

VOICES IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

THE CASE OF GOA - 1947 - 61

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BY

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Date : 29th December 2003 .



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Ph. D. thesis entitled 'Voices In The Liberation Struggle- The Case Of Goa- 1947-61', is an original work carried out by Ms. Anita A. Raut Desai under my guidance and that no part of this work has been presented for any other Degree or Diploma, Fellowship or other similar titles.



Date: 29 December 2013

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PREFACE

The Liberation Struggle Of Goa has a special place in the Indian National Movement. I say this because, firstly, it was the rule of Portuguese on this land of Goa which lasted for about a period of 450 years and secondly India was ruled by a different colonial power i.e., the British. Further there was a lot of difference between the rule of Portuguese on Portuguese India or 'Estado da India' and British on British India. Though two different colonial powers, with two different types of government, were ruling on the land of Hindustan at the same period, neither the Indians nor the Goans in any way felt that Goa was different from India. In fact, if we look at the entire liberation struggle of Goa it was characterized by the two demands; (i) the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule and (ii) its integration with the Indian Union. Even after India's Independence in 1947, Portuguese rule in Goa was considered as the last vestige of Colonialism on Indian land and Goans as well as Indians fought to eradicate it from the Indian soil. They believed that the Indian National Movement would not come to an end if Portuguese were not driven off from India.

Thus with this background one should see the participation of Goans as well as Indians in the liberation struggle of Goa. Portuguese, in Goa, were responsible not only for colonization but also for making the natives of Goa, Christians, which continued to have its impact on Goa's social life. Further its impact was also seen on the liberation struggle of Goa where two communities fought hand in hand. The liberation struggle of Goa was not only fought on the land of Goa but even in India and at the international level. 'Voices In The Liberation Struggle – The Case Of Goa- 1947-61', strives to understand the role played by the Goan as well as Indian nationalists through their voices either recorded directly or taken from the secondary sources. These are those voices which were either neglected or not given importance in the larger understanding of the liberation struggle, which was mostly dominated by the big voices.

I could complete this work with the assistance of many people. First and fore most I would express my heartfelf gratitude to my guide, Prof. Peter Ronald DeSouza, who not only encouraged me to continue my studies even after my Masters in Arts but also guided me in my research work and gave critical comments on my work. His belief that I can do much better, encouraged me to work hard all the time. Without his assistance, guidance, supervision and encouragement, it would have been impossible on my part to complete this work.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the staff members of Goa University Library, especially Shri. Chulu Naik for helping me in locating the reference material, Central Library – Panaji, Gomant Vidya Niketan Library – Margao, Xavier Centre Of Historical Research, Porvorim and Azad Bhavan Library and Gomantak Marathi Academy Library, Porvorim. Since the topic ‘Voices In The Liberation Struggle- The Case Of Goa- 1947-61, demanded a lot of primary work including interviews of freedom fighters, I thank all those who at times helped me by spending their time for interviews and by going out of their way so that I could collect the material on the liberation struggle of Goa. My special thanks in this respect goes to Shri. Vasant Karapurkar- Margao Goa who time and again helped me to contact the freedom fighters, providing the secondary material on the movement and at times taking me to the houses of the freedom fighters so that I could meet them and interview them. I also thank Mrs. Libia Lobo Sardesai, who gave me an access to her personal documents, spent her valuable time with me explaining the things. I admit that without her assistance I would not have been able to write my chapter VII- Voice Of Freedom Of Goa.

I thank Department of Political Science, Goa University especially Dr. Rahul Tripathi and Dr. Aureliano Fernandes, H. O. D. for helping me in official work with respect to my Ph. D. I would also like to thank Dr. A. S. Dinge, Principal, Dr. Arun Heblekar, ex-Principal, who always encouraged me to complete my thesis. I also thank my colleagues of P. E. S.s Shri.Ravi Sitaram Naik College of Arts and Science- Farmagudi- Goa, for their kind co-operation.

I am indebted to my Papa. Who always kept me reminding that I should complete my research and constantly pressing by his inquiries about my work. In my odd times he supported me morally so that I could complete my work in time. I dedicate my work to him. At this point I cannot forget remembering my Aaee, Mama and Tinu, who were kind enough to support and encourage me to complete my thesis.

This work could not seen the light of the day if Mahesh was not by my side today. His constant encouragement and all time help gave me strength to complete the work. I also thank my Father-in-law (Dada), who spent his valuable time in providing reference material, going through manuscript and giving important suggestions on it. Though it is not possible to remember all of them by their names, I am grateful to those who directly and indirectly, assisted me in completing this work.

Anita A. Raut Desai

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

‘Goa Is India, and therefore every Indian must of right claim it as a part of his country and work for its liberation from foreign rule and to unite with India’.

- Dr. T. B. Cunha.

Historical Background of Portuguese Colonialism.

The Portuguese arrived by sea on the Indian land on 20th May 1498 near Calicut to establish trade relations between Europe and the East. However, it took them just twelve years to invade Goa and to settle down on this land of India for about a period of 450 years. It was the longest rule by any foreign country on the land of Hindustan. The Dutch, the British and then the French followed them. Although historians have generally tended to record the establishment of Cochin fort by Albuquerque as the beginning of the Portuguese rule in India, the establishment of an independent fort in Anjedive island, built by first Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida, should be regarded as the beginning of the colonization process. It was on this island that he made acquaintance of Timmayya (Timoja), a disgruntled subedar in Adil Shah’s army. Timoja suggested that Albuquerque make an attempt on the garrison of Adil Shah located on the island of Goa and gave elaborate inside information about the general disposition of the local Hindus towards the Muslim ruler and his governor in Goa.¹

Albuquerque, then took the help of Timoja’s forces and captured the territory. Albuquerque knew that Goa was a great emporium of Asiatic Commerce and trade and ideally situated between Malabar and Gujarat. It had better facilities for larger ships which could sail eight to ten miles inside from the mouth of the Mandovi river and formed a good line of defence. Goa dominated the whole shoreline of Western India. Hence Albuquerque

¹ Furtado, A. D. (1981), *Goa yesterday, Today and Tommorrow*, Goa-India: Furtado’s Enterprises. p. 78.

was determined to keep Goa for the Portuguese.² Thus it was in February 1510 that the mainland of Goa-Ilhas and the coastal districts of Bardez in the north and Salcete in the south came under the Portuguese rule for the first time. Though driven off by Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur, on 25th November Portuguese reconquered the town. It was in 1543, Portuguese defeated Ibrahim Adil Shah and brought Salcete and Bardez under its rule.

It was centuries later, in the beginning of the 18th century, that Portuguese started expanding their hold over the other parts of Goa. New areas were added to the 'old conquistas' by the Portuguese one after another. Thus in 1759 Portuguese started annexing new lands to which Ponda and Canacona were added in 1763 and Pernem was acquired in 1788 from the Bhonsle.³ With this the Portuguese settlements on the land of Goa was over.

Portuguese Colonial Period.

If we look at the colonial period of Portuguese rule right from 1510-1961, we come across three major periods. (i) the Monarchical rule from 1510 to 1910, (ii) the period of Republic between 1910-1926 and (iii) then the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar from 1926 till 1961.

Monarchical regime of Portuguese colonialism

Under the Monarchical regime of Portuguese colonialism, Goa witnessed three major events; (a) conversion of natives to Christianity, (b) Inquisition in 1560 and (c) the establishment of constitutionalism in Portugal in 1820.

Conversions of the Natives to Christianity.

Although Portuguese were at peace with the Hindus in Goa for about a period of thirty years, it was on 24th April 1541 a seminar named 'Holy Faith' was established in Tiswadi. And during this time all the Hindu temples of Tiswadi were demolished by the Portuguese government.⁴

² Xavier, P. D. (1993), *Goa- A Social History (1510-1640)*, Panaji: Rajahansa Prakashan. p. 7.

³ Cunha, T. B. (1961), *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Bombay; Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, The New age Printing Press, p. 9

⁴ Sardesai, M. H. (1986), *Goa Daman Va Diu Swatantrya Ladhyaacha Itihas* (vol. I) (Marathi) Goa; Directorate Of Sports and Culture, Government of Goa, Daman and Diu. p. 36

The King of Portugal had enjoined from time to time that proselytisation should be based on free consent and persuasion and should not be effected by compulsion and force. The main instruments which were responsible for the conversion were the lure of material rewards and threat of violence and force. Religious conviction played a comparatively minor role in effecting such conversions.⁵ Since this conversion to Christianity started taking place just after thirty years of Portuguese occupation of Goa it was limited only to the Old Conquest areas which formed a part of Portuguese colonialism for 450 years. The New Conquests areas which they had been occupied in the 18th century, did not come under its influence. Since the converts were converted to Christianity by force, and not consent and persuasion, they continued to adhere in secret to their old faiths and tended to indulge in beliefs and practices that were heretical from the Christian point of view. The Catholic community of Goa thus came into being soon after the Portuguese arrived in the early sixteenth century to trade and preach the gospel.

Inquisition in 1560.

The mass Christianization which was used by the Portuguese to maintain their political domination in Goa, was followed by the 'Inquisition' in 1560. It is described as an ecclesiastical tribunal for the suppression of heresy and punishment of heretics, officially styled 'the holy office'⁶. The first demand for the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa was made by St. Francis Xavier.⁷ It ceased functioning for a while in 1774 due to the liberal minister of Portugal, Marquez de Pombal. However it was again revived just after five years later in 1778 during the reign of D. Maria, Queen of Portugal. The Inquisition played a prominent role, both in bringing pressure on the secular authorities to pass discriminating legislation and in enforcing the measures with characteristic sternness and severity. This was however the worst period of Portuguese rule that Goa had witnessed in its life. This Inquisition was finally abolished in the year 1812.⁸

⁵ Priolkar, A. K.(1961), *The Goa Inquisition*, New Delhi: Voice Of India, pp. 50-53.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 23

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 3

The impact of this conversion and inquisition remained permanently in the life of the natives. Prof. D. Rebeiro thus notes its influence on the minds and lives of Goans in the following words,

‘Alienated from the native environment, made strangers in their own soil, identifying the Christian religion and the salvation it offered with loyalty to the Portuguese, the Goans were made Portuguese on a cultural and traditional milieu that was Indian, in an environment which was not in tune with their newly acquired customs, habits and attitudes. Alienated from India- their motherland- they became strangers in their own land’.⁹

the establishment of constitutionalism in Portugal in 1820.

The French revolution brought about the idea of democratic form of government, the winds of change that this produced blew over almost the whole continent and Portugal in the corner of Europe was not left untouched. The impact of this on Portugal and in Goa is explained in the following words’

‘The war of independence of 1857 nicknamed as the sepoy mutiny and the French revolution around that time had brought the themes of democratic behaviour of democratic thinking in terms of equality and fraternity. The Portuguese nation though was far behind as far as free thinking and democratic behaviour of the bureaucracy was concerned. Nevertheless Portugal was not totally indifferent. The end of the 19th century saw that these winds though not completely sweeping Portugal yet brought a kind of a breeze of free thinking. Goa in turn coming out of slumber after the mortal blows of the inquisition was also veering round the liberal thinking’.¹⁰

Thus on 26th February 1820 parliamentary system of government was established in Portugal and as Goa was ruled from Lisbon, Goans too were entitled to elect their representatives to the Portuguese Parliament (Cortes). By a decree of 18th April 1821, Goa was authorized to elect six members to the Portuguese Legislative Assembly amidst jubilations and scenes of popular enthusiasm for the first time in the history of Goa. During the liberal constitutional regime in Goa the pattern of parties and Juntas was more or less

⁹ Prof. D. Rebeiro, ‘Denationalization And Political Life In Goa During The Colonial Period’, a paper presented at a seminar on **Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom**, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis Of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim

¹⁰ Vaidya, P. T. ‘Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa’s Struggle For Freedom (A Summarisation)’, a paper presented at a seminar on **Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom**, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.

on the same lines as in Portugal. The two parties, the Liberals and Absolutists, fought the elections with much violence and bitterness, coups and countercoups. In Goa, the natives were predominant in the Liberal party and the Europeans in the Absolutists.¹¹

However, this liberal attitude could not continue for a long period of time and twice the Parliament was dissolved first by King Dom Juan and secondly by King Don Minguel in 1823 and 1827 respectively. By then the number of the elected members to Parliament from Goa had decreased to one. It should be also noted that Hindus and Muslims from Old Conquests and the people of New Conquests were denied the right to vote¹². Whatever may be the case, Goa was represented in the Portuguese Parliament.

The period Of Republic between 1910-1926.

The revolution that took place in the Portugal in the year 1910 replaced constitutional Monarchy by that of Republicanism. In 1908 an agent of Carbonaria (the militant organization in Portugal) murdered King Carlos, Manoel II, left Portugal for London and on 5 October 1910 the Portuguese Republic was proclaimed.¹³ The establishment of Republic in Portugal directly influenced the functioning of the Portuguese government in Goa. The period of 1910-1926, though a small period in the life of Goa, is described as a golden period¹⁴ where the differentiation between Portuguese and Goans was wiped out. The caste difference and religious difference, at least in the eyes of Portuguese government, was eliminated. Goan natives- especially Hindus started enjoying this period by forming various organizations, arranging conferences, meetings, opening schools, libraries, etc.¹⁵ It was during this time the important organizations such as *Pragatik Sangh* and *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* were formed in Goa and Portugal respectively.

¹¹ Prof. D. Rebeiro, op. cit.

¹² Sardesai, M. H. op.cit., p. 158.

¹³ Gaitonde, P. D. (1987), *The Liberation Of Goa- A Participants' view of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, p.13.

¹⁴ Interview with Shri. Narendra Hegde Desai. (June 1996)

¹⁵ Sukhatankar, J. S. (1992), *Portuguese Rajvatil Swatantrya Laddyachi Pann 1510-1947*, (Marathi) Goa: Gomantak Marathi Academi, Panaji. p. 22

The dictatorship of Dr. Salazar from 1926 till 1961.

Within the period of sixteen years, after the establishment of the Republic in Portugal, Dr. Salazar established his dictatorship, following another revolution on 28th May 1926. It began on 28th May 1926 when a military coup headed by General Gomes da Costa who in early June, with General Carmona and Admiral Mendes Cabecadas, formed an all-powerful triumvirate.¹⁶ However things in Portugal were not working in the directions, as these leaders wanted them to. The Republican period in Portugal saw a record of nine Presidents, forty-four governments, twenty-five uprisings, three counter-revolutionary dictatorships, and finally about 325 bomb incidents¹⁷. All these problems within Portugal ended when Dr. Salazar assumed the supremacy of Portugal in his hands, thus becoming the dictator. Firmly established in 1930 Dr. Salazar announced the formation of the 'New State' patterned on Mussolini's ideas and promulgated a new constitution and the Colonial Act (Acto Colonial of 1930), which introduced odious racial discrimination and in its Article II declared: "It belongs to the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfill the historic mission of possessing and colonizing overseas dominions and of civilizing the native populations which are comprised their in by using also the moral influence which is granted to them by the 'Patronage of the East'."¹⁸ This 'Acto-colonial' thus denied to Portuguese colonies the right of self-determination. It asserted the right of Portugal to 'possess' forever its colonial territories. By his military law he divided Goans into two categories: the assimilated and indigenous. And the worst part of this dictatorship was curtailment of all the elementary civil liberties, which Goans had enjoyed during the Republic.

British Colonialism and Portuguese Colonialism. – A Comparison.

When Timoja with Mhal Pai Sardesai of Verna, invited Afonso de Albuquerque to invade Goa, in 1510 they were under the impression that once conquered Portuguese would leave Goa forever and hand it over to them. However this was not the only reason behind

¹⁶ Gaitonde, P. D. op.cit., p. 19.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 20.

¹⁸ George, Evagrio (1961), *The Goa Case*, New Delhi: National Campaign Committee for Goa. p. 25.

inviting Albuquerque to invade Goa. It was believed that Hindus were not happy under the rule of Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur. Since Timoja was the Hindu Brahmin governor of the King of Vijaynagar, the enmity between the Adil Shah and the King of Vijaynagar also made him to take such a decision. Once Goa was taken over by the Portuguese it became clear later on that Albuquerque had come to Goa to stay. He had also started preparations in that direction. This act of Timoja, of inviting Portuguese to take Goa in 1510, changed the entire history of the region. Thus the Portuguese who had come to India first and settled down here were also the last ones to leave this region of Goa. While the rest of India was ruled by British, Goa remained under the Portuguese even after the British, Dutch and French had left India.

Understanding British Imperialism.

Since the English had parliamentary democracy functioning in their country, they also tried to establish and introduce some of the democratic principles in India, the country over which they ruled. Right from 1813, when British Crown assumed sovereignty over India from the East India company, till the freedom of India on 15th August 1947, one will see the devolution of powers to the people of India from the British Monarch. Though there had been many unusual and discriminatory incidents on the part of British which were later on challenged by the Indians, civil liberties did exist and one had a right to speak and express freely against the laws that were not suitable to the Indians or went against the peoples aspirations. While comparing the British rule in India and Portuguese colonialism in Goa, One of the freedom fighters asserted;

‘Britain had a tradition of nearly six centuries of democracy behind them. Democracy is always accompanied by passiveness. They were a highly educated nation and were concerned about the world opinion. The nation known as Portugal was complete antithesis of Britain’.¹⁹

Even many freedom fighters believed in the same. They opined that since British India had civil liberties, the Indian nationalists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Agarkar, B. K.

¹⁹ Vaidy, P. T. ‘Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa’s Struggle For Freedom (A Summarisation)’, a paper presented at a seminar on **Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom**, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.

Gokhale and other reformers could voice their nationalistic feelings through the newspapers, by organizing meetings, demonstrations, etc. The mass movements in India that took place under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi were successful due to the existence of the civil liberties in British India. People could organize themselves on a large scale to demonstrate against the British rule due to civil liberties. But in Goa, nothing was possible. Especially after the establishment of Dictatorship, Goans could neither form organizations, nor could they voice their patriotic feelings.

The first major revolt against the British rule was the revolt of 1857.²⁰ The reasons for this revolt are many. But the revolt indicated the Indian people's resentment against the British rule. However, right from 1757 till 1858, the first century of England's rule over India, was a period of many changes in the life of Indians. It was a period for Indians to learn new things and discourage the age old traditions of Indians and especially that of the Hindus, which had infected the society. It was through English education the liberal ideas of the west were spread among the Indian youths. Thus, due to its impact Raja Rammohan Roy, an Indian reformer, who pioneered English education. He opposed polygamy, advocated re-marriage of widows and also preached against the practice of sati.

It is also to the credit of the Britishers, that they followed a policy of neutrality in religion and social matters of people in India. Britishers, by taking the help of Indian reformers, worked to remove some gross evils, which prevailed in Hindu society under the sanction of custom or religion. Thus infanticide was abolished by passing laws against its practice. In December 1829 Lord William Bentinck passed the famous regulation XVII that declared *sati* illegal and punishable by courts. Thus it was a period where English men worked with Indian reformers to eliminate the evils from Indian society. When these changes were taking place in British India, Portuguese were hardly impressed by them. Rather than following the policy of neutrality in the matters of religion, here state was hand in glove with Catholic religion. Portuguese even believed that Catholics are their supporters and would always support the Portuguese. They thus wanted to rule in Portuguese India by

²⁰ Chandra, Bipin and others (1997), **India's Struggle For Independence 1857-1947**, New Delhi: Penguin books, pp. 31-40.

taking the help of the Catholic religion.²¹

In the second half of the nineteenth century British India saw the emergence of strong social and religious reform movements, such as Brahmo samaj, Prarthana samaj, Arya Samaj and other such movements that stimulated the growth of individual and organized efforts for social reform. As I have mentioned earlier, the British government always declared its liberal policy towards India. This liberal policy of British government, the growth of English education in India, the wave of liberalism over English politics and literature during the nineteenth century imbibed the spirit of democracy and national patriotism. In order to build up a strong force ascertaining the real wishes of the people and for public benefit Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 under the leadership of A. O. Hume. Thus INC played a very important role in voicing the peoples wishes and demands for the freedom of the country which was later on gained on 15th August 1947.

Relationship Between Portuguese and British Rule.

While the British government, in response to the nationalist activities of the Indians was becoming more and more liberal, laws in Goa were becoming more and more stringent and day by day Goa was coming under the strong clutches of the fascist rule of Dr. Salazar. The Portuguese were adamant on keeping Goa for them permanently. The Indian National Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi with Satyagraha and Non-violence was becoming successful day by day. This was so because the Britishers were themselves liberal minded, had faith in humanity, and respected the wishes of Indians. Though Britishers were responsible in sowing the seeds of communalism in India, which later on divided the country into two, British rule in India cannot be equalled to that of Portuguese rule in Goa.

In Goa too, the nationalists took up the weapon of satyagraha and non-violence to drive off the Portuguese from Goa, on the lines of Indian National Congress. Thus two mass satyagrahas, along with a number of individual and group satyagrahas were held at different places in Goa. But everything resulted in crushing the movement for liberation

²¹ Interview with Dr. Diago J. F. Gomes.

with a heavy hand. What British could understand the Portuguese could not. Thus Satyagraha and Non-Violence preached and practiced by Mahatma Gandhi in India, was a failure in Goa. Even a question was raised by some of the Goan nationalists, Do the Portuguese understand the meaning of Satyagraha and Non-Violence? Many answered 'No'. Thus a number of revolutionary organizations were formed. They all believed that the Portuguese only understand the language of violence. Thus they sought to drive off the Portuguese at the point of a gun. The people of India could successfully fight against the British Rule, because they had civil liberties. In Goa, people tried to raise voice against the Portuguese rule in the absence of civil liberties. The voice of the people of India was heard in Britain, but the voice of Goans was suppressed. Thus after India's freedom for about fourteen long years, Goa's voice was raised in India by Indians as well as Goans. These efforts resulted into the liberation of Goa by 'Operation Vijay'.

First Phase Of Liberation Struggle.

It is believed that the struggle for liberation of Goa started on the very day the Portuguese entered Goa in 1510. In the years that followed Portuguese had always to be ready to preserve their control, as there had been the opposition from all the sections of people as well as from the outside forces.

Reasons for the struggle and revolts.

While studying the liberation struggle of Goa, it was noted that the freedom fighters had different of opinions on as to when the liberation struggle of Goa against Portuguese rule was started. Some argued that it was started with the revolt of Cuncolim , while some believed that it was started with the revolt of Dipaji Rane in 1852, whereas some argued that the liberation struggle started with the civil disobedience movement of 1946 under Dr. R. M. Lohia. But it is a known fact that the Portuguese were continuously opposed by the local population sometimes on religion, racial and agrarian grounds. The major revolt that was triggered off against the Portuguese rule was on the conversion policy of Portuguese.

The village of Cuncolim and its adjoining villages were acquired by the Portuguese in the year 1543 from Adil Shah of Bijapur. In an effort to convert the local population to Christianity Jesuit missionaries entered these villages who were killed by the people. The people of these villages opposed the conversion of Jesuits tooth and nail to preserve their faith²².

The first Catholic priest to raise his voice against the racial discrimination was Mateus de Castro in 1654. He was a Brahmin and was consecrated Bishop of Chrysopolis and sent to India as Vicar Apostolic to the Kingdom of Adil Shah where he began to ordain native Brahmins to priesthood. This was disliked by the Archbishop of Goa and a report against him was sent to Rome. The propaganda authorities did not nullify his acts but asked him to obtain necessary permission from the Archbishop of Goa in such matters. As if this was not enough, his every action was supervised secretly by Portuguese authorities. The Bishop had developed a hatred for the Portuguese colonial rule in his native land and had been instigating the Goans to shake off the Portuguese rule²³.

It was again due to the racial tensions that gave rise to the conspiracy of 1787, which is famous as 'Revolt of the Pintos'. This conspiracy was masterminded by the two priests namely Caetano Francisco do Couto and Jose Antonio Gonsalves²⁴ who were denied the important posts in the church. This revolt had confirmed the conviction that it was a social, political and racial uprising and Goan native priests and laymen saw no hope of promotions based on merit in Portuguese colonial set-up.

It was in nineteenth century that the revolts of Ranes began in the Sattari Taluka of New Conquests. Out of a number of revolts by Ranes, the revolt of 1852 by Dipaji Rane and the revolt of 1895 by Dada Rane are of the utmost importance. Dipaji Rane's revolt was against the declaration forbidding men to wear trousers and women blouses. At the same time there were cases of assaults on women. Portuguese encroached upon Ranes special rights and privileges.²⁵

²² Interview with Shri. Joaquim Dias, Shri. Verissimo Coutinho.

²³ DeSouza, T. R. (1979), *Medieval Goa*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, p. 33.

²⁴ Desouza, T. R. (1994), *Goa To Me*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, p. 92.

²⁵ Interview With Shri. Jaisingrao A. Rane.

Dada Rane revolt had two reasons responsible, the new system introduced for collection of revenue and dispatch of troops from Goa. Both, soldiers and the farmer community had joined hands under the leadership of Dada Rane. Both these revolts came to an end by bringing the Portuguese to accept the terms of the agreement.

Its Impact on Portuguese Colonialism.

The various revolts in the beginning of Portuguese occupation of Goa suggested that the people of Goa had not accepted the Portuguese sovereignty. They resented and opposed the destruction of their temples even at the cost of losing their lives. Mass Christianization was opposed by them strongly. They even successfully organized the revolts but some of them were leaked before the actual outbreak. The Portuguese administration, in order to resolve all such problems, had to be very conscious and careful. These revolts which I have referred to as the first phase of the Liberation Struggle were against the Portuguese Sovereignty. If the revolt of Pintos had been successful, or of the Ranes of Sattari, they would not have been able to occupy entire Goa. Portuguese government was threatened during these revolts and they had to accept the agreement that was made after these revolts.

Last Phase Of Liberation Struggle.

It was against this type of dictatorial rule of Portuguese that the movement for civil liberties was started on 18th June 1946 by Dr. R. M. Lohia. The struggle continued, both by violent and non-violent means till the liberation of Goa in 1961. Dadra and Nagar Haveli were liberated by Goan nationalist with the help of Communist Party of Maharashtra and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh in July-August 1954. It was on 15th August 1954 and 1955 the mass satyagrahas were organised by Goans and Indians to challenge the Portuguese rule. Through out its struggle against the Portuguese rule, Goans asserted that Goa is a part of India and after its liberation it should be merged with the Indian Union. With this perspective in mind, government of India, which initially tried to solve the problem by peaceful means, sent its

military into Goa on 18th December 1961 and finally on 19th December 1961 Goa was liberated by 'Operation Vijay' and India removed the last vestige of colonialism from its land.

Liberation Struggle In India.

The last phase of liberation struggle of Goa carried a strong impact of the Indian National Movement (henceforth INM) that took place against the British rule. Since Goa was a small territory inside India although under the Portuguese rule, Goans directly or indirectly supported the INM. They watched all the activities that were happening in India with utmost concentration.

The first revolt against the Britishers in India began on 11th May 1857 which lasted till 1859 is now famously known as 'revolt of 1857'. It was an unsuccessful but heroic effort to eliminate foreign rule from the Indian soil. With the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885, the national movement was started. Prominent leaders like G. K. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Dadabhai Naoroji, etc and later on Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Pandit Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose etc. provided leadership and ideas.

However, the strategy of INC was changed when Mohandas karamchand Gandhi led the nation-wide satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act in March 1919. Henceforth, INC had to believe in satyagraha and non-violence, an ideology which played an important role in the latter period of the national struggle. This was followed by the non-cooperation movement in 1920-22, Civil Disobedience movement in 1930-31 and Quit-India movement in the year 1942, galvanized almost all the people of India, irrespective of sex, religion, class and caste. Though quite a good number of people of Goa have even participated in Quit-India movement of 1942, a large section of Goans were morally supporting the INM against the British rule.

Indian National Movement and Goa Liberation Struggle.

It was due to the efforts of Dr. T. B. Cunha that the Goa Liberation Struggle was, for some time, aligned with the INM. Goa Congress Committee, which was formed by

Dr. T. B. Cunha in 1928, was affiliated with INC in the same year. It was an effort to link the liberation struggle of Goa with that of INM. However, because of British rule in India and Portuguese rule in Goa made it difficult to combine both the movements for liberation together.

It was after India's freedom in 1947 that the movement to recognize Goa's question as an all India problem gained momentum. Indian government also tried to settle it peacefully. But Portuguese government was in no way interested in settling the issue as they believed that it was their internal matter and the Indian government had no right to interfere. Indian government on the other hand considered that the Portuguese colonialism is the last vestige of colonialism on Indian land. In an effort to solve the Goa problem peacefully, Indian government took nearly fourteen years to liberate Goa by force. Thus on 19th December Goa was liberated by the Indian army.

Explaining the Research Theme.

The research theme 'Voices In The Liberation Struggle-The Case Of Goa, 1947-61' records the voices of the people who have fought for Goa's liberation. These voices of the people are recorded sometimes in the form of individual voices and sometimes as the group voices.

The Liberation Struggle of Goa saw the participation of the common man who believed that progress of the country depends on its freedom from colonial rule. They also believed that no foreign country has a right to rule on others. Thus the voice of these people was heard long back in 1862 when an eminent Goan writer Francisco Luis Gomes wrote in "*Os Brahmanes*" 'Impartial men, who are moved by justice and not by racialism, want India to be ruled by Indians'. Thus people of Goa voiced their just demand of freedom of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union through organizations, meetings, satyagrahas and even through revolutionary means.

While studying these voices in the liberation struggle of Goa, I have taken a middle path, between the elite historiography on the one hand and the Subaltern perspective on

the other. Since Goa was under the Portuguese rule for about a period of 436 years, before the beginning of the last phase of liberation struggle, Goa, represented a political space that Dr. T. B. Cunha characterized as denationalized. This denationalization by the Portuguese resulted in the low self-esteem of Goans. They were, however, later on encouraged, directed and led by a socialist leader Dr. R. M. Lohia in 1946 to fight against the denial of civil liberties by the Portuguese. After this movement for civil liberties, a large number of Goans came forward to challenge the Portuguese administration by following satyagraha and non-violence as well as by revolutionary methods. Most of these people, in the beginning of the struggle were educated, from well to do families, upper caste and those who were influenced by the Indian National Movement. These people were also in the front of the nationalist activities before 18th June 1946 movement. These people provided the first rank leadership. But after their arrest and imprisonment the second rank of leadership emerged, who came forward to challenge the Portuguese rule. These were mostly the common people who came from the middle class or from poor families and either were less educated or uneducated.

The story of the liberation struggle of Goa can be heard from their voices. I have given importance to the voices of these people who have worked to eliminate Portuguese rule. These are the voices of those people who were involved, participated and witnessed the liberation struggle of Goa. These are also the voices of the people who came directly in contact with those people who participated in the movement.

As I have already mentioned that while studying Goa's liberation struggle, I am taking the middle path between elitist and subaltern historiography. This is so because, these voices do not fall either under the elitist perspective nor they fall under subaltern category. It is rather combining elitist or nationalist historiography with that of subalternity.

To study this liberation struggle of Goa, I have chosen a particular period from 1947 to 1961. In 1947, India, to which Goans looked with pride as their mother country, got freedom from British rule. The dictatorship of Dr. Salazar established in 1926 was strengthened after India's independence. It was almost one year earlier from India's

Independence that the last phase of liberation struggle had begun on this land. From 1946 till 1961, a small period of 15 years, saw the most hectic and disturbing period of activities on nationalist front. The 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, 15th August 1954 and 1955 mass satyagrahas, liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, etc. were some of the features and important events through which Goa had to pass to bring closer its liberation. These were the internal movements which shook the Portuguese rule from its foundation. With that of internal movements there were also the demand for the solution of Goa problem peacefully at nation-to-nation level. It was also taken to the international level in the later period. Satyagraha and non-violence along with revolutionary activities dominated the liberation struggle during this period. However, all these efforts later on resulted in to the liberation of Goa by the Indian army on 19th December 1961.

Structure Of The Thesis

The thesis is organized along the following chapters.

Chapter I- Introduction.

This chapter provides a brief sketch of the historical background of Portuguese colonialism covering aspects of Portuguese colonial rule and its impact on the Goan people at different stages. It also attempts a comparative comment on British and Portuguese colonialism. It looks at the first phase of the liberation struggle covering the various revolts that had occurred and the reasons for these revolts and its impact on Portuguese colonialism.

Chapter II- The Struggle For liberation Against Portuguese Rule.

The last phase of Liberation struggle of Goa was started on 18th June 1946 when Dr. R. M. Lohia vehemently defied the ban on the most elementary civil liberties in Goa under the authoritarian Portuguese rule of Salazar. This chapter deals with the background of the liberation struggle covering social, economic, political and ideological reasons responsible for the struggle. It will examine some of the prominent events of the liberation struggle starting right from the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties till the Liberation of Goa by 'Operation Vijay' on 19th December 1961. The chapter would then assess the

impacts of these events for the liberation movement.

Chapter III- The organizational Landscape Of The Liberation Struggle.

The liberation struggle of Goa saw the emergence of a number of organizations for the liberation of Goa. They played an important role. Although the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties was made successful by Goans under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia, it was without any organizational support. But Goans felt the need to form organizations under which they could come together to challenge the Portuguese rule. This chapter investigates the role of various organizations taking into consideration the part played by individual and group voices. It looks at the functions and importance of these organizations in the liberation struggle of Goa. The chapter also studies the role of ideology in the formation of the various organizations and their relationship with each other. It also briefly evaluates the debate between the revolutionary (AGD and GLA) and the non-revolutionary (NCG and GVSS) with respect to the issue of violence and non-violence as strategy and instrument for the liberation of Goa.

Chapter IV- The Gendered Face Of The Liberation Struggle.

The Liberation struggle of Goa also saw the participation of women beginning from the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. To appreciate the impediments to participation of women it was necessary to understand their background in terms of their social status during the Portuguese colonial rule. It was necessary to study the influence of some women leaders which inspired other women to participate. The women's contribution to the liberation struggle is often neglected and assumes importance in the context of patriarchy and traditional Hindu society from which they had to emerge to enter the public domain of political struggle. These had consequences for their social, family, and personal lives. This chapter discusses the heroic actions of some of these women.

Chapter V- Caste And Community Profile.

The social stratification of Goans, before the arrival of Portuguese in Goa, was based on the 'varna' system. Since the Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to India, they observed the prevalence and practice of 'Varna' system and described it as

'casta' meaning 'Chaste' or 'Pure. It is interesting to study how this caste system among the Hindus got transferred into the Catholic community after conversions and how initially Portuguese took the advantage of various caste groups to perpetuate their rule in Goa. However, in the end we find all these caste groups, and also both the Hindu and Catholic communities, coming together to drive-out the Portuguese from Goa. This chapter studies the background from the point of view of social life of Goans, varna system (based on division of labour) and caste system under the Portuguese rule. It investigates the role of various castes in the first phase of liberation Struggle of Goa. It also analyses how the movement for liberation of Goa transcended caste, in spite of its deep roots and division in Goan society, and became a secular movement in the last phase of the liberation struggle. It was only in Goa one finds the attachment towards one's own caste before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties and after the liberation of Goa. The movement for liberation for about a period of fifteen years form 1946 till 1961 was a secular movement.

Chapter VI- Voice Of Freedom Of Goa.

This chapter is devoted to studying the place of the *Goenche Sodvonnecho Awaz*- 'Voice of Freedom of Goa' in the liberation movement. This was an underground radio station that was manned, and run, by the nationalists during the liberation struggle of Goa. It was started on 25th November 1955 and continued, without a break, till 19th December 1961. The nationalists worked from outside Goa, especially at the Goa-India border and were living incognito in the dense forest areas. It is a remarkable story of idealism, courage and commitment to a free Goa. The 'Voice of Freedom' of Goa was heard in Goa despite the ban on the most elementary civil liberties. This chapter looks at the various important broadcasts that were made by 'Voice of Freedom' during the Portuguese rule and its impact on Goans as well as on the Portuguese administration. It will broadcasts on themes such as the struggle for civil liberties, the anti-colonial struggle in Goa, and the anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa.

Chapter VII- Conclusion.

This chapter would assess the entire liberation struggle in terms of achievements and failures. The movement for liberation had subsided for about a period of five years from 1949 to 1953. Again the movement for liberation was at stand still after the organization of 15th August 1955 mass *satyagraha*. The chapter will also evaluate the role of *satyagraha* and non-violence at the same time the revolutionary activities in the Portuguese colony in Goa. The study on the internal movement that is within Goa records the smaller voices which do not form the part of the general discussion on the liberation struggle of Goa. These voices were either not heard or they were neglected by the earlier scholars who have studied the liberation struggle of Goa. The story of the voices in the liberation struggle is been told through the voices of these freedom fighters who have directly participated or indirectly formed a part of this movement. This would definitely help one to understand the realities, the truth of the movement.

The study helps one to understand how the movement for liberation was actually a movement of the people, the efforts of the individuals and the groups to challenge the Portuguese rule even under the strong hold of the dictatorial rule, the formation of various organizations by different groups later on all merging into one and then again defecting from the parent organization, the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli by these organizations, the issue of leadership in the movement, the union of Catholics and Hindus, especially in the last phase of the movement forgetting even the caste differences, the efforts of a small group of nationalists who lived underground for about a period of about six years in jungles to make available the news about the liberation struggle in other colonies of Portuguese rule. Thus the study helps one to gain a deeper and richer understanding of the liberation struggle.

The aim of the study is to concentrate on the liberation struggle of Goa, especially on its last phase. I would like to record some of the voices in this struggle for liberation that are not often appreciated since the resistance by this group, to foreign rule, is also important and must become part of the process of historical recovery. The study would

highlight the role of various organizations, groups, individuals, etc., in this liberation struggle. It would also look at the contribution of different caste groups and communities to the liberation struggle, by highlighting the major events in the liberation struggle of Goa.

Research Methods

The primary data on which the thesis is constructed comprises of extensive interviews of freedom fighters and their associates, personal correspondence, documents and archival records pertaining to the liberation struggle, radio broadcasts, newspaper reports, pamphlets and periodicals published during the struggle both from within and outside Goa. The secondary data consists of books and articles and other studies on the subject. The rich source of data, however, is the personal interviews where nearly sixty interviews with freedom fighters, both men and women and even of their children were recorded. The attempt was to try and recover from them the issues that motivated them, the events and personalities that inspired them during the liberation struggle for Goa.

The study adopted the Historical-Institutional approach. Here the role played by individuals and groups, organizations and events, in the liberation movement is examined. The Historical-Institutional approach allows us to emphasize the efforts and role of small as well as big organizations in liberating Goa from Portuguese rule. The role of leaders will also be studied. It is generally considered that right from the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, till the liberation of Goa, the struggle should be seen as a political movement. The earlier revolts of Goans against the Portuguese will also be recognized. The discourse of nationalism also serves as an important backdrop. The study will also examine the role of the national policy towards the liberation struggle in Goa and the response to it.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AGAINST PORTUGUESE RULE

Once the Goan parliamentarian Dr. Francisco Luis Gomes, somewhere in Paris said in 1861 the following;

‘ I belong to that race which composed the Mahabharata and invented chess.....but this nation which recorded her laws in poems and formulated her politics in the rules of a game, exists no longer. Here lies, chained in her own country exhausted from all her fecundity and in obscurity amidst the dazzling brilliance of her own glory.¹

The person who talked about his country with so much pride was none other than an Indian by heart, by mind and body, a Catholic by religion, a Portuguese by a quirk of history, a nationalist by spirit, who was dedicated to the cause of his country, who did not identify any difference between Goa and the rest of India and Portuguese in Goa. Can Goa be separated from rest of India just because Britishers ruled in India and Portuguese in Goa? The answer to this question is ‘no’. Goa was considered an integral part of India not only geographically but from all other aspects.

The entire liberation struggle of Goa, was influenced by the Indian National Movement, especially the last phase, beginning with the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. Since Goa was considered as an integral part of India, people of Goa thought that without the liberation of Goa, the Indian struggle for Independence is incomplete. Thus the two main demands in the liberation struggle of Goa were; (i) Liberation of Goa from Portuguese colonial rule, and (ii) its integration with the Indian Union.

The feeling of unity with India is best expressed by Evagrio Jeorge in the following words. Commenting on the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties; he said,

¹ Gomes, Joquim (2000), *Indo-Portuguese Historical Encyclopaedia-Gorre do Combo da Casa Da India*, Goa, India: p. 3.

'If the movement wants civil liberties and a representative government; why tricolour flag and the slogans, identical with those used in the rest of India?

The thought that presides over this movement is the Indian thought. The spirit of these people continues to be, as it has been, purely Indian. The Goan people do not renounce the way to swaraj, they do not repudiate their great men, dead or alive of India. In the philosophical and the ideological field, they do not accept barriers within India. Meanwhile, it merely wants civil liberties and leaves the rest to the mercy of the very revolution that no one shall be able to impede'.²

In this chapter, I am going to attempt a synoptic account of the liberation struggle of Goa. This chapter is divided into three sections: (a) Background of the struggle, (b) Prominent events in the liberation struggle, and (c) Evaluation of the Liberation Struggle of Goa.

At the outset I would like to mention that the Indian National Movement, which is regarded as one of the biggest mass movements in the history of the world, had a major impact on the liberation struggle of Goa. The best example is the integration of Goa Congress Committee (GCC) with the Indian National Congress in 1928 which was possible due to the efforts of Dr. T. B. Cunha. Besides this, the 1942 'Bharat Choro' or 'Quit-India' movement had galvanised the entire Indian territory and Goa was not left untouched. I would therefore like to take the help of the story of Indian National Movement while studying liberation struggle of Goa.

Background Of The Struggle.

The liberation struggle of Goa is said to have begun on the very day when Portuguese established their rule in 1510. Goans expressed their resentment in the form of revolts against conversion, heavy land revenue and other taxes, racial discriminations and acts of tyranny. The Goan people had not accepted the Portuguese sovereignty over themselves and expressed their anger through the revolts which had rocked Goa before the beginning of the last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa.

I am here however concerned only with the liberation struggle of Goa during its

² Menezes, Juliao (1947), *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: published and printed by Dr. Juliao Menezes, at Shiva Printing Press. p. 60.

last phase especially after the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties started by Dr. R. M. Lohia. My study is limited to an examination of a brief period of about 15 years beginning with 1946 till the liberation of Goa by 'Operation Vijay' on 19th December 1961. This is because the last phase of liberation struggle of Goa involved a large number of people from different communities and social strata all concerned with ending Portuguese rule in Goan territory.

The last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa started with the movement for civil liberties on 18th June 1946. This day is remembered since then as Goa Revolution Day or Kranti Din. The reasons responsible for the generation of this movement for civil liberties are highlighted by Dr. T. B. Cunha in the following statement,

This movement (18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties) is not yet organised and is a movement of the masses without proper direction. From its start you can see it was spontaneous. If anybody is the cause of the movement, it is the Portuguese administration which by its economic mismanagement during recent years has caused intense economic discontent among the people. That is the cause of the movement.³

Goa was indeed a poverty stricken territory without industrial development. The interest of the Portuguese in keeping Goa with them was only political and not in developing it. However, the mismanagement of Goan economy by the Portuguese government, which has been held responsible for 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, does not find its echo in the movement itself. There is however no single instance which denotes this fact as right from Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's visit to Goa till his arrest on 18th June 1946 and his subsequent release emphasizes more on acquiring civil liberties which were denied to the Goans under the Portuguese rule. This is evident from his following speech of 18th June 1946,

'You (people of Goa) cannot form organisations. Not to talk of political organisations like Indian National Congress, even organisations, for study or sports or village uplift, require previous sanctions of the government and must obviously work under police watch. You cannot hold meetings not to talk of political meetings, even social and private gatherings, require permissions and come in for police inquiry.

³ Kunte, B. G. (ed.) (1978), *Goa Freedom Struggle viv-a vis Maharashtra, 1946-1961*, (Vol. VIII, Part-I), Bombay: Gazetters Department, Government of Maharashtra. p. 60.

You cannot issue publications.....this meeting is held with a very limited purpose. It is an invitation to you to speak and act as if these laws did not exist'.⁴

Although the movement largely concentrated on the demands of the Goans for civil liberties a brief mention of the people suffering under intense poverty was made by Dr. R. M. Lohia in the same speech, he said,

'There are semi-starved and semi-naked people in Goa....the poor and the very poor are here as anywhere, the landless labour in the villages, specially those away from the coast, the women and men who carry loads, the labour on the railways and the men and women who live in holes.....'⁵

Dr. R. M. Lohia was in fact aware of the poverty in Goa, but the economic mismanagement and resulting poverty did not figure anywhere in the liberation struggle of Goa especially in its last phase. Due to this, 18th June 1946 movement came to be called as movement for civil liberties which was later on became the struggle for liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule. The speech of Dr. R. M. Lohia also depicts how the people of Goa were subjugated under the dictatorship of Portugal. No one before him had actually assessed the situation prevailing in Goa at the time when India's freedom was at its doorsteps. But one thing he makes clear in his speech that the meeting which was called on 18th June 1946 was only to gain the civil liberties that were denied to Goans.

To understand the complexities of economic mismanagement under the Portuguese rule is not an easy task. A good economist or a scholar like Dr. T. B. Cunha who studied the entire Goan situation, political, social and economic may help us to understand how Portuguese rule of about 450 years destroyed the Goan culture and its economy under their political rule. For the common people of Goa, poverty was just a thing of past, present and future and no change can be brought about in their living conditions.

The sad plight of poor people is depicted by a Goan freedom fighter who lived with them in their villages during the liberation struggle of Goa. He narrates his experiences of the people of two villages namely Morley and Navashi, both in North Goa. The people of

⁴ Dr. Lohia is quoted in, P. P. Shirodkar, (ed.) (1990) *Who's Who Of Freedom Fighters-Goa, Daman and Diu* (Vol. II) Goa: Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa. p. XI.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. XIII.

both the villages were very poor, belonged to the poorest social strata and far from civilised life. He noticed that their staple food was 'Nachni' and not rice. From Nachni, Ambil was prepared. This Nachni was not only cheap but also more filling than that of rice, which they tasted once a week. When this freedom fighter talked to them about their poverty and injustice meted out to them by the alien Portuguese rule, their answer was 'Amchian Kitem Jatale' (What can we do?).⁶

The poverty was more felt in the village areas where the people largely depended on agriculture. Although rice was grown, its cultivation was dependent on the monsoon rains and primitive methods were adopted in its cultivation. The production of rice was not even sufficient for local consumption. And due to this reason, Portuguese government was forced to import a third and even one half of the quantity necessary for consumption, the imported quantity varying according to the degree of shortage or scarcity of annual production which greatly depends on monsoon rains.⁷

Due to the scarcity of rice, nachni flour was preferred by the Goans as it was comparatively cheaper than the rice. The villages of Sattari like Morle and Navshi proved that the staple food of the poor Goans was nachni and not rice. Morle was a village in Sattari Mahal (Taluka) near the border area covered by dense forest. Navashi, another village mentioned above, was a tiny village, the village folk belonged to 'Gaudo' community. They laboured in Panaji the whole day in construction work and in the evening walked back to Navashi. In both the villages, cultivation of the land was not given importance as Morle was a dense forested area whereas in Navashi, gaudo tribe worked for the construction work in Panaji.

Dr. T. B. Cunha, in his detailed study on the economic situation in Goa under the Portuguese rule brings out the truth of then existing poverty in Goa and the reasons responsible for the same. He confirms that it was the Portuguese government that was responsible for reducing the Goan population to misery while filling its treasury at peoples cost. While explaining how Portuguese rule in Goa has been responsible for economic degradation

⁶ Ranade, Mohan. (1988), **Struggle Unfinished**, Goa: Vimal Publications, p. 19.

⁷ Cunha, T. B. (1961), **Goa Freedom Struggle**, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, The New Age Printing Press, p. 37.

resulting into poverty, he gives the best example of the rice production, which was considered as the staple food of Goans. He maintains that the backwardness in agriculture has resulted into low production which has caused great difficulty to the cultivator as well as buyer. Further this has resulted into a high cost of production which is higher than the imported rice. Thus increase in the cost of production has led to the increase in the labour wages, manures, seeds, etc. Rather than lowering the cost of production which would have been more beneficial to the local farmers, government has increased price of rice though rice is grown for the domestic consumption. Further rice cultivation in Goa is fragmentary and quantity produced by each cultivator is hardly enough for his own domestic consumption. Dr. T. B. Cunha also noticed that the cost of a bag of rice on the other side of the frontier costs Rs. 6 and was sold at Rs. 12 or if not more in Goa, it was even sold at Rs. 15.

Although it was difficult for the common man to understand the complexities of economic aspect, the poverty was actually felt by these people under the Portuguese rule and could reason the cause of such poverty. This is understood when these poor people asked themselves, 'Amchian Kitem Jatale' (What can we do?). This also depicts the bad state of affairs of these people and also their inability to fight against the then prevailing situation in Goa. But to see only economic mismanagement as the cause of the people's outburst on 18th June 1946 is inadequate. As Ashoka Mehta puts it,

'It is important to understand the background to the struggle in Goa... They could not meet and discuss their intimate problems as there was ban on meetings, speeches and assembly. All these things were revolting to any decent minded man and women and the Goan people were only raising a protest against these horrible restrictions approximating to slavery itself.'⁸

The ban on the civil liberties under the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar in Goa was an open and widely known reason for the rise of discontent among the Goans.

One more reason I would like to highlight here, which is not given much importance is inequality among the Catholics that was brought about by the 'Acto-Colonial' which was enforced in May 1930⁹ in Portugal. This colonial act brought about

⁸ Kunte, B. G. (ed) op.cit., 69

⁹ Gaitonde, P. D. (1987) *The Liberation of Goa, A Participants view of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 21.

two changes; (i) the Portuguese possessions came under the control of the government of Lisbon and (ii) two categories of communities were established in the Portuguese colonies, *Indigenous* and *Nao Indigenous*. The later was divided into three sub-categories- '*Branços*', '*Mesticos*', and '*Assimilados*'. Further 'Acto Colonial' declared that the nation 'Possesses and Colonises' these dominions and 'Civilizes' their indigenous populations thus giving two different meaning to the nation admitting two kinds of citizens 'the possessors and the possessed'.¹⁰

The first change in the status of the colonies did not have any impact on the Goans, neither Hindus nor Catholics. It only meant that constitutionally there was an end to the Republic of Portugal, which Goans had enjoyed from 1910 till 1926. By establishing 'Acto-colonial' in May 1930, Dr. Antonio Salazar had only legalised his dictatorship. But the second change i.e. the differentiation made among the citizens in Goa had tremendous impact on the upper class Catholic community in Goa. By adopting Portuguese culture, eating and dressing habit, they had become more Portuguese than the Portuguese themselves.

They, like Portuguese used to hate the people who spoke konkani language at home and called them as 'Konkane'. Those people who communicated in Portuguese language were always respected and konkani was considered as the language of labourers and poor people. However, unfortunately only one change they could not be brought about in them. They could not change the colour of their skin.¹¹ 'Acto-colonial' had completely shaken their Portuguese faith. Now they understood that white Portuguese will never consider coloured Indians as equals.

Economic exploitation of Goa during Portuguese rule and social injustice leading to inequality among the citizens which was adopted through 'Acto Colonial' may not be direct consequences of 18th June 1946 movement. But I am convinced that above mentioned factors were 'hidden' causes of it in which Hindus as well as Catholics participated. I consider them as hidden causes because firstly 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties,

¹⁰ Cunha, T. B. op.cit., pp. 15, 16.

¹¹ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Felix Cardozo. (October 1999)

did not encompass economic exploitation and inequality preached by 'Acto Colonial' of 1930 and secondly, in the absence of elementary civil liberties, common man could not protest openly against economic exploitation and 'Acto colonial'. It was only the newspaper which was published named 'Prakash' dared to raise the voice against this Colonial Act and the elected ministry that represented Goans in Portugal.¹² Thirdly, 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties was led by the middle class who did not feel the pain of economic exploitation by the Portuguese and social injustice through 'Acto Colonial' did not have any impact on the poverty as poverty was felt by poor people the most, whereas upper class especially Catholics felt the pain of unequal treatment meted out to them by 'Acto-Colonial'.

Prominent Events Of The Liberation Struggle.

Having seen the background of the liberation struggle, I would now like to concentrate on the main topic of the chapter, i.e. prominent events in the liberation struggle of Goa.

18th June 1946 Movement For Civil Liberties.

Let me start this section by quoting Shri. Juliao Menezes who was with Dr. Lohia at the meeting held in Margao on 18th June 1946.

'Three Goans on seeing us came forward to garland us. At this sight Capt. Miranda with his latin blood and excitement straight took out his revolver and pointed it gallantly at the unarmed civilian Goans who were approaching us with garlands in their hands. Lohia, at this moment acted quickly. He caught hold of the hand of the brave captain in which the weapon was held, ordered him to be calm, brushed him aside, calmly proceeded to the place of meeting and started to address the people. At this stage the European commissioner of police came on the scene and immediately placed us under the arrest. We were then taken to the police station'.¹³

This was the first satyagraha campaign that was triggered off in Goa during the Portuguese rule on 18th June 1946 in the form of the movement for civil liberties under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia. The last phase of the liberation struggle started amidst

¹² Gaitonde, P. D. Op.cit., p. 22.

¹³ Menezes, Juliao. Op.cit, p. 49.

jubilation and scenes of popular enthusiasm. The support this satyagraha received from all the sections of the people for the first time in Goa's history and I feel the last time before the liberation of Goa on 19th December 1961 confirmed that the people of Goa were interested in the freedom of Goa from the Portuguese domination. I say, the last time because no other leader during the last phase of liberation struggle was supported by Goans to such an extent. It was after Dr. Lohia's deportation to India, we do not find any other leader, Indian or Goan, who selflessly took the Goa's freedom movement forward with lot of people supporting. Although the movement was for civil liberties, it was clear that this was the first step towards Goa's liberation. This is evident when Dr. Juliao Menezes firmly replied to the European police commandant on the police station at Margao that this fight (of 18th June 1946) was for the assertion of civil liberties and that the question of sovereignty will be decided later by the people of India and not by the Portuguese.¹⁴ It is not clear whether by 'people of India' it is the people of Goa who are being referred to or the people of British India or both. One thing however is clear that right from 18th June 1946 Goans felt the need of India and looked towards it as their country to solve the Goan problem.

It all started with the arrival of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, an Indian socialist leader, to Dr. Juliao Menezes place at Assolna on 10th June 1946. On 12th June 1946 he took an important decision of defying the Portuguese government's ban on civil liberties in Goa.¹⁵ On 18th June 1946, at 4:30 p. m. in Margao in a speech delivered by him, he invited the Goans to speak freely and act as if the laws banning the civil liberties did not exist.

It is surprising to note here is that such an important decision was taken by Dr. R. M. Lohia within just two days of his arrival in Goa. A socialist leader, who dedicated his entire life for the freedom of India could not keep quiet when he saw how Goans live under fascist rule. He was forced to take such a step without the help of any organisational build-up and pre-planning. He believed that in a land where civil liberties were so rigidly controlled, organisations would have to emanate from action. It was from action, would

¹⁴ Ibid, p.50

¹⁵ Sukhatankar, J. S. (1992) *Portuguese Rajvatil Swatantrya Ladhyachi Panne 1510-1947*, (Marathi) Goa: Gomantak Marathi Academy, Panaji p. 111.

emerge men of intelligence and character, selfless people who would place the common interest above personal interest and be prepared to suffer in the interest of the public¹⁶.

Thus,

(a) the ban on the most essential and elementary civil liberties which should be considered as birth right of human beings,

(b) the helplessness on the part of Goans due to the lack of proper guidance and leadership,

(c) Goans were criticised as 'pez' (cunji)¹⁷ meaning the weak and cowardly character of Goans were the reasons, which had prompted Dr. Lohia to take such decisions.

By defying the ban on civil liberties, Dr. Lohia wanted to prove two things;

(a) That Goans do not lack courage and patriotism and will rise up against the Portuguese Government at the first available opportunity. This proved to be true, at least for some time.

(b) His direct involvement in the Goan problem, as he had way back in 1938 proclaimed that 'Goa is a part of us. We cannot allow her movement for freedom and unity to be suppressed with such wanton ferocity'.¹⁸

In his eight days brief stay in Goa he could rest (for which he had come to Goa) only for one day i.e. on 11th June, as from 12th June many people from all the sections of society paid him a visit at Assolna as the news of his arrival in Goa was published in 'O Heraldo' a Portuguese newspaper on 12th June 1946. Except on 17th June 1946 Dr. Lohia had a very busy schedule of meeting the people at Assolna, Vasco, and Panaji¹⁹ and discussing with them on various issues concerning Goa and his determination to launch a direct action against the Portuguese Government's ban on civil liberties.

The action of Dr. R. M. Lohia to defy the ban on civil liberties on 18th June 1946 received a swift reaction from the Portuguese administration. As soon as he started addressing the gathering, the European commissioner of Police came on the scene and

¹⁶ Jorge, Evagrio (nd) **Goa's Awakening- Reminiscences of The 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement**, Panjim: 18th June Silver Jubilee Celebrations. p. 10.

¹⁷ Interview with Freedom Fighter and Gandhian Shri. Ravindra Kelekar. (November 2000)

¹⁸ Kelkar, Indumati (1996), **Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia- His Life and Philosophy**, Pune: Published by Sripad Kelkar, Sadashiv Peth. p. 112.

¹⁹ Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., pp. 108-110.

arrested both Dr. Lohia and Dr. Menezes. They were then taken to the police station. To this people reacted sharply. A huge crowd marched to the police station and demanded the release of Dr. Lohia and Dr. Menezes. As the situation was going out of control, Capt. Miranda requested Dr. Lohia to persuade the people to go home. Grabbing this opportunity, Dr. R. M. Lohia completed his incomplete speech. Both were then taken to the headquarters at Panaji.²⁰ On the same day, Vishwanath Lawande, Dr. Vinayak Mayekar, Vainktesh Verenkar, T. V. Vaidya, Nilkanth Karapurkar, Kumari Vatsala Kirtani and Evagrio Jorge, were also arrested for breaking the Portuguese laws.²¹

The support of the general public to the 18th June 1946 movement was telling. Besides participating directly in the 18th June 1946 movement, people all over Goa observed complete hartal on their own on 19th June 1946 against the arrest of Dr. R. M. Lohia and Dr. Juliao Menezes.²² The support which it gained from all the section of the people suggested that the liberation of Goa was not a distant dream. But it was at the same time not an easy adventure too. It required the participation of men and women, young and old, irrespective of caste, class, status, not only the Goans but also that of Indians, forgetting the artificial barrier that was created by an accident in history. The response of the people to this movement was spontaneous. The people also organised the demonstrations, held meetings, shouted anti-Portuguese and pro-Indian slogans and entire Goa was rocked by the nationalist activities and demanded release of Dr. R. M. Lohia and Dr. Juliao Menezes. Due to the pressure of the people from all the sides, Portuguese government unconditionally released Dr. R. M. Lohia and Dr. Juliao Menezes on 19th June 1946.²³

Even after the release of Dr. R. M. Lohia and Dr. Juliao Menezes, people of Goa continued with their nationalist activities. On 20th June 1946 itself, Margao witnessed a satyagraha by Dr. T. B. Cunha who addressed a crowd of nearly about a thousand people. Again on 30th June 1946, a meeting was organised by Dr. T. B. Cunha and Mrs. Berta Menezes where both them arrested and released after taking them to Chandor. On 21st

²⁰ Interview with Shri. Vasant Karapurkar. (October 1998).

²¹ Sukhatankar, J. S.. op.cit., pp. 116-118.

²² Interview with Freedom Fighter Dayanand Kantak.(October 1997)

²³ Interview with Shri. Madhav Pandit. (October 1997)

June 1946 a meeting was held on Lohia Maidan (as it was named the same on the same day) which was addressed by Upendra Talaulikar, Purushottam Kakodkar, Mr. Pimenta and Dr. B. D. Sukhatanakar and Umabai Shirolu, Laximanrao Sardesai, Evagrio Jorge, etc. spoke in a meeting held at Ponda on the next day itself. As a part of 18th June 1946 movement, the Goans celebrated the 18th death anniversary of Luis de Menezes Braganza at Chandor on 18th July 1946. Satyagraha were also held at different places in Goa specially at Mardol and Mapusa.²⁴

After the formation of National Congress (Goa) on 18th August 1946 at Londa, the nationalist activities began with the greater strength. The first satyagraha on behalf of NC(G) was organised by Shri. Laximikant Bhembre who spoke in a meeting held at Margao on 18th September 1946. Although it was decided that the satyagraha will be held on 8th, 18th and 28th of every month, not a single day was spared without satyagrahas, demonstrations, meetings, slogans, etc. Sometimes satyagrahas were held at many places in Goa in a single day. Nearly for about five to six months from the beginning of 18th September 1946 satyagraha entire Goa was involved in giving a challenge to the Portuguese administration by breaking the Portuguese laws against civil liberties.²⁵ And during this time nearly 450 people courted arrest, sentenced to rigorous imprisonment and deported. While some others who were released soon joined the nationalist activities, again to be arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. However till then, the Satyagrahas which were held under the banner of NC(G) were restricted to the attainment of civil liberties only.

A brief look at the overall picture of 18th June 1946 movement and its aftermath confirms that Goans did not lack in courage and determination to fight against the foreign rule. What they wanted was a good leader who could direct them, lead them and support them during their struggle. They had found their leader in Dr. R. M. Lohia and support to him came from all the corners of Goa. The movement also involved a large number of women and young girls for the first time. The word 'Jai-Hind' sounded to them as a 'mantra',

²⁴ Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., pp. 118-120.

²⁵ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge.(October 1997)

a 'hymn' which was recited several times. It was with this battle cry that Subhash Chandra Bose had challenged the mighty British empire in the far east during the second world war. The same battle cry found its echo just two years later in the patriotic hearts of Goans to fight against the Portuguese imperialism. 'Jai-Hind' dominated so much that the Goa's liberation struggle itself started to be called popularly and officially as 'Jai-Hind' movement²⁶ and its participants as 'Jai-Hind wallas'.²⁷

The movement was successful in creating the nationalism in the minds of Goans. Some noted it as unsuccessful²⁸ for the simple reason that Goans could not attain freedom during this time. But let us not forget that this movement was not for the attainment of liberation from the Portuguese at all, but it was only for the attainment of civil liberties. Though Goans did not get civil liberties under Portuguese laws, they themselves have obtained them under the natural rights of man. They held demonstrations, meetings, organised satyagrahas as if the laws banning the civil liberties did not exist. For about five to six months Goa was just like any other part of India defying the laws of foreign imperialism. The punishment which nationalist received during this movement was just for about six months imprisonment according to the new Portuguese laws as Portuguese feared that freedom of Goa will come with the freedom of India which was not so away.²⁹ However the movement subsided after six months with the arrest of many of its top leaders. The people got confused and did not know how to carry on with the struggle in the absence of their leaders. The Portuguese authorities now became strong and started suppressing the people's movement ruthlessly. As more and more people did not come forward in the later period of the movement, it became evident that the agitation had fizzled out. This had an adverse effect on the movement. Replying to a question in the legislature on 10th February, 1947, Nehru said that the (Indian) government could not say categorically that the people of Goa, Daman and Diu favour their territory's merger with the Indian Union.³⁰

²⁶ Ranade, Mohan. Op.cit., p.12.

²⁷ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Madhav Pandit.(October 1997)

²⁸ Kunte, B. G.(ed) op.cit., p.48.

²⁹ Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., p.123.

³⁰ Kelkar, Indumati (1996), **Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia – His Life and Philosophy**, Pune: Published by Sripad Kelkar, Sadashiv Peth, p. 123.

Liberation Of Dadra And Nagar Haveli.

Let me now turn my attention towards one of the most important event in the liberation struggle of Goa and that is liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. This event had prompted NC(G) to announce mass satyagraha on 15th August 1954. The organisations behind the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were United Front of Goans, Azad Gomantak Dal with the help of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and Goan Peoples Party with Communists from Maharashtra.

The Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and is comprised of two enclaves (pockets) that is Dadra with three villages and Nagar Haveli with sixty-eight villages and one town. The two pockets are separated from each other by about a four kilometre belt of land from Paradi Taluka of Valsad district³¹. Further the enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli are separated from Daman by a narrow strip of land, eight to eleven kilometres wide and intersected by the Western railway.³² On the west of Daman is ocean and other three sides it has Indian borders. Whereas Nagar Haveli was surrounded by Indian territory from all the sides.³³ Thus the area of this territory is surrounded by the Umargaon Taluka of Surat district, Dahanu Taluka of Thana district in the west, Pardi Taluka of Thana district in the east. The capital of Nagar Haveli is Silvassa for which the nearest railway station is Vapi, at distance of 19 Kms.³⁴

As the history goes Portuguese divided Daman in two Talukas. One was Daman itself and the other was Nagar Haveli³⁵. In 1783 the Portuguese obtained Nagar Haveli from Peshwa as a compensation for a vessel destroyed by the Maratha Navy. By another treaty in 1785 the enclave of Dadra was offered to them by the Peshwa as a fief³⁶. In this way Dadra and Nagar Haveli was occupied by Portuguese from Peshwa.

³¹ Lele, P. S. *Dadra and Nagar Haveli-Past and Present*, (1987), Bombay: Mauj Printing Bureau. p. 40.

³² Desai, S. S. *Goa, Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli* (1976), Faridabad: Government of India: Publication Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. p. 5.

³³ Radhakrishna, Vaman. *op.cit.*, p. 55.

³⁴ Desai, S. S. *op.cit.*, p. 5.

³⁵ Radhakrishna, Vaman, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

³⁶ Desai, S. S. *op.cit.*, p. 17.

The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli was seen by the Goan nationalist as the first step towards the liberation of Goan territory from the Portuguese rule. Being surrounded by Indian territory from all sides and an easy adventure to liberate it from Portuguese rule attracted a number of Goan political organisations, all being revolutionary in spirit. Thus United Front of Goans, Goan Peoples' Party and Azad Gomantak Dal saw the task of liberating Dadra and Nagar Haveli from the two view points, (1) getting the credit and publicity by an easy adventure and (2) to show the Portuguese that they can be defeated easily. Since the first view point prevailed over the other, rather than a co-ordinating activity with co-operation from all the sides, it became conflicting activity because of jealousy and ill attitude towards each other during its liberation. Yet the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli had a tremendous impact on the liberation struggle of Goa. Portuguese administration was threatened and its liberation came as a shock to Portuguese administration. As I have already mentioned that this event was responsible for the organisation of Mass satyagraha on 15th August 1954 in Goa.

Let me now analyse the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Let me first consider the case of liberation of Dadra on the night of 22nd July 1954 under the leadership of Mr. Francis Mascarenhas and Waman Desai, both being the members of United Front of Goans. This organisation, which believed that Goa being different from rest of India, it should have its own separate identity after liberation outside the Union of India. Thus Mr. Francis Mascarenhas (President) and Mr. Waman Desai (General Secretary) of United Front Of Goans organised entry of 20 volunteers into Dadra at night. The group had some ex-army personnel like Shri. Shankarrao Ghorpade, Captain of the Indian National Army of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, Mr. Namdeo Pawar, ex-army and Mr. Constancio Vaz from Assolna formerly of Navy.³⁷ They overpowered the Portuguese police and with least resistance from them, declared Dadra free.

³⁷ Almeida, Urselino 'Liberation Of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Freedom Struggle by means of Arms' a paper presented in a seminar, 'Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa's Struggle For Freedom' held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of The Cuncolim Educational Society and Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce- Cuncolim.

Actually, the liberation of Dadra was planned by the volunteers of RSS and AGD, before the liberation of Naroli.³⁸ However their plan fizzled out when Dadra was suddenly overtaken by the leaders of United Front.

While describing the act of UFG's leaders in suddenly liberating Dadra, and death of a Portuguese police at the police station, Lambert Mascarenhas, a Goan freedom fighter writes;

'A very successful businessman in Bombay, handsome and dashing, (Francis) Mascarenhas had been toying with the idea of forming a Goa government in exile in Bombay....On the strength of the great popularity of United Front of Goans and his own sound financial backing, reportedly he was contacted by a high official of the government of Goa and informed that Lisbon was prepared to withdraw from its possessions in India after handing over the government to the United Front and that for discussions on the modalities of transfer of power Mr. (Francis) Mascarenhas should meet Capitao Romba at a convenient place. So Mascarenhas fell for the ploy and confiding only in Waman Desai, an adventure in the party, he fixed the railway station of Vapi, a small village in Gujrat, a few kilometres away from Daman as well as Dadra, as the meeting place. Besides Waman Desai, (Francis) Mascarenhas also took Mudras, another adventurer, with him to Vapi. It must be said to the credit of the Portuguese that they are a charming people and captain Romba oozing out more charm than usual informed (Francis) Mascarenhas on his meeting him that the railway station affording no amenities of any kind was no fit a place for such an important discussion and that they should go to the government secretariat in Daman for the purpose. In a very shrewd and a practical person like (Francis) Mascarenhas his agreeing to accompany capt. Romba to the Portuguese territory of Daman was an act of naivete par excellence. On their entry into Daman, Mascarenhas with his two cohorts was put under arrest'.³⁹

It must be borne in mind that Azad Gomantak Dal volunteers with Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh were actually waiting for an opportunity to take over Dadra at the earliest. They had received the information that Mr. Anaceto Rosario, head constable at Dadra would go to see his family in Daman. Thus in his absence, the other two constables could be easily overpowered. On the other hand, the same news of Anaceto Rosario's departure to Daman was also received by United Front leaders. Francis Mascarenhas and Waman Desai thus wanted to act quickly in order to punish Rosario for his past deeds and his enmity with the United Front leaders. Thus after an unsuccessful attempt to liberate Dadra

³⁸ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Vaidya, Sinari, Lawande.

³⁹ Mascarenhas, Lambert 'Goa Freedom Movement Outside Goa', in B. Sheik Ali(ed) (1986) *Goa wins Freedom-Reflections and Reminiscences*, Panaji: Goa University Publication Series-I, Government Printing Press, p. 129.

by Francis Mascarenhas and Waman Desai on 21st July, the very next day i.e on 22nd July 1954 UFG with its fifteen volunteers liberated Dadra from the Portuguese rule.

The leaders of United Front of Goans advocated that although Goa is a part of Indian sub-continent, the culture and social life of Goans is quite distinct from the people of Union of India and as such they were against the merger of Goa with the Union of India after liberation.⁴⁰ Thus the proposal of transfer of power and its ready acceptance by the leaders of United front of Goans should be seen from this point of view. It has also been mentioned that Francis Mascarenhas had been toying with the idea of forming a Goa government in exile in Bombay. And thus because of power hungryness, UFG believed in the rumours that pressure was being brought upon Portugal by America and other friendly nations to strive for a settlement of dispute with India and hence there was possibility of some new proposals from Portugal.⁴¹ But the fact, if there was any reality in the rumour that was spread, was the 'settlement of dispute with India' and it was not with the United Front of Goans. UFG as an organisation for the liberation of Goa did neither represent Indian government nor the Goans. Thus the question of such a proposal of handing over power to UFG from the Portuguese government of Goa was very funny and its acceptance was the foolishness on the part of UFG. It should be also remembered at this point that United Front of Goans, as a political organization was formed outside Goa i.e. in Bombay. Most of the nationalist Goans were of the opinion that since Goa is a part of India, after its liberation, Goa should be merged with the Indian Union. UFG became a part of 'Goa Action Committee' which was formed under the Presidentship of Dr. T. B. Cunha. But after the liberation of Dadra one cannot find its role in the liberation of Goa in the later period. Thus one cannot believe that UFG represented the Goan nationalist. The liberation of Dadra was a revenge taken by these UFG leaders as they were arrested by the chief of police at Daman Captain Fernando da Costa Romba.

Thus the motive behind the liberation of Dadra was not its freedom initially from Portuguese rule but it was a revenge taken on the Portuguese for their past deeds. Thus it

⁴⁰ Lele, P. S. p. 39.

⁴¹ Ibid. p. 39.

was on 22nd July at midnight, when Mr. Rosario was addressing a crowd nearly fifteen volunteers of UFG succeeded in liberating Dadra and killed Rosario, the police sub-inspector⁴² and Antonio Fernandes, his Assistance. The volunteers then liberated other four villages next day with 32 guns, stenguns and ammunition left behind by Portuguese police.

Before going into the details of the liberation of Nagar Haveli, let me have a brief look at the Communist Party of Maharashtra which was active among the Warlis who constitute 33% of the population among Adivasis in Nagar Haveli. Mrs. Godavaribai Parulekar, a Communist leader was holding a sway over Warlis in the area of Talasari, Dahanu, Umargaon, Palaghar, etc. right from 1945. These above mentioned areas form the border of Nagar Haveli. She, with the help of other communist leaders, helped these Warlis to liberate themselves from the bondage of money-lenders, Sahukari (land-owners) and other high caste people. These Warlis had suffered economically, physically as well as mentally due to the atrocities perpetrated on them by the dominant elite group in the area. It was due to the work done by Mrs. Parulekar and Communist party of Maharashtra Warlis woke up to fight against the dominant group and gave a tough fight from 1945 and won the battle in 1947.⁴³ Thus G. P. P. with its communist ideology had the full support of Mrs. Godavaribai Parulekar and Warlis on account of her. But the main hurdle in the liberation of Nagar Haveli was Shri. Morarji Desai who was against the Communist. Communist Party was banned during this time by government and Indian government was deadly against the activities of red flag.⁴⁴ Thus in order to stop the Communist from taking over Nagar Haveli, Shri. Morarji Desai deployed S. R. P. forces and entire Nagar Haveli was surrounded by these forces. Though Morarji Desai said that he wanted to help the Goan nationalist to liberate Nagar Haveli without much bloodshed and since they had asked for his help, he kept the SRP forces on the borders on Indian side⁴⁵. It was difficult for the Communists to enter into the territory of Nagar Haveli though they were stationed at

⁴² Interview with Shri. Labert Mascarenhas (UFG) (November 1999)

⁴³ Parulekar, Godavari. *Jhevha Manus Jaga Hoto*, (Marathi) (1970) Mumbai: Mauj Prakashan Grih. pp. 1-6.

⁴⁴ Interview with Shri. Narayan Palckar. (October 1997)

⁴⁵ Desai, Morarji. (1974), *The Story Of My Life*, (vol.II) Madras: The Macmillan Company Of India Limited. p. 47.

Umbargaon close to Nagar Haveli. Morarji Desai feared that Nagar Haveli might come under the rule of the Communists if they succeeded in its liberation.

This was not just the case with the Communists. After the liberation of Naroli on 28th July 1954 by twenty-five volunteers of RSS and eight-ten volunteers of AGD under the leadership of Raja Wakankar and Prabhakar Sinari respectively wanted to march on to Silvassa, the capital city of Nagar Haveli as early as possible. But they had to wait for about two-three days. This was because Shri. Morarji Desai was even against the liberation of Nagar Haveli by militant groups since he was a believer in non-violence and satyagraha. The organisations which were involved here were AGD and RSS⁴⁶ which were revolutionary in nature. So initially he even resisted their entry into Nagar Haveli but later on permitted them, because he preferred AGD and RSS over Communists. This is evident from the following description by Shri. Mohan Ranade of AGD who took part in the liberation of Silvassa;

‘I was very much surprised to note the sudden change in the attitude of Bombay police authorities. Till a few hours back they were against our entering the territory of Nagar Haveli and now they were entreating us to immediately advance towards Silvassa. Had the Portuguese presence in Nagar Haveli suddenly become more dangerous to the security of India? No, that was not the case. The truth was that the Warli tribes organised by Communist were active and marching towards Silvassa under the banner of Goan Peoples’ Party. Thus Silvassa was in danger of being falling into the hands of Communists and it was exactly this that the Bombay government led by Shri. Morarji Desai wanted to avoid and we were being utilised as mere instruments for that end. However, whatever may be the reason, we were finally allowed to enter Nagar Haveli and march against Silvassa which was that moment ruled by the Portuguese’.⁴⁷

Azad Gomantak Dal was one of the important organisations in the liberation struggle of Goa. These volunteers believed that Portugal being a fascist country does not respect satyagraha and non-violence.⁴⁸ Thus in order to give a violent challenge to Portuguese rule in Goa, AGD was formed in 1947. In order to threaten the Portuguese, the volunteers of AGD attacked a number of police station, outposts, killed Portuguese stooges and were

⁴⁶ Nagar Havelicha Swatantrya Sangram (Marathi) in *Navjivan* (Fortnightly) published by AGD, dated 28th February 1961, 30th March 1961 and 29th April 1961.

⁴⁷ Ranade, Mohan op.cit., p. 40.

⁴⁸ Interview with Freedom fighter Shri. V. N. Lawande.(May 1996)

involved in many other raids. This organisation was always running short of arms and ammunitions and many a times due to the lack of money as well as armaments they were handicapped. Further, due to their violent nature, no help, whatsoever, was provided to them by government of India. The primary motive behind its involvement in the liberation of Nagar Haveli was the capture of armaments. As Prabhakar Sinari, one of the volunteers of AGD who was involved in the capture of Silvassa rightly said that their main aim in going all the way to Nagar Haveli was primarily to take the possessions of a large quantity of weapons which they would then be able to utilise against the Portuguese in Goa, Daman and Diu.⁴⁹

Azad Gomantak Dal with its revolutionary ideology began its work with the raid in 1947 on the National Overseas Bank (Banco Nacional Ultramarine) in Mapusa. However due to the arrest of Dattatraya Deshpande and Prabhakar Sinari, this organization had to work underground. But Prabhakar Sinari, escaped from Portuguese custody. He later on participated in the liberation of Nagar Haveli.

Like the AGD, GPP was also an off-shoot of NC(G) and was formed in 1948 in Bombay. They advocated armed struggle vis-à-vis satyagraha and non-violence⁵⁰ and Communist Party of Maharashtra was closely associated with GPP, as GPP also believed in Communists ideology.

As we have seen earlier, from the description of Mohan Ranade, that in the beginning, Bombay government was not ready to allow AGD and RSS to enter into Nagar Haveli. In spite of the strict vigilance by DIG and SRP personnel on the Communists and GPP, who had purchased a rented bungalow, near border area of N. H., near Umargoon Capt. Gole alias Dabholkar and Narayan Palekar, moved out of the bungalow from the back. They laid down themselves in the fields and actually crawled by their hands inch by inch in the rains, joined nearly 1500 Warlis on the decided spot and moved into Nagar Haveli. When it became clear to the Indian authorities that Communists were already on the way to Nagar Haveli, they suddenly allowed AGD and RSS volunteers to enter into

⁴⁹ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar sinari. (October 1998)

⁵⁰ Interview with Shri. Narayan Palekar.(October 1997)

Nagar Haveli at the earliest. But by the time AGD volunteers could enter Nagar Haveli, GPP with the Communist Party of Maharashtra and Warlis were successful in liberating most of the villages of Nagar Haveli from Portuguese rule.⁵¹ Whereas AGD with RSS were able to capture Silvassa, the capital city of Nagar Haveli without much resistance.

At this point of time, it is important to note the alliance of AGD and RSS who co-operated with each other in the liberation of Silvassa, Naroli and Khanvel and GPP was helped by Communist party of Maharashtra in liberating Nagar Haveli.

After analysing the Liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, let me now have a look at the third prominent aspect, which I consider to be the movement for liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule.

Movement For Liberation Of Goa. (15th August 1954 to 15th August 1955).

As I have said it before, 18th June 1946 movement was for civil liberties. The movement for the liberation of Goa actually started on 15th August 1954 and subsided on 15th August 1955. I call it as a movement because Goa was rocked with political and nationalist activities during this time. The movement for liberation of Goa began with the commencement of 15th August 1954 mass satyagraha. Let me illustrate the above point by referring to both the satyagrahas. It was an effort of the Goans with the help of Indians to liberate Goa by peaceful means.

The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in July-August 1954 by Goan nationalist had created an enthusiasm in the minds of Goans. Action Committee, formed by a number of nationalist groups in Bombay in 1953 had announced on 15th July 1954 that volunteers would carry out a 'march on Goa' on 15th August as the beginning of the satyagraha campaign in the Portuguese settlements. The Goa Action Committee was a co-ordinating body and represented three main Goan nationalist parties that were responsible for the work of liberation during all these last years. Those parties were National Congress (Goa), United Front of Goans and Goan People's Party. Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee) which was formed in June 1954 was to help the liberation

⁵¹ Interview with Narayan Palekar.

struggle by propaganda and financially. The actual conduct of the struggle was to be entirely organised and managed by National Congress (Goa). Shri. Peter Alvares, the President of National Congress (Goa) was of the view that Goa's struggle for liberation should be carried out on the soil of Goa itself. With this intention he was preparing Goans for non-violent struggle inside Goa by enlisting their names as volunteers for the satyagrahas and was preparing them to challenge the Portuguese rule inside Goa.

In response to the call given by Goa Action Committee and Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (GVSS), a large number of satyagrahas from India gathered on India-Goa border on 14th August 1954. But only 45 satyagrahis entered Goa via Pollem, Patradevi and Terekhol with 18, 12, and 15 satyagrahis respectively in three batches.

Though Indian satyagrahis could not enter Goa they supported and encouraged the Goan satyagrahis wholeheartedly. Ramakrishna Karpe, a satyagrahi from the batch which entered Goa from Terekhol remembered about the support which their batch got from the people of India in the following words,

'I enrolled my name in the batch led by Alfred Afonso which was to cross Goa border at Terekhol....Shri. N. G. Goray was with us when we went to Shiroda, a place near India-Goa border before entering into Goa. Flag hoisting ceremony was done at the hands of Shri. N. G. Goray on 15th August at Shiroda. We then started proceeding towards the border. Thousands of men, women and children of Shiroda accompanied us to the border. On the way to the border we came across a church where our leader Alfred Afonso said his prayers. After reaching to the border Shri. N. G. Goray made a speech to encourage us. We then proceeded towards Terekhol by shouting slogan like viva-liberadade, viva-democracia, NC(G) ki jai, Goi Konache, Goikaranche...but when we entered the village the entire village was deserted....We then entered into the fort, hoisted the flag with the slogans such as Jai-Hind'.⁵²

Terekhol is a small village and it is a part of land which is connected with other territories in Maharashtra and is separated from Goa by Terekhol river. Terekhol fort was built by Khem Sawant of Sawantwadi and was under their control till Portuguese brought it under its occupation. However in 1761, Portuguese were defeated by the Bhonsle of

⁵² Karpe, Ramakrishna A. 'Goa Swatantrya Ladhyaatil Majhe Karya' (Marathi) in Gomantak Marathi Academy (August 1996), *Maitra* (Bimonthly) (1996) Goa: Published by Nisha Vaidya from Gomantak Marathi Academy Office- Panaji. pp. 12-14.

Sawantwadi and Terekhol fort came under their occupation. Later on it was again lost to Portuguese in 1800. Till 1817, Terekhol fort was under the acquisition of Portuguese sometimes and sometimes under the acquisition of Bhonsle. However, after 1817, Portuguese permanently occupied it. The name Terekhol is derived from the word 'Tere' or 'Tir' meaning 'bank' and 'khol' meaning 'deep'. Thus the fort built on the deep bank of river came to be called as 'Terekhol Fort'. Due to its significance, Britishers had demanded it from Portuguese for Five lakh pounds.⁵³

Thus this batch of satyagrahis wanted to occupy this fort which was considered to be important by the Portuguese for their security and defence. But the satyagrahis were also adamant on their desire to occupy this fort, not by violent means but by non-violent means. The mission was accomplished by these satyagrahis on the same day and entered the fort without any resistance and hoisted the Indian Tricolour. The capture of Terekhol Fort by Goan satyagrahis is described by one of the participants Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge in the following words,

'When we came to the Terekhol village, we found only one sub-inspector, customs officer and four or five officials. After coming to the fort, we desired to hoist the flag but sub-inspector resisted and told us that you cannot hoist the flag. We said, we would hoist the flag and if you wish so you arrest us but we will not desist from our resolve to hoist the flag...But I don't know what happened to him, after some talk with our leaders, he decided to leave the place and go away. One of his guards was very aggressive and was forcing sub-inspector to open fire with the machine-gun. With great difficulty sub-inspector calmed him down and hurriedly left the place with them. We then hoisted the flag on the fort....Next day, (on 16th August 1954) early in the morning I crossed the border to have some snacks and tea as I was feeling very weak for having fever last night. After having tea when I decided to go back to the fort, N. G. Goray stopped me and told me that something unusual has happened on the fort and I should not go. I did not listen to him and came back to the fort, one sentry took me directly to the European officer. He made me stand in front of him and without saying a single word, he slapped me on my face and sent me to other satyagrahis'.⁵⁴

A brief description of the event gives us the clear picture that the hoisting of flag on Terekhol fort was an easy job for the Goan satyagrahis. In spite of the orders from the top

⁵³ Radhakrishna, Vaman.(1989), **Goa Muktisangram**, (Marathi) Pune: Sadashiv Bagayatdar Smritimala p. 65.

⁵⁴ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge.(October 1997)

officials of Portuguese administration, sub-inspector Jose Antonio De Rosario Alvares refused to open fire on the unarmed satyagrahis. This happened for the first time in the history of the liberation struggle of Goa. If the credit of offering satyagraha at Terekhol fort goes to the Goan satyagrahis, thanks should be given to sub-inspector Alvares. In spite of threat of losing his job and even arrest and detention and deportation, he dared to allow satyagrahis to occupy the fort. If he wanted he could have opened fire on unarmed satyagrahis as Portuguese laws did not respect the philosophy of satyagraha or peaceful protest. In order to avoid the punishment it fell into the hands of Portuguese, Alvares crossed the border and entered Indian territory. But he got the reward for helping the Goan satyagrahis. He was arrested as soon as he entered into India and was imprisoned.⁵⁵ Later on Indian officials sent him back to Goa where he was kept in custody by Portuguese government for three months.

After the departure of sub-inspector Alvares, the Indian flag was hoisted which remained there for about 24 hrs. However on 16th August 1954 it was replaced by Portuguese flag after arresting the Goan satyagrahis. The atrocities committed by the Portuguese police on the Goan satyagrahis while arresting them are remembered by Shri Ramkrishna Karpe in the following words,

'On the next morning (16th August 1954) Vishwanath Kudchadkar and I were chatting at the door of the fort. We saw Portuguese officers, coming towards us with guns in their hands. While entering inside the fort, Commandant Homba, Capt. Larangera and Agente Monteiro were shooting in the air...As soon as they reached towards us I shouted in English, 'come on, shoot me'. Agente Monteiro started snatching the national flag from my hand. And at the same time he started beating me by his legs...Another officer threw me on the floor, sat on my chest and started pressing my neck with his hands in order to kill me. Capt. Larangera came to my rescue and shouted at the officer not to press my neck as I would die. He then threw me aside. Other satyagrahis were beaten by bayonets. Blood started flowing from my body... We were then taken inside the fort....They brought down the Indian flag and hoisted the Portuguese flag'.⁵⁶

The Portuguese officers had come to the fort with all the preparations. They had thought something like that of Dadra and Nagar Haveli might have taken place. Thus in

⁵⁵ Interview with Shri. Rambhan Kakodkar (May 2000)

⁵⁶ Karpe, Ramakrishna A. 'Goa Swatantrya Ladhatil Majhe Karya', op.cit., p. 14.

order to meet the rising situation, they had made preparations on war footing. But when they approached the fort, they found that all the satyagrahis were unarmed. The satyagrahis were then easily arrested by full fledged military and naval force. Their hands and even legs were tied up and were loaded like carrier goods inside a launch. Satyagrahis were then taken to Kiranapani, an adjacent village and were thrown out in the open space on ground. The people of Terekhol who had run away on the previous day had gathered there. Portuguese officials made them sit and Monteiro ordered an old Catholic man to beat their leader. Alfred Afonso was beaten up severely by him with the chappal. He was wounded badly and blood started flowing from his mouth. Satyagrahis were then taken to police station first at Pernem and than at Panaji.⁵⁷

The Goan satyagrahi batches which entered Goa from Pollem, Patradevi and Terekhol were led by Anthony DeSouza, Mark Fernandes, and Alfred Afonso. It is to be noted here that all three leaders were Catholics by religion. This was an answer to Dr. Salazar who had mentioned on the Radio that Hindus are responsible for the movement that is going on in Goa and Christians are not a party to it.⁵⁸ The entire world then came to know regarding the truth and false propaganda of Dr. Salazar.

As I have said earlier that thousands of satyagrahis from different parts of India had gathered on India-Goa border to offer satyagraha in Goa, but only few satyagrahis entered Goa. This was due to the policy of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. While inaugurating the All India Newspaper Editors Conference on 13th August 1954, P. M. Nehru said that he was successful in restraining Indians since last seven years and that he did not want non-Goans entering Goa as a part of the satyagraha. This policy change was unexpected. It resulted in hundreds of satyagrahis being prevented from crossing the border at various places.⁵⁹ When this news was received there was sudden panic in the satyagrahi camp on the border. Leaders started searching for the Goan satyagrahis as only they were permitted to cross the border. During this time even some of the non-Goans came forward to offer

⁵⁷ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge.(October 1997)

⁵⁸ Karpe, Ramakrishna A. op.cit., p. 12.

⁵⁹ Gaitonde, P. D. op.cit., p. 98.

satyagraha by calling themselves as Goans. One of the satyagrahis from the batch of Shri. Alfred Afonso which entered Goa through Terekhol by name Anthony De Souza (not to be confused with Shri. Anthony De Souza who led the satyagraha batch through Pollem) was a non-Goan. When these satyagrahis were arrested by military and Portuguese officials on 16th August 1954 at Terekhol, he in order to escape the beatings and arrests, started running towards the border to cross it and enter Indian territory. However, European officers caught hold of him and beat him mercilessly for about fifteen minutes.⁶⁰

The other satyagrahis who tried to enter into Goa through Pollem and Patradevi under the leadership of Shri. Anthony De Souza and Shri. Mark Fernandes received the same fate at the hands of Portuguese officials. They were beaten up and then taken to the police station. Special punishment was meted out to the leaders of all the three batches especially because they were Catholics⁶¹. Their mistake was that they being Catholics were nationalist and pro-Indian. For Portuguese, only Hindus can be anti-Portuguese while Catholics should be loyal to the Portuguese rule due to their religion. This satyagraha taught the Portuguese that the Catholics can also be nationalist and would not fear to come out openly. It was on this day, the world came to know what Portuguese knew much before that Catholics were far better nationalist, just like Hindus. If in the eyes of Portuguese, some Catholics were for Portuguese rule in Goa, it was true with some Hindus too. But by giving communal colour to the liberation struggle of Goa, Portuguese were not able to destroy the secular fabric which Goans held from hundreds of years together of which they were proud of during the liberation struggle⁶².

The 15th August 1954 satyagraha assumed importance because Indian flag remained at Terekhol fort for about 24 hrs. However this satyagraha could not achieve success in liberating Goa from Portuguese rule as at the last moment, Indian satyagrahis were not allowed to enter into Goa. Due to the failure of this satyagraha, Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti took the task of liberation of Goa by sending a large number of Indian

⁶⁰ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge. (October 1997)

⁶¹ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge (October 1997)

⁶² Interview with Shri. Verissimo Coutinho. (October 2001)

satyagrahis in batches beginning from 18th May 1955 as the day 18th had special significance, which culminated in a mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955. Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti was formed in June 1954 for lending a helping hand to the Goans in their liberation struggle had announced on 24th April 1955 that it was seriously considering the move for 'active participation' in the Goa liberation movement by sending batches of volunteers. The Samiti with Keshavrao Jedhe as its president, Jayantrao Tilak as general secretary, S. A. Dange, S. M. Joshi and representatives of other parties as members announced its plan of individual satyagraha from 18th May 1955.⁶³ The date 18th was considered to be a revolutionary date in the history of Goa's liberation, as it was on this date in June 1946, that last phase of Goa's liberation struggle was inaugurated by Dr. R. M. Lohia in 1946 at Margao. Thus, even Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti felt that the satyagraha campaign should begin on that auspicious day. The 15th August has another significance in India. As it was on this day, India got independence from British rule, but Goa, a small part of India remained under the alien rule. Since both the days were significant, Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti felt that the struggle should begin on revolutionary day i.e. on 18th and liberation of Goa would be attained on 15th August 1955. By sending a large number of Indian satyagrahis, the Portuguese administration would be paralysed, which will result into total breakdown of political machinery. However this was not to happen.

As the preparations for the satyagraha movement, altogether eleven centres of NC(G) were created on India-Goa border like Banda, Kankumbi, Sawantwadi, etc. It was decided by Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti that the satyagrahis would enter into Goa led by the prominent personalities such as N. G. Goray, Madhu Limaye, Shirubhau Limaye, Senapati Bapat, Premanath Vasnik, Rajaram Patil and many others.⁶⁴

The satyagraha campaign as decided started on 18th May 1955. Let me now just have a look at the satyagraha that was offered by a group of satyagrahis under the leadership of Shri. Shirubhau Limaye, on 24th May 1955. Shri. Limaye writes,

⁶³ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar (2000)

⁶⁴ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar. (May 2000)

'We were disappointed when nobody arrested us after reaching Goa. We were under the impression that our arrest would take place as soon as we enter into Goa.....Then we decided to attract the attention of Portuguese police officials. All started shouting 'Salazar Murdabad', 'Bharat Zindabad', on the top of their voices. But nothing happened that day. On the third day, I decided to commit a greater mistake. I wrote a letter to police commissioner asking him to join our satyagrahi batch and also wrote to him of our decision of organising demonstrations on the roads and to hoist the Indian flag on every government building, we come across on our way.

As decided earlier, we started for our journey and hoisted national flags on one or two unused police stations and school buildings. At that time they recognised my letter. When we were resting in a village, we heard the sound of some police jeeps and soon they came near us. Before participating in this satyagraha, I had sent a letter to Goa Governor from Poona, explaining him the philosophy of satyagraha and the rationale behind the liberation of Goa, the participation of satyagrahis in the batch, their number, about the way they would enter into Goa and at the same time promising him that we would not resort to violent means during our march into Goa. Monteiro, the police sub-inspector had brought the letter with him and started inquiring about Limaye.

When I told him that I was Limaye he started arguing with me over the status of Goa. Goa, he believed, has no links with India. Portuguese are ruling on Goa for more than 450 years. Goa is an overseas province of Portugal. I also started arguing with him and explained how Goa cannot be a part of Portugal. The culture, language, customs, religion, etc. is similar to that of India. And in no way Goa can be associated with Portugal. After a big discussion, Monteiro said, "You could not prove that Goa is a part of India. And thus I have no other option than to arrest you. Everybody should sit in the vehicles and we will take you to the borders". I told Monteiro, that I could not prove what you wanted, but at the same time you could not prove that Goa is a part of Portugal. You should understand that since Goa is indivisible part of India we have the right to enter into Goa'.

Monteiro signalled at us to sit in the vehicles. I told him that we are satyagrahis. We are all well-mannered and do not resort to violent means. But since we hold Indian flags we can not come with you. You take away the flags from our hands and then we will decently come along with you.....Monteiro and his officials then started snatching the flags from our hands, by beating us with bayonets and lathis. I was then tied to a tree individually and others were beaten up mercilessly. I was then separated from rest of the satyagrahis and was imprisoned while others were taken to the borders and left'.⁶⁵

This was the satyagraha offered by Indians on 24th May 1955, one week after the first satyagraha that was held on 18th May 1955 under the leadership of Shri. N. G. Goray and Shri. Senapati Bapat. The batch comprised of nearly eighty satyagrahis which entered

⁶⁵ Limaye, Shirubhau, 'Goa Muktiladha Va Majha Sahabhag', (Marathi) in Akhil Bharatiya Goa Swatantryra Sainik Sangh- Pune and Goa Freedom fighters Association- Panaji, *Smaranika* (1991), Maharashtra: published by shri. Ram Tupe, President, Akhil Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sangram Sainik Sangh, Pune.

into Goa via Talewadi (where river Mandovi originates in Karnataka) and reached a village called 'Savarde' in Sattari Taluka and spent nearly three days before their arrest. The leader of satyagraha of this batch had expected the arrest by Portuguese police after reaching Goa. But it is surprising to note as to why the disappointment came to them when arrest did not take place. Was the aim of the satyagrahis to get arrested without achieving the goal of defying the Portuguese rule? Further it should be remembered that Goa was a Portuguese colony and the things in Goa were not the same like that of British India. The British understood the meaning of satyagraha and non-violence. But in Goa, Portuguese had to be told what they were supposed to do with the satyagrahis. In this case, Shri. Shirubhau Limaye had to tell Agente Monteiro, the Portuguese police officer to take away the Indian flags from their hands before arresting them. The overall narration of the incident suggest that the satyagrahis were only interested in courting arrest and filling the jails as that was done in British India by Indians. These satyagrahis wanted to make the situation difficult for the Portuguese officials to handle them in jails.

The leaders of this satyagrahas like that of leaders of 18th May 1955 satyagraha Shri. N. G. Goray and Senapati Bapat, had, in advance, informed the Goa Governor General by letter about this satyagraha movement. But even then, as the incident suggest that notice of this letter was only taken notice of by the Portuguese when the leader of this satyagraha wrote another letter to the police commissioner. The satyagraha campaign led by Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti which was started on 18th May 1955 had till 25th July 1955, sent ten batches of Satyagrahis which consisted of total 700 satyagrahis.⁶⁶

The mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 was not just the satyagraha against the Portuguese administration but it was also against the government of India in as much as Samiti's member wanted the government to take police action.⁶⁷ Further Shri. Peter Alvares, then president of NC(G) told the Samiti members many a times that 'the External Affairs Ministry had given him to understand that the Government of India was in need of some excuse to strike the final blow and this satyagraha, if carried on steadfastly for some time,

⁶⁶ Sardesai, M. H. (1994), *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*, (Marathi) Goa: Purogami Prakashan, p. 310.

⁶⁷ Gaitonde, P. D. op.cit. p. 107.

would provide such an excuse to the government.⁶⁸ Whatever may be the reasons for organising the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955, its announcement received great enthusiasm among the Indians and the Indian satyagrahis numbering in thousands left their homes to offer satyagraha in Goa. The enthusiasm was so much that even after Government of India's decision to seal off India's border with Portuguese enclaves, thousands of satyagrahis went on foot to offer satyagraha.

Rambhau Kakodkar, a member of NC(G) remembers the enthusiasm of the people in the following words;

'Even after sending the satyagrahis in batches, nearly 530 satyagrahis remained at Belgaum. I got the message from Peter Alvares and S. M. Joshi that these satyagrahis were ready to offer satyagraha and I should also accompany them. It was about 4:30 in the evening. It was raining very heavily and without umbrellas these satyagrahis were ready to walk the distance of about 28 miles of snake and tiger infested jungles. Peter Alvares and S. M. Joshi asked me how I will manage the things. I said it is my duty being a Goan to take care of them and told them not to worry. I sent two local men in front of our satyagraha batch to tell the villagers on the way to make some arrangements for them. Jambhoti is a village which is at a distance of 12 miles from Belgaum. The villagers are tribals especially Gavadas. It was a small village of 30-40 families and they lived in small houses. But after getting my message they had made all the arrangements, prepared bhakri and rice. In the houses where only four to five people could stay, nearly 40-50 people stayed overnight. They could only sit as there was no place for them to sleep. But even with such difficulties, the morale of the satyagrahis was very high'.⁶⁹

It should be remembered that these satyagrahis who had come from different parts of India were all enthusiastic to march into Goa to liberate it from the Portuguese rule. Thus without caring for the rain which was pouring down heavily on them, they set out for Goa on foot. Thus even after the Indian government's decision to stop the use of trucks to carry the satyagrahis from Belgaum to the border, Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti decided to send the satyagrahis on foot those arriving before 13th (August 1955). It should be noted that even those who reached after 13th August at Belgaum wanted to go to Goa on foot. For example, a group of 1,300 satyagrahis who had come to Belgaum under the leadership of Madhu Dandvate, when asked to stay back by Samiti, refused to turn back.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 107.

⁶⁹ Interview with Shri. Ramabhau Kakodkar. (May 2000)

‘We have not come for a picnic,’ they said, ‘We have come to die to complete India’s freedom’. Through the dense fog that enveloped the ghats at Amboli and through heavy rain, they walked seventy miles. It took them exactly three days. They were tired but happy. ‘We have fulfilled our pledge’, they said.⁷⁰

One thing that has to be noted here is that these satyagrahis were given the accommodation by Gavadas of Jambhoti village. Though their houses were small and even the people were poor they had prepared Bhakri and rice for the satyagrahis. This explains the fact that even these Gavadas were inclined to help those people who were going to sacrifice their life to complete India’s Independence.

The satyagraha was started with the intention of liberating Goa from the Portuguese rule. The Samiti’s members took a great responsibility in organising this satyagraha on a mass scale. However, the same samiti which had announced and organised the mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955 with great efforts and enthusiasm, had to call off the satyagraha at its own will. The members of the Samiti noticed that the satyagrahis were being killed by the Portuguese authorities. It was a question mark in front of Samiti as how many satyagrahis would they allow to die like this? And thus Samiti members met and decided to stop the satyagraha.⁷¹

The mass satyagraha which was organised on 15th August 1954 under the leadership of Shri. Peter Alvares had got converted into group satyagraha, when non-Goans were banned from entering into the Goan territory. The announcement of mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 under the banner of Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti received a great response from the Indian people. I have called it as a ‘movement’, where Goans as well as non-Goans participated to liberate Goa from Portuguese rule, since there were not just two satyagrahas, which were organised in two different years, but a continuous movement for over a year from 15th August 1954 to 15th August 1955. This is because from the beginning of 15th August 1954 satyagraha, the satyagraha activities within Goa were also challenging

⁷⁰ Menezes Francis A. ‘Lest We Forget... 15th August 1955, in The Goa Daman and Diu Freedom Fighters’ Association on 25th anniversary of the event, **The Massacre of the satyagrahis in 1955**, (1980) Goa: Edited and Published for Goa Daman and Diu Freedom Fighters Association by Lambert Mascarenhas, p. unnumbered

⁷¹ Interview with Shri Narayan Palekar.

the Portuguese administration. Some of the important satyagrahas that were offered inside Goa between the two great satyagrahas include (a) Satyagraha of 25th November 1954 (the day of reconquest) at Panaji in front of Panaji police station where Sindhutai Deshpande and Laxman Govekar participated, (b) Satyagraha of 26th January 1955 at a village called 'Dhabem' in Sattari Taluka under the leadership of Govind Haribhat Bhave Shastri, (c) Satyagraha of 17th February 1955 at Margao by Shashikala Hodarkar and Vilasini Prabhu in the morning and Suryakanti Fal Desai and Laxmi Poinguinkar in the evening to celebrate Dr. Gaitonde Day and (d) Satyagraha session of 6th April 1955 at Mapusa under the leadership of Smt. Sudhatai Joshi and at Margao on the same day by Fabiao de Costa, Narayan Kurade and Vishnu Angle led their batches.⁷²

All these satyagrahas which were held inside Goa had selected prominent days to challenge the Portuguese administration. While the satyagrahas of 25th November 1954, 17th February 1955 and 6th April 1955 have been dealt in detail in chapter IV – The Gendered Face Of The Liberation Struggle, the satyagraha of 26th January 1955 was mainly against the introduction of economic blockade by Indian government against Portuguese rule. In order to paralyse the Portuguese economy India, in 1954, had announced economic blockade of Goa. The result of this economic blockade was such that the Goans who were living under poverty suffered the most⁷³. This was not just the case with the people of Sattari but even the people of Canacona who joined liberation struggle of Goa in large numbers were actually motivated due to the same reason.⁷⁴

The earnings which were made by exporting coconuts and betlenuts from Goa received a setback due to economic blockade and the condition of these people became worse. Thus, considering the Portuguese responsible for the imposition of economic blockade by Indian government, Brahmins of Sattari Taluka under the leadership of Govind Haribhat Bhave Shastri offered this satyagraha at Dhabem, a village in Sattari Taluka. They hoisted Indian tricolour at 6 O'clock in the morning as India celebrated its fifth

⁷² Sardesai, M. H. op.cit, p. 310.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 179.

⁷⁴ Interview with the Freedom Fighter Shri. Manohar Prabhu Desai.(NC(G)). (November 1998)

Republic day. They were then arrested at a village called Savarde at Sattari while marching in a procession on the same day.⁷⁵ Though it was believed by Shri. Morarji Desai, the then chief Minister of Bombay State that Goans had not sacrificed enough to deserve freedom,⁷⁶ Goans had actually struggled hard to solve the Goan problem both violently as well as non-violently by themselves.⁷⁷ But due to its small size, it was not possible for them to work independently without the help of Indians. Thus the Satyagraha under Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti by the Indians began from 18th May 1955, entered Goa under the leadership of N. G. Goray.⁷⁸ From then onwards, as we have seen earlier, with a gap of a week or two the satyagrahis entered Goa in different batches and 15th August 1955 was celebrated as mass satyagraha day.

Right from the beginning of the satyagraha movement on 15th August 1954 till 15th August 1955 (except in few cases), Portuguese administration had stationed their army not exactly on the borders of India-Goa but quite inside Goa.⁷⁹ So the satyagraha batches which entered into Goa from the Indian borders managed to go inside Goa without any resistance. This is clear from the capture of Terekhol fort by Goan satyagrahis on 15th August 1954 who were not challenged by Portuguese army or police at the borders. Even the batch that was led by Shri. Shirubhau Limaye on 24th May 1955 reached a village called 'Savarde' in Sattari and spent nearly three days there before their arrest. Similar was the case with many other satyagraha batches of 15th August 1955. For example, the first batch of satyagraha entered Goa via Aronda reached deep inside Pednem and other adjacent villages such as Morjim, Pavrem, Paliem, etc. Fourth batch reached Surla village in the north, fifth batch entered Goa via Dodamarg and satyagrahi from this batch even hoisted the Indian tricolour in a village called 'Hedus', sang National Anthem, read a pledge and declared the village free.⁸⁰ Seventh batch consisting of about seventy-one satyagrahis entered Pollem village in Canacona Taluka. Thus before their arrest some of the satyagrahis even

⁷⁵ Sardesai, M. H. op.cit., 179.

⁷⁶ Gaitonde, P. D. op.cit., 104.

⁷⁷ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.(May 2000)

⁷⁸ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.

⁷⁹ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.

⁸⁰ Menezes, Francis A. op.cit. p. unnumbered.

hoisted flags inside Goa.⁸¹ This denotes the fact that the satyagrahis at different points were allowed to enter into Goa before opening fire on them. It was however at Banda and Patradevi, Portuguese started firing on unarmed satyagrahis. Since Portuguese posts at many places were vacant many Goan residents at the borders crossed over into Indian territory during the satyagraha of 15th August 1954 fearing the attack of Indian army on Portuguese⁸² in Goa which might result in the war-like situation. However, Rambhau Kakodkar points out the actual fact of the vacated borders by Portuguese police in the following words;

‘Portuguese government knew that India wanted to interfere in the Goan problem and waiting for the right opportunity to strike the final blow. Thus in order to avoid any critical situation or war-like situation on borders, Portuguese administration took the step of self-defence. Strict orders were given to the military and other police officials that they should not fire on Indian people without orders from the top officials, but should only guard the border area. And this was the reason that military was not stationed on the borders but few kilometers inside from India-Goa border’.⁸³

Even Shri. Prabhakar Vaidya, a Goan nationalist believed that the Portuguese administration had vacated the border posts at the time of the 15th August 1954 satyagraha fearing under the name of satyagraha, armed Goanese, as was the case during the Nagar Haveli liberation, would enter and try to liberate Goa.⁸⁴

Infact there were two reasons behind the organisation of 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha. One was the liberation of Goa by peaceful methods. If this did not work, this satyagraha would itself give an excuse to government of India to solve the Goan problem if unarmed satyagrahis were attacked by Portuguese military.

Further, it should be noted here that all these satyagrahis were released by Portuguese by taking them to borders. But before that they were arrested and beaten-up ruthlessly. Only the leaders of these batches were arrested and imprisoned.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.(May 2000)

⁸² Ranade, Mohan. Op.cit., p. 47.

⁸³ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.(May 2000)

⁸⁴ Vaidya , P. T. ‘Advent Of Portuguese in Goa and Goa’s Freedom Struggle- A Summarisation’ a paper presented at a seminar on **Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa’s Stuggle For Freedom**, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of The Cuncolim Collegc of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.

⁸⁵ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Narayan Palekar.(October 1997)

The arrest and imprisonment of the leaders and release of other satyagrahis suggest that Portuguese government did not want to fill its jails with the Indian people. As it would have prompted Indian government to take action against the Portuguese in Goa. As Rambhau Kakodkar rightly said that the Portuguese government during the satyagraha movement was only taking the defensive attitude and not offensive position. It knew the strength of the Indian government as they did not want to loose Goa to India by giving any excuse to the government of India. And due to this reason, even the leaders who were arrested during satyagraha campaigns were released soon by the Portuguese government.⁸⁶ As I have mentioned earlier, the satyagraha of 15th August 1955 was organised to give an excuse to the Indian government to interfere into the Goan problem and solve it as early as possible. But due to the defensive nature of the Portuguese government, though many satyagrahis were killed Indian government had to wait for another opportunity to strike a final blow.⁸⁷ The firing on unarmed satyagrahis on India-Goa border, though referred to as 'brutal and uncivilised in the extreme⁸⁸' by Jawaharlal Nehru on 16th August 1955 in Lok Sabha, did not come as a shock or surprise to the government of India. This is because Dr. Salazar, much before had declared that mass entry of Indians would amount to invasion of Portuguese territory and had warned India that there would be bloodshed if any attempt by its citizens was made to cross the International border.⁸⁹ And due to this on 12th August 1955, Prime Minister of India advised the people not to cross the International border and on the following day sealed off India's border with the Portuguese enclaves. Even Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti was under the tension as to how the Portuguese would respond to the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 as they had seen how Portuguese had opened fire on unarmed satyagrahis on 24th June 1955, when Amirchand Gupta of Mathura was beaten up, trampled upon and thrown back into Indian territory, due to which he had died and on 3rd August 1955 which had led to the death of Comrade Thorat and Comrade Sahay, both communists

⁸⁶ Interview with Freedom Fighter smt. Shashikala Almeida.(October 1999)

⁸⁷ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.(May 2000)

⁸⁸ Gaitonde, P. D. op.cit., p. 108.

⁸⁹ Lawande V. N. 'They Embraced Death With smiling Faces' in *The Massacre Of The Satyagrahis in 1955*, (1980) op.cit., p. unnumbered.

from Maharashtra and West Bengal respectively.⁹⁰ The final casualty figures, according to Indian officials, were 22 shot dead and 225 wounded, 38 of them seriously. At Patradevi, on the Banda border, 35 out of 600 satyagrahis had hardly moved 20 yards into Goan territory when the police fired several rounds on them. Mrs. Subhadra Bai Sagar of West Bengal was shot dead followed by the death of Kamal Singh of Punjab.⁹¹

The organization of satyagrahas, firstly under the banner of Goa Action Committee and secondly under Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti, saw the fantastic unity of all the political parties irrespective of their ideology. While Goa Action committee which was formed in July 1953 under the Presidentship of Dr. T. B. Cunha, comprised of National Congress (Goa) with its ideology of satyagraha and non-violence, Goan Peoples' Party with its communist ideology and United front of Goans which initially preached that Goa's identity is different from the rest of India and Goa, after its liberation, should have its own independent status. This unity was possible mainly due to the efforts of Dr. T. B. Cunha who understood the need of the hour. This committee was responsible for organising 15th August 1954 mass satyagraha.

However, after the conversion of 1954 mass satyagraha into group satyagrahas on 15th August, due to the ban on non-Goans satyagrahis entering into Goan territory, Dr. T. B. Cunha felt that the Goa problem should be considered as an All-India problem. And thus it was the duty of the Indians to help the Goans in their efforts to overthrow the Portuguese rule from the Indian soil. While presenting Goa Action committee's report to an all parties parliamentary convention in May 1955, he said,

'The main burden of the liberation of the Portuguese possessions in India and their incorporation into the Indian Union has till now been borne by Goan nationalists. This work has been wrongly considered as of exclusive concern of Goans, when the very fact that Goa is an integral part of India makes its liberation an all-India problem..... The lack of co-operation of the Indian forces in the work, which aims at recovering the territorial integrity of India and thereby at assuring her future security, has been in great part responsible for the delay in the settlement of our problem which after eight years of India's independence has taken a new and graver importance in Indian national life'.⁹²

⁹⁰ Interview with Shri. Narayan Palekar. (GPP)(October 1997)

⁹¹ Gaitonde, P. D. op.cit., p. 108.

⁹² Cunha, T. B. op.cit, p. 314.

Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti comprised of all non-Congress parties including C. P. I., S. K. Party, Forward Bloc, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Praja Socialist Party, Revolutionary Party, Kisan Mazdoor Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha with National Congress (Goa). Indian National Congress officially boycotted the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955⁹³ as it felt that the mass entry of Indians into Goa would likely to change the nature of the peaceful struggle.⁹⁴ However the individual congressmen supported GVSS and even participated actively in the satyagraha movement. For example, Keshavarao Jedhe,⁹⁵ a congressman was elected as President of GVSS. It was during both the satyagrahas of 15th August, Government of India took a retrograde stand. Firstly it took the decision of not allowing non-Goans into Goan territory on 15th August 1954 and secondly it sealed off India's border with Goa during 15th August 1955 satyagraha. Both the times, according to many Goans,⁹⁶ this decision of government of India strengthened the hands of Portuguese administration. And this led to the beatings, killings and arrests of many of the satyagrahis especially during the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955. However the decision of government of India of not allowing the non-Goans into Goan territory during the satyagraha of 15th August 1954 is upheld by Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar, a member of NC(G). He believed that North Indians who had come to Goa to offer satyagraha were under the impression that Goa was full of gold which was imported from abroad and smuggled into the Indian territory. If these people who carried only towels on their shoulders, were allowed to enter into Goa, Goans would have suffered economically due to their immigration. This was the reason why only Goans were allowed to enter and not non-Goans. But this was not so with the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955. Due to the proper organisation and strict supervision by many of the top leaders from India, it was properly handled by them under the banner of GVSS.⁹⁷

⁹³ Interview with Shri. Narayan Palekar (GPP).(October 1997)

⁹⁴ Gaitonde P. D. op.cit., p. 105.

⁹⁵ Interview with Shri. Narayan Palekar. (October 1997)

⁹⁶ Interview with many Freedom Fighters for Goa liberation such as Madhav Pandit, Rameshwar Langekar (November 2000), Gurnath Kelekar, (June 1999), Manohar Prabhu Desai (May 1999) etc.

⁹⁷ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.

Let me now have a look at the response of the general public towards the satyagraha of 15th August 1954 and 1955. While some people inside Goa wondered and even some of them wished GVSS a success, in achieving its goal, some had helped them in creating an atmosphere conducive for the liberation of Goa by organising a number of satyagrahas inside Goa⁹⁸. However, the reaction of common people, especially those who were not aware of what is going to happen during the satyagraha movement were in panic. Those people who lived in border areas appeared to be in a desperate hurry to cross over into Indian territory. They were under the impression that there was going to be a war, where Indian army would march into Goa on 13th or 14th August and Portuguese would flee. For them it was risky to live in the border areas. While some residents of Margao, Panaji and Mapusa left the town and went to live in the villages due to the fear that these cities might be bombed at any time by the Indian air-force.....In Volvoi (a village) the people had even brought the crackers to be used to extend a hearty welcome to the advancing Indian army when it could reach the place on 15th August 1954. Some of the people had even got their tailors to sew the Indian tricolours for them to hoist them. At Ponda wherever they saw a jeep or motorcycle approaching from the region of Colem (a village near Goa border), they all believed that it was the Indian forces moving in.⁹⁹

This was the Goan peoples' response to the satyagraha of 15th August 1954. We have seen the response of the people to 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties which was very much positive. Though 15th August 1954 was announced as a mass satyagraha day and thousands of satyagrahis were to march into Goa from the borders, Goans on the other hand thought that it would be the march of Indian Army. From this, it is easy to conclude that the publicity of the organisation of mass satyagraha was made in India but unfortunately this was not done in Goa. Even those Goans who entered into Goa via Terekhol, Pollem and Patradevi were either Poona or Bombay based Goans. For example, Prabhakar Ghodge, one of the satyagrahi who entered into Goa via Terekhol under the

⁹⁸ Satyagrahas were held at Mapusa, Pednem, Pirna, Caisua, Shiolim, Panjim and Canacona.

⁹⁹ Ranade, Mohan. op.cit., p. 49.

leadership of Alfred Afonso was studying in Bombay. when the news of the organisation of mass entry on 15th August 1954 was announced, he came forward to participate in this mass satyagraha.¹⁰⁰

However this was not so with the Goans from inside Goa. From the above description of peoples' response, it seems that very few people were aware of the satyagraha movement and the other people were innocent about it. At the last moment, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru banned non-Goans from entering into Goa and the mass satyagraha movement fizzled out. Only few Goans in three small batches were allowed to enter into Goa. The unsuccessful nature of mass satyagraha of 15th August 1954 lies in the fact that the leaders of Goa's liberation struggle depended heavily on the Indian satyagrahis and Goans were uninformed about this movement. As Prabhakar Vaidya, one of the nationalists asserted that the reason for the failure of the 15th August 1954 mass satyagraha because Shri. Peter Alvares relied only on the Indian satyagrahis without any organisational build-up in Goa or outside Goa among the Goans residing in Bombay or other parts of India.¹⁰¹ Further the announcement of the 15th August 1954 mass satyagraha was a 'hasty decision without any pre-planning'. It is believed that soon after the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, this decision was taken as during this time the morale of the Indians was high and that of Portuguese government was very low. But the movement was unsuccessful. There was even confusion in the minds of people over the date as to when the army (in fact they were satyagrahis) would march whether on 13th or on 14th August 1954. This was not just the case with the people living on border areas. But even the people from towns like Margao, Panaji, Mapusa and Ponda were unaware as to what is going to happen on 15th August 1954. It should be remembered here that during the movement for civil liberties on 18th June 1946 under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia these principle towns of Goa were rocked by nationalist activities. But during this time the fearless residents of these cities who had shown

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge.

¹⁰¹ Vaidya , Prabhakar (1992). *Agnichya Jwala* (Marathi)Panaji: Rajkamal Prakashan- Cuncolim p. 2.

undaunted courage during 18th June 1946 movement were leaving the cities and moving into villages out of the fear that these villages might be bombed by Indian Air Force at any time. Even the depositors were crowding at the doors of the Portuguese government banks "Caixa Economica" and "Banco Ultramarino" to withdraw their money and gold from the banks as they feared that after the 'war' deposits would be transferred to Portugal if they did not withdraw it in time.¹⁰² This was due to the lack of publicity of the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1954 inside Goa. The people in Goa were all ready with fire-crackers, flags, etc. to welcome the Indian army on the Goan soil. In the same enthusiasm the people of Vazrem hoisted a flag high up on the hill top of Khetke¹⁰³. A young patriot Hemant Soman, a teacher from Margao reached Panaji in the morning of 15th August 1954 and hoisted Indian Tricolour on the palace.¹⁰⁴ But everybody was waiting for the Indian army march into Goa. The desperation of these people after the end of the day is explained by Mohan Ranade, a freedom fighter in the following words;

"The morning ended into noon, then into afternoon and afternoon passed into evening, night came and still nothing happened....."The battle may be at Panaji because the Portuguese army is stationed there. We are far away in the distant woods. The sweet tidings of the liberation would reach us tomorrow".....Next day Gundlo (a resident of Vazrem) who was till yesterday confidently asserting, "Now it is bound to happen", started saying, "it will never happen, Portuguese will continue ruling Goa forever, God wishes so".¹⁰⁵

15th August 1954 satyagraha was over and people believed that Government of India would not do anything for the cause of Goa. The mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 was announced which had got huge publicity not only in India but also in Goa too. This time Goans were all well aware of the fact that Indian satyagrahis and not army would march into Goa and waited eagerly to welcome them. They had made all the preparations as were made on 15th August 1954, welcome the peaceful and non-violent satyagrahis. For example the women in Pednem Taluka had worked hard to prepare Bhakri and Chuteny. As Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar notes,

¹⁰² Ranade, Mohan.op cit.,p. 48.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 50.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 50.

'Many Goan Women of Pednem, especially at the India-Goa borders had prepared thousands of Bhakris and Chutney for the satyagrahis who would enter into Goa on foot to complete India's Independence. The whole night on the previous day of satyagraha they were continuously engaged in this task'.¹⁰⁶

The satyagraha movement for liberation of Goa which began on 15th August 1954 came to an end on 15th August 1955. While speaking on 2nd September 1955 at the Peoples' Hall in Bombay, Dr. T. B. Cunha remarked;

'This satyagraha will forever remain as a great landmark in the history of the liberation of Goa. It has been a decisive step in our march to liberation. Some people may have not yet grasped the real significance of that great event, but one can say that it has brought us very near to our final goal. Only people who lack the sense of perspective in our movement could brand the satyagraha as a failure because it did not bring us freedom on that very day. The fact that it did not bring immediate and visible results must not make us ignore the great achievements of the memorable event.'¹⁰⁷

Let me now evaluate the liberation struggle of Goa.

Evaluation Of The Liberation Struggle.

The liberation struggle of Goa came to an end on 19th December 1961 by 'Operation Vijay' when government of India sent its military to liberate Goa by force. When all the peaceful methods, diplomatic i.e. at nation to nation level were unsuccessful, the last resort left to the government of India was nothing else but to send its military to liberate its little part, which was under the control of Portuguese since 1510. However, if somebody was responsible to change the attitude of government of India, to change the course of action, it was the 'people of Goa', who for over thirteen long years after India's freedom gave a tough fight to Portuguese rule.

I say this because, if we glance through the entire liberation struggle- violent and non-violent, it was carried out by Goans without proper leadership. In this thirteen long years they had to fight two wars, two battles, one against the Portuguese rule and second against the Government of India. It is no doubt that the people of India were always with

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar.

¹⁰⁷ Cunha, T. B. op.cit., p. 328.

the People of Goa. This was evident from the direct involvement of the Indians in mass satyagrahas of 15th August 1954 and 1955. People of India, in many other ways also directly as well as indirectly, helped the liberation struggle of Goa. Government Of India, right from the beginning of the last phase of liberation struggle on 18th June 1946 took a negative stand on the Goan issue. Though Mahatma Gandhi, wholeheartedly supported the Goan movement for civil liberties, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on the other hand, did not seem to be much inclined in solving Goa's problem at the earliest. On the other hand, he considered it as the simple affair and tried to convince Dr. R. M. Lohia through Gandhiji that the Government of India is trying to settle the Goa issue at the Government level.¹⁰⁸ But Pandit Nehru's all the efforts of persuading Portuguese to leave Goa by 1947 did not achieve success. Due to passiveness of Pandit Nehru on the Goan issue, Dr. R. M. Lohia declined taking interest in the Goan problem.¹⁰⁹

People of India were in fact lucky to get the straightforward, disciplined, intelligent and able leadership like that of Mahatma Gandhi. Goans on the other hand were unlucky. Though the beginning of the last phase of the liberation struggle in 1946 was initially directed by and led by Dr. R. M. Lohia, after his arrest and deportation to India, the movement that was followed was the movement of the people of Goa. The satyagrahas, bandhs, meetings, demonstrations and all other nationalist activities resulted from the spontaneous reaction of the people to the Portuguese rule. However, I would not say that there were no people in Goa who tried to lead this peoples' movement. But in some or the other way they were not successful in it. This is due to the fact that a number of small organizations existed in Goa, with different ideologies and since Goa is a small territory, confusion prevailed in the minds of the people. Due to this, support which came to Dr. Lohia on 18th June 1946 from all the sections of the people, the similar kind of support was not received by any of the leaders after 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. Shri. Prabhakar Vaidya, a Freedom Fighter notes,

¹⁰⁸ Kelkar, Indumati ,op. cit., p. 122.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Shri. Vasant Karapurkar.

‘On the Goan horizon there did not seem to be any leading nationalist who could have the organizational capacity to amalgamate the different Goans who could start a struggle that could give sleepless nights to the well entrenched Goa Government who luckily had a tremendous financial resources to curb nationalist activities’.¹¹⁰

This was evident from the satyagraha of 15th August 1954 when Shri. Peter Alvares, the then president of NC(G) announced the mass entry of the Indians into Goa. Though the ban on non-Goans entering into Goa was announced, it did not deter the Goans who entered Goa in three small batches. The movement did not fail, but the idea of being dependent on leadership of non-Goan who were followers of particular Indian political party to march into Goa on 15th August 1954 had subsided.¹¹¹ Similar was the case with the 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha. The satyagrahis who were Indians were killed by the Portuguese on India-Goa borders. But the movement that was going on inside Goa was actually disturbing the Portuguese Government because it was the movement of the Goans. While putting a ban on the entry of Indian satyagrahis on 15th August 1954, Prime Minister justified his action by saying that the liberation of Goa is primarily a Goan concern and Goan efforts in this regard should not be eclipsed by its supporters.¹¹²

The Goan movement that was fought with violent methods under AGD, GLA, GPP and such others actually involved the common people of Goa. They by their violent terrorist activities threatened the Portuguese government whenever the satyagraha movement in Goa subsided. From 1948 to 1954 and from 1956 to 1960, there was essentially no movement on a large scale but political activities and militant activities by the Goans were giving a challenge to the Portuguese administration.

On the other hand, without helping the Goans in their fight against the Portuguese, government of India was playing a negative role. Take for example the policy of economic blockade, which was criticised by all the Goans as a ‘foolish’ decision because instead of paralysing the Portuguese economy it was paralysing the social and economic life of

¹¹⁰ Vaidya, Prabhakar, ‘Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa’s struggle for Freedom – A Summarisation’ a paper presented at a seminar held on 14th and 15th December 1990 op.cit.,

¹¹¹ Kunte, B. G(ed). *Goa Freedom struggle vis-à-vis Maharashtra 1946-61* (Vol. VIII, part II), op.cit., p. 2.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Goans.¹¹³ Due to the permit system, the Goan students who used to go to answer their exams outside Goa were sometimes held up since they were not allowed to go without permits.

However, to throw off the listlessness and apathy which had taken hold of the liberation movement, four groups namely the National Congress (Goa), Goan Peoples' Party, Azad Gomantak Dal and Goa Liberation Council came together with the Goan clubs' federation as one of the constituent units and held a convention on 2nd to 4th October 1959 at Bombay.¹¹⁴ The Afro-Asian solidarity movement came into being following the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. It was formed in order to put an end to the foreign colonialism in Asia and Africa, the people of both these continents came together, resulted in the birth of Afro-Asian Solidarity movement. Its first important conference was held at Cairo from 26th December 1957 to January, 1, 1958 followed by second conference at Konkri in 1960 which was participated by nearly about fifty countries.¹¹⁵ Indian Association of Afro-Asian Solidarity movement held two National Conferences, first at Hyderabad in 1955 and second at Calcutta in 1959. It was decided in the second National conference that all the nationalist organizations should celebrate 25th November as 'Goan Independence Day' in the year 1960.¹¹⁶ The Indian wing of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement under Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, took upon itself the task of bringing about a shift in Pandit Nehru's policy on Goa formed at a joint convention of the Afro-Asian solidarity movement and the Goan political convention held at Delhi in December 1960. Further a conference was held at Casablanca in April 1961 under the patronage of King Hassan II of Morrocco and it was attended by important African leaders of the Portuguese colonial freedom movements some of whom like Mr. Marcelino dos Santos (Mozambique) and Mr. Aristidis Pereira (Guinea Bissau). The Goan freedom forces represented at the conference were Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde (NC(G)), Mr. George Vaz (GPP) and Mr. Cajetan Lobo (Goa Liberation Council) and

¹¹³ Interview with Shri. Armando Pereira.

¹¹⁴ 'The Navjivan' (Fortnightly) issued and published by AGD dated 16th October 1959.

¹¹⁵ 'The Navjivan' (Fortnightly) issued and published by AGD dated 30th November 1960.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

many others. The conference came to the inevitable conclusion that opportunity for striking a blow at Portuguese colonialism presented itself to India over Goa.

A seminar on Portuguese colonialism was held due to the call given by National Campaign Committee for Goa commenced on 20th October 1961 under the Presidentship of Mr. Balawantraï Mehta, inaugurated by Pt. Nehru at Delhi and concluded on 23rd October 1961 at Bombay. It was attended by important African leaders of Portuguese colonial freedom movements who had earlier attended the Casablanca conference along with the Goan freedom forces¹¹⁷ from India. Among those who attended the Delhi seminar were the Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda,¹¹⁸ Tanzanian commerce Minister Abdel el-Katib¹¹⁹ and Mr. Anthony Wedgewood Ben, Minister for scientific development in the labour government of Mr. Harold Wilson all of whom urged Pandit Nehru not to delay action on Goa any further. The concluding session of the seminar held in Bombay also came to the conclusion on Goa as had the Casablanca conference eight months earlier after the seminar, on Chowpatty sands at Bombay. Pandit Nehru warned the Portuguese government in no uncertain terms, making it clear to the world, that though India had for the past 14 years desired a peaceful solution of the Goa problem, the time had come, due to the obduracy of the Portuguese government, to change the policy and adopt 'a different method'.¹²⁰

Thus the government of India was forced by the Goans themselves to send its military to solve the problem of Goa at the earliest.

While discussing about the struggle for liberation against Portuguese rule, I have considered three events as prominent events; (i) 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, (ii) Liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and (iii) Movement for liberation of Goa (15th August 1954- 15th August 1955). Out of the above mentioned events, the first and the third were the movements conducted on the Goan soil by adopting non-violence and satyagraha

¹¹⁷ The following representatives of the Goan Political Organizations took part in the seminar. Shri. V. N. Lawande, Shri. Shamrao (AGD), Dr. P. Gaitonde, Shri. Peter Alvares, Dr. Ram Hegde, Smt. Sudha Joshi (NCG), Shri. K. Lobo, Smt. Heredia (GLC), Shri. George Vaz, Shri. D. Kakodkar (GPP), editor of 'Free Goa' Smt. Berta Braganza, Dr. Vinayak Mayekar and from Goan Clubs Shri. Diniz Vaz, Shri. J. M. Souza, Prof. L. Rodrigues and Smt. Laura D'Souza.

¹¹⁸ He spoke on 'Portugal's Colonial Policy' at the first meeting on the second day of the seminar.

¹¹⁹ He spoke on 'Portuguese Colonies and UNO' at the second meeting on the second day of the seminar.

¹²⁰ Lobo, Cajetan. Afro-Asian Involvement In Goa's Freedom Struggle, in **Silver Jubilee Of Goa's Liberation 1961-86**, (1986) Goa: Goa Daman Diu Freedom Fighters Association, Sahyadri Printers-Goa. p. unnumbered.

as its strategy. The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, was done by some of the Goan militant organisations with the help of RSS and Communist Party of Maharashtra. Let me have a look at the significance of all the above mentioned events in the liberation struggle of Goa.

18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties has got special importance in the sense that an Indian Socialist leader, Dr. R. M. Lohia who had played an important role in 1942 Quit India movement, who was well-known among the Goans in Goa was responsible to organise this movement. It was this movement only which received full fledged support from all the sections of the people of Goa. This movement also saw the participation of young girls and women, who came out on the streets and held demonstrations against Portuguese rule in Goa. This movement which had started on 18th June 1946 continued with the same spirit and enthusiasm for a period of six months, even after the arrests and deportation of Dr. R. M. Lohia. However it could not continue after the period of six months only because of the arrests and deportation of many of the nationalists during this period. I call this movement as a successful movement for the simple reason that this movement achieved what it wanted to. From then onwards, Goans continued to challenge the Portuguese rule even under the ban on elementary civil liberties. Though Shri. Prabhakar Vaidya, a member of AGD believed that the non-violent struggle that took place from 18th June 1946 till the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, was nothing but a fight of no consequence in the sense it created no awe in the minds of Portuguese bureaucracy either in Goa or for that matter in Portugal,¹²¹ is not true. This movement for civil liberties was conducted in order to encourage the Goans to rise up against the Portuguese government, with spirit and enthusiasm. Thus 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties should be seen from this point of view. Dr. R. M. Lohia taught the Goans to challenge the Portuguese rule by peaceful methods.

It is also true that the liberation of Dadra in the last days of July 1954 and that of Nagar Haveli in August 1954 created ripples of fear in the minds of all Portuguese elements

¹²¹ Vaidya, P.T., 'Azad Gomantak Dal, on looking back', in Vikas V. Desai (ed), (1986), **Armed Coups Against Portuguese Regime**, Cwa: India, Centro Promoter de Instrucao de Canacona, p. 33.

in Goa and elsewhere.¹²² There is no doubt, that the Portuguese administration was threatened when Goan freedom fighters, by using violent methods liberated Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The significance of this event lies in the fact that it was soon after the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, GVSS took the decision of organising mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955 in which the Indians would participate. Though the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli was an easy task, since these territories were surrounded by the Indian territory, yet it was for the first time that a part of Portuguese colony in India was overtaken by the nationalists forces and soon declared free. It also became an integral part of the Indian Union and Indian tricolour was hoisted there on 15th August 1954 in the hands of Dr. T. B. Cunha, father of Goan nationalism. This event marked the beginning of the collapse of Portuguese colonialism.

The movement for liberation of Goa was started on 15th August 1954 and subsided on 15th August 1955. It was on 15th August 1954, though a large number of Indian satyagrahis gathered on India-Goa border, only Goan satyagrahis were allowed to enter into Goa in three small batches. This satyagraha has its own significance in the sense that the leaders of these batches were Catholics. Though this mass satyagraha got converted into group satyagrahas, one thing which needs to be highlighted is that the group of satyagrahis which entered Goa via Terekhol, hoisted the Indian flag at Terekhol which remained there for about 24 hours. Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge, a satyagrahi of the same batch believed that if Indian government had helped the Goans during this time by sending their forces at Terekhol, then a parallel government or 'prati-sarkar' would have been established in Terekhol village.¹²³ The satyagraha activity which began on 15th August 1954 continued till the organization of mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955, with a number of satyagraha activities that took place inside Goa. Though 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha was called off by GVSS, due to the firings on peaceful satyagrahis, this satyagraha was responsible to create a lot of publicity at the international level about the dictatorial regime of Portuguese in Goa. It was also responsible to create a favourable world opinion towards the liberation struggle in Goa against Portuguese rule.

¹²² Ibid. p. 33

¹²³ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge.

THE ORGANISATIONAL LANDSCAPE OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE

“Gomantak is a part of Hindustan and that Portugal rules over it as Britain over the rest of the country, is an accident and a bad dream and will pass... meanwhile, people of Gomantak, think freely, speak freely, write freely, and act to build up organized strength”.

- Dr. R. M. Lohia.

The last phase of the Goa's Liberation struggle began with the above message to the Goans by Dr. R. M. Lohia on 18th June 1946. It was a struggle started to attain civil liberties which were denied to Goans under Portuguese rule. Every political or social action of Goans required the previous sanction of the Portuguese government. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia exhorted the people of Goa to come together and fight for civil liberties. His voice was heard at Margao for the first time in public by Goans under the Portuguese dictatorship. In his message to the Goans he emphasized the building up of the organizations limiting the aim to the attainment of civil liberties and not of independence. The formation of political organizations was in itself a challenge to the Portuguese rule. Under the fascist nature of Portuguese rule, even social or cultural organizations had no place to function.

The first and foremost principle of Dr. Salazar was to restrict all the activities by putting a ban on civil liberties. Dr. T. B. Cunha, the father of Goan nationalism writes;

‘Since 1926, Portugal is a fascist type of dictatorship. It has a close resemblance to the system prevailing in Italy and Germany with a difference that it supports itself on the shoulders of the military officialdom and high clergy instead of a strong political party. Like the other fascist dictatorships, its characteristics are the suppression of public liberties and the most elementary rights of the people. The parliament is considered as a mere decorative institution. Elections are a vestige of the past and aim at confirming unanimously the acts of the government; their result

being known in advance. No political parties are allowed. No political or even doctrinal discussion is permitted. The right of assembly does not exist and the press is under the severe censorship'.¹

Under such circumstances a number of Political organizations had to be formed, to give a challenge to Portuguese colonialism.

The people of Goa, however did not lag behind as far as formation of organizations were concerned. Dr. T. B. Cunha, Goan nationalist had formed the Goa Congress Committee in 1928, much before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. In addition to this, a number of nationalists or political groups were functioning in Goa during the phase of dictatorship in Portugal. Thus, the people of Goa tried to voice their resentment towards the Portuguese through their organizations. After the 18th June 1946 movement Goans inside Goa, as well as those outside Goa, took the help of organizations to raise the Goan issue outside Goa as well as outside India. The organization or a committee named Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti was formed by Indians to help the Goans in their efforts at liberating Goa from Portuguese rule.

In this chapter, I will examine some of these organizations in terms of three themes: (i) The Influence of Ideology, (ii) types of organization and (iii) their different stages of formations. All three are related to each other. Ideology marked the very beginning of the struggle which led to the formation of organizations. These in turn resulted in different stages of formation of these organizations.

The Influence Of Ideology

The best illustration of the influence of ideology is of Francisco Luis Gomes² who preached the message of Gomantaki Indian nationalism. Besides him, Luis de Menezes Braganza passed a resolution as a leader of the nationalist party in the Goa Legislative Council stating that Goa didn't renounce her patrimony of freedom and vision of a united

¹ Cunha, T. B. (1961) *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, The New Age Printing Press, p. 15.

² Juliao, Menezes (1947), *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Published and Printed by Dr. Juliao Menezes at Shiva Printing Press, pp. 14, 15.

and free India. There are many examples of this type which make us to believe that nationalism as a process had begun in Goa much before the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. It was in 1852 Father Jeremias Mascarenhas citing the Independence of Brazil proclaimed in Parliament of Portugal that no one should wonder if Portuguese India also made a demand for Independence. He said that emancipation was a natural evolution common to both individual and colonies.³

However, in the later period of Goa's liberation struggle, it was Indian National Congress (INC) which created a new sense of nationalism in the minds of Goans. INC and its ideology of satyagraha and non-violence, became dominant in the last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa. There is no doubt that the liberation struggle was influenced by the Indian National Movement (henceforth INM) right from 1946 till 1961. The growth of nationalism that was taking place in Goa, among the Goan youth slowly started taking the shape of political organizations during 1920s. These organizations were built along the lines of the different ideologies prominent in the Indian National Movement.

The ideology of *satyagraha and non-violence* attracted many Goan youth. Shri Purushottam Kakodkar⁴, a Goan nationalist, who had stayed with Mahatma Gandhi in the Wardha ashram, started a Gandhian constructive programme in Goa. It included the spinning and weaving of khadi, praying, flag hoisting, etc. The ideology of the wheel, which represents the concept of *swadeshi* and self-reliance became popular among the women. Besides this the wearing of khadi and Gandhi cap, became the symbol of nationalism in Goa. Many Goan youth and students started identifying themselves with Indian National Congress. Let me give two instances of the impact of Gandhi cap on the youth during the civil liberties movement in 1946. Frank Andrade, a Goan nationalist was sentenced to one month's additional imprisonment⁵ because he did not remove a Gandhi cap in the court of law. Andrade declared that though he was a Christian by religion, he was a Hindu by culture.

³ Gaitonde, P. D. (1987), *The Liberation Of Goa- A Participants View of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 6.

⁴ He along with Shri. Shivaji Kudchadkar started 'Goa Rachana Karya Samiti' to spread the importance of Khadi in Goa.

⁵ Hodarkar, S. M. 'National congress (Goa) Va Goa Swatantrya Latha' (Marathi), a paper presented in the seminar on *Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa's Struggle For Freedom*, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim college of Arts and Commerce.

Mr. Andrade was arrested by Mapusa police for offering satyagraha on 29th October 1946. In another case, one soldier snatched away the Gandhi cap from the head of Vincent Cunha (during civil disobedience movement) and passed it round to his comrades who promptly wiped their shoes with it. They then handed it over to its owner who received it with a defiant shout of *Jai-Hind*.⁶

The impact of satyagraha and non-violence was not limited to Goa. It even cut across geographical barriers with Goan nationalists in Portugal who were fascinated with the work of the Indian National Congress. They started calling themselves as the members of I.N.C.⁷ For them, there was no difference between Goa and India. They referred to India as “*Patria Hindu*” and changed their Portuguese names to that of Indian names.⁸ Such was the impact of Gandhi and satyagraha and non- violence on Goans.

Besides this, socialism and communism, which had played an equally important role in the Indian National Movement, captured the imagination of Goan youth. This ideology in the I.N.M was to get the support of peasants and workers to overthrow British imperialism. Some of the Goan patriots saw this ideology as more important than satyagraha and non- violence. This may be because of its success in I.N.M and because leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose were attracted towards socialism in 1930s.

The young nationalists like Shri Shamrao Madkaikar⁹ and Shri Ramanath Kadkade worked to spread this ideology among the Goan youth. But the very objective of this ideology of mobilising the common people was lost in the liberation struggle of Goa. These nationalists should have been able to bring up the common people, especially the farmers community into the mainstream of the liberation struggle thus making it a mass movement. If that had happened in the early stage of movement, it would have helped at the later stage of the liberation struggle. However, it was only in mid-50s Bahujan Samaj got itself integrated with the movement. But the beginning of the liberation struggle of

⁶ Menezes, Juliao op.cit., p. 67.

⁷ Sukhatankar, J. S., (1992), *Portuguese Rajvartitil Swatantrya Ladhychi Panne 1510-1947*, Bombay: Goa: Gomantak Marathi Academy- Panaji, p. 50.

⁸ For example a member of the organization named Fernadu Costa became Ram Gokhale, Antonio Furtado became Ram Pandit, Telo de Mascarenhas became Upendra Raj, etc

⁹ Shamrao Madkaikar accepted the membership of Radical Democratic Party.

Goa remained restricted to the middle class only. There was another group of Socialists, who were attracted towards Subhash Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army. These were among many Goan Patriots who had faith not only in Gandhi, but also in Subhash Chandra Bose and V. D. Savarkar. And these people believed in the use of violence. They argued that the Portuguese should be given an open challenge.¹⁰ However, just like the Shamrao Madkaikar's group, this group was small. Its activities were restricted to its members only and thus one does not find its influence on the general public. This does not mean that the people of Goa were not against the Portuguese rule. It only means that they did not get a chance to express themselves as they were not aware of the existence of these political groups in Goa before 1946. And if they were not against the Portuguese rule, then 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties would not have been a great success. One thing is to be remembered here is that these organizations were formed for the purpose of creating a sense of patriotism among Goans. The objective was to prepare the Goan youth to feel the sense of unity and brotherhood and to identify themselves with India.

It was an attempt to create an atmosphere conducive to the growth of nationalism which was dormant. The main purpose was to make a revolution in the existing values and principles. How far they were successful is a different story. Very little work was done in spreading the ideal of nationalism in Goa before 1946. And due to this, these ideologies, remained only as ideologies in the minds of Goan youth in that period.

However on 18th June 1946 the time had come to give substance to these ideologies when the last phase of liberation struggle had begun. Goan nationalists now came to the conclusion that without strong resistance Portuguese rule would never come to an end. And in an effort to give a challenge to Portuguese administration the first and foremost thing required was to organise the people against the denial of civil liberties on a large scale.

The 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties is, in itself, the best example of the practice of *satyagraha* and non-violence against Fascist Portuguese rule. Dr. R. M. Lohia,

¹⁰ P. P. Shirodkar (1986), '1946 to 1949 Madhil Pratyaksha Govyatil Ladhyaacha Adhava', in *Silver Jubilee Of Goa's Liberation 1961-86* (Souvenir) (1986), Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Freedom fighters Association, p. unnumbered.

a socialist leader of INM, himself set an example by speaking freely, without the support of any organization, but with the full fledged support of the people. The Goan people, who did not get a chance of watching what *satyagraha* can do, were fascinated by it. Right from that day till 1955, *satyagraha* and non-violence played an important role in the liberation struggle of Goa. Individual *satyagrahas*, group *satyagrahas*, and mass *satyagrahas* were held to give a challenge to Portuguese rule in Goa. Some nationalists argued that “Operation Vijay” which was launched by Indian Government to liberate Goa from Portuguese was nearest to non-violence, as there were hardly any casualties.¹¹

National Congress (Goa) was formed on the principles of *satyagraha* and non-violence, which played an important role in the liberation struggle of Goa. However, revolutionary minded Goan youth severed its ties with NC(G) to practice their own ideology independently. Influenced by Subhash Chandra Bose, they formed *Azad Gomantak Dal* on the lines of *Azad Hind Fauz*. These nationalists who later on became famous as “bandits” among the Portuguese as well as Goans, believed that Portugal does not understand the language of *satyagraha* and non-violence.¹² There were many other organizations which were formed on the similar pattern like Goa Liberation Army, *Rancor Patriotica*, Quit-Goa, etc. However, it should be remembered that like INC, NC(G) was the only organisation to keep its faith in *satyagraha* and non-violence. But in case of Goa, NC(G) was run by socialists.

Right from Dr. R. M. Lohia the leader of the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties to Peter Alvares, the leader of NC(G), the liberation struggle of Goa was in the hands of Socialists. Besides them Ashoka Mehta, a Socialist had presided over the meeting on 17th and 18th August 1946 at Londa, which had concluded in the formation of NC(G). It is also believed that Nath Pai, a socialist was supervising the work of Goa’s liberation struggle in mid 50’s.¹³ Again there were many socialists in Goa working for NC(G), like

¹¹ Interview with Gandhian and Freedom Fighter Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November, 2000)

¹² Interview with Freedom Fighters such as Shri. V. N. Lawande (May 1996), Prabhakar Vaidya, (June 1997), etc.

¹³ Karpe, Ramakrisna A. ‘Goa Swatantrya Ladhyatil Majhe Karya’ (Marathi) in Gomantak Marathi Academy, Maitra (Bimonthly) (August 1996). Goa: Published by Nisha Vaidya from Gomantak Marathi Academy Office- Panaji p. 11. Interview with Shri. Jaisinhrao A. Rane. (October 1996)

Shri. Gajanan Raikar and others. However, all these socialists believed in satyagraha and non-violence to be adopted as guidelines for the liberation of Goa. This may be due to the fact that Goa was a small territory which did not require any underground or terrorist activities. If entire Goa had participated in large numbers in satyagraha and non-violence, it would have been very difficult for the Portuguese to maintain law and order. Terrorist activities, as we would see, only divided the movement into groups and resulted in lot of confusion in the minds of Goans. Further, Dr. R. M. Lohia, the Socialist leader, while addressing the crowd on 18th June 1946, advised the people of Goa to limit their struggle to the attainment of civil liberties. He suggested that they concentrate their attention on social work which was more important than freedom at that stage. In a speech delivered on 18th June 1946 at Margao Dr. R. M. Lohia emphasised;

‘And yet there are quite a few things which you can and must undertake at once. You must revive village industries and Khadi and establish new ones. You must stop this racket in rice which enables the Government and its servants and others to take a looting profit out of the food of the people’.¹⁴

Further, the social work also included the unity of Hindus and Christians, training the youth into social and co-operative ways through volunteers corps, to safeguard the peasantry and revive village industry and khadi, promote co-operative farming and honour the national flag and enable the people to sing their national songs¹⁵. However this was not done. Within two months of its formation NC(G) changed its goal to complete independence from Portuguese rule.¹⁶ It was an immatured decision. Even Mahatma Gandhi had said that the larger question of independence would rest with the Indian government. Even Kakasaheb Kalellkar believed that if there would not have been any movement for liberation in Goa against Portuguese, India would not have kept its territory under the foreign imperialism.¹⁷ However, one should not forget the contribution of all these ideologies to the liberation struggle of Goa. They have definately helped the Goans to try to solve the

¹⁴ Dr. R. M. Lohia's speech is quoted in P. P. Shirodkar (ed) (1990), **Who's Who Of The Freedom Fighters- Goa, Daman Diu**, Vol II. Goa: Goa Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa p. XIII.

¹⁵ Shirodkar, P. P.(ed),(1990) **Who's Who of the Freedom Fighters-Goa, Daman and Diu**, Vol II. Goa: Goa Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa. pp. XI-XIV.

¹⁶ This was decided in the meeting of NC(G) which was held at Karamali (Carambolim) on 25th October 1947.

¹⁷ Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000)

Goan problem. Gandhian satyagraha and non-violence might have dominated the liberation struggle of Goa. But it was also helped by other organizations believing in different ideologies. For example, when mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 was announced, *Azad Gomantak Dal* suspended its activities for time being in order to help the Indian satyagrahis to march into Goa. On many occasions, one find that all these ideologies have merged together to create a necessary impact on the liberation struggle of Goa.

However, as one studies the liberation struggle of Goa, one comes across a significant section of people, who did not align themselves with any of the political organizations, as if they did not have faith in any ideology. If they believed in something it was liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule. In fact they are proud of the fact that they were not the members of any Political organizations. Jyoti Deshpande, a Goan nationalist had worked for the underground radio that was started by Vaman Sardesai. Besides this, Vaman Sardesai, though a Gandhian was not a member of any Goan political organization but worked independently for liberation of Goa. While some of them have worked individually, others like Shivram Shet have helped almost all the organizations irrespective of their ideologies. For them, the liberation of Goa was itself an ideology or above all other ideologies. Thus the question of disbelieving in one ideology and joining other did not come. It is this section of people who have no leadership. They themselves were the leaders and they themselves were the followers. These type of people comprise the subaltern groups. An innumerable people, who do not have any recognition as freedom fighters or any voice of their own which could be heard by others, worked for Goa's liberation. Some of them acted as volunteers, carried national flags, arms, bombs, etc. from one place to another. Some acted as messengers, passing messages from person to person. Women in large numbers especially in border areas of Pernem and Canacona supported these freedom fighters, sometimes by providing shelter while sometimes providing food to them. These people never differentiated between those who believed in satyagraha and non-violence and those who believed in violence. They aspired only for the liberation of Goa.

Further, liberation struggle of Goa, specially the last phase of it, did not have any background of Goan history. I say this because I found not a single freedom fighter whom I

have interviewed who was motivated by the revolts that rocked Goa before 1946 movement, especially in the 19th century. Almost all the nationalists were influenced by Indian National Movement and no one was fascinated by the various acts of resistance and revolts that were triggered off in Goa right from the Portuguese conquest. This is very much surprising because lack of knowledge of history created confusion in the minds of young revolutionaries. A look at the history of all these revolts, makes us believe that underground terrorist activities cannot be successful in Goa all the time under all circumstances. All these revolts were local, restricted to a village or a group of villages or a locality. And due to this, most of them were crushed very easily by Portuguese authorities. The same thing happened with *Azad Gomantak Dal*. Their activities were mostly unsuccessful for the simple reason that they did not have knowledge of Portuguese administration.¹⁸ Besides the people in Goa are peace loving people. These people were mostly afraid of the volunteers of AGD because, while fighting for the liberation they troubled lot of people sometimes robbing them as well as sometimes even killing them. Thus many people in Goa were against these activists. It was for this reason Portuguese called them as 'bandits' and not revolutionaries. Most of the Goans were terrorised by their activities. The sufferers were mostly the common people and not the Portuguese.¹⁹

Having seen the impact of various ideologies on the Goan nationalists, let me now study the various organisations which were formed before 18th June 1946 movement, during liberal era of Portuguese rule.

Types Of Organization:

In its long rule for about 450 years, Portuguese Goa had passed through three phases. It witnessed the monarchical rule before 1910, liberal phase during 1910-1926 and then the dictatorship of Dr. Oliviera Salazar till 1961.

The revolution²⁰ that took place in Portugal led to the establishment of Republic on 5th October 1910, which lasted till 1926. The republican era of Portuguese rule in Goa

¹⁸ Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar. (November 2000)

¹⁹ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar (May 2000), Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (Nov. 2000) and Smt. Rajani Naik (June 2000)

²⁰ During this time Don Carlos and the Heir Apparent Felip were assassinated.

can be said to be a golden era in Goa as Goans enjoyed all the liberties on par with the Portuguese²¹ in Portugal. Goans, taking the advantage of this situation, started expressing themselves through newspapers and organisations. The newspapers like 'Bharat' were started by G. P. Hegde Desai in 1913, 'Hindu' in 1924. Besides these, even political organisations were formed during this time.

Among the Goans, inside Goa, the first ones to take the benefit of the situation were Hindus- Hindus of high caste i.e. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins. The motive behind the formation of '*Pragatik Sangh*'²² was three-fold, (i) that Hindus should come together and fight unitedly for their identity, (ii) that they should have their voice in the formation of government and (iii) that they should work for their progress in education and culture in which they were lagging behind.

However as far as its first motive was concerned, it was a farce. It did work for the unity of Hindus, but not of the whole community. Since this organisation was formed by enlightened and educated Saraswat Brahmin Hindus, it not only lacked the membership of Catholics, but also the low caste in Hindu community. The second motive was achieved by successfully contesting the elections to the local bodies. Bhaskarrao Sardesai and Narayan Bandodkar were elected. Besides, this organisation also supported the candidature of Dr. Froilano de Melo for the member of Parliament in Portugal in 1924. *Pragatik Sangh*, as the name suggests, rather than working for the development or progress of the Hindu community, it had worked for the caste upliftment. *Pragatik Sangh*, which was formed in the Kawale Temple of Ponda Taluka in the year 1920, had the membership of only Hindu Gaud Saraswat Brahmins.²³ Its president was Dadasaheb Kundaikar.

Since *Pragatik Sangh* was political in nature, it opened up Marathi schools and libraries at different places in Goa. In order to spread the spirit of nationalism, prominent nationalists were invited to speak on different occasions. At the same time, they had also send their representatives to the Portuguese Parliament during the Liberal era. But *Pragatik*

²¹ Interview with Shri. Narendra Hegde Desai.(NC(G). (June 1996)

²² Sardesai, M. H.(1994), *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*,(Marathi) Goa: Purogami Prakashan, pp. 177-179.

²³ They were Dadasaheb Kundaikar(President), Shamrao Sardesai, Bhausubab Sardesai, Dattatraya V. Pai, Upendra Talaulikar and others.

Sangh had failed in an attempt to unite the Hindus to build up a strong force to keep its own identity in Goa against the alien nature of Portuguese rule. Not only this, one can make out from its membership and work that it did among the people, that except very few Gaud Saraswat Brahmins it could not muster the support of other Hindus. Since Goans were treated equally during the liberal phase, various opportunities in education and jobs were provided to them.²⁴

Hindus took the benefit of these opportunities and looked after their private interests. Since the Portuguese rule had become more liberal, Goans forgot about its foreign nature and instead, they concentrated their attention on the personal welfare. If at all, the Goans had asked for the self-rule or autonomy under the liberal phase and have worked for it, the Goan history would have been different.²⁵ Here they restricted their work in achieving the progress of their caste people. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins (henceforth GSB) in Goa took the advantage of this liberal phase, but on the other hand Bahujan Samaj people in Goa could not achieve any progress as they were culturally, socially, politically, economically and educationally less developed. Thus there was a rift between the Hindu GSB and the rest Bahujan Samaj who were mostly low caste people. This disunity further widened during the republican era. But GSBs were only concentrating on their development. During this time, this enlightened caste i.e. GSBs should have taken the lead in uniting the people of Goa. By joining hands with Bahujan Samaj, by making them aware of their rights, GSBs would have been able to start the movement for autonomy or self-rule under the Portuguese for Goans. If they were successful in achieving this objective, it would have been very easy to challenge the Portuguese in the later period. Besides this, *Pragatik Sangh* looked after the welfare of its own caste people. It would not be wrong to say that rather than other caste people, it was only the GSBs who took the advantage of this era as they were better-off and educated.

On the other hand the Goans in Portugal, who were influenced by the 19th century ideas of Liberalism, Socialism and Nationalism, and formed '*Centru Nacionalist Indianu*'

²⁴ Sardesai, M. H. op.cit., p. 157.

²⁵ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Narendra Hegde Desai.(NCG),(May 1996.)

or '*Patria Nacionalist Hindu*'.²⁶ This came into existence in Portugal itself in December 1925. It was formed by Catholic Goans who had settled in Portugal for higher education, business and jobs. It was established with the mystical name of the Hindu triad- the syllable 'OAM'. It should be remembered that these Goan Catholics were more liberal minded than Hindus and could clearly see the difference between the Monarchy and Republic and that too under the self-rule. And in order to work for 'Swaraj' or 'Independence' twenty-eight nationalists came together under the leadership of Fernando de Costa, to form this organization.²⁷ They started their work for Goa's cause by conducting interviews of intellectuals and important people²⁸ in the government in Portugal to know their views regarding India in general and Goa in particular. They emphasised on the unity of Hindus and Catholics for Goa's cause. They believed that the actual work of spreading the nationalistic thought is necessary in Goa. This organization got a wide publicity not only in Portugal but also in Goa and various Goan organizations supported it wholeheartedly.

However within one year of its formation, Dr. Salazar came to power in 1926 and imposed a ban on all the civil liberties. Thus *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* could not do any active work on the Goan soil, but definitely it had expressed its pro-Indian views on the soil of Portugal.

However, one thing is very clear that Goan Catholics were more liberal minded than Goan Hindus. *Pragatik Sangh* was formed by Hindus and worked for the unity among Hindus, more specially among Hindu Gaud Saraswat Brahmins. But *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* was formed by Goan Catholics and emphasised on the unity of Hindus and Catholics. Besides this, *Pragatik Sangh* did not receive much importance and publicity in Goa although it was formed inside Goa. It was not even popular among Hindus may be because it had restricted its activities to few Hindus. Whereas *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* became famous in Portugal and Goa due to its secular nature. It was understood that political and cultural development of a nation depends on the progress of people in general and not

²⁶ Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., pp. 47-57.

²⁷ Sardesai, M. H. op.cit., pp. 186-194.

²⁸ These included Rosh Martins (MP and Member of Academy of Science), Ferrer Castro, Edward Friyash (writer), Ronald Periera (Political scientist) and many members.

of a particular caste or community. *Pragatik Sangh* on the other hand had a very narrow base. Being formed in Goa, it would have been able to unite the people irrespective of caste or religion. This did not happen and Goa had to suffer later on for more than thirty-five years. This was mainly because this organization had a very narrow base and it did not even tried to broaden its outlook where others can be encompassed in this organization.

Unfortunately, Portugal enjoyed the Republic only for a brief period of sixteen years. This was too small for any country to develop at its best. The revolution of 28th May 1926 in Portugal resulted in the dictatorship of Dr. Oliviera Salazar. More unfortunate were the Goans who could not bring about any changes in the political scenario of the region. After coming to power, Dr. Salazar's first action was to crush all the liberties; which people had enjoyed during the Republic. Meetings, demonstrations, organizations were banned and all the publications were strictly censored. The administration of Portugal and its colonies came directly under his supervision and control. He thus became a dictator.

After the curtailment of civil liberties and other rights and privileges, the Goan nationalist thought of starting the movement for liberation by organizing themselves, all over again. However, only two organisations were supposed to have formed, one inside Goa and the other in Portugal during the liberal era of the Portuguese rule. It was during the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, we find the emergence of a number of political organizations in Goa. Prominent among them are Goa Congress Committee formed by Dr. T. B. Cunha in 1928, *Tarun Hind Sangh* formed by Shri. Shamrao Madkaikar in 1937, *Goa National Congress* or *Gomantak Congress* formed by Dr. Ram Hegde, *Goa Seva Sangh* formed by Shri. Purushottam Kakodkar, Students Union formed by Dr. Bhembre at Altinho Mapusa.

The more you are denied something, or the more you suffer the more you revolt. This human nature was seen by the Portuguese when many Goans had revolted against the tyrannical rule before the twentieth century. Thus, the denial of the civil liberties encouraged or rather forced Goan nationalist to rise up against the Portuguese rule and to show their anger by forming political organizations.

The most important organization which was formed during the Salazar dictatorship of Portugal was Goa Congress Committee²⁹. A Gandhian and a true nationalist, Dr. T. B. Cunha was its founder. The father of Goa's nationalism felt that the political future of Goa was to be integrated with the Indian National Movement. And this was the main reason to affiliate the Goa Congress Committee with the Indian National Congress on December 30, 1928³⁰. Formed in the beginning of 1928, Goa Congress Committee could not work openly due to strict restrictions. Due to its clandestine nature it could not attract the people. And since it could not attract the people it could not get the support of the people. However, with the publicity it received in newspapers after affiliating with the Indian National Congress in India, the public in Goa, for the first time, came to know about the existence of a political organization in Goa. The founding members of Goa Congress Committee (henceforth GCC) were the members of *Pragatik Sangh*. For example, Venkatesh Rao V. S. Sardesai, one of the members of G.C.C. However, Dr. T. B. Cunha remained as the president of his organization till the formation of National Congress (Goa) in 1947 when GCC officially merged with it.

As a political organization, the important task in front of GCC was to make propaganda against the Portuguese rule through the newspapers. After the strict censorship in 1929, GCC published and distributed nationalist literature, posters and other reading material among the Goan youth. But if we evaluate the performance of GCC in Goa, its fate was like that of *Pragatik Sangh* and *Centru Nacionalist Indianu*. Besides, it was led by few educated high caste Christians and Hindus. Further Goa Congress Committee, instead of fighting against the Portuguese rule or making the people aware of the alien rule had to fight for its own existence. If this was the plight of GCC, formed by Dr. T. B. Cunha, one can very well imagine what was the plight of the other political organisations, which were formed in Goa.

Other organizations such as *Tarun Hind Sangh*, Goa National Congress, *Goa Seva Sangh* and Students Union were mostly local and attracted few people. It would

²⁹ Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., pp. 67-72.

³⁰ At a session of INC held at Calcutta and Presided over by Motilal Nehru.

not be wrong to call these organizations as groups, mainly due to the fact that they entertained not the people, but friends and relatives³¹. Except, *Tarun Hind Sangh*, which advocated communism and socialism, all others acted like caste groups as all members and leaders came from the upper caste of Hindus as their name suggests. This can be explained from the fact that *Goa Seva Sangh* which was involved in spreading the concept of nationalism through celebrating important national days, singing of *Vande Mataram*, flag hoisting, praying etc.,³² was restricted to the people of high caste and their family members. Besides this, the lectures on the nationalism which were conducted on behalf of *Goa Seva Sangh*, were delivered by upper caste Hindus especially GSBs. *Tarun Hind Sangh* also held the discussions on political issues and conducted many lectures on nationalism. Besides this, it is also said to have opened up libraries in many parts of Goa and propagated its views through hand-written monthly named '*Uttejan*'.³³

One thing that is, however, to be noted here is that all these organizations had very little success in propagating the message of nationalism. The main reason for their failure lies in the fact that not a single organization took the work for cause of Goa seriously. If they thought that under the dictatorship they could not do the work properly, it was a false belief. It is said that before 1946, the restrictions were not so strict as it was projected to be. For example, during 1945-46, Portuguese government had allowed the Goans to hoist Indian flag with the Portuguese flag,³⁴ but unfortunately Goans did not take the benefit of the prevailing situation. Goans wanted to do something to build up the political consciousness in Goa, but did nothing, except form organizations. And this was one of the reasons why Goa had to wait for a long period of thirteen years to get liberated not by the Goans, but by Indians.

There seems to be not a single organizations formed by Goans for Goa's cause, outside Goa which can be considered to be significant. But GCC which was formed in

³¹ One can identify these people as GSBs from their surnames and they were mostly friends or relatives of each other.

³² Interview with Freedom fighter Shri. Shivaji Kudchadkar. (October 1997)

³³ Bhatt, Vithalrai. (1992). *Gomantakatil Agnifule*, Thane: Anuradha Prakashan Ambivali, (W) p. 3.

³⁴ Interview with Freedom fighter Shri. Madhukar Desai (May 1998) and Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000).

Goa, had worked outside Goa, i.e, in Bombay after its disaffiliation to INC in 1934.³⁵ But the way GCC had to fight for its existence in Goa, and also in Bombay where it had to fight for its survival shows the lack of involvement of Goans in the organization. After its resettlement in Bombay in 1936, and later on the advice of Subhash Chandra Bose, provincial GCC was established. Thus GCC started working under the Congress without directly affiliating to it³⁶.

Goa Congress Committee, which had completely settled down in Bombay by 1938, started the work for Goa's cause with new vigour. Thus, to discuss, its future the GCC in Bombay held a meeting in December 1935 at Bombay. It was attended by Mr. Ignatius Fonseca (editor of *Anglo Lusitanu*), Purushottam Revankar, Adv. J. P. Lobo, Vinayak Karapurkar, J. D. Silva, Prof. Armando Menezes, Sushil Kawalekar, C. K. Sakholkar, Vaikunth N. Nevrekar, Peter Alvares, Dr. T. B. Cunha, Ana Mayekar and V. S. Sardesai. During this time Dr. T. B. Cunha was elected as President and F. S. Gracius as Secretary.³⁷

GCC in Bombay took up the work of organizing the Goans in Bombay. Besides this, it had also published articles, pamphlets which were circulated secretly inside Goa. For example, 'Denationalisation of Goans' had become famous among the Goan youth³⁸. However, GCC could not muster the support of a large number of Goans in Bombay for Goa's cause. It is said that the Goans in Bombay were not serious about the Portuguese rule in Goa. And this is one of the reasons why there was not a single organization formed outside Goa before 1946.

The 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties marked the beginning of new era in the political future of Goa. If it would not have been this movement which was responsible to start the liberation struggle afresh, the Goan History would have been totally different. Political organizations that were formed after this movement assume more importance for the reason that they acquired the knowledge of how to oppose the alien rule on the Goan

³⁵ It was disaffiliated because INC thought of closing down all such branches of it which were working on the soil of foreign country. Since Goa was not under the British rule GCC was considered as foreign.

³⁶ Sukhatankar, J. S. *op.cit.*, p.84.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 84-85.

³⁸ Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelckar. (November 2000).

soil. In a bid to throw out the Portuguese rule, a number of small groups were functioning against Portuguese imperialism. The number of these organizations was too big for a small territory like Goa (see Appendix-III). If India could challenge mighty British empire just with one organization i. e. Indian National Congress, it was rather pity for Goans, who kept themselves divided into many organizations. However all the organizations formed for Goa's cause had a strong ambition and anxiety to throw out the four hundred years Portuguese rule.

Political organizations formed before India's independence but after 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties assumed more importance than those organizations which were formed after India's Independence. This is for the simple reason that Goans felt that these organizations would help Goa to get freedom from Portuguese colonialism not only effectively organizing the satyagraha movement within Goa, but also by pressurising the Indian government to solve Goa's problem. Even Mahatma Gandhi believed that the inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence until greater India has regained it.³⁹ It was not only the Goan nationalists, but even the Portuguese authorities themselves believed that after India's Independence even Portuguese rule in Goa would come to an end. Besides this the priority of Goan nationalists was not the liberation, but asking for civil liberties, thus helping the Indian leadership to solve the Goan problem as early as possible, especially soon after India's Independence. With this background two important organizations were formed, Azad Gomantak Dal, inside Goa and National Congress (Goa), at Londa in Maharashtra.

The credit for the formation of the first political organization after 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties goes to National Congress (Goa). The first and probably the last effort of Goan nationalists to bring together all the nationalist forces under one name and one banner, led to the formation of NC(G). It was formed by the merger of three political groups, which were then working for Goa's cause namely Goa Congress Committee, *Goa Seva Sangh* and *Gomantak Congress*. National Congress (Goa) was the

³⁹ Kelkar, Indumati (1996), Dr. R. M. Lohia- His Life and Philosophy Pune: Published by Sripad Kelekar, Sadashiv Peth p. 119.

result of the meeting which was held on 17th and 18th August 1946 at Londa in the former Bombay state, presently in Karnataka near Goa border. The meeting was attended by 125 Goan nationalists and presided over by the socialist leader Shri Ashoka Mehta.⁴⁰

Two reasons are given for the formation of NC(G), the first being more important and more reliable than the second. The call given by Dr. R. M. Lohia for the unity among the different nationalists forces for the demand of civil liberties finds its echo in the formation of NC(G). Whereas the arrests of top most leaders like Shri. Purushottam Kakodkar and others after 18th June movement led to a unification of the various organizations irrespective of ideologies which created the NC(G). The first reason has got more weight because NC(G) was formed for liberties and not for the independence as Dr. R. M. Lohia had suggested. Being the first political organization it received great support. Primarily there were about 125 founding members but later on many men and women enrolled themselves as the members of NC(G). The committee which was formed soon after its formation comprised of Dr. Ram Hegde (President and former leader of Gomantak Congress), Dr. Narayan Bhembre and Evagrio George (Secretaries), Laxmikant Bhembre, P. P. Shirodkar, Madhav Bir and many others. Till 1954 i.e., before the 15th August 1954 satyagraha, every year President and General Secretaries were elected to the National Congress (Goa).⁴¹

Since the main purpose of NC(G) was to fight for civil liberties, it was decided to hold the satyagrahas on 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month, all over Goa.⁴² But the enthusiasm of the people was such that not a single day was spared without satyagrahas. It was started with Adv. Laxmikant Bhembre, the first satyagrahi on behalf of NC(G) who made a speech defying the Portuguese laws in front of Margao Municipality. However that enthusiasm soon came to an end by 1949 with the arrest and imprisonment of many leaders of the movement.

⁴⁰ Shirodkar, P. P. (1991), '1946 to 1949 Madhil Pratyakha Govyatil Ladhya Adhava', (Marathi) in Akhi Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sainik Sangh- Pune and Goa Freedom Fighters Association- Panaji (1991), *Smarnika*, Maharashtra: Published by Shri. Ram Tupe, President, Akhil Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sangram Sainik Sangh, Pune, pp. 101-105

⁴¹ The General secretaries and the President of various committees elected for NC(G) from 1946 are Dr. Narayan Bhembre and Dr. Ram Hegde, 1947, P. P. Shirodkar and Dr. V. N. Mayekar, 1948 Gilherm Tiklo and P. P. Shirodkar, 1949, V. P. Borkar and S. B. D'Silva, 1950 V. N. Lawande and Dr. John Carvalho, 1951 Dr. P. Jambavelikar and Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri, 1952 Anthony D'Souza and Dr. Narayan Bhembre, 1953 Anthony D'Souza and Peter Alvares, 1954 Anthony D'Souza and Smt. Sudhatai Joshi.

⁴² Interview with Shri. Narayan Hari Naik. (October 1998). He had participated in a similar type of Satyagraha on 18th December 1946 at Sanguem.

Those who were released did not come forward to continue the struggle. Some of the people thought that their work was complete and kept themselves away from the Goan movement. Besides other people, seeing the attitude of the Portuguese towards the satyagrahis hesitated to participate in the movement. Some others like Shri. V. N. Lawande who were ill treated by Portuguese administration during and after 18th June 1946 movement formed underground organizations. Thus the Goan movement which was at the peak during 1946-49 started subsiding. It was during this time, Dr. R. M. Lohia noticed that the new recruits did not come forth to court imprisonment. Difference and dissensions cropped up in the organization and the leaders of the movement, who were drawn from the upper strata, were avoiding jails under the pretext of looking after organizational work.⁴³ Some Goan nationalists, who did not want the Goan movement to die down thought of reviving the National Congress (Goa). And after India's independence these nationalist such as V. N. Mayekar, P. P. Shirodkar, N. Karapurkar, Guilherm Ticlo, V. N. Lawande, Narayan Naik, Dattatraya Deshpande and Madhusudan Shirodkar held a meeting at Karmali (Carambolim) on 25th October 1947.

This movement has got its own importance from the fact that the aim of NC(G) which was to fight for civil liberties at this meeting decided to change its goal to complete independence from the Portuguese rule⁴⁴. It is very interesting to note here that India had got its independence only two months previously. It was a good opportunity for the Goan nationalists to pressurise the Portuguese government to make them realise that now the time had come for them to leave Goa and go back to Portugal. The mass upsurge which Dr. Lohia's satyagraha sparked in Goa on 18th June 1946, had panicked the Portuguese government. Had the movement been sustained upto August 1947, the Portuguese would have to quit Goa simultaneously with the withdrawal of the British.⁴⁵

This organization worked actively on the Goan soil, organising individual, group and mass satyagrahas at different places in Goa⁴⁶. Under the leadership of Shri. Peter

⁴³ Kelkar, Indumati op.cit., p. 123.

⁴⁴ Shirodkar, P. P. op.cit., p. 164.

⁴⁵ Kelkar, Indumati op.cit., p. 123.

⁴⁶ Sardesai, M. H. (1986) and (1990) *Goa, Daman, Diu Swatantra Ladhyacha Itihas*, (vol.I&II).(Marathi) Goa: Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa, Daman and Diu.

Alvares NC(G) organised mass satyagraha of 15th August 1954. Besides this, the hoisting of the national flag, celebrating days of National importance such as Gandhi Jayanti, Republic day, Independence day, sticking posters, etc., were the common features of NC(G) activities. Further it was also responsible for creating *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* for Goa's cause. But very few people supported the Goan leaders. It was only Dr. R. M. Lohia who was respected by a large number of Goans. After him, only Peter Alvares, as a common man was respected by Goans. And due to this, 15th August 1954 was not a complete failure. However, it was only converted into group satyagraha. Besides this, by 1954 many peaceful nationalists were attracted towards revolutionary terrorism. This resulted in the split in NC(G) which resulted in weakening of the Goan movement.

The first split to NC(G) came just within eight months of its formation. A group of revolutionary minded Goan nationalists severed its ties with the parent body in the belief that the Portuguese did not understand the language of satyagraha and non-violence. These nationalists came together in the Cuncolim village of Ponda Taluka at the Shantadurga Temple on 23rd April 1947 to form Azad Gomantak Dal under the leadership of V. N. Lawande.⁴⁷ The other members besides V. N. Lawande were Narayan H. Naik, Mahabaleshwar Naik, Dattatreya Deshpande, Jaiwant Kunde, Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri, Tony Fernandes, Mukund Dhakankar, Prabhakar Sinari, Prabhakar Vaidya, Shaboo Desai, Dattaram Desai, etc.⁴⁸

Azad Gomantak Dal committed to violent struggle against the Portuguese state is said to have attacked and raided Portuguese Banks, nearly 24 police stations, two army installations, check posts etc. About 150 raids were carried out in order to paralyse the Portuguese administration.⁴⁹ After an unsuccessful attempt of attacking Portuguese revenue office, the organisation worked underground. Though established in 1947, it came to prominence only after 1953.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. V. N. Lawande. (May 1996)

⁴⁸ Working committee of AGD had President, V. N. Lawande, Secretary Tony Fernandes, Treasurer Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri.

⁴⁹ Interview with Shri. V. N. Lawande and Prabhakar Vaidya (June 1996) and others. (AGD)

⁵⁰ Lele, P. S. (1987) *Dadra and Nagar Haveli-Past and Present*, Bombay: Published by Usha P. Lele, Mauj Printing Bureau p. 40.

The reason for the failure of AGD are many. Firstly there was no help given by Indian government to such organizations. It is said that terrorism only succeeds if some other country helps these kind of organizations by providing them men and material. And in order to solve the problem of money, it is largely believed that AGD had even raided many rich people in Goa, resulting into the death of rich Goans during raids.⁵¹

Goa, being a small territory, all such raids, lootings and killings were termed as 'goondaism' and this nature of AGD was spread in entire Goa. Many people in Northern villages of Goa used to be afraid of AGD activities which had threatened the common people more than the Portuguese. And therefore it could attract very few nationalists Goans. Besides this, many AGD volunteers left this organization in between after they came to know about its real nature. Some of them included Ravindra Kelekar and Gajanan Raikar. The AGD claimed that it had successfully raided many outposts, army installations, police stations, etc. in order to collect the arms and ammunitions for AGD which was disputed by others in the liberation movement who termed them as unsuccessful since they were carried out without proper plans.

Whenever they had decided to raid either police posts or outposts etc., in order to grab armaments, they had very little knowledge about its presence at such places. Besides this, due to frustration and indiscipline the members used to fight and quarrel amongst themselves. Some of the members, later on split from the organisation and formed other organization such as *Rancor Patriotica*. Its leader was Prabhakar Sinari, who was the active member of AGD. However AGD played an important part in the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. AGD is said to have worked like a paramilitary force conducting regular guerilla warfare against the Portuguese in Goa.⁵²

Having seen the important organizations and their role in the liberation struggle of Goa before India's independence, let me now take a look at the organizations formed for Goa's cause after India's independence. It is important to do this because the problem of Goa, which was considered a simple affair, took a different and serious turn after India's independence.

⁵¹ Shri. Rambhau's letter to co-freedom fighters.(Collected From Shri. Ravindra Kelekar).

⁵² Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Sinari.

On 15th August 1947, India got its independence from the British rule. The French gave up their few territorial possessions, which they had in India, and followed the path of the Britishers. The future of India was now dependent upon the integration of nearly about 565 princely states with the Indian Union. The efforts had also begun in that direction soon after 1947. And the most simple case of ending Portuguese rule in Goa started becoming a complex one.

In contrast to Britain and France, Portugal started strengthening its imperial hold over Goa. The first and the foremost act of Dr. Oliveira Salazar was to change the words of 'colonies' to 'overseas provinces' in Portugal's constitution. More and more restrictions were imposed on Goans in these so called 'provinces' of Portugal. In fact upto June 11, 1951, for nearly four hundred years, there was in existence a Portuguese colonial empire. Only on that date, the Portuguese Government redrafted the articles of the Portuguese constitution where the word 'colonia' (colony) was mentioned and substituted it by 'Provincia Ultramarina' (overseas provinces).⁵³ As a result of all this, not a single organization could take birth on the soil of Goa, after India's independence. Portuguese administration, now became more alert and concerned with India's attitude towards the Goan nationalists. Dr. Salazar also believed that India, in an effort to get rid of foreign rule on its territory, might take a police action or help the Goan nationalist to throw them out. Thus, the liberal attitude of Portuguese towards the Goan nationalists which had prevailed before India's independence suddenly disappeared. And in order to escape from the repressive measures of Portuguese rule, Goan nationalists went outside Goa, settled in Bombay or Belgaum and in other parts in India. These nationalists formed many organizations for Goa's liberation outside Goa.⁵⁴

Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti(GVSS) and Goa Liberation Army (GLA) are two prominent organisations. Although formed outside Goa, both these organizations were active on the Goan soil. It is also to be noted that the former believed in *satyagraha* and

⁵³ George, Evagrio (1961), The Goa case, New Delhi: National Campaign Committee for Goa. p. 2.

⁵⁴ These organizations are Goan Peoples' Party (Bombay 1948), Goa Liberation Council (Bombay 1954), Quit-Goa organization (Banda 1954), United Front Of Goans (Bombay), Rancor Patriotica (1957) and many others.

non-violence, whereas the later believed in terrorism. GVSS was an effort on the part of India to lend a helping hand to the Goans in their efforts to liberate Goa, whereas GLA, was solely the effort of Goan nationalists to liberate Goa by force. The credit of organising the *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* (GVSS) goes to the efforts of Shri. Peter Alvares, the President of National Congress (Goa) in 1953. After the limited success of the 15th August 1954 mass satyagraha, Shri. Peter Alvares thought that without the help of Indians, Goa's question would not be solved. *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*,⁵⁵ with its headquarters at Pune (Poona), organised satyagrahas in Goa from 18th June 1955 which culminated in the mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955.⁵⁶

This was the single organization, which was responsible for uniting a large number of Indians on the Goa problem. It went about its activities in a systematic manner. Made up of *Akhil Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sangram Sainik Sangh*, working committees were elected for every state. Their task was to enroll the names of a large number of satyagrahis from their respective states. For eg., the president of the working committee of Rajasthan state was Mohandas, for Maharashtra, S. V. Khede, etc. Thousand of satyagrahis arrived on the India- Goa borders. Those who had shown the courage and determination of crossing the sealed international borders, were fired upon by the Portuguese border officials. This led to the death of some of the satyagrahis while others escaped with injuries.

The declaration, which was made by Dr. Salazar that mass entry of Indians amounted to invasion of Portuguese territory,⁵⁷ was followed by a warning. He warned India that there would be bloodshed if there was any attempt by its citizens to cross the international border. And for the first time in the history of nationalist struggle, the citizens of one country organised satyagraha against the continued foreign rule in the territory that was under foreign domination. As a result of Salazar's warning, *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*

⁵⁵ It was formed by all non-Congress parties including CPI, SK party, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Revolutionary Party and Forward block. Its main office was at Poona. Keshavarao Jodhe and Jayantrao Tilak were elected as president and General Secretary respectively. S. A. Dange, S. M. Joshi and many representatives of other parties became the members of this organization.

⁵⁶ The important personalities like Nanasaheb Goray, Madhu Limaye, Senapati Bapat, Shirubhau Limaye, Tridip Kumar chowdhary, Malinibai Tulpule and many others led the batches of satyagrahas.

⁵⁷ Lawande, V. N. 'They Embraced Death with Smiling Faces', in *Smaranika*, op. cit., pp. 27-29

without any notice to Goans withdrew the 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha.

The organization of mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 raised many questions. Its impact on the Portuguese was nil, but its failure and the attitude of Portuguese towards unarmed *satyagrahis* created a strong resentment not only in Goa and India but also in other countries. If the *satyagraha* of 15th August 1954 was responsible for the organization of 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha, then the later was responsible to give an international focus to the Goa problem. This is only the positive side of the *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*, amongst its failures.

Whatever may be the reasons for the failure of 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha, the reason for the emergence of Goa Liberation Army (GLA), after a split in NC(G) was a result of this failure. Thus on 30th September 1955, GLA was born at Belgaum to pursue Goa's liberation by force. The six founding members, the 'High Command' of Goa Liberation Army consisted of Shri. Augustus Alvares, Shri. Urselina Almeida, Shri. Shivaji Desai, Shri. Madhavrao L. Rane, Shri. Jaisinghrao V. Rane, and Shri. Balakrishna Bhonsale. Among these, three were ex-military men of India while Shri. Urselina Almeida, being a graduate in physics and chemistry was versed in using and handling destructive weapons.⁵⁸

Unlike AGD, GLA was a well disciplined organization. Goa was divided into three sections, each was supervised and controlled by two members of the high command. All the activities like training the nationalists, preparing bombs and other destructive material was done under the vigilance of Augustus Alvares. GLA had pledged as its goal i.e. liberation of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union. Although formed outside Goa, GLA was very active inside Goa and the nationalists used to be in Goa after every militant action. One of the main conditions one had to fulfill to become member of GLA was that one must be ready to participate in the operations it undertakes. This was applicable to everybody including the members of the High command. Finance to the Army

⁵⁸ Interview with GLA members like Jaisingrao V. Rane (October 1997), Krishnarao Rane (October 1997), Shivaji Desai (December 1999), Urselino Almeida (May 1999) and many others.

used to come mostly through donations and regular subscription collected outside Goa.

Thus, the Portuguese radio used to describe the underground workers as 'Bandits', they described the volunteers of GLA as terrorists.

Some of the members of GLA used to change their names very often during their stay in Goa. To escape arrests Urselino Almeida, one of the members of high command, changed his name five times. Besides this, some members were even given code names to hide their true identity and to confuse the Portuguese officials. Vasant Karapurkar, one of the members of GLA was given the code name as 'zero'.

Being a militant organization, GLA was successful, in destroying the bridges in Margao, Poinguinim, Balli, Cuncolim, Porvorim, etc. Besides this, to make the economic blockade successful, they started destroying the mines as well as barges and other means of water transportation through which minerals were being transported. Due to the proper planing, the mines of Bicholim, Sanquelim, Neturlim and Sirgao mines, which were the backbone of Portuguese economy, were destroyed successfully by GLA members.⁵⁹ In this way they had paralysed the mining industry. Portuguese officials were well informed of who had executed the attack by a message left on the spot of every successful attack which said 'GLA strikes again'. However just after two years of functioning, the GLA activities came to an end.

It is believed that an important attack on Sirgao mines of 19th February 1957 was disliked by one of the members of high command.⁶⁰ This resulted in restricting the activities of GLA workers. Within a short period, GLA did an important work of threatening the Portuguese administration and paralysing its economy. It is believed that many of its members later on joined with '*Rancor Patriotica*', formed in 1957.⁶¹

From the above information we can conclude that the militant organizations were

⁵⁹ Interview with Shri. Urselino Almeida (May 1999), Shri. Shivaji Desai (December 1999) Jaisingrao V. Rane (October 1997) and other members of GLA.

⁶⁰ Jaisingrao V Rane 'Goa Liberation Army and its activities', in *Silver Jubilee of Goa's Liberation 1961-86*. (1986). (Souvenir) Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Freedom Fighters Association, p. unnumbered.

⁶¹ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Prabhakar Sinari. (July 1998).

formed after having a split with NC(G) over its ideology. Right from the formation of Azad Gomantak Dal, the first militant organization after 18th June 1946 movement, almost all the organisations formed were militant organization except Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti. But neither satyagraha and non-violence nor terrorism was alone responsible for the liberation of Goa by Goans themselves. Instead from 1946 till 1961, the Goan movement was divided among many organizations.

Their Different Stages Of Formation.

Having discussed the significance and its impact as well the importance of organizations, in some detail, let me now study the different stages of the formation of these organizations.

The organizations namely the *Pragatik Sangh* and *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* were formed during the liberal era of Portuguese rule. They were formed within a gap of five years. Others such as Goa Congress Committee, *Goa Seva Sangh*, *Tarun Hind Sangh*, *Gomantak Congress*, which were formed during the dictatorship in Portugal, were formed with the gap of three to four years. Although *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* was formed outside Goa i.e. in Portugal it was aware of *Pragatik Sangh* in Goa.⁶² The members of *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* were even willing to work with *Pragatik Sangh* in order to raise the political consciousness among the Hindus and Catholics. Besides this, the founding members of *Pragatik Sangh* was the core group of GCC. It is believed that Dr. T. B. Cunha had taken the help of the members of *Pragatik Sangh* for the establishment of GCC. The members of GCC are even said to have worked for *Goa Seva Sangh* after the GCC was shifted to Bombay in the year 1936. These members sometimes secretly distributed the publications of GCC inside Goa and at the same time collected funds for the organizations. The young nationalist of *Tarun Hind Sangh*, Shri. Shamrao Madkaikar, never made any difference between GCC and his organization.⁶³

⁶² Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., p. 50.

⁶³ Interview with Shri Shamrao Madkaikar, (June 1996)

They distributed the periodicals and articles of GCC and also propagated the message of communism and socialism by distributing the literature of CPI.⁶⁴ Thus before the beginning of the last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa, on 18th June 1946, the above organizations had tried to spread the spirit of nationalism among Goans in their own way. Thus during the liberal era of Portuguese rule and during the dictatorship of Portugal, specifically before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, these organizations willingly co-operated with each other. They had joined hands with each other forgetting their ideologies, as they had a common goal of making the people aware of the foreign rule on them.

After the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties the first organisation, which was formed, was NC(G) on 17th and 18th August 1946. Except for the Goan Peoples' Party which was formed in 1948 in Bombay, all other organizations were formed after 1954. It should also be noted that the majority of these organizations, except Goa Liberation Council (1954, Bombay), were the offshoot of NC(G).

In order to combine the efforts of the Goan nationalists the National Congress (Goa) was formed under the leadership of Ashoka Mehta on 17th and 18th August 1946. It was formed by the merger of various political groups which were functioning inside Goa, before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. Accordingly Goa National Congress alias Goa Seva Sangh of Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, Gomantak Congress alias Goa Congress of Dr. Ram Hegde and Goa Congress Committee of Dr. T. B. Cunha officially merged to form National Congress (Goa).

Goa Congress Committee and Goa Seva Sangh, believed in the Gandhian Principles of satyagraha and non-violence whereas Gomantak Congress, earlier was attracted towards the work of Subhash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army and the working of the Socialist group in the Indian National Congress. Thus, we could see that the National Congress (Goa) was the merger of two different ideologies, i.e. Gandhian and militant nationalism. The artificial formation of National Congress (Goa), could not keep the members united

⁶⁴ Bhatt, Vithalrai op. cit., pp. 4, 5.

for a very long time. The revolutionary minded nationalists that were present in NC(G), split from the parent body. And thus we can see the formation of a number of political organizations, whose main intention was to openly challenge the Portuguese rule by arms and ammunitions. Not only this, due to the frustration as well as quarrels within the organizations, these militant organizations had a further split. For eg. some members of AGD formed *Rancor Patriotica* in the year 1957 under the leadership of Shri. Prabhakar Sinari. There was also Quit-Goa organization, composed of the dissident group of the workers which once belonged to NC(G). Even in this organization there were two groups. The one violent, led by John Gilbert Rebelo and the other non-violent led by J. J. Shinkre.⁶⁵ Due to a split in the Quit-Goa organization, as well as the members of Goa Liberation Army have worked for Rancor Patriotica. In addition these organizations had links with the smaller political groups that were functionig inside Goa. The members of AGD worked as the members of *Rashtra Seva Dal*, formed by Nath Pai in the year 1947 in Mapusa. While some members of Rashtra Seva Dal joined later on with National Congress (Goa). In the year 1950, Rashtra Seva Dal was changed to 'Vidyarthi Sangh' or 'Students Union'. (see Appendix IV)

Again in the year 1950-51, with the help of one of the founding members of Rashtra Seva Dal or Vidyarthi Sangh Dr. Dubhashi, Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde founded 'Abhinav Gomantak' on the line of 'Abhinav Bharat' of Swatantryaveer Savarkar (V. D. Savarkar). The members of 'Abhinav Gomantak', which was again a militant organization, later on joined with Azad Gomantak Dal whereas Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde, a founder member of 'Abhinav Gomantak' joined with National Congress (Goa). The parent NC(G) had a split within its members in June 1954 under the pretext of not having had the elections within the NC(G). Thus a group from NC(G)⁶⁶ under the leadership of S. B. D'Silva split from NC(G), held a conference on 6th November 1954, established Provincial Committee of

⁶⁵ Hegde Desai, Narendra, 'National Congrress Goa And Its Role In The Freedom Struggle' a paper presented at a seminar held on 14th and 15th December 1990 on **Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa's Struggle For freedom**, under the Aegis of The Cuncolim Educational Society and The Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.

⁶⁶ This group included Dr. Laura DeSouza, Prof. Lucio Rodrigues, Vasant P. Borkar, Telo Mascarenhas, Gajanan Desai, Armando Pereira.

NC(G) until the elections to the working committee of NC(G) were held. Later, on this group conducted elections and elected Dr. Laura DeSouza as its President. This group came to be known as NC(G) –II.⁶⁷ This split came at a time when NC(G) under the Presidentship of Shri. Peter Alvares was organizing the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955. This denotes the fact that the Goan Freedom fighters were more concerned about the elections and not about the real work within Goa. This dissident group does not seem to have worked actively for liberation of Goa within or even outside Goa.

After the failure of the 15th August 1955 satyagraha, a group which was working within NC(G) sought the help and co-operation from Shri. Peter Alvares (the then president of NC(G), who helped in the formation of Goa Liberation Army. His brother Shri. Augustus Alvares became a member of the high command of this organization. When the ban was imposed on AGD activists in 1956 some of its members such as Balkrishna Bhonsle and Rajanikant Kenkre met with GLA.⁶⁸ Thus we can see the growth of political organizations while Goa was advancing towards the liberation. All these organizations believed in militant nationalism.

Except Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti which was formed by Indians for lending a helping hand for Goa's liberation, not a single organization was formed after National Congress (Goa) was formed and which had its faith in satyagraha and non-violence. Right from 1920 till 1960, Goa had seen the emergence and growth of a number of political organisations for the cause of Goa's liberation. The National Congress (Goa), which was formed in 1946, later on sub-divided into various political organizations. Some worked inside Goa whereas some were active outside Goa. Thus instead of building an organised strength within one political organization, the liberation struggle of Goa was divided into many small organisations. This was one of the drawbacks of the liberation struggle of Goa. If Goans were united under one organization and leadership, Goan problem could have been solved easily. These organizations sometimes created confusion in the minds of the local people.

⁶⁷ Sardesai, M. H.(1986), *Goa Daman Diu Swatantrya Laddyacha Itihas*, (vol. II)(Marathi), Goa: Directorate of Sports and Culture- Panaji pp. 195-197.

⁶⁸ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Sinari (RP)

However Portuguese authorities took the advantage of this situation. In addition, not a single leader could unite this small territory. Even Shri. Peter Alvares who is said to have worked like a common man was unsuccessful in uniting Goans. It will not be exaggeration to say that there were few followers and too many leaders in the Liberation Struggle of Goa. Some leaders have even held important positions in two organizations with contrasting ideologies at the same time. For eg. Shri. Vishwanath Lawande the leader of AGD was General Secretary of NC(G) in 1950. Besides many nationalists acted like individuals and behaved in the manner they wanted. Some of the members in the NC(G) even participated in the terrorist activities thus misleading the people. As Jose Martins, one of the participants of Goa liberation struggle observed;

‘A look at the history of the Goan Freedom Struggle reveals that every one that mattered was the president, secretary or at least a member of the working committee of some group or party. Sometimes an individual belonged to or claimed to belong to a number of organizations of which there were many for instance NC(G), AGD, GYL, GPP, UFG, GLA and Gomantak Congress, Goa National Congress and more. Accordingly there were papers, periodicals, magazines which gave to the interested readers of whom there were a few who had an idea of who wanted what to do to achieve the final aim- Independence of Goa. So in the course of time, there were scores of ex-presidents and ex- secretaries of so and so party and editors of so and so newspapers, magazines and other written material that appeared periodically.’⁶⁹

However in the efforts to combine the Goan freedom forces to solve Goa’s problem at the earliest, nearly four Goan political organizations came together and established a Goan Political Convention in 1959 at Bombay. These political organizations were the National Congress (Goa), Goan Peoples’ Party (GPP), Azad Gomantak Dal (AGD) and Goa Liberation Council (GLC) with the Goan Clubs’ Federation as one of its constituting units. It is surprising to note here that those nationalists (except GLC, it was an independently formed and not a part of NC(G) who could not work with NC(G) had come together in 1959 to solve Goa’s problem of colonialism. Here again we find the merger or combination of three ideologies, satyagraha and non-violence of NC(G), Communist ideology of GPP

⁶⁹ Martins, Dr. Jose F., ‘National Congress (Goa)’, a paper presented in a seminar, ‘Advent of Portuguese in Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom, held on 14th & 15th December 1990, under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society & the Cuncolim College of Arts & Commerce- Cuncolim.

and Militant nationalism of AGD, which initially had led to a split.

NC(G) and AGD- A DEBATE

Let me now study the debate between the two important organisations i.e. National Congress(Goa) and AGD. Mahatma Gandhi had emphasized on the unity of various political organisations to solve the Goan question. But over the question of ideology to be adopted in the liberation struggle of Goa, the first split occurred. The National Congress (Goa) believed in the *satyagraha* and *non-violence* while *Azad Goamntak Dal* believed in violence - the use of force.

These Goan nationalists who believed that the adoption of Gandhian methods of protest against the Portuguese was the best way to fight for independence, became the members of NC(G).⁷⁰ They believed that the peaceful strategy was the only way out to solve any kind of problem whether individual, social, economic, or international⁷¹. And due to their strong faith in Gandhiji's principles, right from 1947 till 1961, Goans under the banner of NC(G) fought for Goa's liberation by peaceful methods.

But the limited success of 1954 mass satyagraha and the set-back to the 1955 mass satyagraha of 15th August, challenged the strategy of peaceful resistance. Because it was during both these times, peaceful *satyagrahis* had to undergo severe beatings, lathi-charges and shots being fired upon them which had resulted in the death of many of these *satyagrahis*. Many peaceful nationalists as a result believed that peaceful methods cannot be used against the undemocratic or fascist regime of Portugal. Even Dr. T. B. Cunha a staunch believer in *satyagraha* and non-violence, sided with Mahatma Gandhi when he pointed out the difference between democratic Britain and fascist Portugal and called for a different approach on the part of India while dealing with the Goan problem.⁷² To the Portuguese even Mahatma Gandhi was a monkey like creature, who could be disposed off with a bullet or two.⁷³ Some of the Goan nationalists felt that satyagraha and non-violence

⁷⁰ However, we would find that these members and elders of AGD and NC(G) have changed their ideologies and have often changed the organizations.

⁷¹ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge. (NC(G) (May 1997).

⁷² Cunha, T. B. op.cit., p. 388

⁷³ Interview with Prabhakar Sinari.(October 1998).

is more than strategy, because it involves the entire population into a national mass movement. It did not succeed in Goa because a large section of the population did not participate directly in the movement.⁷⁴

The civil disobedience movement which was started by Dr. R. M. Lohia, on 18th June 1946, was the only movement supported by a large number of people. But after that not a single leader was supported in this manner. Goan nationalists also believed that even in the Indian National Movement, freedom was not acquired only by satyagraha and non-violence but because of the heavy hammering Britishers got from *Azad Hind Fauj* and due to the mutiny of navy in 1945-46.⁷⁵ One more reason, which was responsible for the failure of Goan movement on 15th August 1955, was the negative attitude of the Indian government towards the Goan problem. During this time Pt. Nehru did not allow the Indian *satyagrahis* to march into the Goan territory and sealed the India-Goa borders which had strengthened the Portuguese government's decision to open fire on unarmed *satyagrahis*.

The 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha was conducted under the banner of *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*. It was during this time all the opposition parties of India, except the ruling Congress, supported the liberation struggle of Goa. This raised the question whether satyagraha and non-violence can be practised only at the national level and not at the International level. Pt. Nehru believed that the citizens of one country on foreign land cannot practise satyagraha.⁷⁶ This therefore was the reason why Pt. Nehru put a ban on crossing the international border. On the other hand it is also believed that satyagraha and non-violence can be practised at local, state or at the international level. Besides this, Goans never identified themselves as different from Indians and treated India and not Goa or Portugal as their country. When we study the liberation struggle of Goa, we come to the conclusion that it is based on the principle of the 'liberation of Goa and it's integration with Indian Union'. Thus from the Goan point of view, the Goa problem was the problem of India, as a state. It is a national problem and not of an international. Goans had always looked towards India for its solution. In contrast to this the

⁷⁴ Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Urselina Almeida. (GLA) (May 1999).

⁷⁵ Interview with Shri. Shridhar Tamba. (August 1998).

⁷⁶ Limaye, Shirubhau, 'Goa Muktiladha Va Majha Sahabhag' in *Smaranika*, (1991) op.cit., pp. 57-60

Indian government, led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, identified Goa as a separate entity. This attitude is borne out in the Indian government's decision, soon after India's independence, to require Goan travellers to other parts of India to carry Portuguese Passports.

After the arrest of Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde, a Goan nationalist, Pandit Nehru was asked for his comments in the Indian Parliament. He said that it is wrong to comment on such occasions when the Portuguese government arrests its own nationals.⁷⁷ Further the then Chief Minister of Bombay Mr. Morarji Desai refused to lower the Indian flag to honour the satyagrahis who dedicated their life on 15th August 1955 on India-Goa border. All these examples show that Indian government adopted a distant and not very supportive attitude on the situation in Goa.

However, other Indian leaders had a different attitude towards the Goan problem. Acharya Kripalani believed that India can solve the international problems with the help of peace-keeping forces.⁷⁸ Besides, J. C. Kumarrappa was of the view that 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha failed not due to the fascist nature of Portuguese rule, but because Goans were not prepared fully to practise or organise satyagrahas on large scale.⁷⁹ He was convinced by the decision of Pandit Nehru of not allowing Indian satyagrahis to cross the India-Goa border. This may be because Portugal called Goa as 'overseas province' and not a colony. And this was recognised by the international community.⁸⁰ However, Goan nationalists believed that if Gandhi had lived during that time, he would not have kept Goa waiting for thirteen years after India's independence and he would have marched into Goa with Indian satyagrahis.⁸¹

Whatever may be the reasons for the failure of some of the satyagraha activities of NC(G) and Azad Gomantak Dal, some nationalists believed that Goan problem would have been only solved by Goans themselves, and that too only with satyagraha and non-

⁷⁷ Gaitonde, Edila (1987), *In search Of Tommorrow*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers p. 128.

⁷⁸ Kripalani, Acharya. 'Goa Ani Satyagraha' in Meerg (fortnightly), published from Wardha 1st June 1955.

⁷⁹ Kumarappa, J. C. 'Goencho Satyagraha' in Meerg (fortnightly), op.cit., 1st November 1955.

⁸⁰ Limaye, Shirubhau, *Goa Mukti Ladha Va Majha Sabhag*, in Smaranika, (1991) op.cit., pp.57-60. Padit Nehru had said that he is ready even to enter Goa as a satyagrahi. But due to the international recognition to Goa as Overseas Province of Portugal, it did not make it possible.

⁸¹ Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar. (November 2000)

violence, if Goans were serious about the liberation of their territory. Gandhi's satyagraha was not practiced properly on Goan soil. For example, Kakasaheb Kalelkar believed that Goans should first solve their social and other problems by satyagraha and non-violence. He also emphasised on the unity of Hindus and Catholics. Similarly Dr. R. M. Lohia had asked for the unity between the two communities. Satyagraha and non-violence principles were generally misunderstood by the Goans. And thus Gandhiji commented that Goans were novices in the art of politics.⁸² Since there was no unity among Goans, Gandhiji emphasized on unity before fighting for liberation. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi;

'.....There are several parties there, working not necessarily for its inhabitants, but for power. Yet, at the bottom the fight is good. He (Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, then President of the Goa Congress Committee) has produced voluminous papers in support of the statement that confusion reigns supreme in the minds of Goans, correctly described as Gomantakas. This confusion is bad in that the inhabitants of this Portuguese possession are novices in the art of real politics'.⁸³

Even some of the Indian leaders viewed the satyagrahas of Goa as immatured and unprepared because they felt that the practice of constructive work, such as preparing Goans to fight non-violently, importance of satyagraha, importance of unity among the different sections of people, importance of self-reliance and swadeshi, importance of Khadi, etc. which is the first necessity of satyagraha and non-violence, was absent.

Revolution of values, principles is a very important factor in the way of political or any other revolution⁸⁴. And these values and principles were not acquired by Goans. One should remember that efforts to change the values of life was done by some of the Goan nationalists in the beginning of the twentieth century. For eg., Luis de Menezes Braganza fought against the suppression of civil liberties and had warned the Portuguese administration in these words, 'I appreciate the freedom of thought that lifts the man above the beasts. It is the free thought that is a permanent measure of progress of society, only

⁸² Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar, (November 2000)

⁸³ Gaitonde, P. D.(1987), *The Liberation Of Goa- A Participants View of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 31.

⁸⁴ Editorial in Meerg (fortnightly) 15th September 1953, published from Wardha.

ideas are eternal'.⁸⁵ It can be judged that the Goans could not take the benefit of such vision after formation of republic to fight for liberation.⁸⁶

Besides, those who believed in satyagraha and non-violence soon deviated from it and joined the terrorist groups. This happened not because the Portuguese did not understand the meaning of satyagraha but it was because these nationalist were frustrated with the outcome when *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* organized the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 in Goa. It was unsuccessful due to the fact that Goans depended fully on the help of Indians to solve the Goan problem.⁸⁷

And for this reason, many Indian satyagrahis had to sacrifice their lives on the India-Goa borders on 15th August 1955. Thus it was not the deficiency of satyagraha and non-violence as principles which resulted in their ineffectiveness; but of the commitment Goan nationalists who did not understand the meaning of satyagraha.

Thus the only way out to solve the Goan problem, i.e., the liberation of Goa, was not by Satyagraha but by the use of force against the Portuguese administration. Accordingly, on 19th December 1961, Goa was liberated by the Indian army through armed action in 'Operation Vijay'. This action is considered by some to be the nearest to non-violence as it was done with few casualties. The excessive size of the armed force by the Indian Government, to threaten the Portuguese shows the limitations of this argument that 'Operation Vijay' was the closest to non-violence because there were few casualties. The Indian Nationalist Shri. Kakasaheb Kalelkar believed that if Mahatma Gandhi was alive during Goa's liberation even he could have endorsed the Indian armed action in Goa.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Menezes, Juliao, op.cit., p. 19.

⁸⁶ Interview with Freedom Fighter shri. Narendra Hegde Desai. (NC(G)). (May 1996).

⁸⁷ Kumarappa, J. C. 'Goencho Satyagraha' in *Meerg* 1st November 1955.

⁸⁸ View of Kakasaheb Kalelkar are upheld by Shri Ravindra Kelekar – Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GENDERED FACE OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

To call women the weaker sex is a libel,

It is man's injustice to women.

- M. K. Gandhi.

The active participation of women in the liberation struggle of Goa began on 18th June 1946. It was on that day that Dr. Lohia inaugurated the last phase of the liberation struggle. The spirit of nationalism among the Goan women was evident on that day as for the first time in Goa's colonial history, they came out in large numbers to show their determination to fight against the colonial rule in Goa. This courage of Goan women is depicted by one of the participants in the liberation struggle of Goa.

'At a certain stage, the police van arrived with a girl at the police station at Margao. She came out of the van, turned to us with her eyes afire, a resolute face and a salute of the hand and shouted Inquilab Zindabad... soon after there arrived a procession of women and girls, in two rows. It stopped in front of the (police) station. On being asked what they wanted, they replied in chorus. We want to keep company with Vatsala Kirtani who has been arrested.

The commandant, Lt. Julio Figueiredo who never tired of repeating- why are you doing this? This land is yours and we shall one day quit it- began giving people explanations. He had not arrested the girl Vatsala. Because she had been shouting political slogans, in defiance of his orders, she had been isolated. Now she was free to go with her colleagues. But Vatsala, who was more than a match for this tomfoolery retorted; 'If I have been brought here, it is because I have committed some offence and I want to know what it is and my statement to be recorded'.

Lt. Figueiredo repeated his explanations. He had not arrested her. She had been merely isolated from the group. But the girl interrupted him and said in Portuguese language.

'Nao Percebo Portuguese' (I don't understand Portuguese). 'Konkani Uloi' (speak Konkani).

This remark was received with amusement all round. If she did not understand Portuguese how did she express herself in that language?The

Commandant patiently arranged for an interpreter, asked him to tell the young girl that the duty of the girl was to cook, sew, etc. at home.

Vatsala recorded in Konkani,

'That may be in Portugal. Here in India the women too fight for their country. But I don't want to hear such tomfoolery. I want to know what offence, what crime I have committed.

The Commandant stated that she had shouted 'Jai Hind! Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai!

I don't see any offence in this, replied the girl Kirtani. Just as you Portuguese say Viva Portugal, Viva Salazar, we Indians say, Jai Hind, Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai.

If in your eyes this constitutes an offence, you get my statement recorded and have me tried'.¹

The above stated episode makes many things clear. Firstly, women in Goa were not silent spectators, to the injustice committed by Portuguese rule, but were active participants in the liberation struggle of Goa along with men. Secondly, they were not only proud of their country India but, by emphasizing the words, 'Konkani Uloi', they also wanted to uphold their self-respect and dignity as Goans. Thirdly, women were to be seen no longer as the weaker sex, but were equally respected with men. Fourthly, they would henceforth play an important role in liberating Goa from colonial rule.

The words of Ms. Kirtani is forcefully analysed by a freedom fighter in the following sentence, 'He (police Commandant) asked her why she shouted *Jai Hind* to which she replied that if *Viva Salazar* brought pride to the heart of the Commandant, *Jai Hind* gave spirit to fight for her freedom'.² Thus the voice of Women in Goa was loudly heard in Goa for the first time during the Portuguese rule. I shall discuss i. e. 'The Gendered Face Of the Liberation Struggle' in terms of four themes;

(i) Background to women's involvement, (ii) Civil Disobedience Movement and women, (iii) Liberation struggle & women, and (iv) Women's participation in the struggle (1946 – 61).

¹ Jorge, Evagrio (n.d.) *Goa's Awakening-Reminiscences of the 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement*, Panjim: 18th June Silver Jubilee celebrations. pp. 4-6.

² Menezes, Juliao (1947) *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Printed & published by Dr. Juliao Menezes at Shiva Printing Press, p. 51.

Background to the Women's involvement: -

The sudden upsurge of nationalist sentiments on the part of women in Goa during the 18th June 1946 movement needs to be explained in terms of their status in society and the impact of various factors which led to their involvement in the liberation struggle in Goa. Society played a very important role in the life of women in Goa. It controlled their behaviour. During Portuguese rule Hindu women, rather than going out and mixing with others in society, preferred to stay at home. Catholic women, in contrast, were more outgoing and liberal minded, unlike the Hindu women and took part freely in the feasts arranged on various occasions, talked with men, and danced merrily with them³. Due to this one found a lot of Catholic women who were educated, employed, and who participated in social activities with men. The progress of Hindu and Catholic women in the 1930s is very well expressed in the following words;

'If we think about the progress of women in 1930 or little further, in 1935, there were seven Catholic women doctors, eight Catholic women who had completed their pharmacy course and sixty-nine who were government primary school teachers. Besides this, many Catholic women were employed in government offices. Hindu women in Goa never reached this position or posts. How would they? Their education never went beyond primary education. At the age of 15-16 years they were married. They were not free to roam outside their homes. They were afraid of Portuguese (pakles)'.⁴

This is evident from the participation of Catholic and Hindu women in the liberation struggle of Goa. Those Hindu women who were involved in the struggle were less educated may be till seventh standard or matric. On the other hand, Catholic women were more educated because of which they were involved at the national and international level. For example, we can conclude this from the participation of Beatris Braganza and Berta Braganza. Berta Braganza was a member of the Goa Political Convention, Indian Association of Afro-Asian Solidarity and All India Peace council, and Beatris Braganza was also involved in the Goan politics at national and international level. Whereas, Hindu women were mostly involved in politics at the local level.

³ Xavier, P. D. (1993) **Goa-A Social History 1510-1640**. Panaji: Rajahansa Prakashan, p. 168.

⁴ Sardesai, M. H. (1994) **Gomanakache Ase Te Diwas**, (Marathi) Belgaum: Purogami Prakashan, p. 47

The duties⁵ attributed to a Hindu woman in the family was restricted to what is called as 'Chul and Mul' meaning 'chullah' (generally it means home or household) and children. They hardly attended any functions of public or social importance. Only on the occasions of Haldi-Kumkum (function of married woman), Puja (religious function), wedding ceremonies, Jatra festivals, they were seen out of their houses. The work, such as going to markets, etc., was essentially done by men. Few Hindu women would be seen in the market. Women going out or going to market were seen with suspicion and labelled as having bad character. This was the position of women in society and family during Portuguese rule. Women were always treated as dependent socially and economically on men for their status. A girl was dependent on her father before her marriage and then on her husband after her marriage. They did not have a separate or independent identity of their own. Two factors may be held responsible for their dependent status in society and family, during Portuguese rule. They are (i) the inherent conservative nature of Hindu families and (ii) the Portuguese rule. Since society and family controlled the behaviour of a Hindu woman during Portuguese rule, it was very difficult for them to take their own decisions and suddenly come out of these bonds and participate in social and political activities. The girl before her marriage was a great responsibility on her parents. Discussions about her marriage would begin once she attained the age of puberty. In the villages, girls were married at the age of 16-17 years. The duty of a girl was to quietly listen to the advice of her family members and adopt the career of housewife. The question of her pursuing higher studies or selecting some other career, would not arise under this type of family system.

In addition to this, Portuguese rule was also responsible for confining Hindu women within the household in Goa. Since the rulers of the land were foreigners, who could not be trusted, due to the fear of falling prey to the lust of these foreigners, women had to spend their life within the four walls of their houses. For most of the Hindu families in

⁵ Regarding the duties of women in Goa during Portuguese rule, I have been greatly benefited from the interviews of women Freedom fighters in Goa such as Smt. Shashikala Hodarkar, Smt. Suryakanti Fal Desai, Smt. Sharad Gude, etc.

Goa, especially so called respectable Hindu families, women were considered as the basis of the new generation and thus they should be protected and their sanctity preserved. There was always a fear of the presence of Portuguese people in the villages and thus the houses provided them security. Both these factors contributed to determining the position of woman within the society and family. As Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar, one of the participants in the liberation struggle of Goa notes, it was very difficult for women to take part in the freedom movement. Parents never encouraged their daughters. If you find some of these women coming forward to participate in the freedom struggle, they have done it on their own.⁶

The following paragraph would throw light on the position of women and their participation in the civil Disobedience movement in Goa.

‘One thing had happened due to this (18th June 1946) movement. Women have crossed the threshold of their houses. Untill this moment, the world of women of respected Hindu families was their home. Only on the occasions of wedding ceremonies they used to travel. They were not to be seen on social occasions and other functions of social importance. After the schools, young girls used to help their mothers, aunties in the houses. But due to Dr. Lohia’s movement, revolution took place in them. They participated in demonstrations, shouted slogans and by participating in satyagraha; they got themselves arrested. The credit of woman’s emancipation (in Goa) goes to this movement’.⁷

The number of women who were totally committed to the liberation movement was not in equal proportion to men politicians or even to the total female population.⁸ According to the population census of 1950⁹, out of the total population of Goa 5,47,448 men accounted for 47% and women for 53%. There were 88.8 men for every 100 women. Except Marmugao and Sanguem, all other Mahals (Talukas) accounted for more female population than male. Although the female population was more, it was not so easy for women in Goa to suddenly come out of the bonds of society and family, to take part in the liberation struggle. Still they showed courage and determination and took decision on

⁶ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar. (NC(G). May 2000.

⁷ Satoskar, B. D. (1979) **Gomantak- Prakriti Ani Sanskriti**, vol.I. Pune: Shubhada Publications p. 282.

⁸ Kakodkar, A. A. ‘Role of Women In Goan Freedom Struggle-I’ in B. Sheik Ali (ed) (1986) **Goa Wins Freedom-Reflections and Reminiscences**, Goa: Goa University Publications Series I, Government Printing Press p. 172.

⁹ The Goa Hindu Association (1954), ‘Gomantakachi Loksankhya’ in **Ajacha Va Kalacha Gomantak** Bombay: The Goa Hindu Association, pp. 72, 73.

their own to defy the Portuguese rule in Goa. Perhaps this was the product of the Nationalist movement. 'Nationalism transform the subservient, uneducated and secluded upper class woman of the nineteenth century into the articulate, educated woman of the mid twentieth century active in professions and public life'¹⁰. Political consciousness among the woman in Goa was stimulated mainly by three factors: (a) the Indian National Movement (INM) and its leadership, (b) education and (c) women themselves.

As in the case of men, the women in Goa were largely influenced by the INM and its leader Mahatma Gandhi. The news of success of INM was propagated mainly through the Indian newspapers, Marathi as well as English, which were circulated secretly and sometimes even smuggled from across the border. The reading of these newspapers by elders and by young boys and girls in their houses was a source of encouragement. Sometimes the discussions on the Indian freedom struggle among the friends and family members in the household had a great impact on the young girls at home. Jyoti, alias Malu Deshpande, a participant in the freedom struggle describes this impact, thus,

'My father Raghuvir Srinivas Kamat, belonged to a village called Madkai. He had studied his lyceum and was impressed by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Nehru and many others. As a child, I remember that he used to receive many newspapers from Bombay and Poona and did extensive reading. Further he also remained absent from home. Then the elder people in the family used to say that he has been arrested for 'Jai-Hind' activities. I was studying in the Marathi school that time and believed that my father had done something similar to what Tilak and Agarkar had done as they fought for their country. All this had a great impact on us'.¹¹

In addition to the INM serving as an inspiration Goan woman also drew her ideas from the education they received during the Portuguese rule. Just as there were Government Portuguese schools there were English as well as Marathi schools in Goa. Many women had access to Portuguese, Marathi as well as English education. English education especially opened the new doors to Goan girls and boys. In these schools, the students were informed about Indian history and the rich cultural heritage, which made

¹⁰ Stephens, Julie. 'Feminist Fiction, A Critique Of the Category 'Non Western Woman In Feminist Writings In India' Guha, Ranajit (ed) (1987), *Subaltern Studies V, Writings on South Asian History & Society*, Delhi, Oxford University Press. p. 104

¹¹ Interview with Freedom fighter Jyoti Deshpande. (December 1999).

the students proud¹². The same thing happened in Marathi schools too. The English schools were mostly started by Catholic missionaries whereas Marathi schools were mostly private in nature. By 1930-35, the number of boys and girls who attended schools was almost equal¹³. Marathi schools like that of English schools played an important role in rousing the patriotic sentiments among their students.

The growth of English institutions was so swift, that in 1934 there were thirty-six institutions, out of which fifteen were started by Hindu social reformers and, eight by Catholics. There were convent schools for girls, which used to impart education in English language. On the similar pattern, there were Marathi schools, which used to impart education only to girls.¹⁴ Besides this, majority of villages in Goa had their own private Marathi schools, which imparted education to the village children. There were no school buildings as such in the villages but the temples or houses were converted into classrooms for temporary purposes.

Teachers were not paid by a regular salary¹⁵ but accepted whatever they got in cash or in kind from the parents.¹⁶ It was more like that of voluntary or social service. Teachers, if coming from other parts of Goa or India used to stay at the houses of the local people who used to look after their daily needs such as food, clothing and shelter¹⁷. These schools played an important role as most of the young girls, educated in these schools actively participated in the liberation struggle of Goa. Many a times, these teachers used to be staunch nationalists. They used to prepare the students with the objective of making them patriots as most of the teachers hailed from India. Recollecting the role of her teacher in her life, Ms. Sharada Savoikar said,

‘In the village of Savoi-Verem, we had a teacher called Mohan Ranade. He had come from India mainly for the purpose of Goa’s liberation of which I came to

¹² Interview with Shri. Rock Santana Fernandes. (AGD).

¹³ Satoskar, B. D. (1979) **Gomantak-Prakriti Ani Sanskriti** (vol.1) Pune: Shubhada Publications, p.395.

¹⁴ These schools were Mahila Nutan Vidyalaya, Adarsh Vanita vidyalaya in Margao, Kanyashala in Panaji. Interview with Smt. Lalita Kantak. Lalita Kantak was the student of Adarsha Vanita Vidyalaya. Berta Braganza was their teacher.

¹⁵ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999)

¹⁶ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999)

¹⁷ Interview with Freedom Fighter Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999)

know much later. As a teaching method, he used to conduct Bal-Sabhas (meeting of students) on every Saturdays, he used to select the topics (especially related to India's Freedom Struggle) and used to encourage us to come forward and speak on the topic. Besides this, he used to tell us that India won its independence, now it was our duty to fight for our independence (in Goa). He used to tell us about the positive features of *swaraj* and negative features of colonialism. As we were young children, his teachings had a deep impact on our minds'.¹⁸

Thus education and the role played by nationalist teachers encouraged these girls from remote villages such as Madkai, Savoi-Verem, Poinguinim, etc., to come forward and challenge the Portuguese rule. In these schools students were made proud about the India's struggle for Independence, the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose, and others in it, the dedication of the Indians, etc. It also taught them about the significance of freedom, nationalism, self-dependence, etc.

Another striking aspect of the women's participation in the liberation struggle of Goa is the impact the women nationalists had on Goan women. A woman can be impressed more by women who were in the liberation struggle of Goa, than by men. Some of the women, rather than taking the inspiration from their fathers and brothers, they took the inspiration from women nationalists such as Pramilabai Kant Jambaulikar, Sindhutai Deshpande, Sudhatai Joshi, Ambikabai Dandekar and others.

Pramilabai Kant Jambaulikar and Sudhatai Joshi were basically Goans. Pramilabai Kant Jambaulikar was from Poinguinim, Canacona and was married to Kanta Jambaulikar from Margao. Leaders of INM such as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru influenced her during her stay in Bombay. She was active in politics of Goa even prior to 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties.¹⁹ Being a woman of free thought, she came directly in contact with Gandhians such as Purushottam Kakodkar. As a result she became a member of 'Goa Seva Sangh'. She was the first woman in Goa to actively participate in the activities of Goa Seva Sangh like spinning and weaving of Khadi, wearing of Khadi sarees, praying,

¹⁸ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999)

¹⁹ Interview with Sulochana Katkar, the daughter of Freedom Fighter Smt. Pramilabai Kant Jambaulikar. (October 1999)

ceremonial flag hoisting, etc. She played an important role in the civil disobedience movement in 1946-47 in Goa. These inculcated in Goan women, the spirit of non-violence, patriotism and importance of liberty, self-reliance.

Sudhatai Joshi, who played an active role in the liberation struggle of Goa during the mid-50s, was the wife of freedom fighter Shri. Mahadev Shastri Joshi. She, who went to Poona in 1935²⁰, settled there, but came to Goa clandestinely to participate in the satyagraha movement. She was elected as the president of the ninth annual session of NC(G) which was held in Mapusa on 6th April 1955. She was then arrested and jailed.

Sindhutai Deshpande and Ambikabai Dandekar hailed from India and had come down to Goa mainly for the purpose of Goa's liberation from Portuguese rule. Being Indian nationals they were influenced by India's freedom struggle. Sindhutai Deshpande with her other family members was active in the Indian freedom struggle and especially in the Quit-India movement of 1942.²¹ While appreciating the role of Sindhutai Deshpande, Ms. Shashikala Almeida remembers,

'Sindhutai Deshpande was very active in organizing the women in the liberation struggle of Goa in the mid-50s. She had established contacts with many women and girls. It was due to her I could participate in the liberation struggle'.²²

Another participant, Suniti Divkar remembers,

'My sister Srimati Divkar was in prison. She was sentenced to nine months of imprisonment. Shanta Hede, Shashikala Almeida, Mitra Bir, Sindhutai Deshpande were her friends. They used to come to our house sometimes. One day Sindhutai Deshpande said to me that your elder sister has gone to prison. And now it is your duty as a sister to follow her foot-steps. I was 17 years old then. I believed in whatever she said. I told her, I am ready to come and one day left home to participate in the liberation struggle'.²³

If we evaluate the participation of women in Goa, majority of them were motivated by Sindhutai Deshpande such as Smt. Celina Olga Moniz of Panjim, Srimati Divkar, Shalini Lolienkar, Shashikala Hodarkar, etc. 'She behaved as a child with children and elderly

²⁰ Shirodkar, P. P. (1986) **Who's Who Of Freedom Fighters – Goa, Daman and Diu** (vol.1) Goa: Goa Gazetteer Department Government Of Goa, Daman And Diu. p. 144.

²¹ Ibid pp. 87, 88.

²² Interview with Shashikala Hodarkar alias Almeida.

²³ Interview with Suniti Divkar. NC(G) (May 1997)

with elders', remembers Suryakanti Fal Desai.²⁴ She was a great motivating force and the credit of preparing Goan girls in the 1950s for the liberation movement goes to her.²⁵

Ambikabai Dandekar, aged seventy had come down to Goa specially to participate in the liberation struggle. Her mere presence was itself an encouraging factor for the girls and women in Goa. Kumudini Kavlekar remembers Ambikabai Dandekar while telling about her participation in the liberation struggle of Goa,

'I went to the camp of NC(G) at Maneri. There I met Sudhatai Joshi and Ambikabai Dandekar, along with whom I was to participate in the satyagrahi conference at Mapusa on 25th November 1955. I was impressed with the spirit of Ambikabai Dandekar. She was seventy and had become so old that even she could not stand properly. If she, being an Indian national could come for us in Goa it would be shame on young girls like us who lag behind in participating in the freedom struggle'.²⁶

In addition to these women nationalists who took upon themselves the initiative to participate in the liberation struggle of Goa, there was also a small group of women who were involved in the liberation struggle mainly due to their husbands who were nationalists. As their husbands or sons or brothers were involved in the movement these women indirectly helped them in their efforts in the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule. For some women it was just their 'patidharma', duty towards the husband, but for some it was an opportunity to express their nationalism. In the words of Rajani Naik, wife of Shri. Kanta Naik,

'Within one month of my marriage, I was involved in the struggle. I accompanied my husband wherever he went for the cause of Goa's liberation. Sometimes due to frustration I used to tell him to leave all this and go home. But he never used to listen to me. He used to tell me to go if I was not interested in all this. But I supported my husband and always lived with him and worked with him'.²⁷

Civil Disobedience Movement and Women

Beginning with their role in the civil disobedience movement, which continued for about two months from 1946, women played an active part openly for the first time in the history of Goa. After the arrest of Dr. Lohia, a number of men and women came forward to

²⁴ Interview with Suryakanti Fal Desai. (November 1999)

²⁵ Interview with Shashikala Hodarkar. (October 1999)

²⁶ Interview with Kumudini Kawalekar. (May 1998)

²⁷ Interview with Rajani Naik. (AGD) (October 2000)

break the law by shouting 'Jai-Hind' which resulted their arrests²⁸. Ms. Vatsala Kirtani was the first Goan girl who was arrested soon after the arrests of Dr. Lohia on 18th June 1946. This resulted into a swift and angry response from the women who took a morcha to the police station in Margao and demanded the release of Ms. Kirtani. The spirit and the courage of this girl was such that she refused to be released out and had to be bodily thrown out of the police station. The civil disobedience movement continued for days together, holding speeches, demonstrations, satyagrahas, hartals, etc. Umabai Shirol, Berta Menezes Braganza were among women who defied the ban on civil liberties by speaking publicly. In her speech on 30th June 1946, at Margao Berta Menezes Braganza said,

'The present civil Disobedience movement is like a whiff of fresh air blowing into a dark suffocating dungeon which is just what our country has been reduced to during all these centuries of imperialist oppression and exploitation'.²⁹

She was then arrested along with Dr. T. B. Cunha, beaten-up mercilessly and was released.

Demonstrations were held under the leadership of Pramilaibai Kant Jambaulikar and a number of women as well as schoolgirls participated wholeheartedly. Every morning, before 6:00 a.m., prayers were held in the Shanti-Kutin of Nilkanth Karapurkar in Comba area. After the prayers, as a way of spreading the message of nationalism among the Goans, Prabhat-feris were taken out in which a large number of school going children used to participate.³⁰ It was during a procession on July 21 a young girl of VIth standard, aged 17years, Miss Lalita Kantak who while leading a procession with a tri-colour flag in her hand was slapped on the face.

Remembering the incident, she notes,

'After Dr. Lohia's arrest on 18th June 1946, it was decided by the leaders of the movement to organise *Prabhat feris* in the morning every day. Accordingly we all used to meet in 'Shanti-Kutin' of Nilkant Karapurkar at 6 o'clock in the morning for 'prathanas'. After that we used to participate. During *Prabhat-feris* we used to sing patriotic songs loudly. One day on 21st July the leader told me to head the procession of girls and boys. I was in front of all and I had a flag in my hand. We proceeded towards the Moti dongor in Margao. On reaching there, we found many police men, who were waiting for us.

²⁸ Interview with Lalita Kantak. December 2000.

²⁹ Menezes, Julia op. Cit, p. 62.

³⁰ Interview with Smt. Lalita Kantak.

Soon Commandant Figueredo approached me and started pulling the flag from my hands. Some invisible strength had come over me and I was equally adamant of not leaving the flag from my hands. In the effort of pulling the flag he broke it. The top most part was in his hands while the other part remained with me. On seeing my attitude he started beating me with a bayonet. Police also beat up the other satyagrahis. From that day onwards seeing the attitude of the police towards the women leaders succeeded therefore to stop the *Prabhat feris*'.³¹

The civil disobedience movement was peaceful as specified by Mahatma Gandhi. The main intention of taking out 'Prabhat feris' in the morning was to create a sense of patriotism in the minds of Goans. Due to this, every morning there were processions taken out in different villages around and in parts of Margao. But the response of the Portuguese towards this peaceful movement was violent. They attacked these processions with lathis and bayonets. School going girls such as Lalita Kantak, Sreemati Krisna Hegde, Vitha Hegde were beaten up mercilessly. In Panaji, teenage girls like Shashi Bhandodkar and Ratan Khaunte were assaulted.³² On 21st July 1946, the leader of the procession Mrs. Pramilabai Jambaulikar was arrested and beaten. While in the police custody she was threatened by the police Commandant who said that if women acted like what Lalita Kantak did he would not make a distinction between a girl and a woman but would strip them.³³ The *Free Press Journal* of Bombay reported on the above incident on 26th July 1946 in the following way:

'The satyagraha movement in Goa has now taken a serious turn and the government authorities have taken up to brutal attacks on unarmed people. The movement is going according to the strict principle of non-violence, as advised by Mahatma Gandhi. All provocations on the part of government officials to misdirect the movement have proved futile'.³⁴

In this movement one can see the spirit of the young students, boys as well as girls. Although the heads of educational institutions in Goa were ordered to rusticate for one

³¹ Interview with Smt. Lalita Kantak.

³² Kakodkar, A. A. (1986), 'Role Of Women In Goan Freedom Struggle-I', in B. Sheikh Ali (ed), **Goa Wins Freedom**, op.cit.,Goa; p. 174.

³³ Shirodkar, P. P. (ed) **Who's Who Of Freedom Fighters**, (vol. II) op. cit, p. 134.

³⁴ Kunte, B. G. (ed.) (1978) **Goa Freedom Struggle vis-à-vis Maharashtra 1946-1961** (vol.VIII part I), Bombay Gazeetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra. p. 59.

year any student who takes part in political agitation.³⁵ Students did not remain behind. It would not be wrong to say that the movement for civil liberties specially organization of *Prabhat feris* and holding of *Prarthanas* was essentially done by school going children with the help of some leaders. After the above mentioned incident it was decided by some leaders that they would resort to satyagraha and underground activities like distributing pamphlets, sticking posters, etc. Students also co-operated with this. However after the arrest of leaders like Purushottam Kakodkar, Laxmikant Bhembre, etc. the civil disobedience movement declined. After Dr. R. M. Lohia second visit to Goa on 29th September 1946, Goan women continued to engage themselves in civil disobedience movement. Ms. Jeevan Karapurkar, Ms. Ratan Desai and Ms. Indira Bhise were arrested for participating in a satyagraha at Margao.

Liberation Struggle And Women.

The liberation struggle of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in August 1954 and the declaration of the 15th August 1954 mass satyagraha gave a boost to the liberation struggle in Goa. A number of individual and group satyagrahas were held after the failure of mass satyagraha in 1954. National Congress (Goa), in an effort of keeping alive the movement on Goan soil, announced the organization of satyagrahas on the days of national importance like 26th January, 2nd October, birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, 17th February, 'Gaitonde Day', 15th August 'Independence day' etc. Together with men, women also participated to make these satyagrahas a success.

In this section, let me consider the three important events in which women took the initiative and lead. I would like first to give a detailed account of these events. Then I shall examine them carefully to establish their similarities and differences as well as to estimate the contribution of women to the liberation struggle of Goa. All these four events dealt with the practice of satyagraha and non-violence by women confronted by the fascist Portuguese rule. Further in all these events women played a primary role.

³⁵ Ibid p. 58

Case I: 25th November 1954- Arrest for shouting 'Jai-Hind'.

In the words of Shashikala Hodarkar\Almeida,

'Sindhutai told me that she would undertake satyagraha on 25th November 1954 in Panaji. She also told me to participate. I agreed. But when my mother came to know about this she refused me permission to participate in the satyagraha. My mother told her that as she was an Indian I, her daughter, would be jailed all alone. But she also said that if other Goan girls were also participating (many other girls were supposed to participate in this satyagraha), I, her daughter may also participate. Accordingly on 24th November Vishnu Naik, a Goan nationalist dropped Sindhutai at my residence at Margao, in the morning. After having lunch we left our home at about 2:00 p.m. to go to Mapusa. When we were just on the road, I saw Anamel Monteiro, the brother of Casmiro Monteiro, the Portuguese police officer, coming on a bicycle. I asked Sindhutai whether he knew her. Sindhutai told me that he did not know her. Learning this, I told her that we would not hide ourselves and continued walking. As he came close by I wished him to which he responded. Then we left for Mapusa and stayed at the house of a nationalist named Sanzgiri.

Next day was the 25th November. Sanzgiri went to the market in the morning. After coming home he informed us that Casmiro Monteiro had come to Mapusa and was searching the houses of the people. He told us to go to the temple which was just behind his house and to hide there. We accordingly went to the temple. After sometime, he informed us about the departure of Monteiro and we re-entered the house. After having lunch, Sanzgiri and Sindhutai left for Panaji where she was supposed to do the satyagraha. I stayed back and the next day went to Margao to my residence. Soon I was arrested and taken to the police station'.³⁶

Every year, the Portuguese government in Goa celebrated 25th November, the day of Reconquest with big celebrations. Don Afonso D'Albuquerque had captured the castle of Panjim (Panaji) for the first time in February 1510, taking the possession of island of Goa and leaving Salcete and Bardez to Timoja. Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur did not take a long time to drive back the conquerors. But on 25th November, of the same year, the Portuguese, better armed and once more helped by Timoja and the Raja of Garsopa reconquered the town.³⁷

This day of great importance to the Portuguese was celebrated by conducting a parade of police and military troops in front of the police headquarters in Panjim. Similar preparations were made in the year 1954 by the Portuguese authorities. But, when the Governor General Bernado Guedes stepped forward to receive the salute of

³⁶ Interview with Shashikala Almeida. (October 1999)

³⁷ Cunha, T. B. (1947) *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, The New Age Printing Press, p. 8

the parade,³⁸ Sindhutai Deshpande and Laxman Govekar marched forward with the flags in their hands and 'Jai-Hind' slogan on their lips. Goans commemorated 25th November as a 'black day' and organised satyagrahas at various places inside Goa. The revolutionary organization, *Azad Gomantak Dal* commemorated this day by taking out demonstrations on bicycles and shouting anti-Portuguese slogans in the border areas³⁹.

After this incident, both Sindhutai Deshpande and Laxman Govekar were arrested in Panjim. Shashikala Hodarkar who had accompanied Sindhutai to Mapusa was arrested and kept in police custody for a day and was released. Sindhutai Deshpande, as predicted by Shashikala's mother, was released soon on 14th January 1955 and pushed outside the Goa's frontier.

Portuguese police had adopted a liberal attitude towards the Indian nationals before the mass satyagraha of 1955. They used to take utmost care as far as Indian citizens were concerned as they always feared that a single wrong step on the part of Portuguese government might provoke the Indian government to react sharply and take a serious step against the Portuguese in Goa. Even in 1938 a political arrest and detention of a school teacher named Mr. Bhat, who was alleged to be engaged in communist activities in Goa, had created a general interest in all the circles.

Mr. Bhat was a British Indian national.⁴⁰ There had been many instances where Indian nationals, after their arrests were taken to the border areas and released with a warning not to enter Goa. Even Sindhutai Deshpande, who was released on 14th January 1955 and pushed out of border areas, came back to Goa to offer Satyagraha on 16th April 1955. However, her plan was leaked out and she was arrested along with many other volunteers. On 8th February 1956 she was sentenced to 10 years of rigorous imprisonment and a fine of 10 escudos per day for 2 years with expulsion to the Indian border after her

³⁸ Sardesai, M. H. (1986) 'The Role Of Women In The Liberation Movement-II' in B. Sheikh Ali, *Goa Wins Freedom- Reflections and Reminiscences* op.cit., p. 184.

³⁹ Interview with Shri. V. N. Lawande.

⁴⁰ Kunte, B. Gop. cit., p. 17.

release. However, she was freed on 21st January 1957 under General Amnesty and was dropped at Polem border.⁴¹

Case II: Satyagraha of 17th February 1955.

‘On 16th February 1955, Vilasini Prabhu had come to my residence all the way from Poinguinim (Canacona) to participate in the satyagraha the next day. Accordingly, on 17th February, Vilasini and I left our house at 10 o’clock in the morning. On the way, we met a person who interrupted me and asked, ‘Where are you going with perfect preparations?’ He had a doubt in his mind and a smile on his face. I said, ‘Just going for a walk’. It did not take us long to reach the venue, near the market in Margao. After reaching there, I started distributing the pamphlets of NC(G) to the public. Vilasini, by holding the national flag in her hands started shouting the slogans like ‘Quit-Goa’, ‘Jai- Bharat’, ‘Jai-Gomantak’, etc. Within few minutes two policemen arrived on the scene and arrested both of us. At last my wish came true on this day. I had participated in the satyagraha which I could not participate on 25th November 1954 with Sindhutai Deshpande’.⁴²

These words of Shashikala Hodarkar\Almeida find echo in the expression of Suryakanti Fal Desai from Cancona,

‘I wanted to participate in the liberation struggle of Goa. I had heard that many girls want to offer the satyagraha on 17th February 1955. So I sent my brother to Laxmi Poinguinikar who was associated with NC (G) to find out about the satyagraha so that I could accompany her. Everything was done clandestinely so that no one should get an idea about our adventure. Otherwise there would have been every possibility of our arrest before the satyagraha.

My brother came back and told me that Laxmi would go to Margao by bus. I did not know that Gangadhar Loliencar would also accompany us. I got into the bus near the temple of Lord Parashurama. This bus stop was away from my house, so that the people of Poinguinim would not come to know about this. Later we came to Margao in the evening and stayed in the hotel, ‘Khanaval’ of Bhat. I had carried with me two sarees in the hand bag. Later on Laxmi gave me a ‘shabnum bag’. For the first time, I had come to Margao. I did not know anything about the place. We stayed there at night and had our dinner. At night, Raghuvir Kamat and Kantak came to meet us. They gave us courage and told us not to be afraid of Portuguese.

On the next day i.e., on 17th February, we reached near the garden in the evening. One man asked us on the way, ‘where are you all going?’ ‘We told him that we were going to Borim to Laxmi’s sister’s place. And started walking. On reaching the garden, one policeman intercepted us and asked us the same question.

⁴¹ Shirodkar, P. P.(vol II) op.cit., p. 88

⁴² Interview with Smt. Shashikala Hodarkar alias Almeida. (October 1999)

Our answer was the similar. But he had recognised us as satyagrahis with our 'shabnum' bags. Soon he said, 'wait, I will teach you a lesson. At that moment, Laxmi tried to remove the flag from her bag. But she could not do so. He soon arrested us and took us to the police station'.⁴³

National Congress (Goa) had decided to celebrate the first Gaitonde day on 17th February 1955 in Goa by organizing satyagrahas on a large scale. This had got a good response from the people. The programme adopted for this day was two fold, firstly to organise satyagraha in every village and town and secondly to offer non-cooperation to the Portuguese government in every possible way. Besides this, they had also called on the people of Goa to observe hartals, bandhs, etc.⁴⁴ It was on this day in the previous year that Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde, a Goan nationalist and a member of NC(G) was arrested for his pro-Indian attitude.

On 14th February⁴⁵ 1954, Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde with his wife Mrs. Edila Gaitonde was invited for a farewell dinner party of a judge Semedo. However, on the same day, Mrs. Edila Gaitonde could not go for the function because of some reason. At the last moment, her empty chair was given to a barrister named Mr. Santa Rita Colaco. Although it was decided earlier that no political speeches would be made on such occasions, Mr. Colaco stood up to speak on the occasion. Known for his Portuguese loyalty, he congratulated and wished the Judge and at last uttered the following sentence, 'You will one day remember this Portuguese land of Goa: Yes, for, here too is Portugal.' (Aqui tambe'm e' Portugal)⁴⁶. The next voice that was heard was of that of Dr. Gaitonde, 'Eu protest' i.e., I Protest'.

These two words of Dr. Gaitonde created a sensation among the Goan nationalists. But these two words suggested the pro-Indian attitude of Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde with respect to Portuguese rule. And Portuguese government specially the police could not have excused Dr. Gaitonde for this. Thus he was arrested on 17th February 1954 and was deported to

⁴³ Interview with Freedom fighter Smt. Suryakanti Fal Desai. (November 1999.)

⁴⁴ Sardesai, M. H. (vol II) op.cit., pp. 183, 184

⁴⁵ Gaitonde, Edila (1987), **In Search Of Tomorrow**, Bombay: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd. p. 100

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 100

Portugal along with his wife. He was tried in the Lisbon High court on 7th July 1954 on the charge of links with the nationalists. Later on he was sentenced to three months of imprisonment (including detention period) or fine of 40 Escudos per day in lieu of jail term and suspension of civil rights for 12 years. However he was released on 25th May 1955 and returned to India on 14th June 1956.⁴⁷ This event had influenced the general public in Goa and hence 17th February was declared as Gaitonde Day. In the satyagraha on 17th February 1955 held the following year Goan women also took part.

Both the above mentioned satyagrahas were held on 17th February 1955, one in the morning and the one in the evening. This denotes the fact that there was no proper communication between the satyagrahis although they hailed from the same village. Vilasini Prabhu who participated in satyagraha, along with Shashikala Hodarkar\Almeida, came from Poinguinim. She had to come to the place of Shashikala on the previous day. Laxmi Poinguinkar and Suryakanti Fal Desai along with Gangadhar Loliengar came to Margao on 17th February but stayed in a local 'khanavol' (hotel). At that time, two young girls of 17 and 23 years staying in a hotel for a night along with a man would have created many problems. But the fact that on that particular night, two Goan nationalists had come to hotel to give them courage and support for their satyagraha indicates the fact that preparations were already made by the nationalists for the stay of these satyagrahis in the hotel. Care was also taken so that the arrest did not take place before the practice of satyagraha.

Further both these batches of NC(G) practiced satyagraha at two different places in Margao at two different times. The first batch of Shashikala Hodarkar\Almeida and Vilasini Prabhu, who practiced satyagraha in the morning, atleast got sometime to distribute pamphlets and shout slogans before their arrests. But the later batch of Laxmi Poinguinkar, Suryakanti Fal Desai and Gangadhar Loliengar did not even get the chance of removing the flag from their bags, forget about shouting the slogans and distributing pamphlets. After the satyagraha of Shashikala and Vilasini in the morning, the Portuguese police had become alert and they wanted to suppress the satyagraha movement with force. They could

⁴⁷ Shirodkar, P. P.(vol II) op.cit., pp. 106, 107.

easily recognise the satyagrahis with the 'shabnum' bags which carried their clothes, flags, pamphlets, etc. Besides the satyagraha by women, Margao witnessed satyagraha by men nationalists, on the same day.⁴⁸ People especially young boys and girls were seen with the suspicion and even an ordinary police constable had full freedom to arrest any person anytime, anywhere, and to detain him and take him into custody. The same thing had happened with these nationalists. They were first taken to the Margao police station and under the cover of darkness they were taken to the Panaji (Panjim) police station.

One more question that arises here is why these women selected Margao for the satyagrahas? Actually NC(G) had called upon the people of Goa to hold satyagrahas in their villages and towns. These girls, except Shashikala Hodarkar\Almeida, came especially to Margao from Canacona Taluka for the satyagrahas. Suryakanti Fal Desai, who had never seen Margao before had to build up the courage to come to Margao from 'Chavadi' only for satyagrahas. Not only the declaration of NC(G) to offer satyagraha was done at Chavadi by NC(G) but it was held at Chavadi (Canacona) under the leadership of Vishwanath Loliemkar where twelve satyagrahis had participated.⁴⁹

Three reasons may be taken into consideration for the selection of Margao which was far away from Canacona. Firstly, Margao had historical importance. It was here that on 18th June 1946 Dr. R. M. Lohia had inaugurated the last phase of liberation struggle in Goa. Thus organizing satyagraha at such places would have got more importance and publicity rather than organizing satyagrahas at some other places.

Secondly there was every possibility that these three girls who hailed from Canacona were not aware of the satyagraha that was to be held at Canacona as secrecy was held to be most important. But even this might have a little importance because satyagrahas in Canacona Taluka were better organised, than in other places in Goa. Specially the villagers of Poinguinim, Mashe, Chavadi, Loliem in Canacona had atleast one of their family members in the NC(G).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Interview with freedom fighter Smt. Suryakanti Fal Desai. November 1999.

⁴⁹ Sardesai, M. H. **Goa Daman Va Diu Swatantrya Ladhyaacha Itihas** (vol. II) op.cit., p. 186-187

⁵⁰ Interview with Suryakanti Fal Desai and Shashikala Almeida.

Thirdly, the most important reason may be that these girls wanted to avoid the villagers who would have looked down upon them. Being women, all of them had taken care to hide their family identity. That Suryakanti Fal Desai, otherwise a relaxed and home-loving girl, sent her brother to the home of Laxmi Poinguinkar to inquire about the satyagraha, clearly shows the orthodox nature of the villages in Canacona. Even the nationalists who had come to meet Laxmi Poinguinkar in the 'khanavol' at Margao were surprised to see this girl, coming all the way from Canacona to Margao for satyagraha. Thus instead of participating in the satyagraha in their own villages they chose this place. What is more important here is to recognise the value of the words 'Jai-Hind' for these women nationalists and its impact on the Portuguese. The meaning of 'Jai-Hind' was not just to express their nationalist sentiments but also to demand freedom from the Portuguese rule. Even during the civil disobedience movement in June 1946, the shouting of 'Jai-Hind' by Ms. Vatsala Kirtani, which resulted in her arrest, was not just to break the Portuguese laws and demand the liberty to express nationalist feelings but had rather greater meaning attached to it. Shouting of 'Jai-Hind' suggested that Portuguese should leave Goa and Goa should be integrated into the Indian Union. Portuguese authorities were stunned and shocked when they heard this slogan under the fascist rule in Goa. They understood that the time for their departure had come. This is evident during the arrest of Ms. Vatsala Kirtani. The police commandant repeatedly asked Vatsala : 'Why are you doing this? (She was shouting the slogan) This land is yours and we shall one day quit it'. Thus the activities of women nationalist during this period were restricted to the shouting of anti-Portuguese and pro-Indian slogans and distributing the pamphlets of NC (G). These were some of the techniques of peaceful resistance and were identified as offering satyagraha by women in Goa.

Case III: Satyagraha of 6th April 1955.

As recorded by Kumudini Kavlekar'

'A small satyagraha session was to be held on 6th April 1955 in front of Maruti temple at Mapusa. Two days before this satyagraha, Shalini Lolienkar and I

were taken clandestinely to the house of Dina Chende at Mapusa. Ambikabai Dandekar and Sudhatai Joshi were staying in the house of some other nationalist. We did not know about her, as to where she stayed.

On 6th April 1955 there was Jatra festival of the God Maruti at Mapusa. And in front of the same temple the satyagraha session was to be held. We were altogether thirteen out of which nine were men nationalists. The police were informed about the place and the time of the satyagraha session. In order to arrest us they were supervising the entire area. At about 4 o'clock in the evening we went to the venue and got ourselves mixed with the huge crowd that had gathered for the Jatra festival. We had flags in our hands. So, one volunteer brought a stool on which Sudhatai Joshi stood. Loudly she spoke and shouted 'Jai Hind'. After 5-10 minutes of slogan shouting police appeared on the scene and arrested all of us. We were taken to the police station'.⁵¹

Mrs. Sudha Joshi was elected as the President of the ninth annual session of National Congress (Goa). This session was held openly in Mapusa on 6th April 1955 in the presence of large number of people. Although, she was arrested before finishing her speech the copies of the text of her address were distributed to the people.⁵² In her address she called upon all Goans as well as Indians to participate in the liberation of Goa. She also warned Portugal in the following words,

'Let the Portuguese not forget that for sixty years they were ruled by Spaniards and they had to fight for their freedom. ...Dr. Salazar must not misunderstand our peaceful intentions for therein lies danger. The determination of Goans and Indians to liberate Goa is bound to succeed. No prestige must stand in the way of Portugal to concede freedom to Goans'.⁵³

On the same day i.e., on 6th April 1955 Margao witnessed three satyagrahas⁵⁴ at different places but at the same time. These satyagrahas were at three different places in order to confuse the Portuguese police. The satyagraha batch of Margao was led by Fabiao de Costa. They were altogether seven satyagrahis. The satyagraha batch of Cuncolim was led by Vishnu S Angle and there were nine satyagrahis in this batch. The third batch was led by Narayan V. Kurade. The Margao batch went to the railway station, Cuncolim batch went to the market at Margao. And exactly at 4:45 p.m. all these three batches with the

⁵¹ Interview with smt. Kumudini Kavlekar. (May 1998)

⁵² Sardesai M. H. (1994), *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas* op.cit., p. 285.

⁵³ Deora, M. S. (ed.) (1995), *Liberation Of Goa Daman And Diu From Portuguese Rule*, New Delhi: Discovery Publishing p. 18.

⁵⁴ Sardesai M. H. (1994) *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*, op.cit., pp. 287, 288.

flags in their hands started shouting slogans of 'Jai-Hind', 'Jai-Gomantak'. When the news reached the police station in Margao, all were arrested and imprisoned.

Two resolutions were released from the office of NC(G) from Sawantwadi after the satyagraha session of 6th April 1955 which emphasized, 'that the desire, efforts and sacrifices of the people of Goa are not motivated by any feelings of antagonism, superiority or any purpose other than that of securing freedom for our people' and called upon the 'Portuguese government to quit Goa forthwith and hand power to the people'. The second resolution, after response to satyagraha urged the people of Goa to greater efforts and sacrifices to the cause of freedom.⁵⁵

I have discussed the three above mentioned events at length. They give us some understanding of the psychology as well the spirit of Goan women in terms of their participation in the liberation struggle.

The first important observation that can be made out from the above accounts is the extent of women's participation from Canacona Taluka, the southernmost Taluka in Goa. This Taluka had always remained quite aloof from the main stream of Goa due to its geographical location.⁵⁶ It is surrounded by the Arabian sea from the west, Karwar is the state of Karnataka from the south, Quepem from the north and Sanguem Taluka from the north-east. However, due to its vicinity to Karwar the activities there, especially the activities of the Indian National Movement under British India, had a great influence on the nationalists from Canacona Taluka. Kumudini Kavlekar was even the member of Seva Dal activities⁵⁷ conducted under the banner of INM in Karwar. Pramilabai Kant Jambaulikar who hailed from Canacona was the first woman in Goa to participate in the activities of Goa Seva Sangh. Her leading part in the political and social sphere of Goa, before 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, attracted a group of young girls and women to constructive activities such as spinning and weaving of Khadi sarees as a symbol of patriotism. Among a

⁵⁵ Deora, M. S. op.cit., pp. 17, 18.

⁵⁶ Komarpanth, Somanath (1986) **Goa and Swatantrya Ladhyaatil Canaconacha Sahabag** (Marathi) Goa: Goa Muktiropyamahaotsav Samiti, Canacona p. 8

⁵⁷ Interview with Kumudini Kavlekar.(May 1998)

number of constructive activities that were launched by Mahatma Gandhi to generate the non-violent strength among the Indian masses, hand spinning and hand weaving had a primary importance. The motive behind this was to develop a 'consciousness of the ideals of Ahimsa, self-reliance and self-sufficiency'.⁵⁸ These activities had helped to launch a non-violent peaceful struggle in British India. And this non-violent struggle led to India's independence from British rule. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving in Goa under Pramila Bai Jambaulikar marked the beginning of nationalist activities as well as it was considered to be the beginning of the rise of political consciousness among the Goan women. And this was probably the main basis for the inculcation of the spirit of non-violence among Goan women who took part in large numbers in the civil disobedience movement in Goa. The credit for women's participation during the civil disobedience movement, the moral strength that was generated in them certainly goes to these women from Canacona Taluka.

The second generation of women who played an active role in the liberation struggle represented Canacona Taluka in large numbers. These were young girls such as Suryakanti Fal Desai, Kumudini Poinguinkar alias Kavlekar, Laxmi Poinguinkar, Shalini Loliengar, Vilasini Prabhu Mahale and a woman named Shobha Prabhu Desai. All these women were the members of NC (G) and ardent nationalists. Although they belonged to orthodox families from the villages of Poinguinim, Loliem, Mashe, etc. from Canacona, they built up the courage to participate in the struggle sometimes against the wishes of their parents. Although many girls had shown their willingness to participate they could not do so due to the strict restriction which family members imposed upon them. Kumudini Kavlekar fled from her house in order to participate in the satyagrahi conference that was held in Mapusa on 6th April 1955 as she was detained in the house⁵⁹ when she was willing to offer satyagraha on 17th February 1955 in Margao.

The second observation from the preceding accounts concerns the issue of leadership among women nationalists. From the discussions, we can conclude that women had a

⁵⁸ Pyarelal (1956) *Mahatma Gandhi-The last Phase*, (vol.I Book Two), I Ahmedabad: Navjivan Trust, p. 52.
⁵⁹ Interview with Smt. Kumudini Kavlekar. (May 1998)

good leadership who could motivate them to participate in large numbers. Few Goan women could take part in the satyagraha and other underground activities. During the civil disobedience movement Pramila Bai Jambaulikar gave a lead to women's participation. However that was not sufficient. She could not do any further work for Goa's cause as she went to Bombay (Mumbai) and settled there. Thus the very foundation which was laid down by this woman was incomplete and this is the reason why the woman did not come forward during the liberation struggle in mid 50s in large numbers.

A new group of women had emerged in the mid 50s who fought against Portuguese sovereignty in Goa. It was during this time, Ms. Sindhutai Deshpande, an Indian national encouraged young Goan girls to come forward and lead the movement. However her constant arrests and detention kept her away from mobilizing these women in large numbers.

Goan women had fought under the banner of nationalism in Goa. Though they had a good leadership, due to the lack of communication, the resistance of these women was more an individual than a group affair. During the satyagrahas, we find mainly individuals. For example in the satyagraha of 25th November 1954 only Sindhutai Deshpande participated and although many Goan girls were willing to offer satyagraha, they could not do so. In the satyagrahas of 17th February 1955 i.e., 'Gaitonde Day' satyagrahas were offered by two women each i.e., in the morning by Shashikala Hodarkar\Almeida and Vilasini Prabhu and in the evening by Suryakanti Fal Desai and Laxmi Poinguinkar. On 6th April 1955, Smt. Sudhatai Joshi with other women and men nationalists organised the conference of NC (G) publicly. The satyagrahas of 6th April 1955 and 17th February 1955 are the best examples of the satyagrahas organised and undertaken by the women nationalists where men nationalists played a secondary role. Let me also mention here the role of Mrs. Libia Lobo Sardesai, who was the member of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, an underground radio station. She, as an individual worked underground for nearly about six years from 1955 to 1961 living in jungle areas on India-Goa borders. We will discuss about her contribution as a member of Voice Of Freedom in the Chapter Six 'Voice Of Freedom Of Goa' in detail.

Secrecy was held to be the most important factor in Goa, at all times during the nationalist activities whether peaceful, non-violent or violent. However, secrecy played an important role even in the Indian National Movement when it was conducted underground during violent activities. But satyagraha and non-violence under Mahatma Gandhi had no place for secret activities. In contrast in the nationalist activities in Goa which were conducted under the banner of NC(G) with its strategy of satyagraha and non-violence, secrecy played an important role. This is clear indication of a deviation from the strategy of satyagraha and non-violence of Mahatma Gandhi who maintained that the secrecy should not have any place while fighting for political freedom. Secrecy, in his opinion, was a sin and a symptom of violence, which should be avoided and underground activities, was for him a taboo. In his opinion, 'secrecy' aimed at building a wall of protection round the individual who practiced it (satyagraha and non-violence). Ahimsa disdained such protection. It functioned in the open, even in the face of the heaviest odds.⁶⁰

However, the importance of secrecy in the liberation struggle of Goa was considered mainly for two reasons. Firstly, unlike British India, Goa was under the Fascist rule of the Salazarist regime in Portugal. There was no place even for elementary civil liberties. Even asking for civil liberties was the greatest crime in the eyes of Portuguese. By keeping in view the advice of Mahatma Gandhi, Goa had to fight for civil liberties by non-violent means. As we have seen earlier Gandhi's advice for Goa was:

'Swaraj cannot be attained by any direct actions of citizens, whether violent or non-violent. In non-violent action, success is assured where every inhabitant is a hero ready to lay down his or her life. It is less to be thought of in Goa than in the more numerous and the better seasoned and awakened British India. Therefore the clearest possible issue of civil liberty must be kept steadily in view'.⁶¹

But the result of adopting a non-violent struggle resulted in the Portuguese colonialist reacting harshly towards the satyagrahis. Arrest and severe punishment, with deportation in some cases were meted out to them. And within two months after the commencement of the civil disobedience movement in 1946, Portuguese could suppress the civil disobedience

⁶⁰ Pyarelal, op.cit., p. 37.

⁶¹ Kunte, B. G. op.cit., p. 57.

movement completely by arresting its prominent leaders such as Laxmikant Bhembre, Purushottam Kakodkar and others. The Gandhian Satyagraha was practiced on the soil of Goa, when liberation struggle of Goa took the momentum after the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Many Goan women took part in these satyagrahas, which cannot be held as pure form of Satyagraha but the modified form or 'Neo-Gandhism' or 'Neo-Satyagraha'. These modified techniques included sabotage on the widest scale, underground activities and organization of parallel government, during India's freedom struggle.⁶²

The second reason responsible for the complete secrecy of the satyagraha and non-violent activities was the Portuguese spies who might have reported to Portuguese police and crushed the movement before it began. The fear of the spy among the Goan nationalist is very well explained in the following words:

'There was always a fear that the police might be just around the corner. Everyone was haunted by the ghost of a spy. The policeman was there, of course, there was no escaping his presence even for a moment, but the spy could well have been the priest, the teacher, the doctor-why even your kith and kin'.⁶³

This is not an exaggeration. These had been many instances where the arrest had been made before the actual practice of satyagraha on account of the leakage of news to the Portuguese administration. For example, Smt. Celina Olga Moniz was arrested before the actual practise of satyagraha as she was carrying National flags, pamphlets and other nationalist material. So if every time the satyagraha was cancelled due to the arrests Portuguese would have been successful in propagating that no movement for the liberation was going on and that the Goans are happy under Portuguese rule.

Thus in order to show the Indians as well as the world that Goans were fighting for freedom it was necessary to keep everything secret. Even the nationalists kept their identification as satyagrahis or patriotic feeling secret from their family members. For eg., Rajanikant Mahatme and Shashikala Hodarkar lived in the same house as they were cousins. But, both were unaware of the fact that they were working for Goa's cause.

⁶² Pyarelal, op.cit., p. 37.

⁶³ Telkar, Shridhar (1962) **Goa Yesterday and Today**, Bombay: Published by Shridhar Telkar for Telkars' Features, p. 23

In the words of Rajanikant Mahatme,

The secrecy was held to be the most important aspect of Goa's liberation struggle. Though Shashikala and I was cousins, both did not have even the slightest doubt this each of us were separately involved in freedom struggle. The same was the case with one of my friends. I did not know that he was active in the liberation struggle of Goa and so was he unaware of my participation.⁶⁴

It was only when Casmiro Monteiro came to their house in search of Sindhutai Deshpande that Rajanikant Mahatme learnt that Shashikala was involved in the liberation struggle. He fled away from his house thinking that Monteiro had come to arrest him. Casmiro learnt from his brother, Annamel that both Shashikala and her mother had gone to Panaji to meet her brother who was in jail. Annamel Monteiro had mistaken Sindhutai for Shashikala's mother, whereas Casmiro Monteiro after interrogation learnt from Vishnu Naik, that it was Sindhutai Deshpande with whom he had gone to Shashikala Hodarkar's place. Further, after having a doubt about the veracity of Shashikala's mother's answer that they had gone to their native place at Sanvordem, he set out the next morning neither for Panjim nor for Sanvordem but to Mapusa to arrest both of them. After his unsuccessful attempt of locating them he returned to Margao and Sindhutai was able to practice satyagraha on 25th November 1954.⁶⁵

The same was the case with the satyagraha of 6th April 1955. Although the Portuguese were informed about the date when Sudhatai Joshi would inaugurate the ninth session of NC(G) at Mapusa, the place and the time was kept secret. The arrival of Sudhatai Joshi, Ambikabai Dandekar, Shalini Lolienkar and Kumudini Kavlekar was also kept secret to avoid their arrests.⁶⁶ Even Kumudini Kavlekar who stayed at the house of Dina Chende on 5th April 1955 did not where Sudhatai Joshi and Ambikabai Dandekar were kept. As it was announced by NC(G) earlier that a satyagraha session will be held on 6th April 1955 at Mapusa, Portuguese administration was well set to curb this session. Even a prize was announced for the capture of Sudhatai Joshi before the satyagraha session. And Portuguese

⁶⁴ Interview with Shri. Rajanikant Mahatme. (January 1998.)

⁶⁵ Interview with Smt. Shashikala AlmeidaHodarkar. (October 1999.)

⁶⁶ Interview with Smt. Kumudini Kavlekar. (May 1998.)

police had kept a strict vigil on the traffic going to Mapusa. But inspite of this strict vigil Sudhatai Joshi and Ambikabai Dandekar reached Mapusa on 5th April 1955. On the other hand, Portuguese police arrested many women to whom they considered to be 'Sudhatai' and were released later on as it was proved to be wrong.⁶⁷

However, the difference between the satyagraha of 25th November 1954 and 6th April 1955 lies in the fact that the former was conducted against the sovereign claim of the Portuguese whereas, the satyagraha of 6th April 1955 was a open conference of NC(G) which required the co-operation and participation of a large number of nationalists. Thus, the satyagraha of 25th November 1955 was kept secret whereas the satyagraha of 6th April 1955 was announced earlier so that it should become a great success.

I have discussed at length, the participation of women in the satyagraha movement in Goa against the Portuguese rule. This makes clear that women in Goa were not involved in the revolutionary or violent activities. They were not in favour of violence. Women has been called by Mahatma Gandhi as the 'incarnation of Ahimsa'. In the words of Sharada Savoikar,

I wanted to participate in the satyagraha movement under the banner of NC(G). I felt very bad when I was arrested in the murder of Custodio Fernandes. Never in my life would I have dreamt of killing somebody. I do not believe in violence. I don't believe that violence can solve any problem⁶⁸.

However there was a group of women, who participated in the underground activities, which should not be mistaken for revolutionary or violent activities. These underground activities included distribution of pamphlets, working as messengers, taking care of the families of Goan nationalists who were jailed, etc. The best example is that of Smt. Sharad Gude, a teacher in the school who used to collect funds from the people supporting the movement in order to take care of the families whose only head, or bread earner went to jail in the liberation movement of Goa. She used to even buy the medicine, clothes, etc. for their families, for which reason she had been also interrogated in the Margao police station.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Interview with smt. Suryakanti Fal Desai. (November 1999.)

⁶⁸ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999.)

⁶⁹ Interview with Smt. Sharad Gude (May 1999.)

It is believed by many nationalists in Goa, that few girls were directly involved in the violent activities and were members of Azad Gomantak Dal. They give examples of Shanta Hede, Mitra Bir and Sharada Savoikar being involved in these violent activities. However there is no proof to suggest this. Actually the Portuguese should be given the credit for making these non-violent satyagrahis as revolutionaries. The best example is that of Sharada Savoikar who was arrested by the Portuguese as being involved in the murder of pro-Portuguese in her village. Sharada Savoikar who was supposed to organise a satyagraha on 15th August 1955 with many other girls, was arrested earlier i.e. on 6th August 1955, for allegedly having links with revolutionaries and helping them in the murder of Custodio Fernandes.

In her words:

'I was in the orchard when my sister along with two policemen came in search of me. I was called home due to the raid on our house. At once, I reached home. I then found that police officer, Casmiro Monteiro had come along with 150 other policemen and was searching our house. When I reached home, he started inquiring: 'Are you involved in the killing of Custodio?' He asked me. 'I do not know any Custodio,' I answered. At the same time, my sister-in-law, who was made to sit in the veranda, got up and went inside to look at the milk which was kept on the stove. Monteiro also went after her and catching hold of her, brought her out and slapped her twice on her face. I was furious. I asked him how he dared to touch her. He asked me why she went inside. I said, this is our house and we will behave in whatever manner we like.

'Have you been appointed by your government to beat women in their houses? I asked Monteiro. His reply was "Yes", I will show you, why I have been appointed'. Then he asked us to show the armaments or pamphlets which we had. I told him that we have nothing. He then arrested my brother and me. That night we were kept in the house of Custodio and the next day both of us were taken to the Panaji (Panjim) police headquarters'.⁷⁰

Sharada Savoikar hailed from a village called Savoi in Ponda Taluka. This village of Savoi, with Verem another village, is not only known for bettlenuts, mangoes, etc., but also for its nationalist activities. Not only was the *Azad Gomantak Dal* active in this area, but it also had many people such as Sharada Savoikar who believed in non-violent

⁷⁰ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999.)

satyagraha. Besides this the family of Sharada Savoikar was involved in the nationalist activities such as organizing meetings at their house, giving shelter to nationalists, etc. and due to this the Portuguese police were looking for a reason to arrest members of this family. It was in this village, on 15th August 1954, that an Indian tricolour was hoisted by a Goan nationalist named Vinayak A. Surlakar along with his associates on the Portuguese school building.⁷¹

This flag was later removed by a pro-Portuguese Custodio Fernandes, trampled upon, and then burnt by him. The Goan nationalists were furious and decided to kill him. Accordingly on the night of 22-23rd July 1955 they went to his house, knocked at the door and by taking a name of his friend asked him to open the door. Thinking that his friend was out Custodio Fernandes opened the door and AGD volunteers shot him to death. After this the Portuguese reacted sharply and arrested a number of people from the village of Savoi-Verem. With them Sharada Savoikar and her brother Ganapat Savoikar and Vishwanath Savoikar, were also arrested.

The AGD volunteers who were also active in this area were behind the murder of Custodio Fernandes. They were Mohan Ranade and Balkrishna Bhonsle⁷² with Prabhakar Vernekar and others. Manohar Apte, an active member of AGD, had assumed the name of Mohan Ranade during the liberation struggle of Goa. He was an Indian national and was a teacher in the village of Savoi. He was a constant motivating force for his students such as the young Sharada Savoikar. He was involved in the liberation of Silvassa on 1st August 1954 and participated in a number of armed attacks on police and customs outposts, mines and seized weapons and explosives for his organization. On 25th October 1955, while leading the attack on Betim police, he was wounded seriously in an encounter with Portuguese. He was later hospitalized, and on 29th December 1956 was sentenced to 26 years of rigorous imprisonment and deported to Portugal. He was then released only on 25th January 1969 and his continuous detention, even after the liberation of Goa, evoked widespread protest in the country.

⁷¹ Shirodkar, P. P. (1986) **Who's Who Of Freedom Fighters** (vol II) op.cit., p. 343

⁷² Mhadeshwar, Nandini (1986) **Goa Ladhyatil Virangana** (Marathi), Goa: Directorate of Sports and Culture, Goa Daman and Diu, Panaji p. 62

Sharada Savoikar along with her brothers, was arrested for having links with the revolutionaries. She was beaten mercilessly in order to compel her to tell the names of her colleagues. She was released by mistake as the authorities confused her name with that of Sharad Shirvoikar. In order to evade re-arrest she crossed the border. Although generally, all women nationalists were peaceful and non-violent, a small group of women, especially married women whose husbands were involved in revolutionary activities had indirect links with AGD, they were never involved in the violent or terrorist activities. Their activities can be grouped under subaltern category like providing food and shelter to the Goan nationalist, acting as couriers, informing them about police activities and so on. Take the example of Mrs. Rajani Naik. Being the wife of Shri. Suryakant Naik, one of the founder members of AGD, who had escaped arrest and went underground to organise Dal's activities from across the border. Mrs. Rajani Naik also crossed the border along with her husband and took up the responsibility of providing food and shelter to the Goan nationalists in Banda and later on at Belgaum. During the liberation struggle, many Goan freedom fighters had to live the life of underground workers due to the fascist nature of Portuguese rule. In order to avoid arrest and detention, general tendency of Goan nationalists was to cross the border and organise the movement from Bombay and Belgaum and Banda. In fact AGD activists used to plan the future course of terrorists activities from across the border and implement them in Goa. Mrs. Rajani Naik's rented house at Banda was the hub of nationalists activities where no distinction was made between NC(G) nationalists who were non-violent and AGD volunteers who were revolutionaries. Lack of finance, health problems, insufficient rest and continuous work for 16 to 18 hours a day, did not deter her from supporting and looking after the big family of forty to fifty Goan nationalists⁷³. Similar was the case of Mrs. Mogabai Naik. She was dragged into the nationalist activities due to her brother and son who were active members of AGD. Like Rajani Naik, she provided food and shelter to the freedom fighters and allowed them to hold secret meetings in her house when they were in Goa. She even carried their food on her head at their hide-

⁷³ Interview with Smt. Rajani Naik.

outs when need arose. Kishoribai Harmalkar kept a close watch on police activities and informed the nationalists about their plans. She, like, Prema Purav even carried their arms, posters and pamphlets wherever required.

Participation of Women in the Liberation Struggle. (1946-61)

Although this fear of Portuguese police was there in the minds of Goans, it did not deter them from participating in the national activities. It is believed that many nationalists were badly tortured both mentally and physically in the police stations and even in the jails.

The fate of the women nationalist differed in the sense that if women nationalists belonged to NC (G) were arrested while practicing satyagraha they were treated humanely by the Portuguese.⁷⁴ The reason for this was that their fight was more open and had nothing secret to hide from the Portuguese administration⁷⁵. But women nationalists who allegedly supported revolutionary groups such as the AGD, etc. were beaten mercilessly in the police stations as well as in the jails⁷⁶. Inhuman treatment was given to them so as to extract the information about their associates. They were beaten so much that their bodies were swollen and became black and blue. As if this was not enough, even the family members were brought to the police stations and were imprisoned and physically tortured. Three brothers of Sharada Savoikar, along with her father were imprisoned in order to punish the entire family for her involvement. Portuguese police did not restrict themselves to physical torture but used the weapon of mental torture against women nationalists. For eg. Mrs. Lilavati Naik, a member of NC(G) was detained in police custody for her nationalists activities. While in the police custody a dead body was shown to her and she was told that it was her husband's body, which led to her nervous breakdown, from which she could not recover⁷⁷.

⁷⁴ Interview with Smt. Rajani Naik.

⁷⁵ Interview with Smt. Shashikala Hodarkar/Almeida.

⁷⁶ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999.)

⁷⁷ Shirodkar, P. P. (vol II) op.cit., p. 235.

Ms. Sharada Savoikar, who it was believed participated in the murder of pro-Portuguese, remembers the atrocities the Portuguese committed against her:

‘While in the custody, Casmiro Monteiro had tortured my brother and me so much that we had turned black and blue. We could not even stand properly on our feet. He was forcing both of us to tell the names of those who killed Custodio. Although, we were aware of the names, we had kept our mouth shut. Once he brought my brother to me and asked,

‘Do you want your brother alive or will you tell the names?’

I kept quiet. He said, ‘I will beat you to die in custody’.

I told him, ‘you do whatever you want to. I will not tell the names’. To this he replied, ‘I will destroy your life in the custody’.

I am a vegetarian. Since he knew that I do not eat fish, he used to send me rice sprinkled with fish-curry. For eight days, I was starving. But, for how long could I starve? I then used to pick up the rice, which had not touched the curry and eat it. For about six months, I was brutally tortured by him in police custody. They used to beat us with ‘cavalmari’ (a whip) They had given the names of Nehru, Gandhi to these cavalmari. And while beating they used to ask us, Nehru jai, Gandhi jai (you want Nehru, you want Gandhi)’.⁷⁸

Casmiro Monteiro being proud of his European ancestry being a mestizo,⁷⁹ had become more Portuguese than the Portuguese themselves. He was well known in Goa due to his brutality and sadism. He was very much faithful to his masters. And he would go to any length to please them. The Portuguese i.e. reinois (the Portuguese of noble lineage, those from the Kingdom) were actually the people of great respect and always respected women in Goa. Once during the identification of Sindhutai Deshpande, Monteiro slapped a Goan nationalist named Celina Olga Moniz on her face, to which a Portuguese officer said that ‘we never beat the women. But if the Goans only beat you all what can we do?’⁸⁰. These are many such examples of the brutality committed against the women by Casmiro Monteiro who never made a difference between a man and a woman.

Besides the inhuman treatment that was meted out to the Goan women, many of them suffered from various kinds of diseases mostly skin diseases, fever, cough, etc. due to the unhygienic conditions in the police lock-ups and in the jails.

⁷⁸ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar.

⁷⁹ Monteiro was of a mixed race, a mestizo.

⁸⁰ Mhadeshwar, Nandini op.cit., p. 69.

Many of these women were directly taken to the police station in Panjim after arrest. In custody they were cramped for space. Seven women nationalist were detained in a small room with no proper sunlight and air. The rules were so strict that in the morning, at 4 o'clock, each one was given 15 minutes to answer nature's call, to bathe, wash clothes, etc. which was not sufficient. These circumstances had forced Sindhutai Deshpande to observe 'Anna-Satyagraha' i.e. fasting.⁸¹ Young girls such as Shashikala Hodarkar\Almeida, Shalini Loliengar, Kumudini Kavlekar, Suryakanti Fal Desai, Laxmi Poinguinkar with Sudhatai Joshi and Sindhutai Deshpande were women nationalists who had to suffer in the police custody at Panaji (Panjim).

It was only after the punishments of imprisonment, that they were transferred to the jail at Quepem. The Quepem jail was especially meant for women. There were no facilities for the women in other jails of Aguada or Reis Magos. Although, due to the confusion over the names of satyagrahis, these women nationalist were taken to the jail of Aguada. The names of these women were changed from Suryakanti to Suryakant, Laxmi to Laxman, Vilasini to Vilas, etc. However as Aguada jail was not meant for women, they were taken to Reis-Magos. Same thing happened at Reis-Magos jail. Only then were they taken to Quepem jail. The atmosphere in the Quepem jail was the worst. The jail had become dirty. Bushes had grown up due to the moist soil. Snakes and other reptiles were found roaming inside the jail. Due to the moisture in the soil it was very difficult even to sleep on the ground.⁸² But even under these circumstances women freedom fighters had kept their morale high.

They had tried to make the best use of the free time that was available. Besides cooking and sewing, they spent their time reading various books and learning new ideas from Sindhutai Deshpande. She, being an Indian national, used to make them aware of the various government schemes in India for women. She had even asked them to dedicate their life for the cause of the country and its people even after the liberation of Goa.⁸³

⁸¹ Interview with smt. Kumudini Kavlekar (May 1998.)

⁸² Interview with Suryakanti Fal Desai. (November 1999.)

⁸³ Interview with Shashikala Almeida. (October 1999.)

With the exceptions of these women who had to undergo the punishment in Quepem jail. Two young girls at the same time were still suffering imprisonment in the police custody at Panjim. They were Sharada Savoikar and Shanta Hede. Both were imprisoned for allegedly having links with the terrorist organisations. Even under the brutality of Casmiro Monteiro, both these young girls kept their spirit up. 'Even if death comes to us we will die with a smile on our face'⁸⁴ was their attitude towards life in the prison. With this in mind they started torturing the police officials in the custody. They used to collect the news about the arrest of various nationalists while they were in the custody. Many Africans who were in the Portuguese troops used to help them for this, without the knowledge of Monteiro. In order to embarrass Monteiro, Shanta Hede as well as Sharada Savoikar used to sing patriotic songs loudly. In the words of Sharada Savoikar,

'We used to sing many patriotic songs loudly while in the police custody to embarrass Monteiro. Further we used to also complain to the police Commandant, about the nature of Casmiro Monteiro whenever he came for visits. We told him that Casmiro Monteiro did not give us the clothes and sweets which our family members sent for us. So we used to tell the commandant to increase his salary as it was not sufficient to maintain his family. Under these circumstances we were kept in the jail for two and a half years'.⁸⁵

During these years, Sharada Savoikar was told by Monteiro that he would release her at any time if she was ready to come with him to his house. This was an insult to Sharada Savoikar who always gave a negative response. Due to this, Casmiro Monteiro had framed charges in such a way that the court would give her the maximum punishment. He had even taken a photograph with a bamboo in her hand at the house of custodio Fernandes as a proof of her involvement in the murder of Custodio. But when she appeared before the court, she denied all the allegations against her in the following words,

'I was not involved in the murder of Custodio Fernandes. It was Monteiro who has involved me in this murder. Our parents do not allow us to go out at night to kill a person. I was given the worst treatment by Monteiro in the jail.

⁸⁴ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999.)

⁸⁵ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999.)

Portuguese Judge, believing in whatever she said, ordered her release and warned her not to participate in 'Jai-Hind' activities in the future. This girl told him that he being a Goan should also come forward to fight for the country. Although the Judge had released her, Casmiro Monteiro took her to police custody in which she was again kept in detention for about six months. However, due to the confusion over the name of Sharad Shirvoikar, Sharada Savoikar was released by some other police officer. Soon after her release, she crossed the border as there was every possibility of her re-arrest as she knew that Casmiro Monteiro would not leave her just like that.⁸⁶ But he soon received the punishment that was due to him.

Monteiro, the persecutor of nationalists was arrested at the end of 1958 and shipped off to Portugal. The charge against him was that he had accepted high bribes. The Portuguese authorities were mum as long as Monteiro was busy in looting the huts and hovels of our peasants. This loot was rewarded by eulogy and promotions. Monteiro's greed knew no bounds. But when he turned his hungry gaze in the direction of wealthy landowners and prosperous mine owners and began to extort money from them by blackmailing with threats of arrests as 'Jai-Hinduist', the Portuguese government suddenly woke up to the corrupt state of affairs...and he was transferred to the Portugal.⁸⁷

Patriarchal structure of the Goan society was also seen in the liberation struggle of Goa. It was noticed that man, during the struggle dominated and even influenced the nationalist activities of women. In fact man used the woman for their work. While doing that they did not take them in confidence, they did not take into account their feelings whether they would like to do such work or not, especially dealing with the revolutionary activities.

Smt. Prema Purav notes,

'Many young girls were involved in the work such as carrying the nationalist material from one place to another. They carried sometimes even the bombs without their knowledge. Though this type of work was given to them, they were not told about the dangers behind the work, difficulties that they might have to face and what precautions they should take in case they face some difficulties'.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Interview with Smt. Sharada Savoikar. (December 1999.)

⁸⁷ Ranade, Mohan (1998) **Struggle Unfinished**, Goa: Vimal Publications. p. 161.

⁸⁸ Mhadeshwar, Nandini op.cit., p. 52.

Society viewed the participation of these women in its own way. Especially the friends, neighbours and relatives looked at them with suspicion. After the release of these women they had suffered a lot from 'untouchable' treatment that was given to them. Even the rumours were spread about them that these girls were transported to Portugal, married to Portuguese and even that they have become pregnant⁸⁹. This insult was more unbearable than the atrocities committed by the Portuguese in jails. And these Goan women and young girls had to bear this courageously. Their struggle was not just directed against the Portuguese rule but at times, it was also directed against their own people.

Nationalist historiography generally speaks about the participation of women in the freedom movement. However it fails to recognise what women had to say during a particular period of liberation struggle. What nationalist historiography suggest is that subalterns do not have any voice and if they are women, they are speechless.⁹⁰ While examining the role of women in the liberation struggle of Goa, one can notice the constant pressure of popular customs which were set forth for these women by society in general and family in particular. They had to fight two battles and win both. The first battle was directed against the Portuguese rule, and the second against the conservative nature of society and family of which they were also a part. The first seemed to be not so difficult as it was against foreign domination, the second was difficult because it was against their own people. The first battle they could fight and win but the second one had to be fought till they survive. Let me explain this in brief. As I have already mentioned earlier, these women took part in Goa's liberation struggle against the wishes of their family members. Many young girls escaped from their houses without the knowledge of their family members as they were determined to do something for their country. For example, Kumudini Kavlekar and Suniti Divkar, left their houses at the tender age of 16 and 17 respectively to join the liberation struggle. Kumudini Kavlekar, who hailed from Cancona, was supposed to

⁸⁹ Interview with Smt. Suryakanti Fal Desai. (November 1999.)

⁹⁰ Visweswaran, Kamala, 'Small speeches, subaltern Gender: Nationalist Ideology and Its Historiography', in Amin & Chorkrabarty (ed) (1996), *Subaltern Studies IX, Writings on South Asian History and Society*, Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 90.

participate in the *satyagraha* of 17th February 1955 to celebrate Gaitonde Day. But when her parents resisted and detained her in the house, she escaped and joined the satyagraha session of 6th April 1955 under the leadership of Mrs. Sudhatai Joshi at Mapusa. By participating in the political activities during Portuguese rule, against the wishes of their family members, these women represented the entire subaltern women community in Goa during liberation struggle. Though they come under the category of subaltern, they had shown courage and had strong urge for Goa's liberation.

Patriarchal structure of society was dominant in the lives of these subaltern women even after their release from jails in 1958 and 1959. Though family members accepted these women in their family after release from jails, friends, and neighbours and relatives looked at them with suspicion and even treated them as untouchables. Participation of these women in the nationalists activities was a biggest crime in the eyes of society and hence they were to be punished. Thus the families of these women had to face ostracism.⁹¹ The life had become more difficult after release from prison. They had to go through Agni-Pariksha as these women who were imprisoned were associated with Portuguese officials and even believed to have lost their virginity. And due to this nearly fifty percent were married to the men who were active in the liberation struggle. Rest 20% were married to the educated and liberal minded Goans while others could not get their life partners. Many women nationalists, after liberation were engaged in political and social activities in Goa. Some of them like Suryakanti Fal Desai, Shalini Loliengar, Mitra Bir opened up schools in the remote villages in order to impart education to the children free of cost. Few others worked with men nationalists to enlighten the Goan community about their civil and political rights.

⁹¹ Interview with Smt. Kumudini Kawalekar. (May 1998).

CHAPTER FIVE

CASTE AND COMMUNITY PROFILE

‘Even if I am a Christian by religion, I am Hindu by culture. The dress which I am wearing has nothing to do with my religion’.

- Frank Andrade.

Being the first Europeans to come to India, the Portuguese observed the prevalence and practice of the ‘Varna system’.¹ The term ‘Caste’ is derived from the Portuguese word ‘Casta’ meaning ‘chaste’ or ‘pure’. It is this concept of purity that is the crucial factor in the determination of hierarchy in the caste system. The Portuguese of the sixteenth century, on observing the social stratification of the population in India, mixed up varnas with the jatis and called all of them indiscriminately by the name of caste.² The Portuguese discovery of caste however went much beyond giving a name to India’s varna-jati system. Duarte Barbosa identified the main features of (a) caste as a hierarchy, with Brahmans (Brahmins) at the top and ‘untouchables’ at the bottom, (b) untouchability as linked to the idea of pollution, (c) the existence of a plurality of ‘castes’ separated from each other by endogamy, occupation and commensality, (d) the application of sanctions by castes to maintain their own customs and rule (e) the relationship of caste with political organizations³. Since Goa would not remain isolated from the influence of the caste system that dominated the Indian society one has, therefore, to assess the impact of caste and community on the liberation struggle of Goa. In the first democratic elections that was held in Goa the caste and community factor dominated the political scene. Once, Goa was freed from Portuguese rule by the Indian forces, caste and community attachment that had lain dormant in the few

¹ Coutinho, Verissimo (1987) **Education Development In Goa**, Rome: ICSS p. 23

² Gomes, Olivinho J. F. **Village Goa**, New Delhi: S. Chand and Company Ltd. p. 74.

³ Sheth, D. L., ‘Secularisation Of Caste And Making of New Middle Class’, in **Economic and Political Weekly**, August 21-28, 1998. pp. 2502 – 2438.

years of the liberation struggle of Goa (from 1946-61) suddenly appeared on the political arena of Goa. Congress fielded 13 GSBs, 10 Catholics and only 5 Bahujan Samaj people as candidates to the first election to the assembly.⁴ Bahujan Samaj felt that it was not represented properly in the Congress. Thus in order to challenge Congress and United Goans Party that represented Catholic community the Bahujan Samaj formed its own Maharashtrawadi Goamantak Party. Thus caste and community politics had emerged once again to stay permanently after the departure of Portuguese from Goa. It is also from this background, I would like to assess the role of caste and community in the liberation struggle of Goa.

In this chapter, I will draw attention to the role of various caste groups in the liberation struggle of Goa, especially in its last phase. This is necessary not purposely to introduce the caste conflict, but to look at the participation of various caste groups in the liberation struggle of Goa.

Caste Profile Of Goan Society.

The Hindus in Goa before the arrival of the Portuguese were divided on the basis of 'varna' system. Unlike the Chaturvarna system of Hindus the Catholic community had only three caste that is Brahmins (Bammon), Charados (Kshatriyas), and Sudirs (Shudras).⁵ Although Catholic religion preaches equality and brotherhood, the caste factor that had played an important role in the social life of Hindus before conversions, did not eliminate from the social structure after conversion to Catholicism. The caste system was so deeply rooted in their minds that although the names of the converts changed from Hindus to Catholics their attachment towards their own caste did not diminish or disappear. The converted Goans started writing their caste names after their names to identify which caste they belonged to before conversions.

Portuguese established their rule in Goa in 1510 and around 1560 conversions of local Hindus to Christianity started taking place in Goa, especially in Tiswadi, Bardez, and

⁴ Radhakrishna, Vaman (1995), *Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Paksh, Sthapana Ani Vatchal* (Marathi), Panaji: Rajahansa Vitaran, p. 15.

⁵ Furtado, A. D. (1981) *Goa Yesterday Today and Tomorrow*, Furtado's Enterprises Goa-India. p. 119.

Salcete [old conquest areas]. The missionary work in the first half of the 16th C had been rather on a low key, but the arrival of Francis Xavier and his Jesuit band increased the pace of conversions a good deal⁶. The Christianization of the local population might have been achieved through force, by giving rewards and punishments, or through the teaching of the virtues of Christianity, caste system which was prevalent among the Hindus, before the arrival of Portuguese, got transferred automatically to Catholicism without any rewards or punishments. As Dr. T. B. Cunha noted,

‘For two long centuries, the Inquisition of Goa tried to change also the habits of the Goan population using the most intolerable ways of compulsion, but the changes obtained by these methods were superficial. As an instance, I can mention the fact that Goan Catholics are still strongly attached to the Hindu caste system and do not marry outside their caste. Even in the Catholic Churches, there are separate confraternities for different castes’.⁷

The mission of the Portuguese during this time was to convert the local inhabitants to Christianity.

‘To win souls [almas] was the battlecry. But the souls came not pure and simple but as member of various caste’.⁸

Although the caste was unpalatable to the Church, and it did not encourage the caste practices of the converted to begin with⁹, Christianity could not resist its members from having allegiance to various castes even after conversions. The continued maintenance of the caste system among the Christians in Goa is attributed to the fact that the conversions of entire villages took place and hence was given a new coat of Christianity without affecting its age old social structure which was rooted in its caste foundation.¹⁰ Even the Church tried its level best to eliminate the caste practices among the converts. The provincial council [Ecclesiastical councils] passed several resolutions to root out caste practices, but realized that caste prejudices were too deeply rooted to wipe it off totally. However the

⁶ Borges, Charles J., ‘Christianization of the Caste System in Goa’ in B. S. Shastry, (ed.), (1987) *Goan Society Through The Ages*, New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, p. 48.

⁷ Cunha, T. B. (1961), *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, p. 200

⁸ Borges, Charles J., *Ibid* p. 48

⁹ Xavier, P. D. (1993), *Goa- A Social History (1510-1640)*, Panaji: Rajahans Prakashan p. 36

¹⁰ Gomes, Olivinho op.cit., p. 83.

provincial council banned the converts from the use of special caste dress and all were asked to follow the western mode of dress. They were not permitted to keep the Hindu surnames, which explicitly indicated their caste such as Prabhu, Sinai, Bhat, Naique etc.¹¹ However each of them remembered the caste they belonged to before conversions and the status that was attached to their respective caste.

Thus A. K. Priolkar points out,

‘Brahmins and Charados [or charodos] were more advanced castes among the Indians in Goa at this time. The attachment of their members to their caste was so deep that even after their conversion to Christianity they continued to mention their caste after their new Christian names and surnames in all documents’.¹²

The emphasis was on the christianization of entire village or communes, rather than on individual conversion to Christianity in the early days of the conversion programmes, because new converts were immediately expelled from their community and ostracized as renegades by their own family and caste. The only political course that appeared pragmatic, in the circumstances then prevailing to the missionaries, was to get the whole commune and consequently the whole village to embrace Christianity.¹³

Caste Conflicts In Goa.

Let me now turn my attention towards the caste conflicts between the Brahman or Bammon and Kshatriyas or Charados. B. D. Satoskar explains,

The existing caste conflict and caste loyalty between Brahmins and Charados had its origin much before conversion. It was a customary to write the caste before their new Catholic names. This is evident from this as well as from a number of documents that are available of that time. There have been a number of books, written by Brahmins and Charados to prove their superiority. I came across two such books which were written as far back in 1702 and 1713 and were published in Lisbon.¹⁴ [Free translation].

But if we believe in the mythology which says, that Parashurama a Brahmin turned warrior is said to have reclaimed the Konkan from Arabian sea by shooting an arrow

¹¹ Xavier, P. D. op.cit., pp. 37-38.

¹² Priolakar, A. K.(1961) *The Goa Inquisition*, New Delhi: Voice Of India, p. 147.

¹³ Gomes, Olivinho op.cit., p. 84.

¹⁴ Satoskar, B. D. op.cit., p. 443.

westward from the Sahyadri hill¹⁵ and then invited Gaud Saraswat Brahmin families from Bengal to settle on this land and was responsible to eradicate the Kshatriyas from the territory. Brahmins loyal to the belief that the 'Kshatriyas' were totally eradicated by Parshurama do not admit the existence of the Kshatriyas neither in the Deccan nor in Goa. What one legend destroys can be revived only by another legend and so according to another legend, the Gods perturbed by the lack of piety [perhaps of the Buddhist] created new Kshatriyas in the plateau of Mount Abu¹⁶. Thus we will find that the origin of Goa as a land starts with the caste clashes especially between Brahmins and kshatriyas.

When the Portuguese rule was established with the help of Brahmin named Timoja or Timmayya, who called on Albuquerque to invade Goa which was then under the rule of Adil Shah of Bijapur. Further it is of importance to note here is that Adil Shah of Turkish origin, founder of the kingdom of Bijapur and of which Goa was a parcel, was married to a Maratha. The Indo-Turkish king of Bijapur protected the Marathas, gave them lands and large properties and gave them titles like Deshmukh, Sat-Desai, Rau, Naik and Raja as a reward for their military services in the wars with the Moghuls.¹⁷ Thus we should look at the enmity of Brahmins and Kshatriyas from this background.

Timoja, with Mhal Pai Sardesai from Verna Goa had invited Albuquerque to conquer Goa and intended that he should hand it over to them.¹⁸ Albuquerque however had other plans and he proceeded to build the walls of the fort and make other arrangements, which clearly indicated that he had come to stay.¹⁹ Considering strategic advantage of having a Hindu as the governor of Goa during the transition period, Albuquerque appointed Timoja as the governor.²⁰ He was entrusted with the power of creating and distributing administrative position (thanadors). And as expected, he appointed his friends and relatives as administrators and to other position of authority. As a result, the top administrative positions came in the hands of a handful of Portuguese and Goan Brahmins (Bammons). It

¹⁵ Furtado, A. D. (1981), *Goa Yesterday Today and Tomorrow*, Goa-India: Furtado's Enterprises. p. 9.

¹⁶ Singh, K. S.(G.E) (1993), *People Of India-Goa*, (vol.XXI) Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd. p. 253.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 253.

¹⁸ Sardesai, Manohar H. (1994), *Gomantakache Asc Te Diwas*, (Marathi) Goa: Purogami Prakashan p. 16.

¹⁹ Priolakar, A. K. op,cit., p. 62.

²⁰ Furtado, A. D. op.cit., p. 65.

also created a bond of friendship and loyalty to the Brahmins to the Portuguese regime.²¹ Being unpopular among the Hindus in Goa, Albuquerque probably appreciated the risk involved in retaining such an unpopular person in that responsible position and replaced him with Melrao (Malhar Rao), nephew of the king. This is whom the people of the land wished to have as their governor, as he was an individual of royal blood.²² Thus Portuguese rule from the very beginning was responsible for spreading discontent between the two castes, Brahmins and Kshatriyas.

The Portuguese in order to win the sympathy of local inhabitants began to cultivate the Brahmins who were more flexible and acceptable to the new regime. The Brahmins had nothing to loose as the majority of the owners of the land and rulers came from the Kshatriyas or princely caste, that was constantly engaged in fighting the Portuguese in order to win back their lost lands. The Portuguese, as a reward for their services, married into the Christian Brahmin families. The Brahmins were made the administrators of *Comunidades* that has been confiscated from the Kshatriyas, for their political resistance to Portuguese regime.²³ Thus the Kshatriyas and the Kshatriya nobility who for all practical purposes were the masters of Goa, even during the Muslim rule, could not strike friendship with the Portuguese rule and work for their defeat and ouster, if their power was to be ever restored in Goa. They failed and their failure brought rich dividends to the Brahmins who thereby consolidated their position of power.²⁴

After Christianisation, Brahmins who had converted to Christianity continued to enjoy the power and status. The life of Hindu Brahmins in the sixteenth century is explained in the following words,

“Yet another feature of Goan life was that even after the Portuguese conquest, Brahmins continued to occupy the position they had on the whole deservedly held in the country through the centuries... By the middle of the sixteenth century they had acquired sufficient knowledge of Portuguese. As elders and scribes they controlled village life and as government officials they wielded influence with the Portuguese administration. In the years 1540-48 the chief thanadar (acted as the

²¹ Coutinho, Verissimo *op.cit.*, p. 27.

²² Priolar, A. K. *op.cit.*, p. 62.

²³ Coutinho, Verissimo *op.cit.*, p. 19.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 28.

link between government and villagers) was a Brahmin by name Krishna who had earlier visited Portugal and been greatly favoured by the king. In 1543, on behalf of the Portuguese, he negotiated with the Sultan of Bijapur and got him to cede Bardez and Salcette. His son Dadaji held the trusted post of interpreter to the Viceroy, so that letters in the native language passed through his hands. The head farmer of taxes was in these years a Brahmin called Loku, while yet another by the name Anu Sinai was the commercial agent of the Portuguese. We hear, too, of a Gopu whose influence is said to have equaled that of Krishna and Loku and who might have been the person of the two names who figure as chief elder of greater neural in a document of 1553. The Brahmins of Goa also served as couriers along the Portuguese dominated coastline from Mylapore in Diu".²⁵

The Kshatriya Hindus, still militant and opposed to alien rule, were either dispossessed of their lands and oppressed with heavy taxes many of them were reduced to the lot of ordinary peasants as their conflicted lands were given to the loyal Christian Brahmins.²⁶ Although in the beginning, the state had worked hard to root out the caste practices especially among the converts; it was these caste practices, which helped them in stabilizing their rule in Goa. The conflicts among the various caste groups and sometimes among the people of same caste helped the Portuguese to use this caste system in order to keep dissensions among the people. Although it is difficult to find the differences between the Catholics and Hindus, there had been instances of caste conflict within their own community.

Let me give the example of caste antagonism among the newly converted Brahmins and Charados, which took place at the Church of Nossa Senhora de Belem at Chandor,

‘Among three villages of Salcette, which border on the mainland, there was recently a feud between the Brahmins and the Charados, over their respective pre-eminence. They waited for a decision using a feast day when the Blessed Sacrament was exposed, for which they showed so little respect and veneration that either side called armed soldiers to fight on its behalf and there was so much bloodshed that the tabernacle in which the lord was exposed came to be stained’.²⁷

The equality that was preached by church did not have any impact on the new converts who were attached too much to their respective caste. This is shown in the following example,

²⁵ D’costa, Anthony, (1965) *The Christianisation of Goa Islands 1510-1567*, Bombay: published by A. D’costa S. J. p. 26-27.

²⁶ Coutinho, Verissimo op.cit., p. 29

²⁷ Priolkar, A. K. op.cit., p. 149.

'The two rival confraternities of the church of S. Diogo in Guirim had a separate altar each, one dedicated to Jesus and the other to our Lady of Rosary. A certain lady of the village was being assisted on her death-bed and asked to repeat the popular formula 'Jezu Pau', Jezu Pau' [Jesus! Help me] She managed to pull out of her delirium and cry indignantly, "Jezu! Jezu nam, Jezu tencho". [Jesus, oh never! He's theirs] She would have no recourse to the God of the Brahmins'.²⁸

Thus rather than religious differences, Goa always had caste antagonisms and its impact was found on the Goan society especially on Brahmins and Kshatriyas who claimed to be the superiors in their own ways.

J. F. Saldhana puts the rivalry among the two castes in the following words:

'Whatever, the origin of this caste be, the Christian Brahmins (Brahmins) and Charados have not much improved upon the relations that existed among the ancient Brahmins (Brahmins) and Kshatriyas. They are the two leading rival classes among the Goan and as there is no likelihood of a new Parashurama rising among the Brahmins (Brahmins) to wipe away their rivals from the face of the earth, the only course for both the classes is to shake their hands heartily and make one common cause in the interest of the community'.²⁹

Having seen the caste and community profile of the Goan society before and after the advent of Portuguese let me now move on to the role of different castes and communities in revolting against the Portuguese during the first phase of the liberation struggle. Let me first consider the revolts of Castro and Pinto, who challenged the Portuguese rule in 1654 and 1787 respectively. It should be borne in mind that both these revolts had occurred during that particular period of time when along with the caste system, Portuguese Goa had social hierarchy in the sixteenth and seventeenth century with Reinois, that is Portuguese nationals at the top, among the Portuguese Goans and natives at the bottom.

Both the above mentioned revolts were planned and effected by Catholic Brahmins, some of whom were highly educated and aspiring for the important positions in the ecclesiastic hierarchy. It was an insult to them when they found that the religious clergy kept them lower on various grounds in order to guarantee for themselves higher positions and to maintain their own authority. In the words of A. P. Fernandes,

²⁸ Borges, Charles J. op.cit., p. 54.

²⁹ Satoskar, B. D.op.cit., vol.-I p. 440.

‘The Brahmins who were accustomed to dominate the Indian society could see that they were not accepted in the Portuguese society. They were not only not allowed higher posts in the ecclesiastic hierarchy or join the religious orders like that of Jesuits or Franciscan but were even barred from becoming secular priests’.³⁰

Thus it was felt necessary to voice against this discrimination and it first came from Mateus de Castro who was a Brahmin and a consecrated Bishop and Vicar Apostolic to the Kingdom of Adil Shah. The Archbishop of Goa disliked his act of ordaining the native Brahmins to priesthood and Portuguese authorities supervised his every action secretly. The Bishop had developed a hatred for the Portuguese colonial rule in his native land and had been instigating the Goans to shake off the Portuguese rule.³¹ In both the cases, the plot of overthrowing the Portuguese was masterminded by Catholic Brahmins and support to them also came from the same caste. In the case of revolt by Mateus de Castro (1654), it was believed that after the defeat of the Portuguese, he wanted to merge Goa in the Adil Shahi kingdom. It should be remembered that with the Catholic Brahmins there were some Hindu Brahmins as well as Desais supported the Adil shah forces who invaded Goa at the request of Castro, in the year 1654.

In the revolt of 1787 (Pinto revolt) it is widely believed that the ‘ultimate goal of rebels was to establish a republican form of government in Goa after expelling the Portuguese.’³² But it is not clear as to how they were going to establish a republican government in Goa which was so much dominated by casteism. In fact under the name of republican government it might have been possible that they wanted to transfer the power to natives preferably to the Brahmins to which caste they belonged.³³

Thus Cunha Rivara rightly observes,

‘Would the rest of the Christian population which otherwise is not superior in martial valor to that caste, risk their lives to bring the Brahmins to power only with the hope that the victory of the rebels would mean their victory also? Did they think they were less tyrannical than the present rulers? Would the Hindus, among whom

³⁰ Fernandes, A. P., ‘Mateus Castro e Mahale- His Role, in Prof. B. Sheikh Ali (ed) (1986), **Goa Wins Freedom- Reflections and Reminiscences**, Goa: Goa University Publication Series-I, Government Printing Press- Panaji. p. 49.

³¹ Desouza, T. R. (1979), **Medieval Goa**, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, p. 33.

³² Shastri, B. S. ‘Freedom Struggle in Goa: Its Nature and Phases’, in Ali, Sheikh B.(ed) (1987), **Goa Wins Freedom- Reflections and Reminiscences**, Goa: Goa University Publications Series I, Government Printing Press, p. 36.

³³ Cunha Rivara, J. H. da (1996), **Goa And The Revolt Of 1787**, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, p. 30.

there are less martial castes, forsake their native chiefs, headmen and Desais to follow Christian priests? All these questions invariably invite a negative answer. And experiences showed that the lone Desai that was arrested and tried initially was acquitted and set free'.³⁴

The people of 'Old Conquests' revolted against the Portuguese when it became difficult for them to tolerate the injustice that was done to them by Portuguese. On the other hand, Kshatriyas of old conquests also revolted against the Portuguese when some Jesuit Missionaries entered the villages of Cuncolim (and its adjoining villages) to convert the people of these villages. It was during this time, people of these villages challenged the Portuguese and five missionaries including Father Acquaviva were killed. Though the people had won the first battle, later on the people were punished cruelly. Though many people say that it was a religious struggle, one cannot separate the religion and loyalty to the king or chieftain from nationalism. Because it was the same, religion was identical with nationalism during those days.³⁵

French revolution brought the idea of democratic form of government in the country. Later the wind of change blew over almost the whole continent and Portugal was not left untouched. In 1820, parliamentary system of government was established in Portugal and as Goa was ruled from Lisbon, Goans too were entitled to send their representatives to the Portuguese parliament. By a decree of 18th April 1821, Goa was authorized to contest six seats in the Portuguese legislative Assembly amidst jubilation and scenes of popular enthusiasm for the first time in the history of Goa.³⁶ However, in the new conquests areas, the revolt of Ranes occurred more than fourteen times in defence of their agrarian rights and privileges. Among these the major revolts were the 1852-55 revolt under Dipaji Rane, the Kustoba Rane revolt of 1869-71, Dada Rane revolt of 1895 and the revolt of 1912 under Morya Sawant and Gil Sawant. Thus during the first phase of the revolts in Goa, it was Catholic Brahmins and Hindu Kshatriyas who were in the forefront in challenging Portuguese rule.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 30.

³⁵ Interview with Shri. Verissimo Coutinho. (November 2001)

³⁶ Kakodkar, Archana., 'Shuddhi Reconversion to Hinduism Movement In Goa', in Shirodkar, P. P. (ed) (1988) *Goa: Cultural Trends*, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Govt. of Goa- Panaji. p. 245.

The introduction of the parliamentary system saw the emergence of two political parties strictly based on castes in Goa. Both were run by Catholics and did not have the membership of Hindus. The party named 'Patriado Indianu' was run by Catholic Kshatryas whereas 'O Ultramar' by Catholic Brahmins. Both these parties were pro-Portuguese and did not intend to obtain freedom from Portuguese rule. Besides the motive of both these parties was to criticize each other and acquire power. Though some of its members were liberal minded and intelligent they were not anti-Portuguese. For example, the founder of 'Patriado Indianu', Mr. Jose Inaciu Loyola was known for his liberal thoughts, Prazerish de Costa, member of 'O Ultramar', through his newspaper 'O Colonial' raised the voice of Hindus in Portugal. But none of any importance for the cause of Goa's liberation.³⁷

Role Of Caste In The Last Phase Of The Liberation Struggle.

The beginning of the last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa by Dr. R. M. Lohia on 18th June 1946 saw the emergence of the patriotic sentiments that had lain dormant over a long period among the Goans. Although this movement was an open defiance on the ban on civil liberties, first time Goa saw the unity among the various sections of the people irrespective of religion, caste and sex. This movement saw the huge crowd for the first time in Goa's history, which had gathered around the place where Dr. Lohia openly defied the ban on civil liberties in Margao at 4:30 p.m.

Although it becomes difficult to identify the caste to which this crowd belonged to, one thing was clear that the people of Goa were no longer in favour of the Portuguese rule in Goa. But the movement for civil liberties which had continued for about three to four months saw the active participation in the sense of shouting slogans, giving speeches and other anti-Portuguese demonstration that had come from the common people of Goa. The huge crowd, which had gathered on that particular day, had come to see how adopting the methods of civil disobedience could challenge foreigners. Since these common people (Bahujan Samaj) did not have their voice, or probably that their voice was not heard in that

³⁷ Sardesai, M. H. *Gomantakache Ase 'Te Diwas*, op.cit., p. 180-181.

particular gathering, their voice was considered to be 'silent'. But it was during this time that educated Catholic Kshatriyas (henceforth Charados) and Hindu Brahmins (henceforth Gaud Saraswat Brahmins - GSB) provided the leadership because it was these castes, which was educated and influenced by the Indian National Movement, that felt the need to come together and shake hands for the common cause that is the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese rule, although initially the struggle was for civil liberties.

Let me examine this carefully. I have mentioned above that the Charados and GSBs came together to drive-off the Portuguese from the Goan soil. The unity of this GSBs and Charados was possible due to the influence of Indian National Movement and liberal education especially in English that these upper caste people from both the communities received in British India and outside India. If we look at both these communities and castes, before 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, one would note that neither these communities nor these castes were united, even socially. There were not just community restrictions on their members, but even the different caste people had their own caste restrictions. Since these social restrictions prevailed in different castes and communities, the unity among them for the liberation struggle of Goa was not possible. This is the reason that Goa's liberation struggle was never a mass movement before and even after 1946 movement for civil liberties. It is still a doubt whether 1946 movement for civil liberties would have been a mass movement if it was not organized and led by Dr. R. M. Lohia or to that matter any other Indian leader. This perfect separation of Goans on community and caste basis kept them aloof from one another for a long period of time.

Further it must be borne in mind that Portuguese by adopting the policy of conversions, which followed inquisition, was instrumental in keeping the Christians and Hindus in watertight compartment for about a period of 400 years. Divakar Kakodkar, a Goan freedom fighter gives a clear picture of Hindus and Catholics in Goa,

'In Goa there are two worlds, Hindu world and Catholic world. Many of us have ignored this aspect, under the influence of our notion of "Goan brotherhood", when a Goan Christian utters the word Goan, he does not take into consideration the Goan Hindu masses. The same is the case with Hindus. When they say the word Gomantakiya they do not take into consideration other half of the Catholic

population.... I am not passing this remark from the Hindu angle at all. Communal feelings are present in both the communities'.³⁸

This was the result of Portuguese policy of keeping the converted people away from their Hindu brethren. Portuguese state was responsible to create such laws, which were meant to break this unity between Hindus and Catholics, which had prevailed among them before conversions. No social intercourse was permitted. The laws such as Christian agricultural labourers were forbidden to work in the lands owned by Hindus and Hindu landowners were prohibited to employ Christian labourers.³⁹

All this was done with the help of the church. It played a major role in the life of Catholics. The role of the church in the life of Catholics is best explained in the following words by A. P. Fernandes,

'Control of the religious on the social life of the people was complete. The lives of the converted were circled around the church. Their old habits as Hindus had to be completely given up. They were separated from Hindus. If any of them found visiting the Hindus or going to the main land to witness their festivals, he was liable to be persecuted and tortured by the tribunal of Inquisition and usually lost his property and had to suffer harsh sentences'.⁴⁰

Under these circumstances, how would friendship and a sense of unity and nationalism develop between Hindus and Christians? If nationalism means feeling of oneness irrespective of caste, religion, sex, creed, race, etc, a question could be asked as to how this feeling of oneness would be brought about in a society which was so much divided on religious and caste basis? Though Portuguese can be blamed for creating and perpetuating the divisions between Hindus and Catholics in Goa, it is the Goans who should be blamed for maintaining these divisions not only on religious basis but also on caste basis. Portuguese thus took the maximum advantage of this difference or rather caste conflict in both the communities to rule on Goa.

However, though Portuguese to some extent were successful in keeping both these communities in separate compartments initially for many years, they could not do it in the

³⁸ Satoskar, B. D. op.cit., p. 457.

³⁹ Priyolkar, A. K. op.cit., p. 141.

⁴⁰ Fernandes, A. P., 'Mateus Castro e Mahale- His Role', in Ali, Sheikh B. (ed) (1986), *Goa Wins Freedom*, Goa: Goa University Publications Series I, Govt. printing press, Panaji. p. 48.

later years of their rule in Goa, especially after the beginning of civil disobedience movement in Goa. This was because there was one peculiar thing about Goa and that was the concept of brotherhood, which was deeply rooted in the history itself. Catholics before conversions had roots in Hinduism. And these ties of blood relationship or kinship could not keep them away from one another. May be in the eyes of society, they were different from each other on the religious basis, but deep attachment towards each other helped them to come above the community differences in the liberation struggle of Goa. To put it more clearly in the words of shri. Verissimo Coutinho,

‘Our lands were taken...and prohibitions came with inquisitions. After taking our ‘communidade’ we had very few pieces of lands left with us...and we had to hold on to these lands. So one brother became a Christian and another remained a Hindu. This I consider very unique in Goa. I remember my father telling my mother and us, if this time we did not get good crops, I do not want my brothers children to starve and we eat. It was an equal share even though we were Hindus and Catholics. We all came from the same background and had same origin’.⁴¹

Role Of Community In The Liberation Struggle.

The liberation struggle of Goa saw the participation of both the communities that is Catholics and Hindus. It was widely believed that the Catholics in Goa were loyal to the Portuguese rule and considered themselves more as Portuguese than the Portuguese themselves. But this was not true in regard to all the Catholic population. Even the Portuguese asserted that the talk of liberty, swaraj, etc. was the business of Hindus.⁴² Because it was the Hindu community they believed to have suffered the most under the Portuguese rule. Catholic community, on the other hand, had prospered and Portuguese wanted to hold on to their empire in Goa with the help of these Catholic people.

Purushottam Gaonkar explains,

‘Hindus and Christians form the two main communities in Goa, the respective percentages being 54 and 46. There are of course, sub-castes among the Hindus; the Brahmins, economically and otherwise are an advanced class. Sub-caste, though in a lesser degree, exists also among the Christians for their forefathers were originally Hindus. Here again the Christian Brahmins have scored in progress, but not so markedly as the case of their Hindu prototype. The Hindu non-Brahmins

⁴¹ Interview with Shri. Verissimo Coutinho. (November, 2001)

⁴² Interview with Shri. Ronaldo Coutinho. (December, 2001)

who form majority are more backward than the Christian non-Brahmin and hence in point of education and economic position, Christians are far better off than Hindus generally'.⁴³

As the above passage goes, one thing is clear is that in both the communities, Brahmins especially GSBs are economically better off than the other caste people. It should be noted that after the conversions to Christianity only three castes that is Brahmin or Bammon, Kshatriyas or Charados and Shudras or Sudirs continued to remain as main castes, the first two being the dominant castes among the Christians of Goa, the sub-caste system prevalent among their counter-parts was not given much importance and eventually disappeared among the Christians. Thus all castes or rather sub-castes or Jati which were then distinct by themselves such as Saraswats, Karhades, Chitpawans, Padhyes, etc. among the Brahmins were lumped into Christians caste of Bammon or Brahmins.⁴⁴

As we have already seen earlier that these Catholic Bammon have taken the advantage of Portuguese rule right from the beginning to consolidate their position of power. Again Portuguese had taken the advantage from age-old enmity and continued conflict between Catholic Bammon and Charados, which had helped them to gain the support of Bammon.⁴⁵ These Bammons even lately sided with the Portuguese against Goan nationalists forces that were dominant in the last phase of liberation struggle of Goa. Juliao Menezes remembers an incident that had occurred at Margao police station when Dr. Lohia and himself were arrested and taken after the meeting at Margao on 18th June 1946. In his words,

'In the midst of our conversation (at the police station) a Brahmin Catholic actionist sent his visiting card to the Commandante and forced an interview on him. In our presence (Lohia and Menezes) he told the Commandante that he should not think that the happenings could be isolated. They would be a permanent feature if the Commandante did not take a strong action against us. He offered his services in Bombay where he was proceeding...'⁴⁶

⁴³ Kunte, B. G. (ed) (1978), *Goa's Freedom Struggle vis-à-vis Maharashtra, 1946-1961*, (Vol. VIII- Part I), Bombay Gazetteers Dept. Government of Maharashtra. p. 137.

⁴⁴ Gomes, Olivinho op.cit., p. 84.

⁴⁵ Interview with Shri. Joaquim Dias.

⁴⁶ Menezes, Juliao (1947), *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Printed & Published by Dr. Juliao Menezes at Shiva Printing Press, p. 54.

Even the Publicity officer of Gomantak Prajamandal had criticized the Brahmins in the following words;

‘We repudiate categorically the completely false suggestion that the Gomantakis or people of Goa are so degraded and denationalized as to boast the superiority and inspiration of Portuguese culture and citizenship. The truth of the matter is that a handful of Brahmins who are well entrenched in the colonial bureaucracy and class privileges are making the ridiculous claim of ‘assimilation’ of Portuguese culture’.⁴⁷

All the above mentioned examples make clear why Portuguese considered Catholics and especially Catholic Brahmins as their friends. Since they were better off, and had enjoyed the important government positions under Portuguese rule, Portuguese felt that this could be a good reason to win the sympathy of the Catholics. Besides this, Portuguese propaganda generally believed that Christian religion would be in danger if Goa was integrated into India.

But as I have said earlier that all the Catholics cannot be considered as pro-Portuguese because for many of them nationalistic sentiments were more important. They believed in freedom. Thus to the surprise of Portuguese rulers, the voice in terms of freedom and nationalism came from the Catholic community first, whom the Portuguese had considered as their allies. The voice came from enlightened aristocratic Catholic Kshatriyas that is Charados. Francisco Luis Gomes, lit the flame of Indian nationalism and proclaimed the inspiring message of Indian nationalism in Europe and was warmly greeted by spirits de libre who imbibed their inspiration from the French revolution. He was a child of the 19th century and his noble spirit registered all the reactions and influences of his noble epoch⁴⁸. Luis de Menezes Braganza who trained an entire generation in liberal thought and rationalism followed him.⁴⁹ The concept of nationalism was so strong in them that they could not suppress their feeling even under the strong hold of Portuguese colonialism. And they expressed their feelings when they got a chance. Thus Goan parliamentarian Dr. Francisco Luis Gomes in 1861 proclaimed in Paris that, ‘I belong to that race which

⁴⁷ Kunte, B. G. op.cit., p. 71.

⁴⁸ Menezes, Juliao op.cit., p. 14.

⁴⁹ Kunte, B. G. op.cit., p. 95.

composed Mahabharata and chess...'⁵⁰ and further in his novel 'Os Brahmanes' (1862) asserted that 'Impartial men, who are moved by justice and not by racialism, want India to be ruled by Indians'.⁵¹ Menezes Braganza categorically stated that 'the principle of self-determination is as organic to the life of peoples as the principle of freedom to the life of individuals'.⁵² He noted that 'if to be Portuguese, we depend on foreign will, to be Indian we depend on nobody'.⁵³ It was then the turn of Dr. T. B. Cunha who in an effort to start the real struggle on the soil of Goa established Goa Congress Committee and linked it to the Indian National Congress. By doing this, he proclaimed Goa to be integral part of India. Dr. Juliao Menezes, who was instrumental in bringing Dr. R. M. Lohia to Goa, had formed 'Prajamandal' in Bombay, which had united a number of Goans irrespective of caste and religion. All these were educated and landed gentries of Goa who visualized the better future of Goa with the integration of India. And all of them were Roman Catholic Kshatriyas (Charados) who did not recognize any caste difference and differences based on religion but strove for the unity of Goans on Goa's future. For them, majority of community of Hindus are indistinguishable from their brothers in India, while the Christians, ethnologically, culturally and economically are indistinguishable from their Hindu brothers. A change in the faith imposed historically through historic forcible conversion does not change a people's cultural heritage.⁵⁴

As I have said earlier that the voice against the Portuguese colonialism in Goa came from Charados who were enlightened, educated and landed gentries. These Charados never made any distinction between India and Goa. It was during this time that the Hindus of Goa had no voice. Before the establishment of Republic (1910), Hindus were considered to be third class citizens. It was only after the establishment of Republic in Portugal that Hindus were given equal status with the Catholics. It was then that the Hindus, especially

⁵⁰ Gomes, Joaquim Manuel Aires (2000), *Indo-Portuguese Historical Encyclopaedia- Corre do Combo Da Casa Da India*, India: Goa p. 3

⁵¹ Gaitonde, P. D. (1987), *The Liberation Of Goa- A Participants' view of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 6.

⁵² George, Evagrio (1961), *The Goa Case*, New Delhi: National Campaign Committee for Goa, p. 26.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 26

⁵⁴ Kunte, B. G. *op.cit.*, p. 71.

GSBs, took to Portuguese learning and occupied government jobs. It was this caste among Hindus who took the maximum benefit from the Republic. They started the publication of a number of newspapers, periodicals, and journals and established a number of organizations. However, these educated and enlightened GSBs were only concerned about their own progress and did not think in terms of nationalism and freedom of Goa. Some newspapers like 'O Bharat' started by G. P. Hegde Desai, a GSB voiced against the Portuguese injustice and preached the nationalistic feelings. But the organization like 'Pragatik Sangh' started by GSBs concentrated only on political, social, cultural and educational progress of its own caste people.

However it was during this time in Portugal (1925) 'Centru Nacionalist Indianu' or 'Indian National Centre' was formed which strove for the unity of Hindus and Catholics in Goa. It had the membership of Charados and supported by few Bammons.⁵⁵ Though it seems to be a strange union of two castes, here loyalty to nation was far stronger than the loyalty to the caste. Further these Indians (as they called themselves) were in Portugal for studies and were impressed by the French revolution and the concept of liberalism. Goan Youth League, which was formed in Bombay in the year 1943, comprised of the people of not just both the communities but of different caste. These organizations were more liberal and did recognize religious, caste differences as the enemy to the unity and progress of Goa. These people were in fact united forgetting their differences much before 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. But one should also remember that neither Centru Nacionalist Indianu nor Goan Youth League functioned within Goa.

If we consider Goa Congress Committee, which was started by Dr. T. B. Cunha in the year 1928 in Goa, we would find that majority of its members came from Charados and GSBs. Here for the first time we find the coalition of the upper castes that is Charados and GSBs cutting across the community lines. This was possible due to the efforts of Dr. T. B. Cunha, who included the members of 'Pragatik Sangh' in his founding membership of Goa Congress Committee. However what Goa Congress Committee lacked was the

⁵⁵ Interview with Shri. Joquim Dias. (October 2000) (Goan Youth League)

membership of the lower castes from both the communities. Although it was established in Goa, efforts were not made to integrate the masses into the main stream of political life in Goa.

On the other hand Hindu non-Brahmins, though in majority, were lagging behind. Being uneducated, poor, socially backward and agricultural labourers right from the beginning they had no voice. They neither understood the meaning of Monarchy nor did they understand about Republic. They only knew that their rulers were foreigners. They could not take any benefit from the Portuguese Republic. They could voice their resentment neither through newspapers nor through organizations. Even the organizations such as GCC did not recognize the necessity to align with them in their efforts to liberate Goa.

The situation, however, had changed after 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. Here what was required was the active participation and full-fledged co-operation from amongst the lower caste people (Bahujan Samaj) from both the communities. Since the integration process of Catholic with Hindus had begun to some extent with the formation of GCC, it was restricted to the Charados and GSBs only. It was these caste people who were behind Dr. R. M. Lohia to start the movement. In fact, it was only after discussing with these people Dr. R. M. Lohia took the decision of defying the ban on civil liberties under the Portuguese rule in Goa. These Charados and GSBs participated directly by organizing meetings, shouting slogans, giving speeches throughout the civil Disobedience movement which had lasted for few months. Even on 18th June 1946 a number of people who were arrested by Portuguese police for organizing demonstrations, etc. was from the above mentioned castes. Thus it would not be wrong to say that Charados and GSBs led civil disobedience movement, which had lasted for few months. But at the same time, their leadership to some extent had drawbacks. When it became evident to Dr. R. M. Lohia, just after four months of 18th June 1946 Movement, that the leaders of the movement, who were drawn from the upper strata were avoiding jail under the pretext of looking after organizational work. Lohia reorganized the executive of the Goa Congress in a bid to

provide representation of non-Brahmin mass. Yet the eleven member executive included nine Brahmins.⁵⁶

The formation of revolutionary organizations like Azad Gomantak Dal (AGD) in 1947 and Goa Liberation Army (GLA- Revolutionary wing of NCG) in 1955 saw the participation of a number of Hindu Kshatriyas (henceforth Marathas). The formation of GCC with Charados and GSBs was the beginning of unity between two different caste and community, the union of GSBs and Marathas was second step forward in the integration process. Thus GSBs Shri. V. N. Lawande and Shri. Prabhakar Vaidya led AGD, but its followers and workers were Marathas like Shri. Dattaram Desai, Shaboo Desai, etc.

On the other hand Kshatriyas dominated GLA from both the communities as the leadership also came from them. All the five founding members or the 'High Command' were Kshatriyas like Shri. Augustus Alvares, Shri. Shivaji G. Desai, Shri. Jaisingrao V. Rane and others. The GSBs and Bahujan Samaj⁵⁷ from remote areas from Sattari and Bicholim supported this organization and actively participated in its activities like Shri. Vasant Malye, Shri. Vasant Karapurkar and others. Thus the formation of GLA was the third step in the integration of Charados and Marathas, GSBs and Bahujan Samaj.

National Congress (Goa), the only organization with satyagraha and Non-violence as its ideology, initially had the membership of Bammon and GSBs with the exception of very few educated Goans who belonged to Bahujan Samaj from both the communities. However, with the growth of awareness among the Goans, NC(G) assumed the character of an umbrella organization. With the incorporation of Bahujan Samaj its membership increased⁵⁸ with its publicity and active work on the Goan soil. This organization under the leadership of Shri. Peter Alvares, a Charado was responsible for organizing the mass satyagraha of 1954 and 1955 on 15th August. He was in fact responsible with many others to create awareness among the common people by working among them.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Kelkar, Indumati (1996), *Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia- His Life and Philosophy*. Pune: Published by Sripad Kelkar, Sadashiv Peth. p. 123

⁵⁷ Interview with Shri. Krishnarao Rane (GLA) (October 1997)

⁵⁸ Interview with Smt. Sulochana Katkar. (November, 2000)

⁵⁹ Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge. (December, 1999)

Let me in these following paragraphs clear some doubts regarding the misconceptions, which people have in their mind.

It is generally considered that with the exception of very few rich people from either community, the entire freedom struggle was considered to be a 'middle class luxury'.⁶⁰ Thus this makes us to believe that neither rich nor poor were directly involved in the liberation struggle of Goa. If we believe in this aspect that the rich class from either community was found to be more loyal to the Portuguese rule as these are the people who always support the ruling classes, one thing that we overlook is the Charados who, although, were landed gentries were the first to voice against the Portuguese colonialism. Their class interest never came in the way of their concept of nationalism and of regarding India as a 'Nation'. By believing that rich classes were against liberation and by generalizing this concept one cannot forget these Charados. It may be true that some rich people for their own petty interest might have sided with the Portuguese. The reason may be as below;

'We all know that the petty Zamindars, the so called battcars and the traders are not for integration. They fear that with the disappearance of the Portuguese masters, they will not have the things moving in the way they are moving now. The Zamindars are at present paying insignificant land-tax. Neither they nor the traders pay any income tax. They are therefore free to exploit the country without sharing their profits with the government. This state of affairs, howsoever profitable to the landlords and the capitalists, is ruinous to the country...'⁶¹

It should be understood that these battcars and traders did not just come from the higher caste only. The concept of battacar (landlord) is a very narrow concept. Even a person who possesses a small piece of land of his own or has few trees or plantations like coconut plantations, cashew plantations or beetle plantations (may not be on huge lands) are called as battcars by those people who work for their masters or even by others in the village⁶². Thus in Goa class and caste should not be brought closer to denote that upper castes people are upper class also. It may be true in certain cases but not always. By saying

⁶⁰ Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar. (October, 1999)

⁶¹ Kunte, B. G. op.cit., p. 157

⁶² Interview with Shri. Jaisingrao A. Rane. (October 1996)

that these battcars were not for liberation of Goa is again generalizing the things, which is unjust.

Certain other misconceptions prevail with regard to the participation of Bahujan Samaj. The entire liberation movement was led by the educated, enlightened classes⁶³ some of who were Charados and others were GSBs or Marathas as we have seen above. But to call an entire movement a middle class luxury is to exclude the fact of contribution of Bahujan Samaj in the movement. Any movement is not possible without the support of Bahujan Samaj. Leaders lead the movement, direct it, guide it but it is no doubt that the actual work comes from the common people. It may be true that their work is considered to be negligible, but definitely it is not the least. If we look at those who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of GAO's liberation were actually these common people. Thus the common belief that these Bahujan Samaj were after their daily necessities and the concept of nationalism was far lower than bread and butter is false. They silently and even actively participated in the movement.⁶⁴ As Smt. Prema Purav notes;

'But the contribution to the liberation which came from the very downtrodden people should not be forgotten. Postman, Dhanagar, Mahar, Kansar were in the fore-front in this type of work. They acted as messengers, distributed pamphlets, etc. and this work was very easy for them. Even the Portuguese police had no doubt about them.'⁶⁵

The second misconception about the absence of mass participation in the liberation movement of Goa is attributed to the battcar-mundacar relationship. This is entirely a false belief. Even if we consider that the relationship between battcar and mundkar in those days of Portuguese rule were cordial. During Portuguese rule few business houses, especially those who had mining business, might have profited a lot and sided wholly with the Portuguese. But poor battcars whose agricultural products like coconuts, beetle nuts, etc. which did not have much economic benefit in Goa, had to be exported did not earn much from the sale of these products. As discussed in chapter II, of how economic mismanagement

⁶³ Interview with Dr. Vinayak Mayekar. (October 1998)

⁶⁴ Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar (May 2000)

⁶⁵ Mhadeshwar, Nandini (1986), *Goa Ladhyaatil Virangana* (Marathi), Goa- Panaji: Directorate Of sports and Culture, Government of Goa, Daman and Diu. p. 53.

by Portuguese had exploited Goans we would get a sense of how well off or poor were battcars. After their exploitation by the Portuguese nothing was left for the exploitation of mundacars who worked for them. 'O Bharat', a newspaper edited by a Hindu Brahmin (GSB) Shri. G. P. Hegde Desai writes;

'There is no conflict between these two classes (landlords and agriculturists or battcars and mundcars). Never has the battcar put obstacle in the way of the mundcar, when he wanted to emigrate at his will, when he wanted to buy property and build houses'.⁶⁶

In some cases the titles of battcar continued even if he had lost the land. It is also a misconception that many of the migrants from Goa who settled in Bombay were loyal to the Portuguese rule in Goa as loyal as they were to the British rule. Since they were pro-British they were also pro-Portuguese. But to my mind this may not be so as most of the migrants who had settled in Bombay established their own organizations in Bombay which were anti-Portuguese such as Goan Youth league formed in Bombay in 1943, 'Gomantak Prajamandal' formed in 1939 and many others. Even GCC was shifted to Bombay after it's derecognition from Indian National Congress. These Bombay based Goans during the Portuguese rule ran the Goan movement in Bombay under different organizations and came together to end the Portuguese rule in Goa. They were these Goans who could feel the air of independence and freedom in India and worked for the same for their brothers in Goa. Again there were Goans in Bombay and in other parts of India who were fascinated by Indian National Movement and had a vision of free Goa in Free India. Besides the economic reason, there were many other reasons for their migration to Bombay and other parts of India like education. When the liberation struggle had subsided in Goa, it was, active in Bombay. Having discussed the place of Caste let me now examine its impact on the liberation struggle of Goa.

Impact Of Caste On The Liberation Struggle.

The impact of caste on the liberation struggle of Goa especially during the last phase beginning from 18th June 1946 movement was telling. Although in the beginning,

⁶⁶ Kunte. B. G. op.cit., p. 94.

the movement was in the hands of Charados and GSBs, slowly it cut across caste lines and even the Bahujan Samaj represented their caste to fight against Portuguese rule.

Although it could not be a mass movement on the line of India's freedom struggle several reasons,⁶⁷ one should not forget the contribution of various caste groups in the liberation struggle of Goa. There was mass support but not mass participation in the movement. Mass support, in the sense that majority of the Goans wanted Portuguese to leave the territory and supported morally and to some extent monetarily, but did not have physical participation in the movement. The Portuguese, who had tried to keep the Catholics and Hindus apart for about 400 years of their rule in Goa, did not succeed in separating them once the last phase of the movement for liberation had begun.

The Catholic Brahmins, in general were held to be loyal to the Portuguese rule.⁶⁸

The reason can be given in the following words;

'This policy of forced Christianization brought about changes in the power structure of the Goan community. In this new power structure, those of the Hindu Brahmins who had converted to Christianity continued to enjoy the power and status, which they formerly shared with their Hindu caste men. The Catholic Kshatriyas or Charados were freed from the Portuguese wrath but did not enjoy the privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Brahmins'.⁶⁹

Another reason held responsible for this is its minority population in Goa. Being in minority they feared that if Goa is integrated with India and if Bahujan Samaj acquired power after the departure of Portuguese, their status in the society would be undermined and the respect that they enjoyed would disappear. Thus the only way out of this was to continue to support the status-quo under the Portuguese rule. And their support for them was very open as we have seen in Dr. Juliao Menezes narration of an incident that took place at Margao police station after the arrest of Dr. Menezes and Dr. Lohia on 18th June 1946.

It is not however true that Catholic Brahmins were pro-Portuguese. Further it does not mean that all Charados, GSBs were anti-Portuguese. But those people who had their vested

⁶⁷ It was because of the lack of proper guidance in the absence of leadership, no proper organizational work done on the Goan soil, the fascist nature of the Portuguese rule who had no respect for satyagrahis, and the movement was divided in many organizations, etc. (Refer to chapter II).

⁶⁸ Interview with Shri. Ronaldo Coutinho (December 2001), Shri. Joaquim Dias (October 2001), Dr. Vinayak Mayekar (October 1998)

⁶⁹ Coutinho, Verissimo op.cit., p. 21.

interest sided with the Portuguese rule no matter to which caste or community they belonged.

When we study the role of caste in the liberation struggle of Goa, one thing that can easily and surprisingly, be concluded is that the caste factor had more influence than the community factor in the social and political life of Goa during the days of the liberation struggle. For centuries the people of Goa have been living without the slightest tinge of religious differences. The social relations between the two sections of the populations the Christian and non-Christian have been very cordial and friendly. The reason attributed to this is the Hindu roots of Catholics before conversions. I have noted before that there were many instances of caste conflict in Hindus and Catholics, but find no instances of religious antagonism between the two communities. This is the very special case of Goa. However, during the Inquisition, that preceded the conversions these two communities did not have a close social links. In the words of Satoskar;

‘There is no doubt that the Hindu and Christian community in Goa are like two sides of the same coin. They can never see each other and understand one another. They stay in the same village as close neighbours. They love each other. But both these communities are ignorant about each other’s religion, religious rites and practices, traditions, customs and social interaction. Catholics only know that the Hindus celebrate Ganesh, Diwali and Jatra and are non-vegetarians always except on the occasions of their religious functions. But they do not know much about the social and religious life of Hindus. Similarly, Hindus know only about the Pasca, Natala, Misa, Besarva and Pusarva in Catholic religion. But they are unaware about their traditions and religious rites among Catholics’.⁷⁰ (Free translation)

Thus it is not wrong to say that these communities came together to fight the Portuguese rule. But they met each other in their common goal to fight against the Portuguese rule. This is evident from the fact that the Pragatik Sangh, which was formed in 1930, was only of Hindus and did not have the Catholic membership. And the political parties like ‘O Ultramar’ and ‘Patriado Indianu’ that is Indian Party, which had Bammon, and Charados as their members did not take into consideration the Hindu population. But it was much later on, that is after the introduction of the Republic in 1910, Hindus mainly GSBs started supporting these parties. It was ‘Centru Nacionalist Indianu’ in 1925 desired to take the

⁷⁰ Satoskar, B. D. op.cit., p. 457.

help of Pragatik Sangh and other Hindus to rouse the nationalistic spirit in the minds of Goans and to drive out the Portuguese from the land of Goa. Later on after the formation of Goa Congress Committee in 1928, one can see the integration of Hindus and Catholics for the common cause of liberation of Goa and its integration into the National Union.

Thus by the end of 1960, a large number of Hindu and Catholic population were assimilated together, forgetting their caste differences. There had been even inter-caste dining among them and usually both these communities used to stay at each others place in the days of liberation struggle of Goa. They crossed caste codes such as dress habits and food habits. They took shelter at each other's homes in order to escape from the arrest and imprisonment⁷¹. In order to disguise themselves from the Portuguese administration, many of Catholics took the names of Hindus and dressed like them and stayed at their place like family members. For example Shri. Urselino Almeida, a member of Goa Liberation Army, changed his name five times on different occasions and these names were often Hindu names. Shri. Peter Alvares, President of National Congress (Goa), worked among the common people by dressing like a Hindu. Smt. Sindhutai Deshpande, a Brahmin by caste and Hindu by religion changed her dressing style according to her visits. She used to wear a dress whenever she went to the house of Catholics. Both these communities, Hindus and Catholics understood each other much better during the liberation struggle. In the words of Ronaldo Coutinho;

'I was unaware about the social life of Hindus, although I was in Goa. I did not know anything about their cooking, eating and dressing habits etc. But when I was imprisoned in Aguada jail along with many Hindus, we functioned like a family. Although I did not know to prepare tea before, I learnt everything in cooking and was at ease with Hindus'.⁷²

As I have said in the beginning of this chapter that the participation of caste and community in the liberation of Goa should be also looked from the view point of the first democratic elections which were held in Goa in 1963. It was in this election both caste and community factors played an important role. It was on the basis of caste and community

⁷¹ Interview with Shri. Urselino Almeida (May 1999)

⁷² Interview with Shri. Ronaldo Coutinho. (December 2001)

that the elections tickets were distributed, political parties were formed⁷³ and at the end it was Bahujan Samaj ideology which triumphed.

Before going into the detail, let me first look at the concept of Bahujan Samaj in Goa. It largely comprises of all the non-Brahmins who during the Portuguese rule lagged behind in education, opportunities in jobs, and generally with respect to cultural, social, economical and political progress. They formed the majority of the population in Goa. They largely believed that the Catholic community benefited the most during the Portuguese rule due to the Christian religion and next were Hindu Brahmins especially GSBs who took the maximum advantage of Portuguese rule. Since Bahujan Samaj were lagging behind in all the above mentioned aspects, they naturally had pessimistic approach towards everything. Since some from the Catholic community and GSBs supported the Portuguese rule, Bahujan Samaj believed that it was due to Portuguese that they could not achieve progress and Portuguese rather than concentrating more on the development of these people, were happy to keep them in poverty.

As we have seen in the earlier part of this chapter, how GSBs supported Portuguese and how Portuguese took the help of GSBs to conquer and establish their rule in Goa. It was only after the conversions of local Hindus to Christianity that Hindus were subjected to a large number of atrocities between the years of 1560 to 1812 for nearly three hundred years of Portuguese empire. It was during this period that Hindus were generally treated as third class citizens. However, things had changed a little-bit after Marques de Pombal who was very liberal in his thought became the Prime Minister of Portugal. He was the precursor of the liberal movement in Goa and proved himself to be the great champion of the rights and privileges of Goans.⁷⁴

Further with the establishment of Republic in 1910, Hindus were treated at par with the Portuguese. And it was during this time, GSB took the benefit of the Republic. They took the education, went out of Goa for further studies, some occupied important

⁷³ Interview with Dr. Pandurang Kamat. (NCG) (November 1999)

⁷⁴ Prof. D. Ribeiro, 'Denationalization and Political Life In Goa During the Colonial Period', a paper presented at the Seminar on the 'Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa's Struggle For Freedom' held on 14th and 15th December 1990, under the Aegis Of The Cuncolim Educational Society and The Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce- Cuncolim.

government jobs under Portuguese rule. With the education and a lot of opportunities within and outside Goa, GSBs achieved a tremendous progress. Some of them who had gone out of Goa for further studies were influenced by Indian National Movement and leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, etc. The Goan nationalists like Francisco Luis Gomes, Menezes Braganza had a tremendous following not only among the Catholics but also among the Hindus⁷⁵. Thus it was GSBs with the educated and enlightened Charados, who had become conscious of their Hindu culture were responsible initially to support and then to lead the liberation struggle in Goa. If GSBs and Charados understood the concept of liberalism and nationalism after getting influenced by INM, Bahujan Samaj believed that India is a country of their own religion, culture and Portuguese are different people, that they should leave Goa.

Initially Bahujan Samaj was a silent spectator to the movement. Slowly when GSBs and Charados took the movement for liberation ahead, Bahujan Samaj got involved in the movement. Before 18th June 1946 movement, both GSBs and Charados, had kept Bahujan Samaj a little away from the movement when they had established their organizations. Since the movement required the mass support, it came from the Bahujan Samaj. On their own they started supporting the movement.⁷⁶ Since GSBs and Charados required the support of Bahujan Samaj, they also took it happily. The caste and community factor had to be placed lower in the order in political priorities during the liberation struggle of Goa. Here both had only one enemy and it was the rule of foreigners. It was natural for the uneducated, socially, culturally, economically and politically backward people to accept the leadership of educated, enlightened and progressive people. And this leadership came from GSBs and Charados. 'Leaders are not appointed, they are elected', were the words of Pandit Nehru on the question of Goa. Thus NC(G) flourished under the active leadership of Shri. Peter Alvares, a Charado. AGD revolted against the Portuguese under the leadership of Shri. V. N. Lawande and Shri. Prabhakar Vaidya, both GSBs. And GLA threatened

⁷⁵ Interview with Shri. Verissimo Coutinho (October 2001)

⁷⁶ Interview with Shri. Armando Pereira (AGD) (August 2000) and Dr. Pandurang Kamat (November 1999)

Portuguese rule under the able leadership of Marathas like Shri. Shivaji G. Desai, Shri. Jaisingrao V. Rane and Charado like Shri. Augustus Alvares, and Shri. Urselino Almeida. Whether you are a Hindu or a Christian or upper caste or lower caste did not matter⁷⁷. Everybody worked like a cohesive group. Whether it was NC(G) or AGD or any other organization for that matter, caste and community factor was not significant. Thus the last phase of liberation struggle of Goa with its ideology of nationalism transcended caste and incorporated all communities and castes. It should thus be regarded as a secular movement. On many occasions, Goan nationalists crossed their caste barriers, built solidarities, and came together to fight against Portuguese rule.

However, one thing I would like to emphasize here is that except few cases of inter-religious marriages, to a large extent the attachment to one's own caste or community was found in the liberation struggle of Goa especially in cases of marriage. There were marriage alliances between GSBs and Charados, but there seems to be no marriage alliances between the different castes in both communities. I have come across not a single instance of this. This points to the greater importance of the caste factor than the community factor that was prevalent during the liberation movement even among the liberal minded freedom fighters. Not only this, one does not come across marriages, in the families of these freedom fighters which crossed caste boundaries. Thus, even during the freedom struggle of Goa, one cannot deny the fact that attachment to one's own caste was important and both Catholics and Hindus adhered to their own castes strictly.

Although Goa's liberation struggle saw the participation of the various castes, one can find that the representation from Catholic Brahmins (Bammon) was negligible. The credit of starting the actual freedom struggle goes to the Catholic Khsatriyas (Charados). However as the liberation struggle of Goa advanced further, we saw even the participation of Catholic Shudras, GSBs, Hindu Brahmins (Bhatts), Marathas, Bhandaris and Gomantak Maratha Samaj, etc coming forward to end the Portuguese rule in Goa. However, this caste integration remained at the political level during the liberation struggle and there were no

⁷⁷ Interview with Dr. Pandurang Kamat. (NCG) (November 1999)

instances of it in the social life at that time. Social life, however, remained attached to the practice of age-old caste system which some of our freedom fighters tried to combat as they did the Portuguese rulers but were unsuccessful and hence it surfaced again after the liberation struggle in 1963 taking the form of political parties with their social base in caste in the first assembly elections.

CHAPTER SIX

VOICE OF FREEDOM OF GOA

“Freedom’s battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son
Though vanquished oft
Is ever won”.

- Lord Byron.

The liberation struggle of Goa was fought on various fronts. Different organizations from within Goa and from without, tried their level best, both by violent means and non-violently, to end Portuguese colonialism in Goa. In their efforts the Indians also sided with Goans. Both, Indians as well as Goans voiced their struggle through various sources. Sometimes booklets were published on Portuguese colonialism in India due to the ban on the elementary civil liberties in Goa by Goans themselves. For example, GCC, an organisation set up by Dr. T. B. Cunha published booklets such as ‘Denationalisation of Goans’, etc. Newspapers, articles, etc. were also published which reported about the nationalist sentiments of the Goans and their right to self-determination. Even the Indian government, through its peaceful policy tried to see that Portuguese leave Goa in a friendly manner just as the France did in 1955. And when none of these initiatives produced the desired results the Goan issue was to last taken to the international fora.

It was against this background, a small group of nationalists thought of a novel idea of giving voice to the liberation struggle of Goa through an underground radio station, which would beam its programme right into Goa, for the Goans to know about their own struggle and about the freedom and anti-colonial movements in the other parts of the world. The station was named *Goenche Sodvonnecho Awaz*- (**Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**), which would

be heard inside Goa, in spite of the absence of civil liberties. These nationalists who voiced the Goa's liberation struggle for about a period of six years were successful in their efforts.

In this paper I would like to discuss on the *Goenche Sodvonecho Awaz- Voice Of Freedom of Goa*, an underground radio station that was manned by, and run by, the nationalists during the liberation struggle of Goa, under three sub-topics: (a) The significance of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** in absence of civil liberties, (b) Reflections on the broadcast of **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** and (c) Impact Of the **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** on the liberation struggle of Goa. **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** was started on 25th November 1955¹ and continued till 19th December 1961. The selection of 25th November 1955 has its own significance. Though it was in February 1510 the castle of Panjim (Panaji), was for the first time captured by Portuguese, Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur did not take long to drive off the conquerors. But on 25th November of the same year, the Portuguese, better armed, conquered the town². Thus, 25th November, the day of reconquest, which was celebrated every year as a 'black day' by Goan nationalists, especially in the last phase of the liberation struggle beginning from 18th June 1946 was selected by these nationalists to voice their urge for freedom through *Goenche Sodvonnecho Awaz*, which literally translated means 'Voice of Goa's Deliverance'. Before going into the details of some of the broadcast of the **Voice Of Freedom of Goa**, let me have a look at the background, by studying how, under the Portuguese dictatorship, Goans were denied the elementary civil liberties.

The Significance of Absence Of Civil Liberties and Its Impact.

In its long rule of about 450 years Goa passed through three phases. It witnessed the Monarchical rule before 1910, the liberal phase between 1910-1926 and then the dictatorship of Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar till its liberation in 1961. Dr. Antonio Salazar the promising young economist from Coimbra University³ who was invited to assume office as Minister of Finance in 1926, became Prime Minister of Portugal in 1928.

¹ Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

² Cunha, T. B. (1961), *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, New Age Printing Press, p. 8.

³ Gaitonde, P. D. (1987), *The Liberation Of Goa, A Participants' View Of History*- Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 19

After assuming office he curtailed all the civil liberties that were enjoyed by Goans during the liberal phase i.e., from 1910-1926.

Let me quote here Dr. T. B. Cunha, the father of Goan nationalism in order to understand the real picture of how Goans lived during the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar.

‘As we all know we are at present deprived in our country of the most elementary human rights. We have, no freedom of press, no freedom of speech, of association, of holding public meetings. We are sometimes even denied freedom of conscience and the sanctity of precincts. To give concrete example, I can refer to the system of press censorship as it is practiced in Goa. No one has the right to issue leaflets, handbill or a small advertisement not to speak of books or newspapers, without the consent of the all-powerful committee of censors sitting at Panjim (Panaji). These censors never allow the publications of the slightest complaint against the public authority, not the mild criticism of the public administration or even any unpleasant remark against the people who are in Power. They only permit and even invite praise to the present system of government. Every fact however true and notorious it may be that is not pleasant to the authorities is systematically suppressed from the public....to this we must add the suppression of other liberties and rights. As every Goan must know we have no voice in the administration of our country which is entirely left to the people of Portugal who send instruction from there to their agents in Goa. There are no representative bodies in our government system. The people holding all important positions are officially nominated and not elected...’⁴

This was the state of affairs in Goa during the Portuguese rule much before the beginning of the last phase of liberation struggle in Goa. Many nationalists believed that the ban on the civil liberties during this time was not severe and stronger⁵. But with the beginning of the last phase of the liberation struggle, on 18th June 1946, and then further with India attaining Independence from the British rule in 1947, and with the liberation struggle gaining strength in Goa, the liberties of the people were severally and ruthlessly suppressed. This was not just the case with the colonies but this was also the fate of metropolitan Portugal.

A former Portuguese minister and one of the liberal intellectuals of Portugal Antonio Sergio felt strongly against these curbs on freedom. In 1954 in a letter to the Minister of Overseas provinces, he said;

⁴ Cunha, T. B. op. cit., pp. 100-102.

⁵ Interview with Freedom Fighters: Ravindra Kelekar (NCG), Madhukar Desai. (NCG).

I make the following constructive suggestions. The launching of a civil intercourse campaign of real national unity by abolishing the system of cold war and granting to the overseas Portugal as well as those in Portugal fundamental civil liberties, namely, to express their thoughts, to meet in an orderly manner and to form associations, by putting an end to prior censorship, seizure of books containing legitimate doctrines, and by the release of political and social prisoners.... Divesting ourselves of the letter and spirit of the colonial Act and suppressing racial discrimination in Portuguese India.⁶

This was the suggestion that was given by a former Portuguese Minister who felt that the need of the hour was to provide the basic civil liberties to the Goans. It is important to note here that the liberal minded intellectuals present in Portugal always voiced against the suppression of civil liberties in the colonies and in Portugal itself. But Dr. Salazar always opposed these suggestions.

In fact the Portuguese constitution of 1933, Art. 8, extends to the citizen the right of freedom of expression and thought under any form as well as the 'freedom of association and meeting' but in the same article nullifies the earlier portion when it mentions later that 'special laws shall regulate the freedom of expression, thought, meeting and association and as regards the first named 'perversion of public opinion must be forbidden preventively or repressively'⁷. Due to the ban on civil liberties, political meetings even for social purposes could be convened only with the permission of the authorities, speeches if any were required to be approved by the official censor and a breach of these restrictions entail heavy penalties including long terms of imprisonment and deportation⁸.

Due to the ban on civil liberties, the press in Goa was regulated very rigidly. After the invention of printing machine in 1440, by Gutenberg of Germany, the Portuguese established their first printing press in September 1556 in Goa. Since then, the Portuguese government, to voice their programmes and policies in the colonies, published a number of newspapers, official gazettes, weeklies, and monthlies. Many private newspapers were also started during this time and some of them propagated the nationalist feelings of the Goans during the Monarchical period of Portuguese rule⁹.

⁶ Rao, R. P. (1963), *Portuguese Rule In Goa 1510-1961*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, p. 49

⁷ Ibid p.48. p. 44

⁸ Ibid p. 49.

⁹ Sardesai, M. H. (1994), *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*, (Marathi) Goa: Purogami Prakashan, pp.123-248.

But it was only after the establishment of Republic in the year 1910 that the nationalist press, in the true sense of the term, flourished in Goa. Many newspapers, weeklies and monthlies were born which strongly criticized the Portuguese rule and its impact on Goans. Some of these were *Bharat* a weekly started in 1913 by Govind P. Hegde Desai, *Hindu* again a weekly started by Datta V. Pai in 1924, *Prakash*, a newspaper which later on became a bi-weekly, and *Pradeep*, a weekly started in 1928.¹⁰ The contribution of the articles in these nationalists press came from the prominent personalities of Goa such as Luis de Menezes Braganza, Dr. T. B. Cunha and others.

However, due to the strict censorship in Goa, Goan nationalists from outside Goa started many newspapers. The Goan nationalists who had fled from Goa in order to avoid the beatings and arrests during the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar raised their voices against the denial of civil liberties, suppression of patriotism, and brutal treatment meted out to the nationalists in Goa through the establishment of newspapers, periodicals, weeklies, etc. espousing the cause of freedom. The most aggressive of these in the beginning was *Resurge Goa* (wake up Goa) of Telo Mascarenhas and *Free Goa* by Dr. T. B. Cunha¹¹, *Goan Tribune* first edited by Aloysius Soares and later on by Lambert Mascarenhas. All these were smuggled into Goa by the Goan nationalists to circulate them among their compatriots secretly. These nationalists with much enthusiasm and satisfaction read them. The Goan nationalists started all these newspapers and they enlightened the world on the true conditions in Goa under Portuguese rule. Further national newspapers, such as the '*Bombay Chronicle*', and '*Bombay Sentinel*', *The Indian Express*, '*The Free Press*' and '*The Hindu*' and the popular weekly '*Blitz*' off and on published news of arrests of nationalist in Goa and articles on freedom,¹² were also smuggled into Goa.¹³ Though the world was aware about the political situation in Goa

¹⁰ Sukhatankar, J. S. (1992), *Portuguese Rajavatitil Swatantrya Laddiyachi Panne 1510-1947*, Goa: Gomantak Marathi Academi, p. 36.

¹¹ Xavier, P. D. 'Role Of Press In The Freedom Struggle In Goa', in Ali, B. Sheikh(ed), (1986) *Goa Wins Freedom*, Goa: Goa University Publication Series – 1. Government Printing Press-Panaji. p. 93.

¹² Refer to the 'Press In The Goa Freedom Movement', a paper presented by Shri. Lambert Mascarenhas at a seminar, 'Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa's Struggle For Freedom', on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce- Cuncolim, Goa.

¹³ Interview with Freedom Fighters: Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000), Jyoti Deshpande (December 1999) and others.

under the Portuguese rule the Goans inside Goa were unaware about the details of liberation struggle inside and outside Goa, the opinion of Government of India and other such issues, which were related to the freedom of Goa.

Although some of these newspapers were smuggled into Goa, their readership was limited to a few houses in Goa. Even to keep a copy of these nationalist newspapers was a big offence in the eyes of Portuguese and if found the punishment was severe¹⁴. There have been many instances where Portuguese police arrested the Goan people and nationalists for circulating and keeping these nationalists paper with them. The Portuguese authorities suspended the nationalists' newspapers inside Goa. Those editors that were pro-Indian such as Antonio de Sequeira of '*A Voz de India*', and Fr. Conceicao Rodrigues of the '*Ixt*' were hounded by the Government and were forced to flee Goa.¹⁵ The Portuguese and Konkani units of All India Radio, New Delhi, also carried out anti-Portuguese propaganda with Telo Mascarenhas, Edila Gaitonde, Carmo Azevedo, Evagrio George, Laxmanrao Sardesai and others in control.¹⁶ It should be also remembered that the organizations that were formed for Goa's liberation had their own mouthpiece to propagate their programmes and policies. For example, National Congress (Goa) published '*Amcha Goa*' in Marathi and '*Amchem Goem*' in Konkani. Azad Gomantak Dal published '*Navjivan*' which was circulated only among the members of AGD secretly. It is also surprising to note here that the publications of some of these Goan organizations in Bombay greatly annoyed the Portuguese government in Goa and even the British government in Bombay. For example, a complaint was made in 1933 against *O Anglo-Lusitao*, a newspaper in Bomaby published by Goans, the editor of which was warned by the police. The author and the publisher of the articles were both warned that if they persisted in writing against the government of Portuguese India, they were liable to be deported as undesirable foreigners.¹⁷ Similarly on

¹⁴ Interview with Freedom Fighter Jyoti Deshpande. (December 1999)

¹⁵ Refer to the 'Press In The Goa Freedom Movement', a paper presented by Shri. Lambert Mascarenhas at a seminar, 'Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa's Struggle For Freedom', on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce- Cuncolim, Goa.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Gaitonde, P. D. (1987), *The Liberation Of Goa- A Participants View Of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 25.

1st March 1935 the Portuguese Consul General in Bombay drew attention of the Chief Secretary of the Government there (Bombay) to the *Portuguese India* Annual for that year, which had been printed in Bombay and requested him to persuade the authorities to take appropriate action against its editor over two articles which offended the national honour of Portugal.¹⁸ However, this was possible, when British ruled India, to respond favorably to the suggestions made by the Portuguese. But taking action against the Goan nationalist after Indian independence was not possible. Thus the publications made by Indians and Goans in India could voice the Goan peoples sentiments against the Portuguese rule in the true sense.

A couple of newspapers, and the official Goa radio, being the masters voice were only instilling fear and feeding the people with lies and false propaganda about India and liberation struggle. It became imperative, therefore to inform the people in Goa about the reality and to sustain their morale. Nationalist had to find their way to expose the Portuguese lies and to counter their false propaganda. The answer came in the form of an underground Radio station¹⁹.

The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in July and August 1954, by Goan nationalists had created enthusiasm in the minds of Goans. Portuguese occupied Dadra and Nagar Haveli, these two Indian territories, in 1785 and 1783 respectively from the Peshwas.²⁰ Goan nationalists saw the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli as the first step towards the liberation of Goan territory from the Portuguese rule. Thus the United Front of Goans, Azad Gomantak Dal with Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and Goan Peoples' Party, with Communist Party of Maharashtra liberated Dadra and Nagar Haveli in July- August 1954.²¹ (See Chapter-II) During this time some nationalists had found some powerful wireless sets. An Engineer secretly helped to convert these sets into an effective transmitter. He also selected the location and wavelength so that the transmission could be

¹⁸ Ibid. p.25.

¹⁹ Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai, Broadcasts on A.I.R.- To Commemorate fifty years of Broadcasting in India on 19th December 1997.

²⁰ Desai, S. S. (1976), *Goa Daman And Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli*, Faridabad: Government Of India Press, p. 17.

²¹ Lele, P. S. (1987), *Dadra And Nagar Haveli- Past And Present*, Bombay: Mauj Printing Bureau, pp. 25-70.

safely and clearly beamed to all parts of Goa. Thus the radio station was born. For purposes of secrecy and to conceal its identity it was referred to it as 'Q' station. Called '*Voz de Liberdade*' or '*Voz da Povo Goes*' (voice of the people of Goa) for Portuguese broadcasts and '*Goenche Sodvonecho Awaz*' for Konkani broadcasts, from 25th November, 1955, the voice of freedom beamed regular programmes for one hour every morning at 7:00 a.m. and every evening at 8:00 p.m. in both languages on 42.05 meters. When need arose programmes in English and Marathi were also broadcast.²² Having seen the background, let me now reflect on some of the broadcasts made by the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**. I would like to mention here that these broadcasts were made for about a period of six years from 1955 to 1961. Thus it becomes difficult to have a look at all the broadcast in this chapter. So, I have decided to reflect on some of the important broadcast made by the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** under three sub-topics, (i) struggle for civil liberties, (ii) anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa and (iii) anti-colonial struggle in Goa.

Reflections On The Broadcast Of Voice Of Freedom.

The **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** was heard in Goa inspite of the ban on the most elementary civil liberties such as the freedom of speech and expression in Portuguese Goa.

The task of the **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** was four fold:

- a) To sustain the morale of the people by informing them about the day to day events and about the progress of the freedom struggle inside and outside Goa,
- b) To demoralize the Portuguese troops and officials by exposing the cruelties being committed by the secret police PIDE and by focusing how, just as in Goa, the people of Portugal itself were suffering under Salazar's dictatorship and opposing it,
- c) To counter Portugal's lies about India by showing how India, through a democratic process, was developing on all fronts and gaining international appeal and support'

²² Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai; Broadcast On A. I. R. to Commemorate fifty years of Broadcasting in India on 19th December 1997.

- d) To show that Goa's was not a solitary struggle but was one with other anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa, united in their determination to be free and progressive with the staunch support of one another as well as with progressive forces everywhere.²³

As we know, on 18th June 1946, the civil disobedience movement was started by Dr. R. M. Lohia was one of the important satyagraha campaigns, organized for the first time on Goan soil. The hectic nationalist activities began soon after the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties and by the end of the year 1946 nearly 450²⁴ people had challenged the Portuguese rule by organizing individual satyagraha, group satyagrahas, demonstrations, meetings, etc. in spite of the ban on the most elementary civil liberties in Goa. This satyagraha campaign was to demand civil liberties while the second was to liberate Goa from the Portuguese rule. An Action committee, formed by a number of nationalist groups in Bombay had announced, on 15th July 1954, that the volunteers would carry out a march on Goa on 15th August 1954 as a beginning of a satyagraha campaign in the Portuguese settlements.²⁵ In response to the call given by Goa Action Committee a large number of Satyagrahis from India gathered on the Goa-India border on 14th August 1954. But due to government of India's ban, only 45 Goan satyagrahis could enter into Goa via Pollem, Patradevi and Terekhol. Thus the mass satyagraha was converted into a group satyagraha and the overall satyagraha movement fizzled out.

It was only after the formation of **Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti** (All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee) active participation of the Indians in the liberation movement of Goa began by sending batches of volunteers. Accordingly individual satyagraha campaign began on 18th June 1955 and culminated in a mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955. Though this satyagraha campaign had started off effectively on 15th August 1955, Portuguese police opened fire on unarmed satyagrahis entering Goa and the **Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti** called off the mass satyagraha on the same day. After the suspension of satyagraha movement

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Shirodkar, P. P. 1946 to 1949 Madhil Pratyaksha Govyatil Ladhya Aadhava, in Goa Freedom Fighters Association-Panaji (1991), **Smaranika**, (Marathi) Maharashtra: Pune. pp.101-105.

²⁵ Gaitonde, P. D. (1987), op. cit. p. 92.

in Goa, all the nationalist activities on the Goan soil came to a standstill. Though a number of revolutionary organizations such as Goa Liberation Army, Rancor Patriotica, etc. were formed after 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha their activities were restricted to few areas. Nothing seriously was done either by the Goans or by the Indians on the Goa front to solve the problem of Goa.

When the plan of launching an underground radio station was finalized by these nationalists it was very important to work from outside Goa from the point of view of the radio station's security. The transmitter was mounted in a truck to make it mobile and parked in a dense forests area at Amboli. The nationalists were living incognito in the same area thereby. From 17th November 1955 to 24th November 1955, trial broadcasts were made and many nationalists' friends from Goa were informed to listen to these trial broadcasts. When everything worked out well, from 25th November 1955 the broadcasts of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** started in full swing, on regular basis.²⁶ It should be remembered that by 25th November 1955 Goa had witnessed the three important satyagraha movements in addition to the regular terrorists activities that rocked Goa in this last phase of the liberation struggle. (See Chapter II. Since there was lull in the Goan movement after 15th August 1955 satyagraha, it was felt necessary that the Goan issue should be taken at the international level.

'The story of Goan struggle for freedom is unique in the annals of India. At one stage it touched global proportions. It excited heated debates at the headquarters of UNO, at the international Court of Justice, and in the numerous chanceries world over. A tiny spot was locked in political complications of even SEATO and NATO. It was dragged into the cockpit of the power politics of the cold war. It rocked the mighty brains of the east and west.... He (Dr. Salazar) prompted Pakistan to press its claim to Kashmir. He increased the supply of Atomic raw material to USA to gain the support of that super power. He invoked the Portuguese of the Atlantic Pact to brow beat India. He misused the traditional Anglo-Portuguese cordiality to make Britain warn India against any action in Goa... the issue of Goan freedom once considered a simple affair for free India was brought into the vortex of International politics and cold war.²⁷

²⁶ Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

²⁷ Ali, B. Sheikh (ed) (1986), **Goa Wins Freedom**, Goa: Goa University Publication Series-I Government Printing Press-Panaji. p. 1.

Struggle for civil liberties

The last phase of Goa's liberation struggle was started with the movement for civil liberties on 18th June 1946 under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia. In his historic speech at Margao on 18th June 1946, he invited the Goans to speak and act as if these laws banning civil liberties did not exist²⁸. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** also highlighted the struggle for attainment of civil liberties in Goa, as well as in Portugal, in its broadcasts. In fact the purpose behind its formation was to counter the false propaganda made by Portuguese administration by providing the real and truthful information to the people of Goa. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** in its criticism on the ban of civil liberties in Goa cited many examples to show how the Portuguese administration was strongly opposed to the nationalists' newspapers, and elements. The Pilar society of St. Francis Xavier's weekly in Konkani named '*Vavaradencho Ixt*' under Fr. Conceicao Rodrigues and Fr. Jeronimo Pereira, maintained strict neutrality which was viewed with displeasure by the government and consequently suspended. In its broadcasts on 28th August 1961 over the suspension of *Vavaradencho Ixt* (friend of workers) a newspaper published from Pilar for not defending Portuguese pretension of national unity, **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** commented under its title,

'A Christian Missionary newspaper suspended by a Christian government.

The Portuguese government hypocrisy of liberalism revealed shameful state of press in Goa has now come to light that if they do not play a slavish role, they are suspended. During the last two years Vassalvo-e-Silva (Portuguese Governor in Goa) has been systematically and cunningly gagging the press, using it solely for his propaganda. Church and Salazar regime is in conflict as seen in Portugal, Angola, Mozambique and in Goa. Cardinal Gracious statement on Angola on July 9 (1961) and its reference in IXT is completely in tune with the principle and wishes of the church, its victimization by a hypocritical and satanic regime will only enhance its glory. Every Goan and Catholic in particular is bound to feel proud of it and pray that the grace of Padre Agnelo and St. Francis Xavier be always with it to help it maintain its high standard of morality against the colonial might of Salazar'.

Again, while commenting on the Portuguese governments act of beating and ruthlessly suppressing the demand of civil liberties in Portugal, **Voice Of Freedom Of**

²⁸ Dr. R. M. Lohia is quoted in Shirodkar P. P. (ed) (1990), **Who's Who Of Freedom Fighters, Goa Daman And Diu**, vol.II, Goa: Goa Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa. p. XI.

Goa reported in its broadcasts on 26th July 1961 that;

‘Advocate Arthur Andrade was severely tortured and beaten up in Lisbon (the capital of Portugal) in the presence of his wife and then taken to Aljube fort. The reason for his arrest, and this brutal treatment, is that he had made public a subversive document. The document was just ten-point political programme asking for political and civil liberties and a policy in conformity with the principle of UN. What the programme asked for was nothing but what already exists in all the other western countries that were allies of Portugal. Yet to Salazar this document was subversive’.

On one hand the Portuguese government was suspending those newspapers, which were pro-Indian and on the other hand was taking the help of the pro-Portuguese newspapers to propagate its false news. During the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, there were a number of newspapers such as *Heraldo*, *O Herald*, etc. published from Panaji were toeing the Portuguese line. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** not only threw light on pro-Portuguese attitude of these newspapers but also criticized them for their mentality. Thus in its broadcast on 22nd April 1961, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** criticized *Heraldo*, in the following words,

‘Heraldo suggested that a Pilgrimage be taken to the feet of the St. Francis Xavier to pray for the success of Portugal in the United Nations and the defeat of nationalist of Angola. On the very same day, five Arch-bishops of Luanda and four other Bishops of Angola, one of them being a Goan, his lordship Altinho Ribeiro de Santana, published a pastoral letter supporting the legitimate aspirations of the African people and demanding that justice be done to them’.

Voice Of Freedom of Goa reacted to this news in the following manner,

To the mind of believers this miraculous co-incidence only means that St. Francis Xavier made it known through the five Bishops of Angola, that he does not want his name to be exploited for an unjust cause’.

Similarly while criticizing these pro-Portuguese newspapers for providing false information to the people, Voice Of Freedom cited the example of *O Herald*, which reported false the news of the arrest of Shri. Nicolau Menezes by Portuguese officials. Infact, Shri. Nicolau Menezes was one of the members of Voice Of Freedom team. In its broadcast on 14th July 1956, Voice Of Freedom exposed this lie of Portuguese and announced that ‘Shri. Nicolau Menezes is free and independent and does his work for the Goa’s cause for freedom’.

Anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa

A regular feature of the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** was to broadcast the news related to anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa besides Goa. This was especially done to keep the morale of the Goan people high and to show them, how other colonial countries in the world were fighting for their freedom from colonial powers.

It should be noted here that Portugal had altogether eight colonies out of which seven were in the African continent. In order to fool the world, Dr. Salazar by playing with the words in the constitution of Portugal changed the word 'colony' to 'overseas provinces'. A little after the Hague Court decision on the right of passage in Dadra and Nagar Haveli the Goa question was raised up in the UN also. In July 1960 some countries demanded that Portugal should submit information to the UN about Goa and other colonies as was obligatory under the UN charter. But Portugal resisted the demand on the ground that these territories were not 'colonies' but parts of metropolitan Portugal and therefore an internal matter of Portugal. A resolution was however passed in November 1960 by UN Trusteeship Committee asking the General Assembly to request Portugal to give the required information.²⁹ Accordingly Dr. Franco Nogueira, Portuguese delegate declared in the Trusteeship council the following;

'My country has eight overseas provinces. Barring three of them, others enjoy all rights of citizenship, economic, social, and of sovereignty. Only three provinces, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, are three backward people who are ruled under the law meant for uncivilized'³⁰.

In fact the three above mentioned provinces represented the biggest portion of the Portuguese empire. They represented an area of 794,030 sq. miles in a total area of 803,835 sq. miles of the whole empire and had population of nearly 10,000,000 out of total of nearly 12,000,000 of inhabitants.³¹ The people in these territories did not accept the sovereignty of Portugal and were in constant war against Portugal. The outbreak of rebellion in Angola was described by the General Assembly and the security council as well, a

²⁹ Department of Information and Publicity (1998), **Operation Vijay In Goa**, Goa: Government of Goa, p. 16.

³⁰ Cunha, T. B. op. cit., p. 439.

³¹ Ibid.

serious threat to international peace and security and called for immediate steps towards the granting of independence to these territories.³²

Voice Of Freedom Of Goa reported this information about the Portuguese colonies in Africa and the developments there in its broadcasts, under various titles like appeal made by the Mozambique African National Union for international air and sea boycott against Portuguese colonies, American vote on Angola and its significance according to Afro-Asian and other diplomats, the recommendation of steering committee of UN to include Angola in General Assembly and to debate the question of Angola, etc. Thus in its broadcast on 12th July 1956, by the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, on the outbreak of rebellion in Angola it said,

‘The outbreak of rebellion in Angola was described by General Assembly and Security Council as well, a serious threat to international peace and security and called for immediate steps towards the granting of independence to these territories’.

While giving detailed information on UN resolution in favour of Angola, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** reported in its broadcasts on 17th May 1961, the following;

‘What the Portuguese authorities are trying to make out that the UN resolutions are useless and ineffective since they have not accepted by them, but more than eighty-five countries have and this has its affectivity and significance, for it means that these nations of United Nations do not consider Angola, a domestic problem of Portugal. It means that they condemn Portuguese action in that territory and support the nationalists. It signifies the moral sanctions against the Portugal. In fact its effects can already be seen. Portuguese government is shouting and protesting against Ghana, Congo, and Guinea for helping the Angolan rebels with arms and other equipments. It is shouting that communist are interfering in Angola. But it must be noted that no country be it western or eastern condemns this foreign interference, nor the Portuguese government dares to lodge a complaint against these countries in the UN as would normally have been done. The fact is that no country except South Africa, dares to side openly with Portugal. Today Portugal enjoys no international protection in her colonies and this is mostly because of the denunciation of Portuguese colonialism in UN’.

Voice Of Freedom Of Goa made the following comment at the liberation of Ajuda fort in South Africa in its broadcast on July 1961;

³² Sarin, Mohan Lal (1973), *The Case Of Goa (1961) and the Controversy Regarding Gandhian Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha) And International Law involved in It*, Inaugural Dissertation. Marburg/Lahn.

'The frequent Portuguese pretensions of strength and determination to defend every inch of its fatherland from Minho to Timor till the last drop of blood have proved miserably empty. The only brave feat they did was to set fire to the fort and other edifices. There could not have been better proof of Portuguese impotence and barbarism. A Lisbon daily having nothing else to say has taken consolation from this feat that in the days of old, brave captains used to burn their ships rather than let them fall in to the hands of the enemies. Yes, but one thing the Lisbon daily forgot and that is that the captain themselves used to go down to the bottom of the sea along with their burning ships. They never surrendered to their enemies as those Portuguese in Ajuda did. Dahome, on the other hand showed a truly Christian spirit by not arresting and punishing the two Portuguese representatives for having committed the criminal act of setting fire to the property belonging to Dahome and thereby endangering human life. It left them free to live and repent. In Goa there is grand jubilation over Dahome's action. Everyone is wondering why Nehru does not send a similar ultimatum to these rulers to leave Goa. Portuguese has no courage to go to UN, the very fact that no western or any other country has defended her against Dahome, shows what the verdict of the UN would be. Similarly, after the terrible and shameful defeat on the question of Dadra and Nagar Haveli she has no face to approach International Court of Justice'.

In order to show the Goans that their struggle for freedom was not a solitary struggle but one with all other anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, broadcast every small incident regarding the freedom movement in the colonies. In its broadcast dated 10th June 1956, it reported about the freedom struggle in Algeria, the then colony of France in the following words,

'In these days the freedom struggle in Algeria has reached at its peak and deep inside the villages against the French imperialism. And due to this, French government has made all the preparations to crush this freedom movement in Algeria. On June 7th, 1956 twelve bombs were exploded in the capital city. One French officer and a convoy was killed by nationalists and fifteen Algerians who were identified as anti-nationals, as they were helping French government were also killed'.

While relating this news to the Goan liberation struggle, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** reported on 12th June 1956, the following,

'Dr. Salazar says that Goa is not a colony, but a province of Portugal. Just as France said that Algeria is its province. But no one believes in this false propaganda because France is in Europe and its part cannot be in African continent. Similarly, Portugal's province cannot be in Asian continent'.

It was not just enough to provide all the news to the people. It was at the same time essential to show the freedom loving and desiring countries who are siding with them or who are opposing their independence. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** broadcast the views of some of the countries about colonialism in the broadcast on 12th July 1956,

‘The Afro-Asian, Latin American and Socialists states viewed colonialism as a form of ‘permanent aggression’ which may be eradicated by the use of force in the exercise of the right of self-defence’.

Anti- colonial struggle in Goa.

Though **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** was started on 25th November, 1955 its broadcasts were also concentrated on the anti-colonial struggle in Goa, on the support of Government of India and of other nations in the world. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, though its broadcasts made the people of Goa aware that Goa had a long history of struggle for freedom right from 1543, when the villages in Southern Goa, Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim. Veroda and Ambelim first experienced the conversion policy. Organized resistance of Don Mathews de Castro in 1653, Pinto revolt of 1787, revolt by Bernardo Peres da Silva in 1833 and nearly twelve revolts by Ranes of Sattari from 1852 to 1912 followed this. This information was provided to the Goans to make them feel proud about their history and to strengthen their opposition to Portuguese authority on the soil of Goa. Both Catholics and Hindus were in the forefront in challenging the Portuguese domination during this time.

With the beginning of the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties a new era of satyagraha and non-violence had started in Goa. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** in its broadcasts upheld this satyagraha as one of the important satyagraha campaigns in the liberation struggle of Goa. It was only after a period of eight years, a new chapter was added to the liberation struggle with the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Goan nationalists liberated these two Portuguese enclaves in India in 1954. Its liberation, though a moment of jubilation for Goans, had created panic in the Portuguese administration. Thus as soon as Portugal was admitted, with the support of India into UN on 14th December 1955, it filed a case against Indian government at the International Court of Justice for the right of passage

between its territory and of Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and between each of the latter and that this right comprises the facility of transit for person and goods including armed forces or other upholders of law and order, without restrictions or difficulties and in the manner and to the extent required by the effective exercise for Portuguese sovereignty in the said territories.³³ Hearing of the application began before the Court on September 21, 1959 and International Court of Justice gave the final verdict in India's favour on 12th April 1960. These proceedings of the Hague tribunal and learned defence of the then Attorney General, Shri. M. C. Setalvad, exposing the hollowness of the Portuguese claim was reported,³⁴ by **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**. It so happened that after the final verdict of Hague court in the case of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Portuguese governments official radio *Emissora de Goa* reported that the final verdict was in the favour of Portugal and that Portugal has won the case against India on Dadra and Nagar Haveli. This had created confusion in the minds of nationalist Goans. As they could not get the real information, because of the censorship on the newspapers in Goa, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** exposed these Portuguese lies. In its broadcast on the final verdict of International Court of Justice it not only broadcast the entire judgement to the people of Goa which was in India's favour, but also criticized the Portuguese government for misinforming the people to cling to their possessions in India³⁵.

While reporting the views of some of the leaders of South American countries and their support for the freedom of Goa, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, broadcast on 12th July 1956 the following'

'Rev. Father Benjamin Nunus reached Bombay, the leader of one of South American countries, said on behalf of the South American countries that all of them are behind the freedom of Goa. Nobody believes in what Salazar says. Though Salazar considers Goa as an overseas province of Portugal this is just the policy of keeping Goa under their rule. There is no meaning to it. Those countries that believe in colonialism and subjugation of other countries have found out a new way that they give them

³³ Shirodkar, P. P. 'The Case Of Right Of Passage At Hague Court (Portugal v. India)', in Ali, B. Sheikh, (ed) **Goa Wins Freedom** (1986), Goa: Goa University Publication Series-I, Government Printing Press-Panaji. p. 155.

³⁴ Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai, Broadcast on A. I. R. to commemorate fifty years of Broadcasting in India: 19th December 1997.

³⁵ Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

certain rights to keep them under their rule...colonialism is colonialism. South American countries can help India and intermediate between India and Portuguese to solve the problem of Goa peacefully’.

It was also important for the Goans to get the support of the Indian leaders like P. M. Nehru, on the question of Goa, since Goans always looked forward towards Indians for getting their help to liberate Goa from Portuguese rule. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** in many of its broadcast provided Goans the views and feeling of Indian leaders towards Goa. In a broadcast dated 16th July 1956, the views of Smt. Vijayalaxmi Pandit were reported,

‘Till 1947, the liberation struggle of Goa was a part of Indian National Movement. This is not just due to the fact that geographically it is the part of India, but just like any other nation it has got its own history, tolerance and high principles and its own culture which was developed and flourished for thousands of years...The life of Goans, their dressing and eating habits, their language are more or less similar to that of Indians. It also adopts the culture of other nations and tries to flourish it in its own way. But it has taught the most important principle to the world and that is tolerance towards each other....’

Similarly, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** broadcast many such public speeches and views, of some of the very important personalities from within India and also from outside on the question of Goa. It not only reported them but also assessed these speeches from the view point of Goans. Thus the speech of Acharya Vinobha Bhave, who called upon the Portuguese to leave Goa peacefully and in a friendly manner, by respecting the sentiments of the people of Goa was broadcast on 15th July 1956. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** then assessed the view of this Gandhian saint in the following manner’

‘See the words of this man, so important they are, but the Portuguese who live in the world of fanaticism would not recognize them, they may not understand these words of this great man, they may not reach to the deaf years of the Portuguese. But let us store them forever in our hearts and minds. They will show us the right direction’.

The October 1961 conference of Portuguese and other colonies on the road to freedom in Africa held in New Delhi was a historic event in the life of Goa’s liberation struggle. This conference on Portuguese colonialism was held due to the call given by All India National Campaign Committee for Goa at Delhi in October 1961 under the

presidentship of Mr. Balwantrai Mehta. This All India National Campaign Committee for the liberation of Goa was formed at a joint convention of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement and the Goan Political Convention held at Delhi in December 1960. The October 1961 conference was inaugurated by Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and was attended by important African leaders of Portuguese colonial freedom movements who had earlier attended the Casablanca conference held in April 1961 under the patronage of King Hassan II of Morocco along with the Goan freedom forces from India. Among those who attended the Delhi conference were the Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Tanzanian Commerce Minister Abdel Elkatib and Mr. Anthony Wedgewood Benn, Minister for scientific development in the labour government of Mr. Harold Wilson all of whom urged Prime Minister Nehru not to delay action in Goa any further.³⁶ **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** team attended this conference, held discussion with the Afro-Asian leaders, recorded their interviews and their messages of solidarity with Goans and their speeches exhorting the government of India to free Goa without delay as it was the key to their freedom. These messages were transmitted to the people of Goa in their own voices³⁷. So also the interview with Paulo de Castro, a Portuguese opposition leader living in exile in Brazil who came to meet Prime Minister Nehru and impressed upon him that he must act firmly with regard to Goa as the liberation of Goa would sound the death knell of Salazar's dictatorship even in Portugal, was transmitted verbatim in his own voice.³⁸ All this had an effect on the Indian Prime-Minister. Speaking at the concluding meeting of this conference on Portuguese colonialism in October 1961, Prime-Minister Nehru confessed that the Government of India's Policy of solving the Goa question by peaceful means had failed and that 'we have been forced into thinking afresh by the Portuguese to adopt other methods to solve this problem. When and how we will do it cannot be forecast now. But I have no doubt that Goa will soon be free'.³⁹

³⁶ Lobo, Cajetan, 'Afro-Asian Involvement in Goa's Freedom Struggle', in Goa Daman Diu Freedom fighters Association, **Silver Jubilee of Goa's Liberation 1961-86**, Goa: Goa Daman & Diu Freedom Fighters' Association, p. unnumbered.

³⁷ Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

³⁸ Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai, op.cit.,

³⁹ Khera, P. N. (1974), **Operation Vijay- The Liberation Of Goa And Other Portuguese Colonies in India**, New Delhi: Government of India Press, Nasik. pp. 38-39.

Within two months of this conference on Colonialism, the Government of India took an important decision to send its troops to liquidate the Portuguese colonialism in Goa. All the troop movements were completed by 15th and 16th December 1961. As the team of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** received a message from the Border Security on 15th December 1961 that the border had become unsafe and they should move out immediately. On reaching Belgaum, the broadcasts were started again and in keeping with the momentum they were done almost every hour. Just before the start of the 'Operation Vijay' on December 14th 1961, the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, broadcast the important message from Dr. Salazar to the Portuguese Governor in Goa. The message read as follows,

'You will understand the sorrow with which I am penning this message. It is impossible for us to guess whether the Indian Union will attack or not the territories of the state in the immediate future. Threats, otherwise repeated too often, need not be taken to the letter, but this time the Indian government has gone so far in its war preparations that we do not know how it can divert them without carrying out the attack. May be it will attempt through subversive agents to alter the order and life of the state with a view to dispense and nullify the valor of our defence forces in the territory and avoid the conquest which it dreads internationally. Therefore, I would advise the maximum patience in the face of provocations. An intense diplomatic activity is in progress with a view to mobilize all the international friendship and influence of numerous states in order to dissuade the Indian Union from the attack it might be planning. We are confident that big powers like the United States, England and friendly states like Brazil and other South American, with the close co-operation of Spain have made it known to New Delhi or its representatives in those countries, their opposition to a military attack against the Portuguese territory. The position spontaneously adopted by highly influential world press, generally sympathetic to the Indian Union shows how aggression against Goa is repugnant to the conscience of nations and is interpreted as the denial of the policy of peace of the Prime Minister who is very sensitive to it. Whatever, be the result of these combined actions, one has to expect the worst. We are all aware of the smallness of our forces. But the neighbouring state having the possibility of multiplying, as it may wish, the forces of attack, there could always be in the end a great disproportion. The policy of the Government (of Portugal) has always been, in possibility in ensuing a fully efficacious defence to maintain in Goa such forces as would confront the Indian Union to mount as we see now an internationally scandalous military operation in full strength preventing it from giving an appearance of a simple police operation. This means that the first mission of our forces has been complied with. The second lies in not organizing themselves against the terrorist agents, so called liberators, but organize the defence in a way that would mark out the valor of the Portuguese in the old tradition in India. It is horrible to think that this may mean total sacrifice as the only form of maintaining ourselves up to our tradition and rendering the greatest service to the future of the nation. I do not visualize the possibility of a

truce nor of Portuguese prisoners, the same way as there shall not be surrender of ships, for I feel that there can be the soldiers and marines either victorious or dead. The attack, which may be launched against Goa, will aim at, by its extreme hardness reducing to the minimum duration. Politically it will be necessary that it continue for at least eight days, time necessary for the government to mobilise, as last resort international instances. These words, by their gravity, could not but be addressed to a soldier, conscious of his noble duties and totally committed to comply with them. Government will not permit that such soldier be the last to govern the state of India'.

From this message of Dr. Salazar, it is quite clear that he was a fanatic ruler. But at the same time intelligent too. He knew that Indian government would one day lose its patience over Goa and even forgetting its non-violent and peaceful policy, attack Portuguese possessions in order to bring to an end the centuries old colonialism from Indian soil. However, still Dr. Salazar hoped that Indian government would not take such a decision so quickly. He was even confident that he would be able to use his goodwill with Portugal's friendly nations like USA, England and Spain to put pressure on the Indian government not to take such a hasty decision of launching an attack on the Portuguese possessions in India, as it would go against India's peaceful policy in solving the international problems. This means that these western countries would teach about the importance of non-violence and peace to India. This also makes clear that Portuguese who never understood the meaning of non-violence and satyagraha, believed that India should practice it towards Portugal.

This message also makes clear many other things. Firstly, Portuguese, with the support of many of the western countries wanted to cling to its colonies in India. Secondly, it also suggests that USA, England and Spain were not in favour of Goa's liberation, and wanted that Portugal should continue ruling here in Goa for the reasons best known to them. This may be possibly because, Portugal has told America that if it supports them on the Goan case, it would permit it to establish Army installations in Azores or other parts of Portugal. The second reason was that if Portuguese continue to occupy Goa, NATO forces would be establishing their military bases in Goa. It should be also remembered that Dr. Salazar was also wise enough to understand the importance of

these western countries to it on the Goa case. He also knew that Portugal would not be able to save Goa if India decides to take military action against the Portuguese in Goa. Thus the only way out was to take the help of these friendly nations of Portugal to put pressure on India to save Goa.

And the subsequent message of Dr. Salazar on the same day to the governor-General of Portuguese India read,

'I have received through our Minister of Foreign Affairs from Paris, this very moment, information from his British and American colleagues that Indian Union will unleash tomorrow attack against Portuguese territories. Approaches by the respective governments to ours and even personal approach of President Kennedy (USA) proved fruitless. Nothing more is now left but honour the mission interested to the troops under your command'.

One of the important broadcasts that were made just before 'Operation Vijay' was on 15th December 1961. It was a direct message from the Indian Defence Minister addressed to the Portuguese Governor-General, asking him to surrender and send his reply by a certain time on a certain wavelength. The team of Voice Of Freedom on telephone received this message on 14th December 1961 at 13 hours in Belgaum from G. K. Handoo, in charge of Goa operations. It said,

Indian forces are moving into Goa. Their speedy successes are apparent. To prevent unnecessary casualties, tell your leading troops to contact our Commanders. You can call on our High Command on any of the following frequencies.

5485 kilocycles/seconds

10820 kilocycles/seconds

16120 kilocycles/seconds

with code prefix ^India ^ at 10 minutes to every hour.

This same ultimatum was transmitted to him every hour and also to the Airport Tower at Dabolim. As no reply came, 'Operation Vijay' started. The Dabolim Airport, Radio Goa and the receiving center were bombarded in the early hours of the 18th December 1961⁴⁰. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, during this 'Operation Vijay', increased their broadcasts to inform the people of Goa about the movement of troops into Goa and their advancement to the general line Mapusa, Bicholim, Sanquelim, Pilliem and thereafter to the General

⁴⁰ Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai, op.cit.,

line Panjim (Panaji), Velha Goa, Ponda and Margao and finally to occupy rest of the territory of Goa.⁴¹ At the same time these broadcasts were made to build the tempo and warning were given to Portuguese to pack up and surrender to Indian army in both the languages in Portuguese and in Konkani.

'Operation Vijay' ended with the surrender of Portuguese army on 18th December 1961. Excited with these developments, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** team, on 19th December 1961, boarded an Air force Plane provided by the army fitted with a transmitter and a loudspeaker on its belly, flew over Panjim (Panaji) and the rest of Goa dropping leaflets and telling the people that the Portuguese had surrendered. Smt. Libia Lobo Sardesai remembers that event in the following words,

'When on 18th December 1961, news came from Brig. Sagat Singh from Betim, that the Portuguese had surrendered, we were immediately informed. We made the announcement to the people so that they could all know that 'Operation Vijay' has ended successfully. After sometime we were invited to the Army camp. During the function at Army camp, General Chowdhary, chief of Army staff asked me now what. Full of enthusiasm, I told General that now I must announce from the skies that Goa is free. I had told him this on 18th December 1961 in the evening. He took me seriously and we received a message at night from him to come at 8 O'clock on 19th December 1961. we went there at the appointed time. Then the General said to us, look, now you want to announce freedom from the skies no. We are sending you in a plane. But there is one danger. The Portuguese guns are still there somewhere. We do not know they may shoot the plane down. We said, it does not matter; we are ready, because, now if we die it will be on free soil. We had to then sign the papers of consent. Flying all over, we dropped the leaflets, which were in Konkani and Portuguese. I announced the news of freedom in Konkani and Mr. Vaman Sardesai announced it in Portuguese. Later on synchronizing with the hoisting of the Indian Tricolour over 'Sachivalaya' (secretariat) in Panjim, hovering in the same plane above, we symbolically announced in Konkani and Portuguese from the skies that Goa is free and united with the motherland India'.⁴²

The team of **Voice Of Freedom** initially consisted of three members. All were staunch nationalists. Late Mr. Nicolau Menezes, a Goan nationalist in exile in Bombay, was one of them. During Goa's liberation struggle especially in the initial years of the last phase beginning from 18th June 1946 movement for a number of Goan nationalists involved in peaceful satyagraha movement were arrested, sentenced to long terms of

⁴¹ Khera, P. N. op.cit., p. 167

⁴² Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

imprisonment and even deported to Africa and Portugal. This was the general tendency of the Portuguese administration. And in order to avoid arrest and deportation many Goan nationalists escaped to Bombay and Belgaum. From there they were participating in the Goan movement for liberation. Mr. Nicolau Menezes was one of them. But on account of his age and hardship of an underground jungle life he left the team after four to five months.⁴³

Another member of the team was the late Mr. Vaman Sardesai. He was a student in Goa Medical College and at the same time giving tuitions in Portuguese language even to some Portuguese officials. When his nationalist activities were discovered, he was arrested and sentenced by the Military Tribunal to nine months of imprisonment and forfeiture of civic and political rights for five years. After release, therefore, he could not continue his studies or make a living any other way, for no one would employ him. No one dared even to speak to him or to associate with him. Finding it was not worthwhile to continue in these conditions, he transferred himself to Wardha where he became a confirmed Gandhian⁴⁴. He came to Bombay from Wardha to join the mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955 but could not, due to its abrupt termination. He was handling Portuguese programmes for the External Services Division for All India Radio in Bombay. He joined the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** and was the main brain behind the running and the establishment of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**.⁴⁵

Ms. Libia Lobo, a Goan residing at Bombay, and working at All India Radio Bombay, was the third and important voice that dominated the entire broadcasting of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**. She remembers her involvement in Goa liberation struggle in the following words;

‘Just before India’s freedom I joined college and there I met colleagues who were in the Radical Humanist Party of M. N. Roy. I drifted towards that movement. At that time some Goans had formed Goan Youth League in

⁴³ Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

⁴⁴ Interview with Shri. Jaisingrao A. Rane.

⁴⁵ Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

Bombay and for sometime I became its secretary. After, India's Independence naturally our resolve became the freedom of Goa. In 1955 when there was a call for satyagraha I had just finished my law and therefore, I felt free to join satyagraha. With that intention I attended a meeting in C. J. Hall on 15th August 1955, addressed by Shri. Kunte, the then speaker of Maharashtra Legislative Assembly. Unfortunately for me satyagraha was banned by Prime Minister so that the question of my joining the satyagraha movement did not arise.

But the mood that had been created in my mind kept me restless. After a couple of months, I came to know that the nationalists were trying to start a Radio station. In fact at that time I was working at A. I. R. but I did not know who was doing it, who were the concerned people and what it was about. One day a friend of mine spoke to me about this and said we are looking everywhere for a person talking in Konkani and preferably a lady and we cannot find one. Could you suggest any one? Spontaneously and immediately, I said 'I will do it'. In a few days I resigned my job and joined the team of Voice Of Freedom'.

What was accepted here was not just the work of few days or few months but this was a continuous work, which might have lasted for years together if Goa was not liberated by '*Operation Vijay*' on 19th December 1961. Though a period of six years may not seem long, these were years of near imprisonment for these nationalists. Since life was extremely difficult and trying. They had to live completely isolated in a corner of the forest incognito and incommunicado. But this was possible in spite of many hazards, lack of comforts, and other limitations, because the work was so uplifting and exciting that these nationalists did not mind if they had to spend their whole life doing it for Goa's liberation.

To keep in tune with the recent happenings in the world these nationalist had to study bulletins and news from India and abroad, studying reports, collating information, received from inside and outside Goa, scanning Indian and Foreign newspapers, newsletters, to select information about the anti-colonial struggles, etc. The news received from reliable sources had to be studied and broadcasts had to be prepared. This may seem an easy task but getting the information while working underground was difficult.⁴⁶ Jyoti Deshpande, a regular reporter of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** from Dadra and Nagar Haveli remembers,

⁴⁶ Ibid.

'When Dadra and Nagar Haveli was liberated by Goan nationalists Portugal had filed a case against Indian government over the right of passage in Dadra and Nagar Haveli at the international Court of Justice at Hague. During this time my father Shri. Raghuvir Srinivas Kamat, Dr. Antonio Furtado, who was appointed as the administrator and his wife Dr. Berta Menezes Braganza were in Nagar Haveli. I accepted a job of a typist and interpreter in the court of Nagar Haveli. We used to prepare reports on Dadra and Nagar Haveli to send it to Ministry for External Affairs in order to provide the documents and other material for Indian government to defend against the Portuguese. The same information which we used to collect from these documents were sent to Voice Of Freedom, by post on a certain address at Amboli and then at Belgaum'.⁴⁷

It should be remembered that there were no fax machines, no television sets and no computers to work with. Thus all the time listening to broadcasts, reading newspapers, was very hard work. But this did not deter them from doing their nationalist duty. Almost every household in Goa avidly listened to these broadcasts. They were so arranged that listeners could know, hear and feel exactly what they could have heard, read and experienced had they been living in free India itself. While talking about the impact of these radio broadcasts Mrs. Sulochana Kamat remembers,

'At home we all used to gather at one place in our house and listen to the broadcasts of Voice Of Freedom. We were especially influenced by the voice of Libia Lobo. We used to feel proud of her as being a Catholic she spoke effectively against Portuguese. The importance of freedom, the concept of nationalism, besides freedom struggle in Goa and other such broadcasts deeply influenced us. I still remember her strong and powerful voice criticizing the government and asking them to leave Goa'.⁴⁸

These broadcasts were listened to by the Goans in the corners of their houses with low volume. Just as keeping a copy of nationalist newspaper was a crime, similarly listening to these broadcasts was also considered as a criminal act.

The 'Q' station or let me call it a 'mobile radio' station seemed to have become a powerful weapon for the Portuguese to reckon with. The Army Commandant, Major Jose Filipe de Barros Rodrigues reported to his superiors that;

'The Voice Of Freedom has assumed the command of the entire propaganda and has maintained its aggressiveness and militancy. It works with the most diverse

⁴⁷ Interview with Mrs. Jyoti Deshpande.

⁴⁸ Interview with Mrs. Sulochana Kamat.

material. It threatens, criticizes, persuades, explains, changes colour, alters perspective, but in everything it says, it carries a sharp stiletto, operating from beyond the border and free from the pre-occupation of any attack from our side. It has been in fact the only voice which has been hurting us at close range'.⁴⁹

Due to this Portuguese even tried to jam the reception particularly Konkani as everyone understood it. But, these nationalists dodged them by shifting the wavelength by degrees. The decision to mount the transmitter in a truck to make it mobile was a wise and intelligent decision of these nationalists. They had to change their place twice. First time they had parked this truck in the dense forest area at Amboli. Amboli had become vulnerable to clandestine traffic. On a couple of occasions disguised hostile elements were apprehended near the station making curious inquiries. Since the nationalists thought that it was no longer safe to continue there, they shifted near Goa border forests of Castle Rock. Second time, they had to shift from Castle Rock to Belgaum when they received a message from the border security that the border had become unsafe. These nationalists had to spend their life in the forests infested with leeches, cobras, pythons and other reptiles and even wild animals. Though weapons or bullets never wounded them, yet a lot of their blood was shed everyday. The forest was carpeted with leeches making it difficult to take even a few steps without being bitten in spite of boots. They could be noticed only after they had grown in size sucking blood. They could also not be pulled out easily. Cigarette or other smoke was used to make them fall.⁵⁰ In spite of all these problems and difficulties **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** was voiced regularly with full swing. When Goa was liberated on 19th December 1961 Voice Of Freedom, always assuring the Goan people that Goa would be free made its last broadcast from skies announcing that now finally after 450 years Goa is free. The task was fulfilled and the need or reason for a clandestine existence ended. But in order to silence the **Voice Of Freedom** abruptly, the **Voice Of Freedom** therefore gave a parting message to the people of Goa on 21st December 1961 at the usual hour- 7 a.m. as below;

⁴⁹ Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai: op.cit., 19th December 1997.

⁵⁰ Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

‘We are now going to part, but only to meet face in Goa. Goa is now free and our work has come to an end. But this is the beginning of a new work of uplifting Goa. Thus, let us all come together and work together to see it on the top. We will henceforth enjoy the democracy. We have become the masters of our own soil. And no one can stop us from achieving our objectives. We can now voice our demands and desires openly and without fear. And we will altogether do it. Jai-Hind’.

Impact Of Voice Of Freedom On The Liberation Struggle.

It should be noted that the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** was started on 25th November 1955, at a time when there was lull in the liberation struggle of Goa. As I have said earlier that it was during this time, the freedom struggle of Goa was taken at the international level. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** used to broadcast all these events for the people of Goa to keep up their morale. If we evaluate the liberation struggle of Goa during this time inside Goa, we could notice that only the revolutionary organizations were active inside Goa. But, the non-violent organization NC(G), as well as the satyagraha and non-violent activities had almost come to an end. Neither, were there the big satyagraha campaigns organized inside Goa, nor were there any instances of demonstrations, speeches, meetings and individual or group satyagrahas, held. It was only that the free **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** was heard loudly in the silence that dominated this particular period of Goa’s liberation struggle. It voiced that the liberation struggle of Goa might have come to a standstill but it has not come to an end completely.

It should be also noted that there have been no instances where Goans, by listening to these broadcast, and getting impressed by the anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa, have come out again to challenge the Portuguese rule in Goa. Of course, it is true that the discussions about these broadcasts were taking place at different houses inside Goa. People were impressed by the commitment and dedication of young girl of 25 years Ms. Libia Lobo and others who were living in the jungle areas. The anti-colonial movement in different parts of the world also impressed them. But, after the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955, nothing was done by Goans, as if they lacked determination and courage to fight against the Portuguese rule.

It is also essential to know about the team of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**. To run this entire movement for liberation, initially by three nationalist and then just by two required the undaunted courage. These nationalists spent nearly six years of their life, by living incognito, in jungles. At no moment, they felt exhausted, depressed, but continuously worked for the liberation of Goa.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The thesis, 'Voices In The Liberation struggle- The Case Of Goa- 1947-61, focusses on the last phase of the liberation struggle. It was, in fact, this period of Portuguese rule in Goa which saw the most hectic nationalist activities under the fascist rule of Dr. Salazar. This last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa can be argued to have started on 18th June 1946 with the launch of the civil disobedience movement under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia at Margao. The ideological inspiration and political impetus for the liberation struggle came largely from the Indian National Movement that was going on in India at that time.¹

This is the background within which I have organized my study. As the Indian National Movement was gaining strength in British India through its satyagraha activities, demonstrations, bandhs, etc. adopting a strategy of non-violence and also, in some areas adopting violent methods, its impact began to be felt in Goa. Although the colonial power in Goa differed from that of India, the three ideological currents that were prominent in the INM had their impact on the Goan nationalist forces which were also divided on the lines of three ideologies; (i) Gandhian, (Socialism), (ii) Communism and (iii) Militant Nationalism². These ideological currents of INM had inspired and influenced a whole generation of people not only within India but also from outside. This inspiration took a global shape and anti-colonial movements also took deep roots in Portugal itself. Thus the Goan nationalists who were influenced by INM and its ideology of Satyagraha and non-violence raised their voice of protest against the then existing Portuguese colonialism not only in India but also in Portugal itself.³ They referred to India as 'Patria Hindu' and even changed their Catholic names to Hindu names. The motive behind this was to identify

¹ Refer to Chapter II.

² Refer to Chapter III.

³ Refer to Chapter III. The organization that was formed in Portugal was Centru Nacionalist Indianu.

with India than Portugal. There was a wider understanding of the concept of nationalism, freedom and self-determination that had crossed the boundaries. The cry that 'Goa is a part of India' was heard in Portugal itself. This belief dominated the minds of the nationalist Goans in Portugal and was expressed in the form of an organization named *Centru Nacionalist Indianu*. It is believed that Goa Seva Sangh, an organization formed in 1943 at Margao under the leadership of a Gandhian, Shri. Purushottam Kakodkar was planning to organize satyagrahas in October 1946, as a means of awakening the people, against Portuguese rule in Goa⁴. However, the credit of putting the ideology of Gandhian satyagraha and non-violence in actual practice in Goa goes to Dr. R. M. Lohia. The fact is that the liberation struggle of Goa needed an outsider to guide and lead the movement. It was he who demonstrated to the Goans, how to fight against the colonial power by non-violent means. His role in the liberation struggle has a special prominence in the sense that an Indian socialist leader encouraged Goans to fight against the Portuguese colonialism and it was later on that socialists from India, with the ideology of satyagraha and non-violence, directed the entire Goan movement. It was 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, organized under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia saw the Goan movement as a part of Indian National Movement. The Gandhian ideology left a long-lasting impact on Goans. The study has shown that the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule was influenced by different ideological currents that dominated the Indian National Movement. It is a study that recognizes the broader concept of nationalism, that India is a nation and Goa, its integral part that cannot be separated just because two different colonial powers ruled on India and Goa. It is very interesting to understand that this concept of solidarity with Indians was so strong that Goan nationalists at no point of time in the liberation struggle of Goa were left alone by Indians in their efforts of liberating Goa from Portuguese rule. The formation of Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (GVSS), an organization of mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955, shows the impact of this solidarity between Indians and Goans. Indians considered that Indian National Movement would not come to an end if Goa was not

⁴ Interview with Dr. Vinayak Mayekar.

liberated from Portuguese rule and Goans desired that after liberation Goa would be integrated into the Indian Union. This solidarity was noticed when a large number of Indian satyagrahis assembled at India- Goa border to challenge the Portuguese rule in Goa. 'Bharat-Goa alag nahin' (Goa and Bharat are not separate) was their slogan.

In this context when we look at the position of the liberation struggle of Goa, especially its last phase, one finds that the spirit of the age was the defiance to the colonial power. As I have mentioned earlier, that this work involved the collection of primary data through interviews. These exclusive interview of nearly sixty-to-sixty five freedom fighters shows the idealism that drove these people. The belief that 'Goa is a part of India and after its liberation it would be merged with India', inspired Goans to fight against the Portuguese colonialism. Thus the entire movement for Goa's liberation right from 18th June 1946 came to be popularly and officially known as 'Jai-Hind' movement and its activists as 'Jai-Hind Wallas'. This is best depicted from the example of young girls participating in this movement. Miss Vatsala Kirtani,⁵ who was the first girl to be arrested during civil disobedience movement for shouting 'Jai- Hind' bravely, told the European commandant that 'just as you Portuguese say Viva Portugal, Viva Salazar, we Indians say 'Jai Hind, Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai'. The young students in the schools were taught that Goa is a part of larger territory that is India. India is *Bharat- Mata* and this idealism was dominant in the entire movement for Goa's liberation. 'Jai- Hind' became a political slogan, occupied an important symbolic place in the liberation struggle of Goa and hence attained the status of a 'mantra'. Saying of "Jai- Hind" became important and a lot of protest activities involved the chanting of 'Jai- Hind'. Small children who did not even know the meaning of 'Jai-Hind' and its importance, when heard about the arrests of their parents or elder brothers for Jai- Hind activities felt proud because they had heard about Tilak, Agarkar, etc. going to jails for the similar 'Jai-Hind' activities of which people and especially discussions in the house spoke highly about it with great spirit.⁶ This brings us to the other point that

⁵ Refer to Chapter IV.

⁶ Interview with Smt. Jyoti Deshpande.

participation of young girls and women in the liberation struggle of Goa should be seen through the lens of Gender. On the one hand the spirit of this idealism enabled these women, who were mostly Gaud Saraswat Brahmins and Charados, to breach the patriarchy, which was dominant in the Indian society, and come out to challenge the Portuguese rule. They were even applauded for doing this. The spirit was so strong that some of these young girls even escaped from home so that they can be part of the larger aspect of Goa's liberation struggle and that is to complete India's Independence by liberating Goa from colonial domination. On the other hand, once the job of liberation was complete, patriarchal society closed the breaching and some of these women were again confined to private domain and men reasserted their place in public. As can be shown from the facts, women were less among the honours, in fact they may even had to pay some price as far as the traditional institution of marriage is concerned. Though under the strong influence of nationalism and patriotism they crossed the threshold of their houses, and became a part of this nationalist struggle, men nationalist tried to dominate their activities by telling them what they were supposed to do and what they were not supposed to do. Sometimes these women, who acted as carriers, even carried bombs out of ignorance as these men nationalist kept them in dark as to what they had to carry. Thus we find that patriarchy had returned back, not only after the liberation but its influence was also found in the liberation struggle. After Goa's liberation the lives of these women were so much under the control of this patriarchy that it became very difficult for them to come out it. Further the whole strategy of challenging the Portuguese rule, by these women was located within the philosophy of satyagraha and non-violence. There is hardly any instance in the liberation struggle of Goa that they were directly involved in violent revolutionary activities. They proved Gandhiji to be right, as Gandhiji had called the women to be the incarnation of Ahimsa. Thus to them a fight was only by open means, by non-violence and satyagraha activities. To them satyagraha meant shouting of slogans like "Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai, Jai- Hind', distributing pamphlets and reading speeches that were already prepared.

Further the sense of idealism that had influenced the people of Goa also led to the formation of various organizations on the basis of ideologies, within Goa, in India and also in Portugal. These organizations also had a very special feature in the sense that they sometimes encompassed, within its fold, different ideologies at a time. Different people with varying ideologies were also a part of a single organization. However, this might have led to a split in the parent organization, this merger of ideologies seems to be peculiar in the liberation struggle of Goa. Further the desire for the liberation of Goa was so strong that some of the Goan nationalists were the members of not just one organization but a number of them with different ideologies at the same time. It is also curious to understand how these organizations, at different points of time faced splits and even merged together to create a necessary impact on the liberation struggle of Goa⁷. Thus these organizations supported diverse ideologies. However, there seems to be a paradox. Most of these organizations were individual led organizations, did not enjoy the vast social base.

One of the important reasons for not getting the support of the masses also lies in the fact that at times some of them could transcend the community but not the caste. The Indian society is so much dominated by the superstructure of caste that even it became difficult for Goan nationalists to cross the caste barriers that were imposed on them by society, in the initial phase of the liberation struggle. Thus initially the nationalist activities were limited to the upper caste only and lower caste people were not encompassed in it. Some of these organizations had only the membership of upper caste people especially GSBs and Charados. For example, Pragatik Sangh had the membership of only GSBs and GCC had the membership of GSBs and Charados, both the upper castes from both the communities. NC(G) which had formed in 1946, had till mid 50s membership of mostly GSBs and Charados. It was only after 1954, it became an umbrella organization and encompassed all the communities and caste within its fold. Thus there was transcendence from primordial identity to a secular identity. But this was found to be very temporary, found only during the struggle and once the liberation of Goa was over, this primordial

⁷ Refer to Chapter III.

identity again returned back in the form of political parties in the first assembly elections and even in the social life of these nationalists after the liberation. But one thing should be admitted here is that there was more a transcendence of community identity and bonds and less a transcendence of caste in the Goan society. Thus the study shows that though Indian identities are constituted in caste and community terms in normal times, in extra ordinary times such as a liberation movement people are more easily able to transcend community and create a solidarity based on the ideology of decolonization but are less able to successfully transcend caste.⁸ This hold of caste is graphically illustrated by the following reflection of Mohan Ranade. It points to one of the least probed aspect of the liberation struggle. This episode took place when Mohan Ranade was hospitalized for having hurt during the liberation struggle.

‘She (the nurse) took me as a Desai, a Kshatriya. If she had known that I belonged to Brahmin caste she might have scolded the servant (who was taking care of Ranade) even more harshly. But if I had been Gavda or rather I had been on the lowest rung of the caste ladder...? The words of nurse, although full of sympathy, made me pensive. Would I have got opportunity of serving the country if I had been born, nursed, brought up in a Bhangi (scavenger) caste? Even if by chance a seed of patriotism had been sown in my mind had the caste society to grow? I might have to wage a liberation struggle against my countrymen first and than against the foreign domination’.⁹

This issue of transcendence and solidarity can be explained as follows. The Portuguese in Goa were responsible to convert native Hindu Goans to Catholicism, in the beginning of its rule. Thus they had created a community that, they thought, would always support their rule in the future. For Portuguese it was a blind belief that the talk of freedom, nationalism, etc. was the talk of the Hindus and that Catholics were not a part of it. Catholics, on the other hand, were considered to be pro-Portuguese. But it is interesting to note here that the first voice in terms of nationalism and freedom came from the Catholic community whom Portuguese had considered as their allies. Thus, Shri Francisco Luis Gomes, Shri. Luis de Menezes Braganza, Dr. T. B. Cunha,

⁸ Refer to Chapter- V.

⁹ Ranade, Mohan (1988), **Struggle Unfinished**, Goa: Vimal Publications, Ribander pp. 103, 104.

Shri. Juliao Menezes, Shri. Peter Alvares, Shri. Lambert Mascarenhas, Smt. Libia Lobo Sardesai and others who had liberal education, and were influenced by the liberal thought, raised their voice against the Portuguese colonialism in Goa and demanded the right to self-determination for Goans. They were proud in expressing their nationalist feelings openly through the speeches and in their writings that presented a great vision of a free Goa in a free India. Thus the idealism that Goa is an integral part of India, led to the affiliation of the GCC with the Indian National Congress, thus considering the Goa problem as an All-India problem. Further, it is also important to note that these Catholics were more liberal-minded nationalists than were Hindu nationalists. They always sought to take the help of Hindus in their efforts of fighting against the Portuguese rule. Take for example, the formation of *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* (1925, Portugal) by Catholics which sought the help of the members of *Pragatik Sangh*, who were Hindus, GCC included the members of *Pragatik Sangh* as its founding members.¹⁰ It was this community that was in the forefront of challenging Portuguese rule in Goa. Only they had a vision of integrating Hindus and Catholics in their common cause that is the liberation of Goa. It would rather not be wrong to say that factually it was this community, through the spirit of idealism, took the first step to transcend the identity of community for the common cause of Goa's liberation.

This idealism that was dominant in the liberation struggle of Goa, which transcended community, can best be seen in the lives of the team of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**. This team initially consisted of two Catholics and one Hindu, living in forest areas on the India-Goa border to voice Goa's liberation struggle through an underground radio.¹¹ The membership of the **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** team was soon reduced to two, with a young 25 years-old Brahmin Catholic girl and a Hindu GSB, who spent five years of their life in running and manning the radio station. Both were from the upper caste but of different communities. Both these nationalists, through **Voice Of Freedom**

¹⁰ Refer to Chapter- III.

¹¹ Refer to Chapter- VI.

Of Goa, were trying to link Goa and its liberation struggle to the struggle against colonialism around the world, thus building up within Goa a global imagination. The liberation struggle of Goa was not considered as a separate and independent struggle, limited only to India, since these nationalists, through their own ideological perceptiveness had a broader anti-colonial imagination. They considered the liberation struggle as a part of decolonization process that was taking place across the world. The people who had the privilege of listening to these broadcasts of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** were impressed to such an extent, that the Goan people especially women were influenced by the work of that young girl whose voice was heard all the time, in the absence of civil liberties inside Goa. They were even proud of her as being a Catholic girl. She spoke effectively against the Portuguese. However there is again a similar paradox found in this case. Though Goans were getting influenced by the news broadcasts of **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, we do not find a single instance of them, challenging the Portuguese rule on the basis of the revolts that rocked in some of the African colonies of Portugal. The people were just happy to listen to news, but not to translate that into action against Portuguese rule in Goa.

In this context, however, when we look at the position of the liberation struggle of Goa, especially the last phase of it, one finds a great paradox. It is true that INM had influenced Goan nationalists a lot. But rather, its impact was found more on their minds and hearts than that on their activities. The movement for liberation of Goa was not a continuous movement, but just 'a burst of activities'.¹² Look at the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, itself. Though this movement can be considered as the beginning of the practice of satyagraha and non-violence in Goa, which was led and guided by Indian socialist leader Dr. R. M. Lohia, it subsided just after six months from its beginning. Similar was the case with the movement for liberation (15th August 1954 to 15th August 1955). Though this was a continuous movement for about a period of one year, one finds a lot of ups and downs within the movement itself. For example, 15th

¹² Refer to Chapter- II.

August 1954 mass satyagraha which was converted to group satyagraha, led to the frustration of Goan nationalists. The 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha was a great setback to the entire movement due to its abrupt termination. Besides, this the movement had no background of constructive work¹³ that was carried out by the Indian leaders during INM, like spinning and weaving of Khadi, preaching of the importance of satyagraha and non-violence, working for the unity of different sections of people, etc. the gaps in the liberation struggle of Goa should have been used by the nationalist to carry out the constructive work, only then it could be called as a continuous movement as had happened in India during INM. Due to the absence of this constructive work, the movement for liberation did not sustain for a long period of time, but only led to the burst of activities, which had its impact for a brief period of time.

The role of the Indian government in the liberation struggle of Goa, was also a paradox. Especially Pandit Nehru considered Goan issue a simple affair, but did nothing serious to solve this problem from the viewpoint of the larger aspect of the INM. At times he even placed obstacles to Indians practicing satyagraha in the cause of Goa's liberation by putting ban on the Indian satyagrahis to enter into the Goan territory. This policy of Pandit Nehru had strengthened the hands of the Portuguese government who for about thirteen years cling on to the territory of Goa after India's Independence. Goa was first to be colonized in India and last to be decolonised.

As I have mentioned earlier that a lot of material to this work came from the interviews of the freedom fighters. I must admit here that I wanted to look at this movement in the beginning through the subaltern point of view. But due to the lack of material on this perceptive in the liberation struggle, it was not possible for me to call it as a subaltern movement.

The preceding has shown that liberation of Goa belongs to the larger aspect of decolonization. It also shows that liberation struggle was linked in an organic sense to Indian National Movement which provided ideological inspiration for the struggle for

¹³ Kumarappa, J. C., 'Goencho Satyagraha', in *Meerg*, dated 1st November 1955.

the liberation movement. While the history of this period shows that some heroic activities were undertaken by Goan nationalists to bring about the end of Portuguese colonialism such as women's and **Voice Of Freedom of Goa**. It also shows that the social structure of Goan society of community and caste refracted the idealism of these freedom fighters. The study shows that the fascist nature of Portuguese colonialism place considerable constraints on movement, which were not there in the Indian National Movement, but this did not deter the Goan nationalists from working towards their belief of free Goa in free India.

GLOSSARY OF NAMES

AB	Abhinav Bharat.
ABGSSSS	Akhil Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sangram Sainik Sangh.
AG	Abhinav Gomantak.
AGD	Azad Gomantak Dal.
AHF	Azad Hind Fauj.
BS	Bahujan Samaj.
CNI	Centru Nacionalist Indianu.
GAC	Goa Action Committee.
GC	Gomantak Congress.
GCC	Goa Congress Committee.
GLA	Goa Liberation Army.
GLC	Goa Liberation Council.
GNC	Goa National Congress.
GPC	Goan Political Convention.
GPP	Goa Peoples' Party.
GSB	Gaud Saraswat Brahmin.
GSS	Goa Seva Sangh.
GVSS	Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti.
INA	Indian National Army.
INC	Indian National Congress.
INM	Indian National Movement.
NC(G)	National Congress (Goa).
PNH	Patria Nacionalist Hindu.
PS	Pragatik Sangh.
QGO	Quit Goa Organization.
RP	Rancor Patriotica.
RSD	Rashtra Seva Dal.
SU	Students' Union.
THS	Tarun Hind Sangh.
UFG	United Front Of Goans.
VS	Vidyarthi Sangh.

QUESTIONNAIRE

- (1) Tell us about your memories of the liberation movement. What was your role in it?
- (2) What were the reasons for your involvement in the liberation struggle? Were you motivated by values, events, or personalities or by all three?
- (3) Which events do you consider as having significance for the development of the liberation struggle?
- (4) Who were the individuals who played an important role in the liberation struggle? Why they were important? Who gave the leadership?
- (5) Which were the organizations that played a significant part in the liberation movement? Why do you say so?
- (6) How do you view the question of overseas province on one hand, the Portuguese position and the colony on the other hand?
- (7) How do you see the value of the strategy of satyagraha and non-violence in the liberation struggle?
- (8) How do you see the strategy of violent resistance of the Azad Gomantak Dal in the liberation struggle?
- (9) What was the role of Dr. R. M. Lohia?
- (10) What was the role of Pandit Nehru?
- (11) Many people say that we must look at the participation of different communities, jatis and professional groups in the liberation struggle. What are your views on this?
- (12) According to you in what way did the case of Dadra and Nagar Haveli influence the liberation struggle?
- (13) What was the influence of the Indian National Movement?
- (14) Did the economic blockade affect Goa? In what way?
- (15) How did the international situation influence the struggle?

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

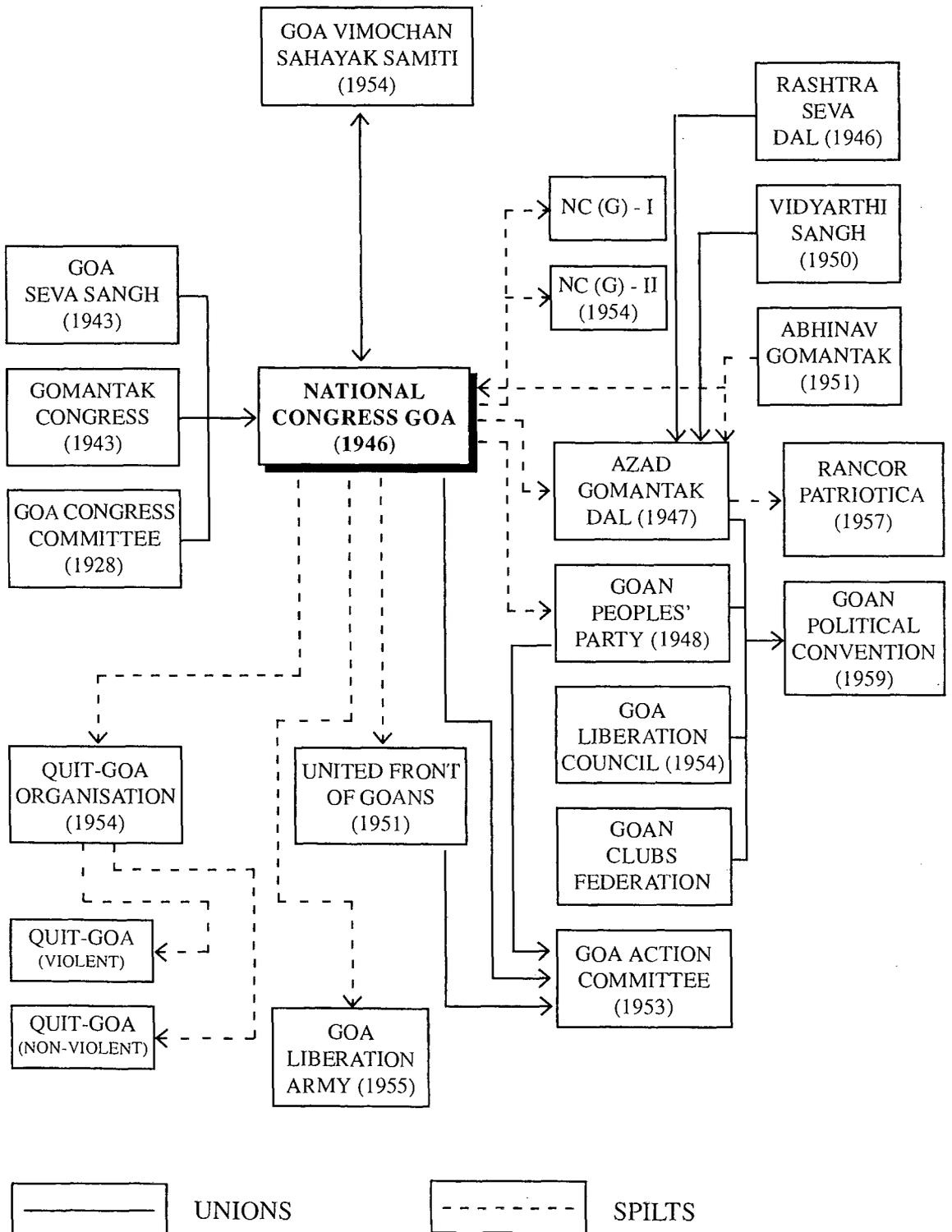
- (1) 18th June 1946- Campaign for civil liberties initiated by Dr. R. M. Lohia.
- (2) 18th October 1946- The first ever satyagraha in Goa, organized by NC(G).
- (3) 17th February 1954- Arrest of Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde.
- (4) 22nd July 1954- Liberation of Dadra by United Front Of Goans.
- (5) 10th August 1954- Liberation of Nagar Haveli.
- (6) 15th August 1954- Organization of Mass satyagraha by NC(G).
- (7) 15th August 1955- Organisation of Mass satyagraha by GVSS.
- (8) 16th September 1954- Celebration of Terekhol Day.
- (9) 25th November 1954- Celebrated by Goan nationalists as 'Black Day'.
(The Day of Reconquest.)
- (10) 17th February 1955- Organization of 'Gaitonde Day' by NC(G).
- (11) 12th April 1960- Portugal was defeated in the Hague Court.
- (12) 1st November 1961- Portuguese troops fire on Indian passenger vessel on Anjadiv Island.
- (13) 24th November 1961- Portuguese troops fire on Indian shipping boat at Anjadiv Island.
- (14) 18th December 1961- Indian troops advance into Goa, Daman and Diu.
- (15) 19th December 1961- Goa was liberated by 'Operation Vijay'.

ORGANIZATIONS LISTING

- (1) Pragatik Sangh- 1920.
- (2) Centru Nacionalist Indianu- 1925.
- (3) Goa Congress Committee- 1928.
- (4) Tarun Hind Sangh- 1937.
- (5) Goa Seva Sangh- 1943.
- (6) Gomantak Congress- 1943.
- (7) Students' Union- 1944.
- (8) National Congress (Goa)- 1946.
- (9) Goan Youth League- 1947.
- (10) Azad Gomantak Dal- 1947.
- (11) Goan Peoples' Party- 1949.
- (12) United Front Of Goans- 1950.
- (13) Goan National Union- 1953.
- (14) Freedom Of Organization- 1953.
- (15) Goa Action Committee- 1953.
- (16) Goan Students Association- 1954.
- (17) Quit- Goa Organization- 1954.
- (18) Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti- 1954.
- (19) Goan Revolution Army- 1955.
- (20) Goa Liberation Army- 1955.
- (21) Goan Political Convention - 1959.



ORGANIZATIONAL UNIONS AND SPLITS



LIST OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS INTERVIEWED

- Armando Pereira. (AGD) (August 2000)
- Chandrakant Kenkre. (NCG) (November 1996)
- Damodar Prabhu Desai. (NCG)
- Dayanand Kantak. (NCG) (October 1997)
- Diago J. F. Gomes. (NCG) (November 1998)
- Edila Gaitonde. (1997)
- Felix Cardozo. (NCG) (October 1999)
- Flavian Dias. (NCG) (November 1999)
- Gajanan Raikar. (AGD, NCG) (November 1998)
- Gopal Prabhu. (NCG) (1998)
- Gurunath Kelekar. (NCG) (1999)
- Heerabai Prabhu Desai. (NCG) (2000)
- Jaikrisna Shirodkar. (NCG) (November 1996)
- Jaisingrao A. Rane. (NCG) (October 1996)
- Jaisingrao V. Rane. (GLA) (October 1997)
- Adv. Joaquim Dias. (GYL) (October 2001)
- Dr. Jose Martins. (NCG) (November 2000)
- Jyoti Deshpande. (NCG) (1999)
- Krishnarao Rane. (GLA) (October 1997)
- Kumudini Kawalekar. (NCG) (May 1998).
- Lalita Kantak (NCG) (October 1999)
- Lambert Mascarenhas. (UFG) (November 1999)
- Libia Lobo Sardesai. (May 2000).
- Madhav Bir (NCG) (July 1997)
- Dr. Madhav Naik. (NCG) (May 1999)
- Madhav Pandit. (NCG) (October 1997)
- Madhukar Desai. (AGD) (May 1998)
- Manohar Prabhu Desai. (NCG) (October 2000)
- Manohar Parkar. (NCG) (May 1996).
- Murlidhar Rane. (NCG) (October 2000)
- Nagesh Karamali. (NCG) (November 1997)

- Narayan Desai. (May 1997)
- Narayan H. Naik. (AGD) (December 1999)
- Narayan Palekar (GPP) (October 1997)
- Narendra Hegde Desai. (NCG) (June 1996)
- Dr. Pandurang Kamat. (NCG) (June 1999)
- Prabhakar Ghodge. (NCG) (October 1997, December 1999)
- Prabhakar Vaidya. (AGD) ((May 1998)
- Prabhakar Sinari. (AGD, RP) (October 1998, July 1999)
- Rajani Naik. (AGD) (June 1998)
- Rajanikant Mahatme. (NCG) (October 1998).
- Rambhau Kakodkar (NCG) (May 2000)
- Rameshwar Langekar. (NCG) (October 1999).
- Ravindra Kelekar. (NCG) (October 1999, November 2000)
- Ravindra Raiturkar. (NCG) (October 1998)
- Ravindra Sirsat. (NCG) (October 1999)
- Rock Santana Fernandes. (AGD) (October 1998)
- Ronaldo Coutinho. (NCG) (December 2001)
- Shamrao Madkaikar. (THS, Communist) (May 1996).
- Sharad Gude. (NCG) (October 1997)
- Sharada Savoikar. (NCG) (October 1999).
- Shashikala Almeida/ Hodarkar. (NCG)
- Shivaji Desai. (GLA) (October 1999).
- Shivaji Kudchadkar. (NCG) (May 1996)
- Shobha Prabhu Desai. (NCG) (October 1999)
- Shridhar Prabhu Desai. (NCG) (October 1998).
- Shripad Tamba. (NCG) (October 1997).
- Sulochana Katkar. (November 2000)
- Suniti Divkar. (NCG) (October 1996).
- Suryakanti Fal Desai. (NCG) (October 1998).
- Urselino Almeida. (GLA) (May 1999)
- Vasant Karapurkar. (NCG) (GLA) (October 1996).
- Vasant Malye. (NCG, GLA) (October 1999).
- Verissimo Coutinho. (Students Union) (October 2001).
- Dr. Vinayak Mayekar. (NCG) (October 1998).
- Vishwanath Lawande. (AGD) (June 1996).

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