to no Goan Political party except the Azad
Gomantak Dal. I am desirous to join the A.V.C. and be fully at its dis-
posal from the time I am called to duty with a view to rendering active
service in the cause of Goan Freedom Struggle. I further declare, I am
a regular member
an active sympathiser of the Dal and have been on its roll for more
than three months as required by the rule. I have read the relevant
part of the constitution of the Dal and solemnly agreed to abide by the
conditions in its clause (e) of art. XII. I give below my further
particulars:

- 1) Full Name _____
- 2) Address: _____
- 3) Date of birth _____ 4) age _____ 5) Place of Birth _____
- 6) Occupation _____ 7) Married/or not _____
- 8) Educational and other qualifications) _____
- 9) Annual Income and its source _____
- 10) Goan Party Affiliation, if any, before joining the A.G.D. _____
- 11) Indian Party affiliation, if any _____
- 12) When and how first entered politics - a brief history with date of arrest and release if any and other connected facts _____

-
- 1) Father's/Husband's Name _____
 - 2) Address: _____
 - 3) Occupation _____ 4) Age _____
 - 5) Name of the wife, if married. _____
 - 6) Age _____

8) Names of children/ Mother/other dependants if any with their education and age against their names.	Name	Age	Education

9) Name and address of the nearest relative or intimate friend outside Goa.

10) Any other information

Necessary certificates and photos are attached herewith*

Date _____

Signature _____

1. Recommendations and Remarks

Date: _____

(Signature)
Chairman, Regional Committee
Bombay/ Belgaum
Assistant Organiser of A.V.C.

2. Remarks

Date: _____

(Signature)
Chief Organiser, Active
Volunteer Group, AZAD
Gomantak Dal

*Note: The certificates, duly signed by the Secretary, Regional Committees AZAD Gomantak Dal or by the Assistant Organiser A.V.C. as the case may be, shall show, along with other details, with the work of the A.G.D./ A.V.C. for a specified period. The photo should be a bust photo raph or passport size - 3 copies.

THE AZAD GOMANTAK DAL.

Form "A"

Pledge

1. I, a member of the AZAD GOMANTAK DAL and a volunteer of Active Volunteer Corps, solemnly pledge to strive for the attainment of independence of Portuguese occupied parts of India and their reintegration in the Indian Union.
2. I shall faithfully obey the orders of my superiors under whom I shall be placed and strictly abide by the rules and regulations of the A.V.C. framed from time to time.
3. I shall endeavour to the best of my ability not to soil the fair name of the A.S.D. and my country by my misconduct and indiscipline in my behaviour.
4. I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to promote peace and goodwill among all classes and communities of Goa, Daman and Diu.
5. I am conscious of the sacrifices and sufferings one has to undergo in freedom struggle. I am also aware that irresistible temptations often arise during such struggles to mislead a freedom fighter to the betrayal of the organisation and the cause. I solemnly pledge I shall endeavour to the best of my ability to resist all such temptations and be ever prepared for sufferings and sacrifices even of life.

(signature)

Full Name : _____

Address : _____

Date: _____

The Chief Organiser



Issued by: THE NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA)
BOMBAY BRANCH

25th February 1951

ABOUT OURSELVES

A freedom struggle - a movement for the liberation of an enslaved people - needs no apology for its existence, and that is why Goan Affairs, the bulletin issued by the Bombay Committee of the National Congress (Goa), should need no introduction.

But not the least of the impediments in our struggle to free Goa, Daman and Diu from the suffering stronghold of Portuguese rule is the abysmal ignorance of political and socio-economic conditions in Goa. This ignorance is excusable among the people of India who are not Goans, but not so among the Goans who are residing outside Goa. This ignorance has been responsible for many wrong notions about Goa's "economic prosperity", Portuguese "political tolerance" and "progressive social conditions". However much we may regret them, these wrong notions do exist. The ignorance of actual conditions is a challenge to our movement.

The Bombay Committee has taken up this challenge through Goan Affairs. Through this bulletin the Committee will systematically expose the myths of "tolerance" and "prosperity" that obtain in Goa. For we believe that when the Goans are educated into the true state of affairs in Goa the liberation movement will claim many new adherents and the task of freeing Goa from the Portuguese will be expedited.

The freedom movement is itself an invigorating experience, lifting one from indifference to enthusiasm. We shall attempt to pass on the great sense of mission and of actual endeavour to our readers so that the pride of the fighters for freedom may be theirs also.

GOA'S PARASITE ECONOMY

The People Who Support Goa's Economy

Whether an economy is solvent or not is determined by certain factors, one of which is whether circumstances of that area (Goa) allow a sufficient number of adult people to find gainful employment, achieve an income standard of living and provide scope for the full development of individual personalities. It is to examine whether this achievement is present in the economic circumstances of Goa that we shall devote ourselves in the following pages.

The territory of Portuguese India - Goa, Daman and Diu - has an area of 1312 square miles and a population of approximately 6,61,222; of whom more than 1,50,000 are outside Goa, mainly in India and a few in Europe. In Bombay alone there are over 1,00,000 Goans. The Goans in Bombay form a very versatile community. There are hundreds of doctors, compounders and nurses. Likewise, there are a great number of lawyers, some of whom occupy positions of great responsibility in this profession. The clerical profession was at one time their monopoly, and yet even now Goans, both men and women, are engaged in it in thousands.

Among the ranks of labour everywhere and in every industry Goans are found in a considerable number, in the engineering, railway, chemical, and other industries. The entire saloon and deck crew of the ships in Bombay are composed of Goan seamen, and there is such a congestion in the market for employment that in order to give everyone a share of the work a system of shifts is introduced, each shift engaging thousands of men. The number of domestic servants, also an honourable employment, is considerable but it must run into thousands comprising both men and women.

The scientific, literary and educational services have also their share of Goans, and many schools and colleges can boast of eminent Goan professors and educationalists. Goans are occupying positions of honour in the leading newspapers.

In the sphere of art and culture Goans have contributed to the development of Bombay, and while estimating the number of Goans of all walks of life in Bombay and in the other cities of India one must also consider the high standard of life that they have achieved - life on a par with the best citizens of India.

Now let us consider why all Goans - who are doctors, nurses, engineers, professors or teachers, labourers, seamen or domestic servants, whom we estimate to number 1,50,000 - are in Bombay and other cities of India and not in Goa. Is it because conditions are better in Goa than in Bombay? No, because Goa's economy is not able to support them and allow them to grow and develop their intellectual and political status. The answer is obviously clear. It is both because Goa's economy is not able to support the families of the Goans outside Goa and also because conditions here are definitely better than in Goa.

his were not true then how is it that inspite of severe unemployment among Goans in Bombay they do not go back to Goa to earn a livelihood? Is for the simple reason that there are no avenues of employment in

It is so obvious that it need not be restated. Are there more opportunities outside Goa than in there? This is certainly so. The standard of living and culture of an average Goan outside Goa is far higher what it is in Goa.

these Goans outside Goa not only find fulfilment and security but help support the parasite economy of Goa. It is because of their sacrifices and earnings that the economy of Goa is able to drag on. Goa and Goans need a plan for their future. The place of Goa and Goans is rightly in India, for only in it that Goans can prosper and find fulfilment.

MATTERS OF THE MOMENT

Foreign Settlements in India

National Congress (Goa) Proposes Conference of Pro-Merger Bodies.

National Congress (Goa) has convened a conference of all pro-merger organisations in the foreign settlements in India to coordinate their activities, pool their resources and present a united front to the British and French Governments in India. The conference will be held some time in May this year. The venue will be either Bombay or Madras.

Suggestion for a joint conference was enthusiastically received by all pro-merger bodies. A high-power coordinating body is expected to be set up at this conference. It is agreed that each organisation will retain to itself the freedom to adopt such measures in its own area of functioning as it considers suitable.

The coordinating committee, when formed, will, it is expected, set a high standard to the work of the constituent organisations.

Goa and the Atlantic Defence Pact.

The position that Goa, Damaun and Diu will occupy in the Atlantic Defence Arrangements headed by Gen. Eisenhower is the subject of much speculation at present.

Portugal is a member of the Defence Pact. Are her colonies and possessions included in the defence arrangements which she has consented to maintain? The war of the future will be a global war and under such circumstances it is inevitable that any commitment that Portugal may enter into with the Atlantic Nations will affect the position of Goa also.

Contd...

As is drawn in, the position of India's neutrality will be jeopardised as Goa will be a war-zone. This contingency applies to the possessions of the French also because France is a member of the Atlantic Pact.

India must demand a clarification of the position and ask for complete neutrality and independence from commitments of Portugal. India must not use Goa as a war base through the possessions of the Portuguese and the French.

Some Sentences Confirmed:

A news item from Pondicherry states that the Paris Court of Appeal has confirmed the sentences passed by the Mahe Court on the nine accused who were sentenced in connection with the famous "Mahe Rebellion Case".

It may be recalled that the accused who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment in connection with the case had filed appeals before the Paris Court.

It is indeed an irony of fate that in the Sovereign Republic of India the fate of the sons of her soil should have been decided by a people thousands of miles away. Are not these savage sentences passed on the nine Indians in Goa and on our revered leaders like Dr. Tristao de Cunha and Dr. Rama Hegde a real and an open challenge to India's claim to be a sovereign nation?

Some Reports Refuted:

A statement published in the Free Press Journal of February 7, Mr. Vishwanath Lawande, General Secretary of the National Congress (Goa), has refuted the reports about the amnesty supposed to have been granted by the Portuguese Government to the Goan political prisoners in Goa and Pondicherry.

Of all the prisoners sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, only Agrio George is the only person released so far; while the rest have refused repatriation on the plea that "their presence is not desirable in Goa".

It is for the Indian Government to decide the desirability or otherwise of the presence of Goans in their motherland!. The Portuguese imperialists have reason to be proud of their success in quelling the people's movement in Goa with their relative superiority of strength. But they should know, as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said, that in imperialism nothing fails like success!

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE IN THE CITY.

All the members of the Central Committee of the Congress paid a brief visit to the city in the first week of this month. They were acquainted with the activities of the local body.

Contd...

meeting held here on the 5th and 8th the Working Committee unanimously adopted the following resolutions:-

Resolution No.1. The Working Committee learns with concern and regret that some persons with hostile intent towards it, and others through misunderstanding, are spreading false reports that the National Congress (Goa) is laying more emphasis upon the method of the future Status of Goa than upon its primary objective, the emancipation of Goa.

The Working Committee, therefore, desires to restate its policy in this respect. The objective of the National Congress (Goa) is to free Goa from the Portuguese yoke and to secure for it an honourable place in the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. To achieve this objective the Congress will do its utmost.

In this objective it, therefore, earnestly appeals to its members not to divert attention to petty matters by raising controversial issues such as, "Sanyukta Maharashtra, Maritime Province, Autonomous State, Goa for Goans etc." which pale into insignificance before the all important problem of emancipation of Goa.

Resolution No.2. The Working Committee once again desires to state that the National Congress (Goa) is not a one Party Organisation but a militant front organisation of those who desire to work for Goa's freedom. It, therefore, calls upon all Goans, wherever they may be, of whatever caste, class or political persuasion, to rally round the banner of the National Congress (Goa), the only organisation working chiefly in Goa, with a firm determination to liberate it from the yoke of foreign rule.

Resolution No.3. Since a large number of Goans outside Goa is in Bombay and the freedom movement can be carried on there without let or hindrance, the Working Committee calls upon the Goans in Bombay to strive to make it the centre of the campaign for Goa's freedom.

Members were given a public reception by the Bombay Branch of the Congress at the Arbes Gujerati Hall on the 8th. A large and distinguished gathering was present. Mr.L.J.D'Souza, President of the Bombay Committee was in the Chair.

On the occasion Mrs.Bertha Furtado, Vice-President of the Congress, Mrs. Nath Lawande, General Secretary and Dr.P.C.Zambaulikar, President of the Bombay branch, appealed to the Goans in Bombay to help the Organisation in all possible ways to achieve the objective it had kept before it, namely, the freedom of Goa. The speakers also requested the Government of India to solve the problem of Goa without any further delay.

CONGRESS ORGANISES MASS EDUCATIVE MEETINGS:-- With a view to educating the masses in the city on the social, economic and political conditions in Bombay branch has proposed to organise mass meetings in the different parts of the city inhabited prominently by Goans. The first meeting of this nature will be held at the I.L.I Hall, Thakurdwar on February 25, when workers of the Congress including Mr.Peter Alvaros, Mr.J.V.Kamat and Mr.L.J.D'Souza will

before Goan Women:

people's movement which was started in Goa four years back, though failed to achieve its immediate objective, has to its credit the indisputable fact it gave to Goa a fine specimen of Indian womanhood. The entire country was surprised to hear about even teen aged girls of Goa who bravely faced the first wave of repression of the Portuguese rulers. It must be said to the credit of our otherwise meek and mild sisters that they never lagged behind their fellow countrymen in the hour of their country's need.

When a silence of tomb prevails in Goa and when the hot-bed of fighters has been turned into a valley of despondency and frustration by the relative inferiority of force of the powers that be, it is no wonder that the activities of the Goan women have receded into background. There is no doubt however that the courage and determination which were exhibited by our sisters in the past, though in a dormant state at present, will be a major contribution to our freedom movement in the near future.

It is a matter of utter surprise we see a strange contrast in the attitude adopted by Goan folk outside Goa, towards the freedom movement in that part. They seem to be mere passive spectators of the scene which is being enacted there. The activity of educated Goan women in a city like Bombay for example, who can do much towards the building up of the people's organisation seem somehow reluctant to come forward to render the help.

During over a protest meeting of Goans in the City on 25th November last Mrs. Violet Alva, M.L.C., had very harsh things to say to the Goan Women in Bombay. On a day when Goans had gathered to protest against the greatest oppression inflicted by foreign power on their nation it was really unfortunate that, with notable exceptions, the Goan womenfolk did not feel it necessary to participate in the meeting.

Our sisters in Bombay and elsewhere think seriously of the task which is laid before them. We have full faith in them. They shall not fail the country.

APPEAL TO GOANS.

Dear

The National Congress is YOUR Organisation. We want Goans from every section to swell its ranks. We want maximum possible help from YOU to build up the only organisation representing the people of Goa. Why not get in touch with its office? Its address is

9 SITA CHAWL,
NEW BADAMWADI, VITHALPHAI PATEL ROAD,
GIRGAUM, BOMBAY.

The Legation of India present their compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have the honour to state as follows:

It will be recalled that an aide memoire from the Government of India was presented to His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Portugal, in Lisbon, on February 27, 1950, regarding the future of the Portuguese possessions in India. It was explained in the aide memoire that the nationalist movement which culminated in the establishment of a free and independent India had for its objective the achievement of the historical and cultural unity of India which had through the centuries transcended political frontiers such as those demarcating the Portuguese and French possessions in India. This movement for union was part of a historical process which sought urgent satisfaction. It was suggested accordingly that negotiations might be opened to determine the future of the Portuguese possessions in India and that, once the principle of the re-union of these possessions with India was accepted, ways and means to achieve it could be devised by friendly consultation between the Governments of Portugal and of India.

2. The Portuguese Government did not see their way to agree to this request. It was asserted, on their behalf, that Goa, Daman and Diu were not "colonies", but formed an integral part of Portugal, and that there was no popular sentiment in these



territories in favour of re-union with independent India. These views were set forth in greater detail in a note, dated June 15, 1950, in which the Portuguese Government stated that they were unable to discuss and much less accept the solution proposed by the Government of India. The then Indian Minister in Portugal expressed deep disappointment at this reply, and stated that the Government of India could not accept this as a final disposition of the question or in any way acquiesce in the continuance of the existing position.

3. The Portuguese Government's note, referring to the political rights of the inhabitants of the Portuguese possessions in India, described the position as one of enjoyment of liberties and privileges identical with those recognised in any other part of Portuguese territory. It went on to say that this was one of the reasons why the Portuguese Government considered the statement that popular sentiment in the Portuguese possessions in India was in favour of merger with India to be due to a misapprehension. A totally different picture emerges from the record of events which are known to have occurred in the Portuguese possessions in India during the past few years. There has been a progressive curtailment of political liberties, many persons professing sympathy with the idea of merger with India having been punished summarily and severely and, in some cases, deported to far-away Portuguese prisons. Censorship of the press has been imposed, with consequent denial of freedom of speech and writing. Public meetings have been banned; arrests have been made without warrants; and reports have been made to the effect that the

- 2 -

4. In addition to these repressive measures, many decrees have been issued which have had the effect of depriving Indian citizens in Goa of freedom of residence, commerce, trade and occupation, as well as the right to acquire property. This action is not only contrary to the traditional friendship professed by the Government of Portugal towards India, but has also imposed serious disabilities on a group of people who are indistinguishable from the other inhabitants of Goa, Daman and Diu, in race, culture and creed. The many representations made by the Government of India to the Portuguese authorities on this subject have led to no result.

5. The hope has so far been entertained that, with time, a fuller understanding of the problem may incline the Portuguese Government to a more realistic approach. This hope has been disappointed, and the accumulating evidence of a policy directed to the suppression of all manifestation of sympathy with the cause of merger with India has hardened public opinion; and the demand is now widespread that the present unsatisfactory position should be brought to a speedy termination. Political barriers artificially created by accident of history can no longer stem the rising tide of national urge for unity. No longer, again, is it compatible with the status of India as an independent republic that pockets of foreign territory, however small in area and however friendly the Powers occupying them, should continue to exist on Indian soil.

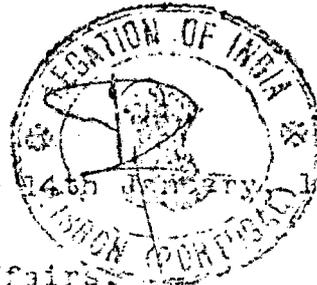
6. The Government of India have accordingly come to the conclusion that no solution of this problem is now possible except on the basis of a direct transfer

which will ensure the merger of these territories at an early date with the Indian Union. The Government of India would like, at the same time, to declare that it will be their desire to maintain the cultural and other rights, including language, laws and customs of the inhabitants of these territories, and to make no changes in such and like matters except with their consent.

7. The Legation of India earnestly hope that the Portuguese Government will agree to the opening of negotiations for the direct transfer of these territories, to India. The Government of India have suggested that the principle of direct transfer should be accepted first and that this should be followed by a de facto transfer of the administration. If this is agreed to between the respective Governments, the other steps, including such constitutional formalities as might be necessary, will offer no difficulty. The legal sovereignty of Portugal would continue until the steps then considered appropriate had been taken to give effect to the decisions arrived at. The Government of India would be glad if the Government of Portugal would accept these suggestions as a basis for the proposed negotiations.

The Legation of India take the opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the assurances of their highest consideration.

Dated the 14th January, 1953.



To
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
LISBON.

केसरी कार्यालय, ५६८ नारायण पेठ, पुणे २ (195)

केसरी कार्यालय, ५६८ नारायण पेठ, पुणे २

★

C. S. NATU.

413, Shanwar,

Poona 2.

Sept. 12, 1955.

भारत :

श्री. केशवराव जेधे

(★)

कार्यवाह :

श्री. ना. ग. गोरे

„ ज. श्री. टिळक

„ वि. मो. आपटे

★

सभासद :

श्री. र. के. खाडिलकर

„ गणपतराव नलावडे

„ विष्णुपंत चितळे

„ शिखरभाऊ लिमये

„ माधवराव भेमाणे

„ रामभाऊ म्हाळगी

„ अन्मरामपंत पाटील

सौ. इ. ई. गोरे

श्री. महादेवशास्त्री जोशी

(प्रतिनिधि, गोवा नॅ. कॉ.)

My dear Kent Desai,

I am sending copies of telegrams I sent to 'Foreign' on August 14 on behalf of Peter.

① To

R. K. Nehru

Foreign, New Delhi.

Bombay Government Order Entering On The Eve Of Satyagrah Rules Not To Permit Satyagrahis Travel By Trucks Has Effectively Sabotaged Satyagrah Stop Satyagrah Will Continue Peter Alvares.

★

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST AND TELEGRAPH EMPLOYEES - BANGALORE

RESOLUTION passed on INDEPENDENCE DAY, on 30/8/55

This mass meeting of the Post and Telegraph Workers of Bangalore shocked on hearing the news of brutal murder of 81 or more ed non-violent satyagrahis who entered GOA, DIU & DAMAN E INDEPENDENCE DAY of our country. While mourning the death e hero martyrs who as true satyagrahis laid down their lives in ause of liberation of Goa conveys the condolences to the bereaved ies of the martyrs and congratulates those satyagrahis who returned ck safe though many of them wounded and disabled.

This meeting condemns the brutal and inhuman atrocities ttroted by the Military and the Police of Portuguese imperialism e non-violent satyagrahis, including women and children, st all kinds of International law and morals and demands immediate rawal from these pockets on Indian soil before they are thrown n shame by the satyagraha movement, which knows no defeat.

This meeting pledges all co-operation both material and moral e satyagraha movement to be continued for the liberation A- on behalf of the Post and Telegraph workers of Bangalore ray god for the early successful termination of the movement each to the souls of those martyrs who have laid down their in the cause of country's freedom.

1/Goa/BG55 Dated at Bangalore the 30/8/55
 Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru
 Union Prime Minister,
 Govt. of India, New Delhi. with the request to take necessary steps
 in this regard.
 I.E. Dr. Antonio Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal at Lisbon.
 We herein express the determination of the Indian People to
 liberation of GOA, Diu, and DAMAN.

SECRETARY-GENERAL, NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
 Post & Telegraph Employees, New Delhi-5. For an opinion

M. S. Chaturvedi
 Secretary.

Dear Panditji,

We had both written to you of the urgent situation in Goa and we have your replies, so are happy that you have agreed that there is need of re-thinking over the issue of Goa's liberation struggle, how best to re-organise it and conduct it in the future. Under the present circumstances we are making the following proposals.

At the outset we must state that we ~~realise~~ realise the limitations that the Government of India has placed upon itself as a result of its policy, but the freedom struggle must be able to override these limitations in its own efforts if a quick solution to this national problem has to be found. This is imperative in the present situation. Incidentally, the proposal that we are making will entail the least responsibility for the Government of India, both in respect to its international commitments as well as upon its other responsibilities. It will in addition satisfy the yearning of the people of Goa to see this problem speedily settled, as well as of the people of India in respect of their obligations in this national task.

The Government of India's attitude in the matter of satyagraha has changed the context and the nature of the struggle in Goa. Since August 20th. last year no satyagraha has been staged, either in Goa or from India, but the efforts for freedom have continued in different forms, and the arrests and deaths in Goa, and the uncausness in ~~some~~ India are evidence that there still exists in Goa the capacity of the people to resist there the savage repression of Portuguese rule. This must be taken advantage of in the immediate future. If there is delay, or even hesitation, the struggle will be rendered more difficult and may even be lost for a long time to come, and with this condition the bitterness and misery and loss of face will inevitably follow.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration we feel strongly that the only way of successfully conducting the freedom movement, and one that will not involve the Government of India in respect of its policy, is by helping to raise a cadre of local revolutionaries, with recourse facilities made available to us. Further details can be discussed at a meeting. The cost is not prohibitive.

If the above suggestion is acceptable unity in action will be achieved among the various active and seriously inclined Goan political organisations. A "Revolutionary Council" may be established at our initiative to conduct the future mode of struggle in the above manner, and with the utmost discretion in respect of the Government of India's policy.

However, we do not desire to abandon the methods of developing a mass movement that we have hitherto attempted. That is the core of the movement, but other methods we are suggesting must now be employed. All instructions in respect of

(2)

the mood of the Goan people and the developments in the international sphere, point to this. For this purpose, and in order to simultaneously develop economic, financial and administrative sanctions, we suggest that an "Economic Commission" be set up to study, conduct and co-ordinate this section of the struggle in co-ordination with the Goan organisation.

If these proposals are agreed to then it is desired that the entire border be placed under the administration of a liaison Military officer of high standing.

We will be grateful if you will give these proposals your sympathetic consideration. We shall be happy that you comprehend the conditions that have prompted us to suggest new methods of approach to the freedom struggle. If you desire further explanations, we are at your service any time.

With respectful greetings,

Yours sincerely,

Peter Alvaros

(Peter Alvaros)
National Congress (Goa)
Nehru Road,
Thalakwadi,
BEIGAM.

sd/ T. B. Cunha

(T. B. Cunha)
"Sunshine"
Black Day Reclamatic
BOMBAY, 1.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister,
Government of India,
NEW DELHI.

Confidential

No. 2001-PMH/56

New Delhi,
Aug. 27, 1956.

Dear Peter,

I have your letter of the 26th August.

I do not quite know how you imagined that Goa would be mentioned at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London and, presumably, find its way in the communique. Apart from the fact that such questions do not and cannot come up for discussion there, I would not like to bring them up there. I do not wish to make the Commonwealth Conference a super-State to judge us. It is obvious that many members of the Commonwealth Conference are not favourably inclined to us in this matter.

You refer to the independence day celebrations. Certainly, Goa should be mentioned then. If you refer to my speech from the Red Fort, it is true that I did not mention this on that occasion, although I have mentioned it at public meetings elsewhere. My speech at the Red Fort is not a public meeting speech as a rule and is a relatively short one. The most urgent international issue was the Suez Canal issue, to which I referred.

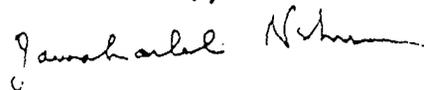
I know and ^{am} much distressed by conditions in Goa and by the suffering of the people there. But, I do not think that this should lead us into what might be considered adventurist action. There has been a good deal of this adventurism about Goa in the past. I think this really has delayed the development of strength both in Goa and outside in regard to this issue. However, that is the past, and it is no good complaining of it.

I do not agree with you when you suggest that we should go back to that particular type of action which was indulged in a year or two ago. We have to act with some responsibility and some wisdom in this matter, even though we may be very angry. We have got entangled in an international knot and we cannot untie it by pulling in the wrong direction. Untie it we will. You must know also that there is a case before the World Court brought by the Portuguese Government with reference to Nagar Haveli etc. That is different, no doubt, but it has a certain relevance.

I agree with you that we should constantly give fresh thought to this matter.

You refer to relief. How is the relief given and to whom and by whom?

Yours sincerely,



Shri Peter Alvares,
365 Nehru Road,
Thalakwadi,
Belgaum.

REUNIO
ALATAS

AS ÚLTIMAS MENSAGENS DE SALAZAR, AO GENERAL
VASSALO E SILVA, GOVERNADOR DO ESTADO DA INDIA

As mensagens, expedidas em cifra, que se transcrevem e que foram levadas a
pelos Serviços Secretos da União Indiana e ali mostradas a alguém que mandou
gumas cópias, uma das quais chegou até nós, demonstra o que vale para a di-
vidu dos soldados de Portugal. Não se tratava de defender a Índia Portugue-
io somente uma chacina, para aguentar uma manobra política de Salazar, numa
de consolidar o seu abalado prestígio.

A certeza do ditador, confessada publicamente, era de que em caso algum, se-
ível a vitória, por isso, se havia de escolher a morte. A sua vaidade repu-
eitar qualquer espécie de negociações que pudessem poupar a vida e a fazenda
guese, mesmo considerando que estes não sairiam desonrados. Como as suas
so foram cumpridas é como os soldados de Portugal recusaram bater-se em con-
e não davam honra nem glória e como é preciso manter a mentira da resistên-
o o seu ódio foi bolsado contra a Inglaterra e contra a América que, em boa
só são culpadas de terem consentido que o velho feroz e sanguinario se man-
Poder:

ez 61

compreenderá a amargura com que dedico esta mensagem. É-nos impossível
er se União Indiana atacará ou não dentro de pouco tempo territórios des-
stado; ameaças aliás muitas vezes repetidas não tem de ser tomadas a le-
nas desta vez o governo indiano foi tão longe seus preparativos bélicos
não sabemos como possa desvia-los sem efectuar ataque. Porventura tentan-
or meio de agente subversivos alterações poder e vida Estado para disper-
e anular valor nossas forças defesa território e evitar conquista que in-
acionalmente receia. Por isso é de aconselhar máxima paciência ante provo-
es. Tem-se desenvolvido intensa acção diplomática com fim mobilizar todas
ades internacionais e influenciar numerosos Estados sentido dissuadir
o Indiana ataque se projectasse. Estamos seguros grandes potências como
dos Unidos Inglaterra e Estados amigos como Brasil e outros Sul America-
e com assiduo auxilio Espanha, fazem sentir junto governo Nova Delhi ou
esentante naqueles países sua reprovação ataque militar ao território por-
ês. Posição tomada espontaneamente por categorizada imprensa mundial e
lmente afecta União Indiana mostra como agressão a Gôa repugna a consciên-
das Nações e é interpretada como desmentido da política pacifista do Pri-
o Ministro que a isso é muito sensível. Sejam quais forem resultados des-
Nações combinadas há que esperar o pior. Todos temos consciência modesta
as forças mas podendo Estado visinho multiplicar por factor arbitrário for-
ataque revelar-se-ia sempre no final grande desproporção. Política governo
sempre na impossibilidade assegurar defesa plenamente eficaz de manter Goa
as que obrigassem União Indiana a montar como faz agora operação militar
orça. Escandalo mundial que dissuadissem a não projectar simples operações
ciais. Isto significa que primeira missão das nossas forças foi cumprida.
nda consiste em não se dispersar contra agentes terroristas supostos liber-
res mas organizar defesa pela forma mantermos nossas tradições e presta-
s o maior serviço futuro da Nação. NÃO PREVEJO POSSIBILIDADES TRÉGUAS NEM
MIONEIROS PORTUGUESES COMO NÃO HAVERÁ NAVIOS RENDIDOS, POIS SINHO QUE APENAS
HAVER SOLDADOS E MARINHEIROS VITORIOSOS OU MORTOS. Ataque está a ser des-
do contra Goa deve pretender pela sua extrema violência minima duração de-
desta. Convem politicamente que esta se mantenha ac menos oito dias; pe-
lo necessário para Governo mobilizar em último recurso instâncias interna-
nais. ESTAS PALAVRAS NÃO PODIAM PELA SUA GRAVIDADE SER DIRIGIDAS SENÃO A
TAR CONSCIO MAIS ALTOS DEVERES E INTEIRAMENTE DISPOSTO A CUMPRILOS. DEUS
HA DE PERMITIR QUE ESTE MILITAR SEJA O ÚLTIMO GOVERNADOR DO ESTADO DA INDIA"

dez 61

de receber por intermédio nosso ministro Negócios Estrangeiros Paris
te momento informação dos seus colegas ingleses e americanos que União In-
na desencadeará amanhã ataque territórios portugueses. Foram imitels dili-
cias respectivos governos junto nosso e mesmo diligência pessoal Presidente
edy. Não restará agora mais que honrar a missão confiada as tropas sob
ando Vexa."

Meu Bom Amigo

Como deve calcular escuro-ela na solidão, mais triste da minha vida porque se eu não fosse fundamente na minha alma, a amargura e a tristeza dos trágicos dias dos quais - do dia 11 de 1961. É o mal ainda mais se aprava perante as recordações, no próprio local, em três dias, meus encantadores da minha vida, numa entonação total de um mesmo an problema, desta terra encantadora cuja população tão boa e hospitaleira me conquistou para sempre o coração. Recordo com a maior ternura os meus queridos colaboradores, entre os quais tenho muita honra em contar o meu Bom Amigo, numa ilha de tamanha perfeição como é o meu seu Etnográfico. Foi com crescente entusiasmo que vi o desenvolvimento da ilha, a tomar corpo e forma definitiva que havia de, certamente, permitir uma realização a altura da finalidade magnífica do empreendimento.

Pouco depois da partida do meu Bom Amigo desabou sobre nós a terrível tragédia. Se eu não fosse forte e decidido, nunca voltando a cara para as feridas que nos envolveram, tendo sempre presente os nossos mais sagrados deveres para os atos compassivos da honra e do coração, vivendo essas horas amargas e decisivas com a dignidade, com a pureza, sempre no mesmo ponto, sofri dolorosamente a certeza da minha impotência perante o acontecimento que se verteu nos reservara, que nada, então, poderia desviar do seu curso, irremediavelmente. Quando do reconhecimento, bem de perto e com a alma em paz, que não podíamos, meu devotado, honestamente ir mais longe, tendo sempre bem presente os nossos sagrados deveres dos minutos seguintes, para com os nossos maiores, para com as vidas à minha responsabilidade, bem consciente das tristes realidades que se nos separavam, e a que, jamais, voltaríamos, recete a amargura sem limites dos desfechos inevitáveis, etc. - por Deus quis a vida sem a conservação, sem a calma e clarividência que, felizmente, nunca me abandonaram. Pode, assim, a consciência estar tranqüila mas o espírito mantém-se sempre sob o seu dor e tristeza infinitas. Para ele pago a prática de Deus. Para a vida, certa coisa

FORÇAS ARMADAS DO ESTADO DA ÍNDIA

A INVASÃO DOS TERRITÓRIOS
DO
ESTADO PORTUGUÊS DA ÍNDIA

EM DEZEMBRO DE 1961

Relatório do:

COMANDANTE-MILITAR

DO C.T.I.E.ÍNDIA

BRIGADEIRO ANTÓNIO JOSÉ MARTINS LEITÃO

(1.ª parte)

tanto do Estado (para a recuperação dos efectivos) não satisfizesse a exigência da natureza operacional, apenas se tinha em vista os principais condicionamentos de luta contra o terrorismo e a subversão.

É isto conseguido-se plenamente.

Para se apoderar da Índia Portuguesa, teve a União Indiana de montar e encetar um ataque em força que pela sua superioridade quantitativa e qualitativa em relação às nossas diminutas e mal armadas forças, desmascararam perante o Mundo o apregoado pacifismo de NHERU e ridicularizaram (como já ouvi dizer) o seu Exército.

Aquela superioridade dava-lhe a certeza matemática duma vitória rápida. (Tinha a situação a de um Comandante que não tem ao menos uma probabilidade em 100 de obter o sucesso). O Destino assim o quis também.

Não me poupei a esforços, e a saúde para que a preparação das nossas forças, com vista à eventualidade fizesse a melhor possível. O Relatório documenta o que se fez e também o que se não fez.

Em sabemos, ser costume, geralmente, considerar mal tudo o que acaba mal, esquecendo-se muitas vezes as causas e as circunstâncias que tal originaram. No entanto aqui que vem de apreciar os acontecimentos e os que neste o Destino fez intervir apenas pedimos Justiça.

Lisboa, 22 de Julho de 1962

ANTÓNIO JOSÉ MARINHO LEITÃO
BRIGADEIRO

NOTA: Este Relatório foi escrito no Centro de Esclarecimentos de Alquevires (a saber para) e publicado depois de ter tido em conta o ponto de vista dos Comandantes das Divisões de Segurança, da F.B.I., G.P. e Chefe da Repartição de I.G.E.I. e outros que estiveram nos seus Campos. Foi naturalmente escrito, na língua, por vezes o emprego de expressões de presente, mas no passado. É esta a razão.

Quanto a quem escreveu este Relatório não que supomos facilmente a responsabilidade de quem o escreveu.

Questionnaire

Personal details:

Name:

Address:

Gender:

Maternal village and taluka:

Education and occupation of parents:

Religion:

Caste:

Education: level, medium, where.

Professional training, if any:

Present occupation:

If retired, information about past service:

Marital status:

Name of spouse:

Religion of spouse:

Education and occupation of spouse:

Details about children: names, education, occupation.

Contemporary Goa

Goa in

The colony of Portugal:

The nature of Portuguese colonialism:

The nature of Salazarist dictatorship:

The nature of administration: was it representative?

If not representative?

transport, trade.

The extent of poverty in Goa.

The standard of living in Goa.

The social structure of Goan society.

Casteism, racism, religious freedom, status of women:

The communal relations in Goa.

The rate of literacy in Goa:

The educational facilities available in Goa:

The syllabus taught:

The employment facilities available to Goans: nature.

The agrarian relations in Goa:

Sources of Inspiration .(in order of priority)

Nature: of Salazarist dictatorship. Political, economic,
socio-cultural.

Persons: leaders of Indian National Movement: who & why?
leaders of Goa's Struggle for Freedom:
historical personalities:
teachers:
neighbours/friends:
family members:

Institutions and associations :

Print media: books, newspapers, pamphlets.

Events:

Ideology.

Nationalist Movements:

Define the Indian National Movement:

What was the impact of Indian National Movement on Goa's Struggle for Freedom?

Comment on the influence of Gandhian philosophy on nationalists from Goa?

Which other Indian leaders influenced freedomfighters from Goa?

Which were the institutions and organisations which influence freedomfighters?

Which were the events which influenced Goa's Struggle?

Goa's Struggle For Freedom :

Define Goa's Struggle for Freedom.

Which period?

What do you mean by Struggle?

What do you mean by movement?

What is your definition of masses? Do you feel that Goa's struggle for freedom was a mass movement? or was it just a struggle launched by particular classes?

What do you mean by Freedom?

Comment on Asia-tian countries in the post world war period.

Hardships faced:

Methods / Strategies employed to overcome them:

What were the

What was the effect of your ideology vis-a-vis other ideologies in this struggle? Were its main goals realised?

Assess the contribution of your organisation to Goa's struggle for freedom. Compare with the other organisations.

Comment on the leadership of Goan freedomfighters on Govt. of India, leaders like Nehru.

Was it mainly struggle from outside?

Was Operation Vijay inevitable? Justify.

Was it indicative of failure of struggle?

Why was there an absence of a sustained struggle? Leading to liberation of Goa. Compare with Dadra & Nagar-Haveli.

Comment on fruits of liberation.

What were the strengths and weakness of Goa's Struggle for Freedom?

Effects:

What were the financial effects of Goa's Struggle for Freedom?

What were the moral effects?

What were the personal effects?

What were the social effects?

What were the political effects?

Comment on the extent to which the fruits of Goa's Struggle for Freedom have been realised today in the Golden Jubilee year of Indian Union Independence and Goa's 19th June 1961 liberation.

4
Participation in Goa's Struggle for Freedom:

Ideology

Satyagraha ; meaning, methods of application (individual/mass effectiveness, especially against dictatorship & vis- a- vis use of violence.

Violence: Define the term violence? Why chose this path of violence? What type of violence? What methods were used? How effective was this method esp. vis-a-vis satyagraha.

Communism:

any other:

What was the agenda for liberated Goa:

Organisation:

To which organisation do you belong?

Why and when did you join it?

Were you a member, why founded it?

Who were the names of other founder members? Their religion & age? Their educational qualifications? Their occupation?

What was the ideology of the party?

What were the aims and objectives of the organisation?

What were the methods adopted by the organisation to fight against the Portuguese regime?

What issues were highlighted in the constitution of the organisation? political, economic, social, cultural?

How was party organised? How was hierarchy structured?

How was the style of functioning? was it democratic? were there any special features?

Important sessions:

Important events:

Location of the office:

Was there any official mouthpiece of the party ?

Training;

Where ?

For how long ?

From whom ?

What type ?

Main Activities:

What type of activities were organised by your organisation?

What was the frequency of occurrence ?

Where did the organisation get funds? name the source?

What was the amount?

Where did the organisation buy arms? What type of arms

were used? Where they were stored?

Means of propoganda: pamphlets, press (within Goa/outside)

What were the sources of support? (within Goa/ outside)

type/signature.

Particulars about individual participation: relations with other freedomfighters & parties within Goa, India and abroad.

Main events in Goa Struggle for Freedom :

Comment on:

10th June Action.

Role of Dr. Lohia in this Action.

Was it a movement?

Attitude of Indian leaders like Nehru and Gandhi.

Comments on India's diplomatic overtures with Portugal over Goa

1954 & 1955 Chronographs: the role of non Goan's.

Liberation of Dadra Nagar-haveli: How? By whom? Its impact on Goa's Freedom Struggle.

Economic blockade: nature and effectiveness.

Operation Vijay.

Mobilisation of public opinion and support :

Existing level of political consciousness.

Define political consciousness.

Who were target groups?

Methods of mobilisation. (within Goa, India, Portugal, abroad..)

Press & pamphlets.

Talks/ rallies/ rallies/ prabhatteras.

Village-based organisations

Order of volunteers/ workers- doors to door contacts.

Schools.

Organisations of deprived classes (untouchables, Harijans, Shudras etc.

Any other.

Who were the target groups? (within Goa)

Educated middle class? rural poor? women? school children?

Landlords? bureaucrats? any other particular religious/

casteist group? general public?

Who were the target groups? (outside in India)

Comm. Orgs/ political parties/ Govt. of India/ Maharashtra

Assam etc/ general public.

(In Portugal) Salazar's Govt. Those who opposed Salazar's rule.

Friends: Afro-Asian countries.

Reaction:

Of the Portuguese Govt.?

Personal:

What was the nature of arrest?

Were you tortured?

What was the condition in jail

nature of exile/ parole?

what was the treatment towards family and friends.

What was the general reaction of the Portuguese to Goa's S

Strug^g Freedom? (bans, censorship, arrests, withdra^{wt}ing
attack on religious institutions,)

Of family and friends: to participation in the struggle, to
arrest.

Of Goans : with in Goa: -- to events in which particip^ded
--to struggle in general
of -- bureaucrats, landowners, educated
middle class, women, rural poor,
Hindus, catholics, muslims, heads
of religion/mutt/ church

Outside Goa: emigres, exiles.

Of Indians: ___ political parties and leaders, media, general
public

Support (personal, political, moral, financial, prop^{ag}anda)

Of Govt. of India, Maharashtra, Karnataka.

Of Dr. Bhabha

Of international community, esp. NATO, Afro-Asian countries.