TRISTAO DE BRAGANZA-CUNHA (1891-1958)

AND THE RISE OF

NATIONALIST CONSCIOUSNESS IN GOA

A Thesis Submitted to
GOA UNIVERSITY
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CERTIFICATE

As required under the University Ordinance No 0.19, I certify that the thesis titled *Tristao de Braganza-Cunha (1891-1958) and the Rise of Nationalist Consciousness in Goa* submitted by Nishtha Tombat for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, is a record of research work done by the candidate during the period of study under my guidance. It has not previously formed the basis for the award to the candidate of any Degree, Diploma, Associationship, Fellowship or other similar titles. I state that the study on Braganza-Cunha's contribution to the emergence of nationalist consciousness in Goa, embodied in this thesis, represents independent work on the part of the candidate.

27.02.95

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STATEMENT

I state that the work embodied in this thesis on the role of Tristao de Braganza-Cunha in the emergence of nationalist consciousness in Goa has been carried out under the guidance of Dr William R da Silva and represents an original contribution to the existing field of political sociology.

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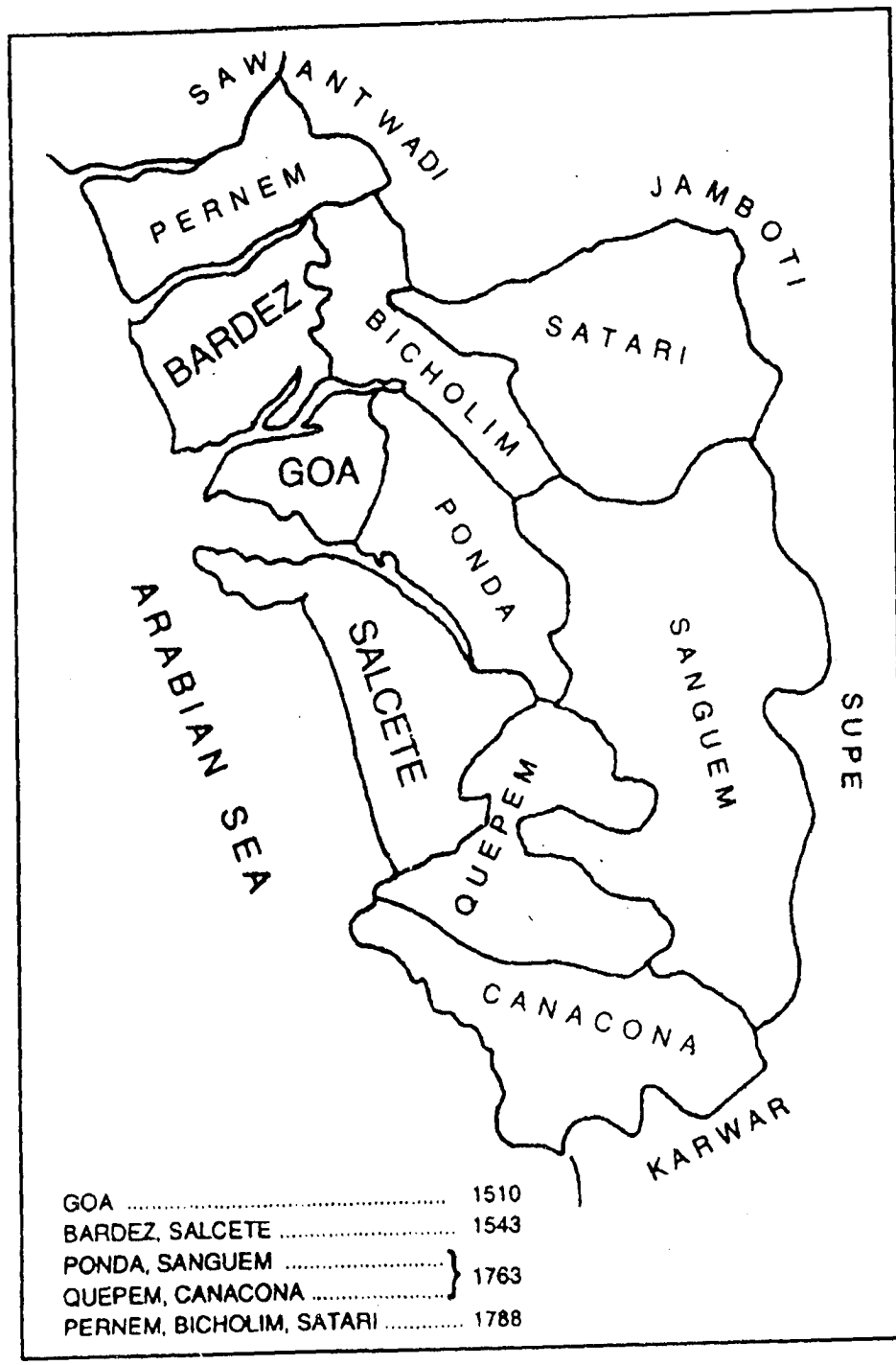
This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Pappa, whose belief in me continues to be a source of strength.

The Old and New Conquests



CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the socio-historical process of the development of nationalist consciousness in Goa and seeks to understand the role of Tristao de Braganza-Cunha (1891-1958),[1] popularly acknowledged as the *Father of Goan Nationalism*, in this process.

Undoubtedly, Goa is today considered a part of India. However, reputed studies of Indian nationalism fail to examine or even to make a mention of nationalism in Goa or any of the other pockets of India earlier subject to the rule of imperialist powers other than Great Britain. I consider this an omission because the manner in which nationalism developed in these territories is distinctive and cannot be understood as part of the general process of nationalism that developed in the rest of the sub-continent.

This process was tardy and tortuous, corroborated by the fact that although the colonization of India began with the Portuguese, they were the last of the European colonisers to depart.[2]

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[1]Subsequently referred to as Braganza-Cunha.

[2]The Portuguese captured the island of Goa as early as 25 November 1510, even *before* Babar, founder of the Mughal dynasty, conquered Delhi on 21 April 1526. They were driven out by the Indian Army only in 1961, 450 years later. In contrast, the British annexation of India began as late as 1757, after their victory in the Battle of Plassey, and ended within 200 years, in 1947. Thus the combined period of rule of the Mughal empire, the Maratha Empire and the British empire over the rest of India is shorter than the period of Portuguese rule over parts of Goa.

Nationalism in Goa and the nature of Braganza Cunha's nationalist discourse -- which although born out of his programmatic response to the prevailing socio-political situation, represents the only cogent discourse of nationalism in Goa -- are the issues discussed in this work. At the outset it is appropriate to start with the discussion on the discourse of 'nationalism', as it is central to the thesis.

Nationalism - A Problematic Discourse

The process of the emergence and disintegration of nations throughout the world in recent times is becoming increasingly complex and has given rise to various interpretations of nationalism. On account of this, there is no universally acceptable definition of nationalism, while there is consensus among a large cross section of thinkers that nationalism is a problematic discourse.[3]

Nationalism emerged in the west in the eighteenth century and, as has been pointed out by Louis Synder, was characterized by the following factors:

* It was against the medieval policy of the Church and the State.
* It was opposed to the divine rights of the monarchy.
* It reflected the desire of Europeans to be governed by their own kind.
* It denounced the historical structure of the privileged classes.
* The movements implied a common cultural heritage [Synder 1968].

By the nineteenth century the 'Triumph of Nationality' had been achieved and around a dozen nation states created [Davies 1968:482].

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[3]Homi Bhabha has referred to the nation as 'one of the major structures of ideological ambivalence within the cultural representation of modernity' [1990:4].

The nationalist struggles that emerged in the non-western world in the twentieth century were markedly different from the earlier nationalist struggles, as they were directed towards ending colonial domination.

Probably because they emerged from the west, many of the earlier discourses of nationalism distinctly displayed what Anthony Smith calls a 'Eurocentric' standpoint while looking upon these latter anti-colonial struggles [Smith 1983:xi]. Such discourses tended to view the developed western world as superior to the non-western world and made little or no attempt to understand the aspirations of those who participated in these movements.[4]

Nationalist movements which emerged in response to colonialism belong to the history of the greater part of the world. In recognition of this fact, in the last two decades the understanding of nationalism has advanced considerably and there has been a conscious attempt to transcend the Eurocentric bias that marked earlier discourses of nationalism. I have in mind particularly the discourses of Hugh Seton-Watson, Benedict Anderson, E J Hobsbawm and Paul Brass. The discussion of nationalism in Goa has been informed by these and other scholars.

As compared to the earlier classifications of 'western' and 'non-western' or 'eastern' nationalisms, and 'good' and 'evil' nationalisms, Seton-Watson has attempted a more neutral classification, differentiating between 'old' and 'new' nations; the 'new nations' being the nations that were formed from 1789 onwards

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[4]A cogent example of such discourse is to be found in Hans Kohn. Differentiating between 'western' nationalism and 'non western nationalism', he asserts that while western nationalism was born out of the spirit of the enlightenment, and was rational and cosmopolitan; non western nationalism was the response of a closed authoritarian society to outside influences, and was based on glorification of the past [Synder 1968:53].

[1977]. According to him, the basic difference between the 'old' and 'new' nations was that at the time of the formation of the old nations, no concept of 'nation' or 'national consciousness' existed and the leaders had no idea that they were involved in the creation of nations; whereas in the case of the new nations, the leaders were consciously engaged in nation formation. In both cases 'small, educated political elites' played a vital role.

Seton-Watson's attempt at unbiased objectivity is conscious, as is evident from his contention that: 'Most definitions have in fact been designed to prove that, in contrast to the community to which the definer belonged, some other group was not entitled to be called a nation' [1977:4][5]. In spite of this, his analysis of nationalist movements in India and China bears traces of a western bias. In the case of both of these countries, he contends that 'modern national movements' were superimposed on 'ancient civilizations' [1977:9].

This bias becomes more evident in his analysis of communal disharmony in India; he virtually absolves the British of any responsibility in its creation [1977:290-293] and attributes M K Gandhi to be the cause of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, with no mention of the role played by the British in it [1977:294]. This is illustrative of the fact that the task of creating an 'objective' discourse of nationalism is problematic.

Perhaps a problem in the reverse is the suspicion with which non-western

[5]According to Seton-Watson, even the best known definition provided by Joseph Stalin -- that a nation must necessarily have the four characteristics of a common language, common territory, a common economic life and a common mental make up -- arose out of the polemic against the Jewish socialist movement, the Bund, to prove that the Jewish were not a nation [1997:5].

scholars view scholars from the west. Partha Chatterjee has started his recent treatise on nationalism with a chapter titled 'Whose Imagined Community?'[6] which contains a brief critique of Anderson's formulation of the nation as an imagined community [1994]. He questions Anderson's assertion that nationalisms in other parts of the world had to choose their imagined community from certain models posed by Europe and the Americas, asking if that is the case '(W)hat do they have left to imagine?' According to him, going by this logic, 'Even our imaginations must remain forever colonized' [1994:5].

However, it is incorrect to imply that Anderson's discourse of nationalism is dominated by a notion of western superiority. While Anderson's view of the nations that emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century, as being 'modular' and 'capable of being transplanted' in other regions [1983:4] can be taken as an indication of his western bias, this view does not dominate his discourse and does not represent its central content. For example, he also asserts: 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness but by the style in which they are imagined' [1983:6]. Moreover, he does not view nationalism's origins in the political contest for power (see Footnote 6) but conceives of the nation as a 'cultural artefact' to be understood by aligning it to the cultural system which preceded it [1983:12].

His conception of the nation is that of an 'imagined community' whose

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[6]See Chatterjee, Partha, *The Nation and its Fragments - Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, 1994, in which he asserts that 'nationalism's autobiography is fundamentally flawed' [7] because it tries to trace its origins to the contesting of the political power of the colonial rule, whereas nationalism created its own domain of sovereignty in spiritual matters before the contest of power began.

meaning changes over time. While accepting that nationalism is created, he gives credence to the fact that for the people concerned, the feeling of communion and the image of the nation which they share is genuine.

Seton-Watson and Anderson give us important insights into different modes of nationalism but, most importantly, they demonstrate that the subjective feeling of nationalism cannot be reduced to a rigid set of objective factors.[7] On the other hand, Paul Brass has highlighted the role of elites in the process of the formation of national identity. He succinctly shows that although different cultural practices exist among people, the nationalist imagining would not be possible unless the cultural values of the people were transformed into political resources by elites who articulated the nationalist idea [1991:15]. According to him, the basic dynamic of nationalism is elite competition [1991:13].

Hobsbawm endorses Ernest Gellner's[8] use of the term nation to be 'primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent' [1992:9]. His discourse of nationalism has assumed importance in recent times as he seeks to provide insights into the process by which the idea of the nation gained popular support, although it was created from 'above' [1992:10-12]. But his approach towards the anti-imperialist movements that arose in the non-western world reflects a definite cynicism about their veracity as nationalist

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[7]Seton-Watson's statement: 'All I can say is that a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to be a nation, or behave as if they formed one' [1977:5], is echoed in the definition of the nation proposed by Anderson: 'It is an imagined community -- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' [1983:6].

[8]Gellner defines nationalism as a 'very distinctive species of patriotism, and one which becomes pervasive and dominant only under certain social conditions, which in fact prevail in the modern world, and nowhere else' [1983:138]. He stresses the temporality of nationalism and points to cultural homogeneity as an important factor in defining the boundaries of the nation..

movements.

First of all, he speculates whether these movements, although influenced by western nationalist ideology, should be called nationalist [1992:105]. According to him the nationalists at the helm of these movements were only called nationalists because they adopted a western ideology excellently suited to the overthrow of foreign governments [1992:137]; he further states that they usually consisted of an 'exiguous minority of indigenous *evolues*' [1992:137 emphasis added].[9]

He sees anti-imperialist movements as fitting into one of three categories: (i) those led by 'local educated elites imitating European "national self determination" (as in India)', (ii) those motivated by popular anti-western 'xenophobia' as in China, and (iii) those spurred on by the 'natural high spirits' of the martial tribes, as in Morocco [1992:151].

This formulation has certain limitations: Firstly, it gives the impression of inhabitants of the non-western world as being incapable of rational action, or even action that is motivated by the desire to protect their own interests. Secondly, as per Gellner's definition, adopted by Hobsbawm, the anti-imperialist movements were nationalist; in that they were guided by the principle that the political and national unit should be congruent. It is generally accepted that most territorial units for which anti-imperialist movements sought to gain independence were the 'actual creations of imperial conquest' [1992:137], and often had no

[9]Evolue has been defined in the *Chambers Dictionary* as 'a member of a primitive group of people who has been educated to the standards of a more advanced civilization' [Kirkpatrick 1983:437]. In the usage of this term with reference to nationalists of the non western world, a western bias is evident. It would seem more appropriate if Chatterjee's criticism of Anderson was directed at Hobsbawm!

proto-national roots. However, these frontiers became identified by the inhabitants of the territorial units as the political nation which had to be freed of colonial domination. Thirdly, Hobsbawm has failed to look at these movements with the perspective which he himself had defined as desirable, that is 'from below', understanding the aspirations of the people who participated in these movements [1992:10]. Notwithstanding this critique, Hobsbawm offers valuable insights into the development of nationalism, through his discourse.

He concedes that while nations are not 'natural' and involve a certain element of artefact, invention and 'social engineering', they arise in the context of a particular stage of technological and economic development. He thus provides a methodology that takes into account objective and subjective factors, without being reductionist or subjective.[10]

Moreover, in order to understand nationalism from the point of view of the aspirations of the people, he gives importance to three factors: Firstly, he states that official ideologies of states or movements cannot give any indication of what is in the minds of the people -- not even in the case of its most loyal citizens or supporters. Secondly, national identification is not necessarily superior to the remaining set of identifications which constitute the social being. Thirdly, national identification can change and shift even in short periods of time. These factors have been borne in mind while discussing the development of nationalism in Goa.

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[10]This approach is discernible in Anderson, in his discussion of the role of the state, print capitalism and other factors in giving rise to the nationalist imagining, but tends to get overshadowed by the importance he gives to subjective factors.

The Peculiarities of Nationalism in Goa

In Goa, earlier government policies used a variety of measures to prevent any opposition to their rule. These measures ranged from extreme forms of repression and a denial of basic civil rights to Hindus, to the policy of assimilation. Using the factors of language and religion and the distribution of employment opportunities and official positions of prestige, a collaborationist elite had been formed whose interests lay in the continuance of colonial domination.

As a result of the constitutional monarchy established in Portugal in 1822, provision was made for the representation of Goa in the *Cortes* (the Portuguese Assembly). This gave an opportunity to the Christian elite of Goa to take part in public life. Pertinently, it also gave rise to the stirrings of nationalism among particular individuals, who questioned government policies that were detrimental to the interests of the groups that they represented.[11]

A more far reaching change was brought about in the political climate in Goa on account of the Republican rule established in Portugal in 1910, when the monarchy was abolished. The liberal conditions were favorable for the growth of the nationalist idea among a section of the elite. On account of this, beginnings were made by a section of the indigenous elite to contest the power of the 'external elite'. However, the effectiveness of these forces was limited by various circumstances such as the subjective state of mind of a section of the people or the objective fact of state repression as discussed in Chapter 4.

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[11] See the discussion on Bernardo Peres da Silva, elected to the *Cortes* in 1833 and Francisco Luis Gomes, elected in 1860, in the section on *The Genesis of the Nationalist Idea* in Chapter 3.

Nationalism in Goa is distinct from the general process of nationalism in India because of the nature of Portuguese colonialism, which differed considerably from British colonial rule over the sub-continent.

As it had no proto-national roots[12], the frontiers of 'Goa' can be said to have been defined by the Portuguese. Portuguese colonial rule was different from British colonial rule because of its policy of 'official nationalism'[13], which was evident in the attempt at bringing about an identification among the colonized people with Portugal, as Portuguese citizens, through the process of *lusitanisation*.[14]

While the British attempted to create a class of people who were British in their 'manners, morals and intellect', the Portuguese in their lusitanisation process attempted to imbue the people with a new language, a new religious belief, a change in the diet and in the manner of dress, especially in the 'Old Conquests' of Goa (areas annexed by the Portuguese between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries). This led to a profound mental miscegenation and reflected an attempt

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[12]According to Hobsbawm, the most decisive criterion of proto-nationalism is the consciousness of belonging to a lasting political entity, which he terms 'the historical nation' [1992:73]. By and large he contends that proto-national identifications in the western nations helped to strengthen nationalist movements, whereas they served to create divisions among the people in the anti-imperial movements in the colonies, which were not historical nations, but 'the creations of imperial conquest' [137].

[13]The term 'official nationalism' has been used by Benedict Anderson to refer to the process of nationalism which emanates from the state and which serves the interests of the state [1989:159]. The official nationalisms tried to stretch 'the short tight skin of the nation over the gigantic body of the empire' [86]. Through the process of lusitanisation the Portuguese attempted to make their colonial subjects identify Portugal as their motherland.

[14]This term is derived from 'Lusitania', the Roman name for the western part of the Iberian Peninsula, roughly made up of Portugal and Estramadura [*New Age Encyclopedia*, 1982:Vol 11:137].

to imbue the people with the consciousness that they were Portuguese.[15]

Smith, while examining Portuguese colonialism in Africa, contrasts the 'static kind of paternal system' it favored to the 'educational ideology' of the British [1983:29], a description that can well be applied to the Portuguese colonial rule over Goa.

The Portuguese did not initiate any industry in Goa, unlike the British in India. Consequently, till the mid-twentieth century there was no evidence of a rising industrial bourgeois class; local enterprise being mainly restricted to trading. Official education was confined to a minuscule Christian elite, which had been quite successfully lusitanised by the Portuguese. Hindus were denied access to Portuguese education till 1910. These factors delayed the formation of an elite committed to Goa's independence from Portugal.

The nationalist response that emerged in Goa was not homogenous. This is because the educated elites were divided in their response to Portuguese rule. Even the opponents of Portuguese rule did not share a common image of liberated Goa. A section wished to protect 'Goan identity' and sought to create an independent Goa, autonomous of India, whereas the more dominant section wished to bring about the 're-integration' of Goa with India. But one of the reasons which curtailed the popularity of this demand was that in the course of the long tenure of colonial rule a feeling of being distinct from other Indians had developed among a section of Goans, compounded by the fact that there was no primordial affinity binding the people of Goa to the neighboring regions.

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[15]This has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Another position taken by a section of the elite was that Goa was a part of Portugal.

The roots of the plurality of these nationalist imaginings is to be found in the policies of the Portuguese, which were at times discriminatory and at other times favorable to different sections of the educated elite.

This necessarily affected the nature of nationalism in Goa and explains the delay in the development of nationalist consciousness in Goa.[16]

The Concept of Goan Nationalism

As such, when references are made to 'Goan nationalism', as in the case of the reference to Braganza-Cunha as the *Father of Goan Nationalism*, the struggle for Goa's re-integration with India is implied. However, it is to be noted that in referring to the struggle for independence in the rest of the sub-continent, it would be out of place to talk of 'Telugu nationalism' or 'Punjabi nationalism'. But I would like to show that the use of this term is not accidental and has entered our language owing to certain circumstances. A brief glimpse at history will help in understanding the genesis of the concept of Goan nationalism.

British colonial rule over the rest of India began in 1757, by which time parts of Goa had been under Portuguese colonial rule for over two centuries. In 1885, the Indian National Congress (INC) was founded in British India by a Britisher, A O Hume. There is much controversy regarding the origins and the intent of

[16] For a fuller discussion on nationalism in Goa, see Chapter 3.

the INC.[17] Whatever the truth behind the formation of the Congress may be, the fact is that it became the leading organization of the Indian nationalist movement and continued to dominate the political mainstream even after India attained independence from the British.

In Goa, there were sporadic uprisings against the Portuguese, such as the Conspiracy of the Pintos in 1787 and the revolts of the Ranes at various intervals from 1852 onwards, but no enduring organization emerged till the end of the second decade of the twentieth century.

In 1928, Braganza-Cunha established the Goa Congress Committee (GCC). This was affiliated to the INC at its Calcutta session in the same year.

The affiliation of the GCC to the INC represented the effort of the nationalists in Goa to link the struggle of the people of Goa with the Indian nationalist struggle. This could have been a turning point in the history of the nationalist movement in Goa and could have served as a means for Goans to express their solidarity with India's nationalist struggle and vice versa.

However, in 1934, the Congress adopted a new constitution which made no provision for the affiliation of Congress committees outside British India.[18]

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[17]According to the standpoint of Lala Lajpatrai and other extremists, it was created in keeping with the British governmental policy to safeguard its regime against the rising forces of popular unrest. This *safety-valve* theory found articulation in R P Dutt's *India Today* [1947] and is broadly accepted by the Indian left. Bipin Chandra has challenged this thesis, attempting to show how Indian leaders of the Congress hoped to use Hume as a 'lightning conductor' to generate a political awakening in India [1991:81].

[18]The Congress Working Committee meeting in Bombay held in June 1934 approved of the new constitution, which provided for the formation of Provincial Congress Committees and spelt out the provinces concerned [Zaidi 1980:400]. At a meeting of the Congress Working Committee held at Wardha in July 1935, a resolution was passed stating: 'The Congress has not other power under existing circumstances, although the people of India, whether under the British, the Princes or any other power are geographically and historically one and indivisible . . . In the heat of the controversy, the limitation of the Congress is often forgotten. Indeed, any other policy will defeat the common purpose' [Sitaramayya 1946: 605,606].

Consequently, the GCC was derecognized. This act of derecognition by the INC further contributed to distinguishing the position of Goa from the rest of India.

The long history of Portuguese rule over Goa -- during the course of which it had effected a profound cultural and religious penetration -- had already resulted in distinguishing the position of Goa from the rest of India. But a distinguishing blow was delivered at the hands of the INC, when it frustrated the attempts of nationalists in Goa to forge a link with the Indian national movement.

Consequently, the concept of 'Goan nationalism' originated on account of Goa being under the hegemony of Portuguese colonialism, which was distinct from British colonial rule over the rest of the sub-continent. But Indian nationalism as represented by the INC (and, after 1947, the Indian government) aided in the edification of this concept.

Scholars, in failing to acknowledge nationalism in Goa as a distinctive part of the process of Indian nationalism have helped to reify this concept even further.

The guiding objective of the dominant trend in Goa's anti-colonial struggle was not the creation of Goa as a nation-state, but its integration with what was considered the mother nation, India. Most of the proponents of Goa's freedom, including Braganza-Cunha, considered themselves as Indian nationalists. They were vehemently opposed to those who conceived of an independent Goa, autonomous of India. Consequently, I prefer to use the term 'nationalism in Goa' although it is a more cumbersome term than 'Goan nationalism'. Similarly I have referred to the struggle in Goa as a 'freedom struggle' or 'the nationalist

struggle in Goa' rather than the 'Goan nationalist struggle'. The proponents of the freedom struggle have been referred to as freedom fighters or as nationalists of Goa, and not as Goan nationalists.

These are conscious usages which I hope will compel future discourses of Indian nationalism to consider under their scope the development of nationalism in Goa and other pockets of India which were ruled by imperialist powers other than Britain.

Approach to Understanding the Nationalist Discourse of Braganza-Cunha

Braganza Cunha's nationalist discourse emerged as a result of his response to the socio-political events of the time. The cogency of his discourse rests on the fact that in attempting to create a programme of action for Goa's freedom, he presents a definite view of the history of Goa and attempts to understand the situation in Goa, examining the economic and socio-political conditions of the time.

Chatterjee's study of the intellectual modes of nationalist thought [1986], particularly his depiction of 'the world conquering western thought' and the response of Indian nationalists confronted by it, contains certain important insights. His attempt at establishing the 'autonomy' of discourse and his refusal to judge nationalist discourse from a western standpoint make his methodology particularly relevant for the purposes of this study.

Various aspects of Braganza Cunha's nationalist thought have been examined.

Special attention has been paid to his thesis, *The Denationalization of Goans*, in which his perception of colonialism as a social and cultural as well as a political and economic phenomenon has been highlighted. 'Denationalisation' as conceived of by Braganza-Cunha referred to the socio-cultural process by which Goans had lost a sense of their Indianness and had become mentally enslaved to the Portuguese.

The analysis of Braganza Cunha's thought has been informed by Chatterjee's formulation that nationalist thought is not a simple derivative from modern western thought. It is selective of what it takes from the west and results in the creation of a discourse that is different [1986]. It has been pointed out that while Braganza Cunha's analysis of the world economic situation was informed by Lenin's thesis of imperialism, he did not endorse the Marxist methods of revolution. Instead, the methods he advocated for Goa's freedom were influenced by Gandhi, while his aim was to recover Goa's 'Indian' past and to 'restore' Goa to India. Thus, I have attempted to show that his discourse was heterogenous in nature.

The view of his discourse being heterogenous has been influenced by Sudipta Kaviraj's characterization of the discourse of M N Roy as being heteronomous [Pantham 1986]. Kaviraj arrives at this characterization by dividing nationalist thought into two general responses of affirmation and negation with reference to colonialism and the nationalists' own culture.

He argues that while Roy was uncompromisingly anti-colonial in his politics, both in his earlier conception of proletarian revolution and in his later

formulation of 'radical humanism' he was influenced by the west. Consequently, a response of affirmation of western intellectual modes of thinking is discernable, resulting in the heteronomy of his discourse.

The discourse of Braganza-Cunha was derived in part from the west, but in his mode of thought shades of affirmation and negation of Indian culture and western thought are discernable. Rather than transpose western culture on Goa, his concern was with recovering Goa's 'Indian' cultural heritage. He thus sought to *create* a history for Goa in order to justify her integration with the Indian nation, which was necessarily based on an affirmation of indigenous traditions. However, in his analysis of the global conditions prevailing, he was influenced by Lenin, indicating an affirmation of a western intellectual mode of thought.

Thus, diverse trends of thought are discernable in his formulations, without the logic of a particular mode of thought dominating his discourse. In his writings, traces of Leninist thought, the Gandhian concepts of *satyagraha* and non-violence, and western notions of rationality and freedom are assembled to form a different discourse with its own logic.

A Note on Sources

All available writings of Braganza-Cunha have been examined. Primary sources such as newspaper reports, journals and first hand accounts of the freedom struggle were consulted, in addition to numerous secondary sources.

Interviews were conducted with surviving participants of the freedom struggle, some of whom had interacted with Braganza-Cunha in the course of the struggle.

and of people who were personally acquainted with him during his lifetime. These interviews have given me valuable insights into the peculiarities of the nationalist struggle in Goa and the role played by Braganza-Cunha in this struggle.

I am aware that in examining the nature of nationalism in Goa from a sociological point of view and in attempting to evaluate the role played by Braganza-Cunha in this process, I am treading on unexplored territory. This work does not pose to present a complete understanding of nationalism in Goa. On the contrary, it aspires to pave the way for a richer understanding of nationalism in Goa.

CHAPTER TWO

An Overview of Portuguese Rule over Goa

In the first two-and-a-half centuries of their rule over Goa, the Portuguese made determined efforts to transplant their culture in the territory they had colonized. In this chapter, I have briefly examined the nature of Portuguese rule over Goa[1], as a particular form of domination necessarily leads to particular expressions of nationalism.

Although the Portuguese arrived in India in 1498, serious attempts at colonization began with the appointment of Afonso de Albuquerque as the second viceroy between 1509 and 1515. Goa was then under the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. On 25 November 1510, in his second attempt, Albuquerque succeeded in conquering the island of Goa (Tiswadi). Consequently, the Portuguese became the first Europeans to establish their colonies on the Indian sub-continent.

By 1543, three *conselhos* of Goa came under Portuguese domination. These were Salcete (inclusive of the taluka presently known as Mormugao), Bardez and

[1]The Indian territory which was under Portuguese domination consisted of three enclaves -- Goa, Daman and Diu -- comprising a total area of 1532 square miles. Goa was the largest enclave made up of 11 talukas and an area of 1309 square miles. Daman approximated 219 square miles and comprised two talukas -- Daman and Nagar Haveli (including Dadra) -- and Diu was 14 square miles and consisted of one taluka.

Although events narrated and observations made in the thesis may at times be relevant to Daman and Diu, it is concerned primarily with the conditions prevalent in Goa. Daman and Diu are not geographically contiguous with Goa and were culturally different. The development of nationalist consciousness and the events leading to independence from the Portuguese also followed a different course in each of these regions.

Ilhas (Tiswadi). These came to be known as *Velhas Conquistas* or the Old Conquests. Diu had also been captured by this time.

By 1788, the remaining *conselhos* -- Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari, Antruz (Ponda), Canacona, Embarbacem (Sanguem), Cacora, Chandrovadi, Balli and Astragrar (the last four of these collectively approximate to the present-day Quepem taluka) -- were acquired by the Portuguese and came to be known as *Novas Conquistas* or the New Conquests. Daman and Nagar Haveli had also been annexed by this time.

Political domination of the British over the rest of India dates back to 1757. Significantly, by the time Britain began its political subjugation of India, parts of Goa had already experienced over two centuries of Portuguese rule.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines Portuguese domination of Goa.

The second section is a study of the economic conditions under the Portuguese.

The last section contains observations on the social life of Goa in the first half of this century, the period which is the focus of this study.

(I) Portuguese Cultural and Political Domination of Goa

The Process of Lusitanisation

The early rule of the Portuguese was marked by an attempt at imbuing the people with a loyalty to Portugal, through the process commonly referred to as lusitanisation. This was quite different from the Macaulayean endeavor to create a class of people who were British in their 'manners, morals and intellect'.[2] They were not satisfied with merely creating a class of 'Black Portuguese', but attempted to create a micro Portugal on Indian territory, through a process of official nationalism.

Before this could be done, the Portuguese had to forcibly establish their domination over Goa. In the four days that followed the Portuguese conquest of Goa, Muslims were mercilessly massacred.[3] Albuquerque boastfully admitted that he had ordered the killing of the Muslims in a written communication to the king:

> No life was spared for any *Mussulman* and their mosques were filled up . . . and set on fire [Cunha 1961:61].

Consequently, 6000 men, women and children were killed. This implied the

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[2]Anderson describes Bipin Chandra Pal saying: 'In mind and manners he was as much an Englishman as any Englishman...' [1983:92]. But could Bipin Chandra Pal or any of the westernized elite trained to carry out administrative functions for the British, claim to *be* British? However, Fransisco Luis Gomes, who represented Goa in the Portuguese parliament, in a speech commented that the problems of the colonies had to be attended to, 'otherwise, *our* overseas possessions will become extinct' [Gomes 1961:356 emphasis added]. Newman points out that out of the three colonial powers that dominated India, only Portugal conferred recognition to its colonial subjects philatelically. Between 1955 and 1956, five prominent Goans were honored with stamps issued bearing their portraits [1989:6].

[3]Albuquerque's first attempt to capture Goa was unsuccessful, largely because of the betrayal of Muslims. This in part explains the brutality unleashed on them. Also, the Portuguese resented the Moors, who had established their hegemony over the Iberian peninsula and maintained a domination over Portugal for almost five centuries (even today, Muslims are called *muir* (moor) in Konkani). Their rivals in trade, the Arabs, were also Muslims

total marginalization and terrorization of the surviving Muslim community.[4]

Interestingly, in the same communication Albuquerque states:

> I ordered that the tillers of the soil and the Brahmins should not be killed [Cunha 1961:61].[5]

Conversions

An examination of some of the measures taken by the Portuguese state will serve to illustrate its attempts at creating a nation of lusitanised people on Indian soil.

From the beginning of its colonization of Goa, the Portuguese looked at the church as an agency through which it could strengthen its hold over its colony. The alliance of the crown and the church was formalized under the Padroado system, according to which the king of Portugal was entrusted with all ecclesiastical affairs.

The crown decided the jurisdiction of different religious orders, gave subsidies for the maintenance of religious institutions, made appointments to all ecclesiastical posts, established parishes and dioceses and supervised the activities of the religious agents [Houstart 1981:106]. Thus, the functioning of the church was determined by the crown. A freedom fighter interviewed described the

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[4]According to Hugh Kay, prior to 1510, the Portuguese had faced stiff resistance from the Muslim overlords, whereas Hindus had varied in their attitude. This resulted in the massacre of Muslims [1970:295].

[5]The specific sparing of the Brahmins and the tillers of the land can possibly be understood in keeping with Houstart's and Lemerciner's explanation of the policy followed by the Portuguese later when they launched on a policy of proselytization, specifically attempting to allure peasants and Brahmins to Christianity. The incentive to peasants was that they were relieved of compulsory labor and were either given land that had belonged to Muslims or were enabled to rent land belonging to Christians. According to Houstart and Lemerciner, this was because the peasants had the potential to reproduce the religious organization of the village and to build chapels to replace Hindu temples. The incentive for Brahmins was that after Baptism, they were eligible for administrative posts suited to their intellectual disposition [1981:112]. Another relevant point to be noted is that some of the biggest bhatkars (landlords) came from amongst the Brahmins.

church as 'the cultural wing of the Portuguese state'[6]. The church and the state worked in unison to effect conversions *en masse.*[7]

Till 1540, conversions were mainly effected through marriages contracted between Portuguese officers and 'native' women who were converted and consequently produced Christian offspring [Menezes 1947:8]. 'Orphans', which meant children who had no father, were entrusted to Christian tutors and brought up in orphanages run by different orders.[8] Consequently, they became 'indigenous agents in the service of the Portuguese' [Houstart 1981:113]. Other conversions were effected through the offer of incentives or through persuasions. According to Albuquerque, caste was utilized by the Portuguese to effect mass conversions [1989:10].[9]

The Royal Ordinances of 1546 granted certain privileges to all converts, which must have motivated a number of conversions. Notably, Christians enjoyed the right to public office; poor Christians would receive help from the Royal treasury, land held by the Portuguese would be rented to or given to Christians. Christians were exempted from the system of compulsory labor and only they enjoyed the right to take legal recourse. This caused Paulo da Trinidade to remark: 'Numerous were those who, attracted by such favours, abandoned idolatry and

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[6]Personal communication made at an interview with Purshottam Kakodkar on 15 May 1992, at Panaji.

[7]The success of the crown and the church in effecting conversions can be assessed from the fact that within 50 years (from the time of conquest) 'all the inhabitants of Salsette embraced Christianity, and 28 parishes were created therein' [Coutineau 1831:40].

[8]A K Priolkar cites the case of an old Brahmin man being exiled for six years towards the river Cumua on 26 March 1662, for having sent his three orphaned grandchildren to 'the other side of the country', presumably to save them from being converted [1967:27].

[9]See the section on Caste in this chapter.

were converted to the faith of Christ'.[10]

Proselytization was clearly seen as a means of enculturation. An incident recounted by the Jesuit writer Pierre Dahme, is illustrative of the kind of thinking that prevailed:

> In an assembly of theologians held in Goa under the orders of the Viceroy, they expressed themselves against permitting the liberty to practice various cults in the Portuguese Colonies...(*sic*) Unfortunately, to this negative policy corresponded a positive one which was no less disastrous. It can be summed up in the following equation: *To Christianise = to make Portuguese* [cited in Priolkar 1967:35 emphasis added].

Persecution and Displacement of Hindus

In the 1540s, around 300 temples were destroyed in the three *conselhos* that had been colonized [De Souza 1979:91].[11] Hindus were forbidden to worship in public or keep idols. However, it was not only their religious life that was affected. They were deprived of political, social and economic privileges that they earlier enjoyed.

Just as laws granting privileges to Christians had been passed between 1540

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[10]Quoted by Houstart and Lemerciner from Paulo de Trinidade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente [1620-1626]*, Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisbon Part I pp 354-359.

[11]The seventeenth century commentator Leonardo Paes declared that Goa abounded with temples when the Portuguese arrived. There were reputed to be 116 temples in Tiswadi, 176 in Bardez and 264 in Salcette. However, around 1545, a Jesuit wrote home: '(T)here are no more temples in this island...' [quoted in Albuquerque 1989:9].

and 1545, several laws were passed disallowing Hindus from following Hindu customs and making it punishable for them to do so. Accordingly it was:

> (A) serious offense to fashion or even to privately retain, Hindu religious objects. Hindu houses were liable to be searched on suspicion that they harbored such things; all public celebration of Hindu feasts was forbidden; no one was to receive in his house Hindu priests from outside the islands. Hindu painters were not allowed to exercise their art on Christian themes [Gune 1979:155].

A law passed in 1567 forbade marriages, cremations and thread ceremonies of the Hindus, and proscribed their books [Cunha 1961:72]. The property of 'offending' Hindus could be confiscated. Many Hindus fled from Goa to neighboring regions to avoid persecution. The first Goan diaspora dates back to this period.

In villages where convert *ganvkars* formed a majority in meetings of the village communities (see page 40), Hindu *ganvkars* were dispensed with. Portuguese officials were instructed not to employ Hindus in private service or in government posts [De Souza 1979:93].

As a result of these measures, Hindus, barring the few who collaborated with the Portuguese, acquired the status of stateless citizens.

Banning of customs

The Portuguese government, through the Edict of 14 April 1736, tried to transform even the basic food and dress habits of the people. The 'natives' were

banned from singing *ovios* (traditional folk songs). They were instructed to cook rice with salt. Keeping the *tulsi* plant (regarded sacred by Hindus, and grown in front of every house) was prohibited. Christians were forbidden from taking on or retaining Hindus names or surnames. Men were prevented from wearing the *puddvem* (*dhoti*) and women were prevented from wearing the *choli* [Shirodkar 1988:33].

The Holy Office of the Inquisition

The Office of the Inquisition was an ecclesiastical tribunal established in Goa in 1560. The Inquisition of Goa struck terror in the hearts of Hindus and Christians. The horrors of this tribunal have been commented on by the Archbishop of Evora at the time of the third centenary of the Cathedral of Lisbon:

> If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however base however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The Inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics [Cunha 1961:21].

The jurisdiction of this tribunal was not limited to its original purpose of stamping out Judaism and surviving pagan practices among 'erring' Christians. There is evidence of people with different beliefs being tried and condemned.

According to Dr Dellon, a French traveller who had been imprisoned by the inquisition in 1674, the moot difference was that while the Christians lived under 'the dread of being liable to be sentenced to the flames' [cited in Priolkar 1979:27], others were sentenced 'to deportation, or whipping and forced labor'. Consequently, 'fear of being condemned to be burnt is great impediment for Hindus and Muslims accepting Christianity' [cited in Priolkar 1979:9]. Public burnings were held every two or three years, and on each occasion around two hundred people were condemned to death [Priolkar 1979:9].

Fear of the inquisition resulted in people abandoning age old customs in preference for those prescribed by the colonizers.

Language

Significant to note at this stage is the attempt made by the Portuguese to impose their language on the people as part of their design to lusitanise the population of Goa. According to De Souza, these efforts were particularly in evidence towards the end of the seventeenth century when the Portuguese became acutely aware of their 'precarious' hold over Goa and their other possessions in India [1979:79], in spite of their methods of persuasion and coercion.

The order of Viceroy Francisco Tavora, Count of Alvor on 2 July 1684 stated that it was 'harmful... for political dealings and for the spiritual well being of the souls' for the 'natives' to retain 'their language'. To facilitate this 'interchange', or the replacement of Konkani with Portuguese, he stated that they should 'abandon' their language, and that priests and teachers should impart instruction

in Portuguese. He 'assigned' the natives a period of three years to learn Portuguese and forbade them to use their language 'under pain of being proceeded against with severe penalties as may seem befitting'.

Interestingly, till 1745, there is evidence of the ecclesiastical authorities issuing ultimatums to the 'natives' to learn Portuguese. The Archbishop D Lourenzo de Santa Maria ordained that Brahmins and Kshatriyas[12] of Salcete and Bardez learn Portuguese within six months, extending the time for other castes to a year, and imposed '*the prohibition to contract matrimony to any man or woman who does not know or is not used to speak* (sic) *the Portuguese language*'. The vicars were instructed to ensure that only those who knew Portuguese be permitted to get married. At this, Braganza-Cunha comments: 'Our Archbishop discovered indeed a sure way to promote free love among the Catholics of Goa! In fact, scarcely 2% of our population knew Portuguese at that time' [1961:84].

From Marquis de Pombal's Liberalism to Salazar's Dictatorship

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been marked by aggressive proselytizing and lusitanising attempts by the Portuguese. However, as they attempted to consolidate their military gains outside the Old Conquests, they began to realize that it was no longer advantageous to continue using these methods.

Methods of coercion had been used to establish Portuguese colonial rule over Goa. However to ensure its hegemonic control over the colonized, methods of

[12]Among Catholics there is no Kshatriya caste grouping. The reference is obviously to the *charddo* caste.

persuasion were necessary.

For the process of enculturation to be successful, political steps had to be taken which would make a significant section of the population feel that they were citizens of Portugal. Moreover, the Portuguese realized that they needed to win the support of the Hindus to maintain and strengthen their rule over Goa.

To this end, various changes were introduced in the eighteenth century. Some of the most significant changes were brought about during the tenure of the Marquis de Pombal (1750-1778), chief minister to D Jose I, King of Portugal.

Under Pombal, the Inquisition was abolished in 1774 and the Jesuits, regarded as 'zealous promoters of the Roman Catholic Church', were expelled.

In Goa, liberalization of religious policies was undertaken by Viceroy Alva (1745-1756) and Viceroy Ega (1758-1765) [Mascarenhas 1979:41]. The 'new subjects' of the recently annexed territories were given 'permission' to ensure 'the preservation of their temples, ministers, Brahmins, rites and customs' [Mascarenhas 1979:41]. According to Mascarenhas, this permission was offered as inducement to all Dessais and Ranes, dominant communities in the newly acquired territories who 'voluntarily came forward to swear fidelity to the state' [Mascarenhas 1979:41].

After Pombal's downfall in 1778, the Inquisition was revived but apparently was less powerful and awesome than it had been, and was abolished by 1812.

While non-Christians were still discriminated against in terms of educational and employment opportunities and were still denied recourse to legal remedy, they were not persecuted. Christian Goans benefited immensely under the tenure

of Pombal. The ecclesiastical hierarchy and the defense forces which had previously discriminated against Goan Christians on racial grounds, were forced to recruit cadre on the criteria of learning and virtue.

Pombal initiated other measures too. He introduced agrarian reforms and established secular educational institutions. But his liberal religious policies and his attempts to bring racial discrimination to an end especially changed the life of Goans.

Subsequent to his downfall in 1788, attempts were made to reverse Pombal's policies. These attempts were shortlived. Portugal's Commercial Treaty with Great Britain followed on 19 February 1810, according to which the Portuguese were forced to accept, at least in theory, the principle of tolerance [D'Costa nd:11].

By 1788, the annexation of the territory known as the New Conquests was completed. In the New Conquests, the Portuguese did not achieve the degree of cultural penetration that they had achieved in the Old Conquests.

The reasons for this were various. Given the nature of liberalization under Marquis de Pombal, it was not easy to re-introduce the aggressive methods of lusitanisation in the New Conquests. Sobered by their loss of Bassein to the Marathas in 1739, the Portuguese possibly realized that any religious offensive waged against the inhabitants of the New Conquests was likely to backfire and would be met with popular resistance. Consequently, full freedom of worship was

guaranteed to the new subjects.[13]

Parliamentary Representation and the Right to Vote

In the early nineteenth century, important steps were taken to imbue Goans, especially the elite sections, with a consciousness that they were indeed citizens of Portugal.

The French Revolution had led to the creation of a liberal political climate and the establishment of constitutional rule in Portugal, with a limited monarchy in 1820. A decree passed on 18 April 1821 stipulated that six representatives from Goa be sent to the Portuguese Parliament, though later the number was reduced to three [Gune 1979:193].

At first, the right to vote was held only by those residing in the Old Conquests and had the requisite qualifications[14]. But, in 1854, it was extended to the New Conquests and to those Hindus who were literate in Portuguese [Gune 1979:193].[15] While Hindus were no longer persecuted as before, they were still treated as inferiors and were denied the right to education and to hold public

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[13]In the Old Conquests, mass conversions had taken place, forcing a large percentage of the population to embrace the Christian religion, while in the New Conquests Hinduism remained the dominant religion. This phenomenon has been referred to as a *dual culture* by D'Costa (nd:11). The divergent policies followed by the Portuguese in the Old and New Conquests resulted in the creation of a populace with two tangential forms of consciousness, an aspect which we will return to in Chapter 5.

[14]To understand how restricted franchise was, the following quote from Fransisco Luis Gomes, elected as a member of Parliament, is illustrative: "The right of suffrage is exercised there (Goa) with so much scrupulousness, that although Salcete . . . contains 100,000 inhabitants, the names of only 2,000 are inscribed on the electoral roll because for that it is necessary to adduce proof of payment of tax of at least 320 *reis fortes*"[1961:352,353].

[15]This led to a demand for parliamentary representation in British India. At the 27th Congress session at Bankipore in 1912, R N Mudholkar argued: 'Pondicherry elects a member to the French Chamber and Goa to the Portuguese Parliament. With infinitely vaster interests to be protected, the claim of India for representation in the House of Commons cannot be called unreasonable' [Bahadur 1934:76].

office. Goan Christians had access to education, government service and church service but were not treated on par with Europeans, though equality of all citizens existed on paper.

Period of the Republic

On 5 October 1910, monarchic rule came to an end and Portugal became a republic. Within days, laws intended to bring about radical changes in Portugal -- and consequently its colonies -- were enacted. On 8 October, a decree curbing the activities of the Jesuits was promulgated. On 22 October, Catholic teaching in schools was prohibited. On 23 October, the Faculty of Theology at Coimbra was closed down. The right to divorce was established. The Law of Separation of the Church and State was to be enacted, according to which Catholicism would cease to be a state religion and all church property would go to the state [Figueiredo 1975:26].

How far these changes could be implemented is questionable, considering that there were 24 'revolutions' and coups resulting in 43 cabinets and nine presidents in the 16-year span of the Republic. In Goa, for the first time under Portuguese rule, Hindus were granted religious freedom and equality with all citizens. Discriminatory legislation was scrapped. Of special importance to the Hindus was the opening of temples and their ability to avail of education legitimately.

Educated Goans began to demand a say in administration. Earlier, the decree of 9 April 1838 provided for the establishment of a 'Council of Government', an advisory body of nominated members. Provision was afterwards

made for a limited number of elected members [Esteves 1986:16]. But this body could only express opinions; it could not take any decisions.

Interestingly, demands raised for financial and administrative autonomy were initially met with a positive response, and a charter granting autonomy to Portuguese India was issued in 1917. The charter also recommended that an advisory council called the *Conselho do Governo* be created, to consist of nine government officials and 10 elected representatives of the people, with the governor as its president. This was to come into effect on 1 July 1918. But at the last minute, the Portuguese government decided against the granting of autonomy or the setting up of the proposed council.

The establishment of the Republic paved the way for liberal and democratic thinking. Its significance lies in the fact that for a short period of time the Portuguese state, owing to the tremendous instability that existed, was per force prevented from translating the liberal measures taken, into a means of persuading the subjects of their status as 'Portuguese citizens'. It was in this political climate that the nationalist idea took root. Ultimately, instability paved the way for the establishment of military rule over Portugal, which spelt the beginning of a dark period for the people in Portugal and its colonies.

The Estado Novo – the Neo-Inquisition[16]

In May 1926, General Antonio Oscar de Fragaso Carmona seized power through

[16]This comparison was drawn by Figueiredo especially with reference to the functioning of the PIDE, the secret police [1975:126], who were also deployed in Goa.

a military coup and suspended the republican-democratic constitution. Four years later Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, initially appointed as minister of finance, rose to the rank of premier. In order to stem the grave political and social unrest in the country, Salazar initiated a host of repressive measures in Portugal and in the colonies.

Once again racial discrimination was legitimized in the colonies. Also, the right to vote and to parliamentary representation were withdrawn. The Portuguese state once again continued the process of official nationalism, insisting that Goa was an extension of Portugal.

On 21 October 1930 the *Acto Colonial* was passed. This denied the right to self-determination to the colonies, which were referred to as *overseas provinces.*[17] The Act divided the citizens into two categories, and the rights a citizen possessed depended on the category he belonged to. The people of Goa were categorized into *assimilados* (those who could read and write in Portuguese) and the *indigenas* (indigenous) referring to the 'natives' or the rest of the population. The *assimilados* were considered superior to the *indigenas.*

However, even an *assimilado* could not reach beyond the rank of a corporal in the armed forces.

Similar discrimination prevailed in the ecclesiastical field, where in spite of Goan priests being well qualified, they could not rise to the position of Bishops

[17]Portuguese laws used as synonymous or interchangeable the terms 'dominion', 'territory','province', and 'colony'. The *Acto Colonial* of 1930 referred to the colonies as overseas provinces. But Law No 23, 1933, once again referred to the 'colonies'. However, in 1951, when Portugal sought admission to the United Nations, the *Acto Colonial* was incorporated into the Portuguese constitution and the term 'colony' dropped as the charter of the United Nations had categorically rejected colonialism. For a fuller discussion on this, see *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations* [Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1960].

[Shirodkar 1988:44]. Top ranking posts in the government and in the church were the exclusive right of Europeans.

Interestingly, before Dr Salazar was about to decree the Colonial Act, he consulted the Supreme Council of Colonies, an official organ in existence at that time. The statement of the Council is an interesting and pertinent exercise in self assessment, shedding much light on the nature of Portuguese colonial rule; it characterized Portuguese colonial rule -- from its origins to the establishment of constitutional rule -- as exploitative and dictatorial in nature.[18]

Evidently, Salazar saw no use in continuing to confer the rights of citizenship on the inhabitants of the 'overseas provinces'. The codification of racial discrimination was followed by the withdrawal of civil liberties in Goa in 1937 [Shirodkar 1988:34]. Stringent censorship laws came into operation, prohibiting the publication of any written material, be it an invitation card, a leaflet or an advertisement, without the prior approval of the Committee of Censors.

Similarly, the rights to speech, association and the holding of public meetings were suppressed. This meant the effective suppression of political opinion.

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[18]A relevant extract from the statement reads: '(T)he sole system of colonial policy followed by our government was that of subjection which some authors call exploitation, or a regime in which the colonies were under complete subjection to the Metropolitan Government, which exercised a truly dictatorial authority, leaving them no freedom, political or administrative.

'It was the Metropolis which in its exclusive interest dictated their laws, regulated their trade, imposed the taxes, etc, and no right was recognised as inherent in the indigenous population. They were only subject to burdens, nor had they any safeguards against fiscal and administrative abuses.

'It was exploitation pure and simple of the colonies to the profit of the Mother Country, all the powers being concentrated in a Minister who was locally represented by Governors who were authentic autocrats.

'Such was the colonial system under which gold was traded or spices brought over from India, or a slave trade indulged in.

'With the coming of the liberal regime, the utilitarian and mercantile features which till then marked the colonial administration, yielded place to a policy of assimilation or centralisation, and the natives of colonies who till then enjoyed no right or safeguards, suddenly found themselves Portuguese citizens with all the rights, privileges and immunities of such citizens in Europe without distinction of race, colour or religion. These rights were granted to them by Act 1, 2 and 145 of the Constitutional Charter of the Monarchy, of 18th April, 1826 [United Asia 1957:325].

After 1926, the colonies were deprived of their right to elect members to the parliament in Lisbon and no other provision was made to enable the people to have any say in the political affairs of the country.

As a result of the Portuguese government's desire to put up a facade of democracy after the conclusion of the Second World War, electoral procedure was restored in 1945. But the only party allowed to participate in elections in Goa was the ruling *Uniao Nacional*. But it appears that these elections were manipulated and maneuvered by the Portuguese government with the help of a few businessmen, landlords, legal and medical professionals[19] [Shirodkar 1988:36].

While the Portuguese government had equipped itself with stringent legislation[20], the rigorous implementation of these laws was not evident in Goa till 1946, in the aftermath of the civil disobedience movement, which began on 18 June of that year.

Prior to 1946, *prabhat feris*[21] in sympathy of the Indian nationalist movement were conducted openly. Nationalist pamphlets were distributed and journals sold, but received little state attention. A few political activists were arrested and houses were raided, but those held were not detained for long.

From July 1946 onwards, the awarding of long prison sentences and

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[19] A story by Berta Menezes Braganza, *His Neutrality*, written around that time but published much later, portrays the farcical nature of elections [Menezes Braganza 1991:145-152]

[20] The stringent laws enacted in the colonies were extensions of the decrees which were promulgated in Portugal, probably in response to the social and political unrest prevalent there. At this time, there was insufficient evidence of unrest in the colonies to justify the implementation of these laws there.

[21] *Prabhat feris* were processions that moved around the concerned village or town at dawn, to highlight particular issues. Prabhat feris were sometimes held in parts of Goa to express solidarity with the anti-British struggle throughout India.

deportation to foreign countries were regularly meted out to anyone displaying the slightest signs of dissidence. The dominant political climate was marked by an awareness of the dictatorial nature of Portuguese rule. Nevertheless, a section of the populace favored Portugal's continued domination over Goa. The lusitanised Goans even agreed with Salazar's claim that:

> '(Goa) is no geographical or economic frontier, but indubitably a human one. Goa is the transplantation of the west on to eastern lands, the expression of Portugal in India [United Asia 1957:323].

In reality, however, the 'transplantation of the west on to eastern lands' was achieved to a very limited extent. Though without doubt the course of events in Goa and the influences that the people had been subject to, served to distinguish the position of Goa from the rest of India. An examination of the economic and social conditions prevalent in Goa in this century will further illustrate this point.

(II) Economic Conditions

Portuguese Imperialist Policy

Portuguese imperialist policy differed immensely from the imperialist policy of the British. Both entered India with mercantilist objectives. But with the development of its own economy, Britain's ambitions grew, leading it to follow a policy of exploiting India's wealth and raw materials for strengthening its developing capitalist economy. In time, the building up of a massive infrastructure was necessary for this, as was the destruction of indigenous industry.

Although Portugal was a 'pioneer in expansionism', it was a poor country which had been reduced to the position of a satellite of Britain through the various treaties it had entered into with that country. It was and continues to be one of the most backward countries in western Europe. The first steam engine was introduced in Britain in 1776, but there was no evidence of its use in Portugal till after 1834. Moreover, up to 1917, there was hardly any heavy or manufacturing industry [Figueiredo 1975:38,39].

Portuguese economic policies vis-a-vis its colonies were short-sighted. In Goa, Portugal failed to outgrow its initial mercantile objectives. The imperialist government pursued a policy whereby it tried to extract maximum profits with minimal investment. This also meant that Portugal benefited much less from its colonies than it could have.

Little attempt was made to boost Goa's agricultural production or to develop its industry and, perhaps as a boon to the people of Goa, little exploitation of its

natural resources took place. The main sources of revenue for the Portuguese continued to be trade, commerce, tariffs and other dues.

Possibly the only major infrastructural development undertaken in Goa -- construction of the railway -- was by the British at the request of the Portuguese and was utilized in the main for the furtherance of British imperialist interests.[22]

The Mining Industry

Although the efficient transportation of goods was made possible by rail or by ship, little attempt was made to develop industry. The mining industry is a case in point.

Evidence of rich deposits of mineral ore in Goa dates back to the sixteenth century, when the Dutch traveler Hugo van Linschoten observed that iron ore could be found in Goa, and pointed to the possibility of copper and gold ore deposits. But the Portuguese government did not attempt to prospect for or extract these ores [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:266]. In contrast to Portugal's absence of interest in Goa's mining potential, Japanese, German, French and Italian capital was attracted by Goa's mining potential.[23]

After World War II, demand for iron and other metals rose, leading to the

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[22]In 1880, the Mormugao Harbor was built and in 1881, a single metre gauge rail track line was laid in Goa at the request of the Portuguese by a British Company, the West India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway. They were under the management of the Southern Mahratta Railway, another British Company [United Asia 1957:331]. The only commitment the Portuguese Government undertook, was the payment of five per cent and six per cent returns respectively on the capital invested in the above projects [Cunha 1961:45].

[23]Prospecting by French and German companies started in 1905 [Govt of GDD 1973:126]. Between 1905 and 1915, some Indian businessmen also went into prospecting and tried to export ore. But after the outbreak of the First World War, the prices of ores fell internationally and mining operations came to a standstill for some time.

development and growth of the mining industry, primarily at the hands of Goan businessmen [Esteves 1966:17]. Iron and manganese ore were the principal minerals exported.[24] The Portuguese did not care to invest in the mining industry, but were content to benefit from it by way of the tariffs they received on all exports made.

Agriculture

In Goa, prior to liberation, the majority of the people were engaged in agricultural activities. In 1960, 85.2 per cent of the population was characterized as 'rural' and 14.8 per cent of the population as 'urban' [Govt of GDD 1973:12]. Agriculture continued to be the mainstay of most people under the Portuguese.

Portuguese reticence to 'develop' agriculture and increase its revenue from cultivated land made the preservation of at least some of the features of the traditional pattern of agriculture possible.

Prior to the advent of the Portuguese, the *ganvkari* system of administration of agriculture existed. Alburquerque likens this system to that of a private company, according to which 'the *ganvkars* were shareholders (of the land) by hereditary right and as such enjoyed certain privileges' [1989:6].

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[24]Mining leases were available for as little as Rs 300 to Rs 1500 [Rao 1963:51]. The following figures give an idea about the pace at which the mining industry flourished:

Volume of Exports [in tonnes]

Year	Iron Ore	Manganese Ore
1949	49,188	11,197
1950	112,230	29,985
1951	436,395	85,422

The selling price of iron ore was Rs 30 per tonne and of Manganese ore was Rs 125 per tonne [Esteves 1986:64].

The surplus from the agricultural produce was divided up among the *ganvkars*. Each village had its own *ganvponn* or community council, which was responsible for the administration of the village.

The Portuguese retained some of the features of the *ganvkari* system, referring to these village communities as *comunidades*. Land revenue was collected by the Portuguese through the comunidades. However, the collective spirit which had been essential to this system began to diminish as auctioning of the communal land was permitted.

Some *ganvkars* began trading on communal land. They acquired tenancy over comunidade lands for a nominal fee. This land was further sub-let to 'non-*ganvkars*' at a higher rate, making a profit known as *alca*. These middlemen came to be included in the category of *bhatkars* (landowners), and the tenants in the category of *kul* and *mundkars* (tenants) [D'Costa nd:44].

The Portuguese were also known to award land holdings to those who were loyal to them. Consequently, privatization of land holdings became widespread in Goa.[25]

Aside from land relations undergoing a significant change under the Portuguese, little attempt was made to boost agricultural production. This is

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The distribution of landholdings according to the *Report of the Portuguese Agricultural Mission*, 1958, was as follows:

Owner	Percentage
Government	17.7
Temples	2.6
Comunidades	34.8
Private	44.3

[Patel 1970 : 194]

evident from the fact that prior to liberation, only two irrigation canals were built. These were the Paroda and Khandepar Canals [Govt of GDD 1973:82].

Production of cash crops such as coconuts, cashew nuts, *supari* (areca nut) and fruits was encouraged for export, but the initiative remained in the hands of the peasants. The production of rice, which was and is the staple food of Goans, was inadequate to fulfill the needs of the people.[26]

Migration

As agricultural conditions deteriorated and employment opportunities were virtually absent, the phenomenon of emigration emerged from the late nineteenth century onwards.

Education was a contributory factor to this phenomenon. Many Goans appeared for the matriculation exam conducted in Bombay and went for further studies to various centers of learning in India or took up employment. Some went to Portugal after studying at the Lyceum.[27] Bombay and Karachi were major centers of employment for Goans in India.

A sizable section of Christians went to British East Africa and some to the

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[26]In 1939, Braganza-Cunha highlighted the rice problem in an essay called *Portuguese India - A Survey of Conditions* and a separate pamphlet entitled *The Rice Problem*. In that he attributed Goa's lack of self-sufficiency in rice to 'the backwardness of the agriculture' which depended on 'primitive means', and the economic policy of the government which was, according to him, dictated by the desire to earn more revenue from rice through the imposition of 'super taxes'. This increased the price of imported rice, and indirectly caused the cost of production of locally grown rice to rise [1961:121-127].
There are statistics suggesting a decline in the production of rice. Addressing the Goa Congress Provincial in 1921, Luis Menezes Braganza estimated production of rice at 41,690 Kumbh, i e, 8,33,800 Khandi [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:266]. In 1947, the editor of *A Vida*, a Portuguese daily, in a series of articles estimated the production of rice to be 7,50,000 Khandi [Rao 1963:25].

[27]The Lyceum was the secondary school under the Portuguese in Goa, somewhat equivalent to matriculation in British India.

Portuguese colonies in Africa; they were employed variously, as white collar workers and manual workers. Another large section took employment on merchant ships all over the world (a seamen is called a *tarvotti* in Konkani).

According to Srikrishna Vanjari, an information officer of the government of Bombay Presidency, India maintained as much as one-third of the Goan population [United Asia 1957:330]. Braganza-Cunha estimated the number of emigrants at nearly one lakh in a population of six lakh [1961:39]. Large scale emigration led to substantial remittances which contributed significantly to the Goan economy.[28]

Other Sources of Income

While remittances served as an important source of revenue, trade served as a source of income only in terms of the tariffs imposed on the import and export of goods. The bulk of the trade was with India, and imports far outweighed exports, leading to the creation of a large deficit.[29]

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[28] In 1951, remittances from India amounted to Rs 680 lakh, and remittances from Portugal were Rs 41 lakh [Rao 1963:59].

[29]

Table of Imports and Exports, Goa, Daman & Diu
[in Rupees]

Year	Imports	Exports	Deficit
1900	43,65,438	14,48,903	29,16,535
1910	62,71,438	25,50,091	37,21,345
1920	1,39,92,902	44,44,221	95,48,681
1939	1,35,86,734	27,71,589	1,08,15,145
1945	3,08,61,271	93,32,498	2,21,28,672
1949	5,35,50,323	88,34,764	4,47,15,558
1950	7,52,50,740	97,55,557	6,54,95,183

[The Goa Hindu Association 1954:267,268]

Aside from remittances, taxes and excise duty, income was generated through the sale of lotteries[30] and the production and sale of alcohol[31] in the state.

An important source of income that is hinted at or suggested by various pre-liberation writers is smuggling. The facts used to substantiate it are the increasing imports of luxury items to buy which Goans did not possess the purchasing capacity.[32] Smuggling probably flourished consequent to the Second World War. Portuguese neutrality transformed it into a free port, with warships of different countries permitted to dock at the Mormugao Harbor. This was conducive for the flow of foreign goods into Goa, some of which were later smuggled into India.[33]

Smuggling and the illegal sale of such goods possibly helped generate Indian currency, which the Portuguese were in need of, considering that Portuguese currency was not respected for foreign exchange.

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[30]Prior to the Second World War, lotteries were run by three public institutions, and the sale of lotteries was permitted throughout India, in addition to Goa. Profits from the sale of lotteries amounted to Rs 10 lakh per annum. After the war, the responsibility of running the lotteries was given to the *Provedoria da Assistencia Publica*, a charitable government institution. At around this time, the British government prohibited the sale of lotteries in British India. This led to an initial decline in the earnings through lotteries. However, from around Rs 4 lakh profit earned on lotteries in 1948, in 1951 the profits rose to Rs 8.4 lakh [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:281].

[31]In 1939, Braganza-Cunha asserted that second to customs, the greatest source of state revenue was the 'industry of intoxicating drinks'. According to him, 20 to 25 per cent of the total income of Portuguese India consisted of receipts from alcohol. Consequently, 'Portuguese India gained the just notoriety of being the most intoxicated country in the world and was as such mentioned in the last World Economic Conference in London' [1961:28].

[32]In 1948, Rs 5.7 lakh worth of silk cloth was imported. In 1951, Rs 65.33 lakh worth of silk cloth was imported [United Asia 1957:331].

[33]Gold in Goa was available at Rs 10 less per tola then in the rest of India [United Asia 1957:331].

The Banco Nacional Ultramarino

The only bank in Goa was the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino*. It was responsible for the circulation of currency in Goa, and used Indian currency to back up Portuguese currency. This bank had the dubious distinction of accepting deposits but offering no interest, and advancing loans at what was probably the highest rate of interest in the world [Rao 1963:59].

Portugal Subsidized the Goan Economy?

Although nationalist writers claim that the Portuguese benefited from their domination over Goa in economic terms, one is inclined to view this claim with suspicion, for a number of reasons.

As has been illustrated, the Portuguese had failed to derive significant profits from Goa's agriculture or industry. In fact, at the time of Goa's freedom, capital investment in Goa was estimated at just Rs 7 crore. Around 75 per cent of this represented Indian investment, while the remaining amount was in the form of foreign loans. Remittances were a restricted source of income. Tariffs on trade were a source of income, but the bulk of trade was with India and imports greatly outweighed exports. While statistics have been quoted by nationalist writers to show the increases in Portuguese income from Goa[34], Portuguese expenditure on Goa has not been examined. Pertinently, in 1831, the French traveller Rev

[34]The following figures serve to illustrate this point: The state revenue in 1948 was Rs 1,27,14,629 [United Asia 1957:331]. It nearly doubled and stood at Rs 2,47,78,358 in 1953. In terms of annual income, a similar trend is discernible. For 1953 the annual income was Rs 248 lakh [United Asia 1957:331] and for 1954 it was Rs 332 lakh. According to Vanjari, these figures belie the claim made by Senhor Garin, the Portuguese representative to the UN, who claimed in a meeting held around 1957 that Goa was a burden to Portugal [United Asia 1957:330].

Coutineau de Klougen had the following observation to make:

> The revenues of this colony are very small, and I have not been able to appreciate them even approximately, but this I have been informed of by competent authorities, namely, that the colony *now* suffices for all its expenses, and no money is sent from Portugal for the payment of the civil and military officers of Government, or for the clergy, or for any other expenses... [1831:115 emphasis added].

He further goes on to comment that 'the Goanese' made great use of tobacco and that:

> (T)he duties on that article (tobacco) amount to about 200,000 rupees, which form a part of the private revenue of the Queen of Portugal; this is the only profit which the mother country now reaps from this colony [1831:115].

From this account, one gets the impression that for part of its tenure, the Portuguese may actually have had to bear the expenses of maintaining their regime in Goa, and that they only gained nominally in economic terms from their rule.

In the post 1947 period, it appears that they possibly felt compelled to create a sense of economic well being among the people of Goa to avert the possibility of any serious unrest. A sudden increase in developmental expenditure is also

evident.[35]

In 1954, an economic blockade was imposed on Goa by the Indian government as a means of mounting political pressure on the Portuguese to give Goa her independence. However, all important goods like foodgrains, which were previously imported from India, were imported from abroad and made available to the Goan people, so that civilian life was not disturbed [Esteves 1986:56,57].

Statistics suggest that Indians in Goa enjoyed a higher standard of living than their counterparts in independent India. The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) established that the per capita income of Goa in 1960 stood at Rs 433, which was 32 per cent higher than the national average. An agricultural laborer in Goa received Rs 2 - 2.50 per day, compared to Rs 1 - 1.50 in independent India; a mine worker Rs 5 - 7 daily as against Rs 3 - 4; a clerk in government service Rs 250 per month as compared to Rs 100 - 150. A postman earned around Rs 250 per month and a school teacher between Rs 350 to 600 per month [Esteves 1960:40].

Esteves goes so far as to say: 'The people had not only enough to work for and live on, but one also got the impression, looking at the economic situation in Goa in those years, that the territory was about to reach the stage of an affluent society' [1986:56,57].

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[35]In May 1953, the Portuguese minister for overseas provinces visited Goa. After returning to Portugal, he ordered that 1,80,000 contus (approximately Rs 3,09,29,000) be spent on Goa's development. The money was spent on water works at Sanguem and Quepem, air fields and on the maintenance of the port and railway [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:277].

One may disagree with the conclusions of Esteves, but the relative economic well being of the people could be one of the factors accounting for the widespread reticence of the people to wage a political movement to decisively oust the Portuguese from Goa. This reticence is especially evident from 1955, from which year onwards there was little sign of any people's protest in Goa.[36]

The Portuguese colonial power maintained a tough executive arm in Goa. But from the time of its establishment, its efforts were focused on the naturalization of the Goan people. Economic returns do not appear to have been the moot purpose for the continuance of colonial domination over Goa, especially in the last years of its rule. The *overseas provinces* provided Portugal with a sense of prestige. In a speech on Portuguese colonial policy, Salazar stated:

> (I)t (Portugal) acquired vast dominions in Africa, Oceania and America, defending Roman and Christian civilization against Islam and spreading civilization through new worlds . . . We are the sons and heirs of an ancient civilization, whose mission it has been to educate and train peoples to a higher idea of life, to form real men through the subjection of matter to spirit, of instinct to reason [Figueiredo 1975:35].

[36]According to Manohar Prabhudesai, convincing people that they would be better-off without the Portuguese was sometimes difficult, as they would point out that in independent India the cost of living was higher [interviewed on 10 February 1992 at Mashem, Canacona].

Although rhetorical, this statement can also be interpreted as an exercise in self-vindication; of a poor country struggling to retain its status as an imperial power.

(III) Social Conditions in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: Some Observations

Demographic Features

Till liberation, Goa's population was predominantly rural. In the last decade of Portugal's rule over Goa, however, the number of people engaged in non-agricultural pursuits increased.[37]

The Goan diaspora dates back to the sixteenth century, with the initiation of aggressive proselytization by the Portuguese. Subsequent waves of migration were the result of poor employment opportunities available in Goa. This was reflected in the low population growth rate of Goa, as compared to that of India.[38]

Dramatic changes in Goa's demography are apparent in the period between 1910 and 1920. In this period, a sharp decline in the population growth rate was recorded, on account of employment opportunities created outside Goa with the outbreak of the First World War. Similar changes are seen in the post liberation period, when a high population growth rate was recorded on account of the in-

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[37]Till 1950, 70.94 per cent of Goans were recorded as being employed in agriculture. From 1950 onwards, the percentage of people engaged in non-agricultural pursuits increased and, by 1961, only 58.3 per cent were involved in agriculture [D'Costa nd:71].

[38] **Population Growth Rate per cent**

Year	Population in lakhs Goa, Daman & Diu	Growth Rate per cent GDD	Goa	All India
1900	5.083	2.21	2.36	5.73
1910	5.19	2.21	2.36	5.73
1920	5.03	-3.21	-3.22	-0.30
1930	5.38	7.00	8.20	11.00
1940	5.84	8.58	7.82	-
1950	5.96	2.11	1.21	-
1961	6.26	5.14	7.77	-
1971	8.58	38.88	34.77	24.80

[Govt of GDD, 1973]

migration that took place.

The migration of males for procuring jobs is a probable explanation for the high female to male sex ratio that existed prior to liberation, quite the opposite of the situation prevalent in the rest of India.[39]

Education

In British India, education played an important role in generating liberal and democratic thinking among the intelligentsia. From the interviews conducted with freedom fighters, it appears as though Portuguese education in Goa failed to play this emancipatory role.

First of all, education was severely restricted. Prior to 1910, Hindus were denied the right to receive education from government institutions and teaching was a purely Christian profession.

Schools were run by the government, missionary organizations and private individuals. Government schools were in a minority. At the secondary level, the only government-run school was the *Liceu Nacional* (Lyceum). In all official

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[39]

Female to Male Ratio

Year	No. females per 1000 males
1900	1091
1910	1108
1920	1120
1930	1088
1940	1084
1950	1128
1960	1066
1971	981

[Govt of GDD 1973:12]

schools, the medium of instruction was Portuguese and in many private schools Marathi was the medium of instruction. Only in few missionary-run schools was English the medium of instruction.

The New Conquests, which made up 80 per cent of Goa, were particularly starved of educational facilities. According to Menezes Braganza, during 1869-70 there were 112 primary schools, of which only 16 were in the New Conquests [D'Costa nd:105]. On the eve of liberation, out of 146 official primary schools, 103 were in Old Conquest areas and 43 in New Conquest areas [D'Costa nd:105].

While many Hindus went to private schools, literacy amongst them was comparatively low. This is evident from a comparison of literacy levels in the Old Conquests with that of the New Conquests in 1910, till which time Hindus did not have the right to education.[40]

The percentage of literacy as per the census of 1910 was 13.1 per cent [Gune 1979:690]. Interestingly, in the Old Conquest talukas, the lowest level of literacy recorded -- 12.85 per cent in Salcete -- was higher than the highest percentage of literacy recorded in the New Conquests, which stood at 11.65 per cent in

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[40] **Percentage of Literacy (1910)**

Taluka	Male	Female	TOTAL
Tiswadi	*22.1*	*10.2*	*16.15*
Salcete	*19.2*	*6.5*	*12.85*
Bardez	*29.9*	*11.1*	*20.05*
Pernem	12.2	1.5	6.85
Sanquelim	20.7	2.6	11.65
Sattari	6.8	0.5	3.65
Ponda	18.5	2.9	10.07
Sanguem	9.8	2.3	6.05
Quepem	11.5	1.9	6.07
Canacona	13.4	1.3	7.35

[Gune 1979:690]

Sanquelim [Gune 1979:690].

Many Goans preferred to pursue their studies in other parts of India, as facilities for higher education were limited in Goa. Till liberation, one medical school, *Da Escola Medico Citurgia de Goa,* conducted courses in medicine and pharmacy. Some opted to go to Portugal for higher studies. From 1950 onwards, the Portuguese government offered scholarships freely to those who wanted to do engineering and other studies in Portugal and other foreign universities [Esteves 1986:58].

Some of the statements made by freedom fighters interviewed shed more light on the nature of Portuguese education. Purshottam Kakodkar (b 1913), presently a full time politician and a former Rajya Sabha MP based in Delhi, while a student at the Lyceum, came across a book by Swami Vivekanand in a local library. Till this point he had always prided himself on being a good student, but Vivekanand's book made him realize:

> Through the education that I had acquired, I was learning to become a good Portuguese citizen and was ignorant of my own country and its culture.[41]

This realization filled Kakodkar with a desire to search for the roots of his identity. Consequently, he ran away to Banaras, where he studied Sanskrit. After completing his studies, he returned to Goa to fight for its freedom.

Even the education imparted at the highest levels was not secular in nature, provoking the resentment of some Hindus. Dr R V P Nachinolkar (b 1924), a

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[41]Personal communication made at an interview with Purshottam Kakodkar on 15 May 1992, at Panaji.

general practitioner based in Santa Cruz village, is an example of a person who had the means to study abroad, but preferred to complete his education in Goa. He recalled that in the medical college traditionally, every year, a function was held for final year students in which a ceremony called 'the blessing of the stethoscope' was performed. As a measure of protest, he and some other final year students stayed away from this ceremony and held a *Satya Narayan Puja* instead. As a result of this, he was blacklisted and 'kept under surveillance' for some time.[42]

Commenting on the Portuguese system of education in 1957, Theodore Mazarello, Secretary of the Goan Students ' Association, Bombay, wrote:

> I think nowhere in the world does the Portuguese system of education as perpetrated in Goa find a parallel. It is nothing but indoctrination. The student is taught nothing about the outside world. Portugal is glorified as a nation that has produced the world's only explorers. Nothing is taught either of America or England, leave alone India: In spite of strict regimentation of thought, the Goan students studying in Goa itself have managed to learn a lot about India. [United Asia 1957:349].

Apparently, Braganza-Cunha found Portuguese education so abhorrent that he left the Lyceum, preferring to pursue his education in Pondicherry.

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[42]Personal communication made at an interview with Dr R V P Nachinolkar on 14 January 1992, at Santa Cruz. It is significant to note that in this case, an assertion of Hindu identity by Nachinolkar was viewed by the medical school authorities as an anti-Portuguese action.

Berta Menezes Braganza,[43] one of Goa's first women freedom fighters, recounted:

> My father believed that Portuguese education was useless, and so never sent us to school in Goa. I did a few years at primary school in Calcutta and then came back to Goa. My parents used to teach me at home and, for a brief period, we had a private tutor.

In spite of having undergone no real formal education, she served as an honorary teacher at the Adarsha Vanita Vidyalaya, a private school at Margao, teaching English from 1936 to 1946. As a teacher, she became a victim of the intolerant ways of the Portuguese authorities. After her participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1946, the school authorities informed her that the Portuguese government had threatened to close down the school unless they discontinued her services.

However, within the privately run schools the atmosphere was often more liberal. Berta Menezes Braganza stated that during her 10-year tenure as a teacher, she used to periodically conduct a class on current affairs -- with the knowledge of the school authorities -- in which political affairs would be actively discussed.

Teachers from Marathi medium schools sometimes became agents of politicization. Dr D S Sukhtankar, a doctor and noted Marathi writer settled in

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[43]She was the daughter of Luis de Menezes Braganza, Goa's renowned free thinker, and the niece of Braganza-Cunha. Interviewed on 14 June 1990, at Margao.

Bombay, who had been a freedom fighter, recalled a quaint incident from his days in Goa:

> In school we had a teacher who told us to come to school wearing *khadi* on *Shivaji Jayanti* (birth anniversary of the seventeenth century Maratha warrior king). This was absurd, as Shivaji had nothing to do with *khadi* but we were all excited by this.[44]

Instances like these instilled a sense of nationalism in the impressionable minds of such students. However, many freedom fighters traced the development of their political consciousness to their student days outside Goa, particularly Bombay. Their exposure to the charged political climate and the freedom they enjoyed as students transformed them into willing receptacles of nationalist thought.

Urselino Almeida, who became a member of the militant Goan Liberation Army (GLA), completed his primary education in Goa, after which he went to Bombay for further studies. As a teenager, he was thrilled by the Quit India Movement and participated in it:

> My source of inspiration... was the Indian freedom struggle. What happened within the college walls did not interest me. The buzz of events taking place outside the college inspired me.[45]

A probable consequence of the nature of Portuguese education was that Goan students were more politically active outside Goa than they were within Goa.

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[44]Personal communication made at an interview with Dr D S Sukhtankar on 10 December 1991, at Bandra, Bombay.

[45]Personal communication made at an interview with Urselino Almeida on 6 March 1992, at Margao.

In the early twenties, some Goan students who had gone to Portugal to pursue their studies awakened to the oppressive nature of the Portuguese regime and formed the *Indian Centre*. Some of the members of the centre later came to India to strive for Goa's freedom. From 1954 onwards, several Goan student bodies operated in Bombay and similar bodies could be found in Poona, Belgaum, Dharwar, Nagpur and Calcutta [United Asia 1957:347].

At particular junctures, students in Goa came forward to show their presence.[46] Three Margao schools participated in the satyagraha of 1955, and were subsequently joined by school students of Aldona, Ponda and Assolna. Goan students also joined the Medical Corps to give aid to the wounded when the satyagrahis were fired upon [United Asia 1957:349]. But the overall participation of students in the nationalist struggle in Goa bears little comparison with the situation in India.

Language

On account of its peculiar history, in Goa the spoken language of the people has always been different from the languages of literacy.

The limited success of the lusitanisation endeavor is reflected in the fact that on the eve of Goa's independence only two per cent of its population spoke Portuguese and was literate in it [Saxena 1974:36].[47]

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[46]Forty per cent of the rank and file of Goan political parties consisted of students [United Asia 1957:348]. However, it is to be noted that many of these political parties functioned from outside Goa.

[47]In fact, according to the census figures of 1960, the Urdu speaking population, comprising 7,883 persons, outnumbered the Portuguese speaking population, which numbered 5,972 persons [Priolkar 1979:57].

Konkani remained the spoken language for the overwhelming majority of the people, but people were literate in Portuguese, Marathi or English, depending on whether they were educated in schools run by the government, private bodies or missionaries.

Romi Konkani (Konkani written in the Roman script) was occasionally used. The use of this peculiar form of Konkani originated amongst the Roman Catholic missionaries, mainly the Jesuits, who built up a body of literature 'written and printed in the Roman character in a Portuguese orthography' [Gune 1979:221]. The Christian scriptures were among the first documents rendered into *Romi Konkani* in the mid-sixteenth century, to enable the proselytization process.

Consequently, in Goa most of the nationalist literature to be found is in Marathi, English or Portuguese. In the early nationalist literature, it is common to find bilingual publications, carrying articles in Portuguese and Marathi: *Procasha*, edited by Vankatesa Sardessai and *Bharat*, edited by Govind Pundalik alias Bharat-kar Hegde Desai. Later on, English was also used. *Free Goa,* a fortnightly journal operational from 1953 to 1962 and edited by Braganza-Cunha for five years, carried articles in English and Portuguese. One of the few nationalist publications brought out in *Romi Konkani* was *Azad Goem*, edited by Braganza-Cunha.[48]

In spite of Konkani being the mother tongue of most Goans, a section of Hindus view it as the language of the Christians, and have chosen to identify Marathi as their language. The Portuguese speaking population, already sparse

[48]I was unable to trace any copies of this publication.

at the time of liberation, is becoming still more sparse as English is the preferred language of the new generation.

Religion

Goa has the fifth highest percentage of Christians in the entire country. However, contrary to popular belief, Goa is not a predominantly Christian state. According to the Census of India, 1981, Hindus comprise 64.20 per cent of the population and Christians 31.25 per cent. Most of the remaining 4.55 per cent are Muslims. A detailed religious break up of the 1991 census is not yet available but, going by earlier trends, the Christian population will likely be lower in percentage.

In the last century the Christian population was in the majority, comprising two-thirds of the population.[49] While a dramatic change in this pattern took place in the post liberation years, the beginnings of this change were discernible with the establishment of the republic.

The concentration of Christians has continued to be greater in the Old Conquests than in the New Conquests.[50] In spite of the population being divided into Hindus and Christians, Goa has no history of communal riots. Because of this, it is popularly projected as an isle of communal harmony. Syncretic religious practices are frequently taken to represent the cement that binds Hindus and

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[49]The number of Christians as per the census of 1851 was 2,32,189 while the number of Hindus was 1,28,824 [Gune 1979:224]. An important factor responsible for this was the exodus of Hindus from Goa between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

[50]On the eve of liberation, 56.9 per cent of the population in the Old Conquests was Christian, as compared to 14.7 per cent in the New Conquests [Gune 1979:224].

Christians.[51]

However, the first elections held after liberation were marked by the coalescing of the electorate on communal lines. There can be no denying the fact that religion has had an important role in dividing the opinion of the people on supposedly secular issues in recent times.

Moreover, Hindus and Christians perceive themselves as different. This was evident from the interviews with freedom fighters,[52] who displayed an acute awareness of the religious differences between Hindus and Christians. As the relationship between religion and nationalism is examined in greater detail in Chapter 3, I cite only two instances.

Divakar Kakodkar (b 1918), a Hindu by religion, was inspired by Marxism and joined the Communist Party of India [CPI] at the age of eighteen. He asserted:

> There are two different worlds within Goa, the Christian and the Hindu. There is a great difference between them.[53]

Former Advocate General for Goa Joachim Dias, who was a freedom fighter and the founder President of the Goa Youth League in Bombay, stated:

> Prior to liberation there was some suspicion amongst Hindus and Christians. Hindus were referred to as *shendiwallahs* and

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[51]This position is put forward most cogently by Robert Newman in *The Umbrellas of Cuncolim: A Study of Goan Identity* (1986) and *Konkani Mai Ascends the Throne: The Cultural Basis of Goan Statehood* (1989). He argues that the two great traditions of Hinduism and Catholicism -- responsible for the religious divide at the level of the elite -- is apart from the little tradition or 'Goan folk tradition', as a part of which the majority of Goans share in a syncretic Hindu-Catholic faith.

[52]It is to be noted that the freedom fighters interviewed were from various socio-economic backgrounds, but all displayed a strong sense of religious consciousness.

[53]Personal communication made at an interview with Divakar Kakodkar on 28 January 1991, at Curchorem, Quepem.

> Christians as *Portuguesewallahs* and 'anti-nationals'. After liberation, Christians were discriminated against because of this distrust, resulting in politics on communal lines.[54]

According to him, the latent distrust between the two communities manifested itself along communal lines in post liberation politics through the United Goans Party (which received popular support from Christians) and the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (popularly supported by Hindus).

The responses of Christians and Hindus, however, have not been homogenous on account of the caste factor, which has contributed to the emergence of different equations.

Caste

Evangelization did not serve to diminish the caste divisions in Goan society, but furthered their institutionalization. As is the case throughout India, in Goa too the caste system has played an important role in the social and political life of the people.

A few academicians are of the view that under Portuguese rule, the role of caste became less operative. B G D'Souza, the author of one of the most comprehensive books in English on social life in Goa, has written that 'the ascriptive norms of the traditional society were no longer respected and the people became individualistic, competitive and acquisitive' [D'Souza 1975:198]. However, the persistence of caste distinctions is evident from D'Souza's treatise

[54]Personal communication made at an interview with Joaquim Dias on 15 November 1990, at Panaji.

itself, as he states: 'Of the old caste system, a few features survived such as the caste hierarchy, the status attached to each caste and the endogamous marriage' [245]. But it is these *few features* which form the kernel of the caste system.

According to Alburquerque, the Portuguese did not discourage caste distinctions, as for the clergy the institution of caste could be used to facilitate *en masse* conversions. For, if the head of a particular caste could be won over, it meant that all the families of that caste in the village could be converted [1989:10]. This is a plausible explanation. The fact is that the church *confrarias* or confraternities were organized on caste lines.

Moreover, there was no marked improvement in the condition or status of the lower castes as a result of conversions. In her profile of Santa Cruz village (Calapor), Albuquerque describes the plight of the *gaudas* converted to Christianity, showing that conversions led them to be doubly discriminated against:

> (T)hey (the converted *gaudas)* began to be shunned by their Hindu counterparts, who refused them water from the village wells. Christians of other castes too ostracized them as being backward. Even in Christian communal life they felt discriminated and exploited [1989:23].

The discrimination they experienced was an important factor that led to the *Shuddhi* movement, in which a mass reconversion to Hinduism was effected in February 1928 in some villages of Tiswadi. Around 600 *gaudas* were reconverted in Santa Cruz and, on the same day, 300 *gaudas* were reconverted in Nagzar

(Curca) [Alburquerque 1989:24].

In an account of Saligao, while talking about the condition of *mahars* (spelt as *mars* in the account) De Souza and D'Cruz state:

> After both the Brahmins and Mars were converted to Christianity and particularly after the building of the Church Mae de Deus, the Mars became the servants of the parish, their most new occupation being that of sextons [1973:36].

The caste system necessarily entered the realm of the freedom struggle too. It appears as though Hindu *bamonns* came to occupy positions of leadership in the movement, though they were not numerically the largest group of participants. While there is no substantive proof of this, interviews with freedom fighters and non-participants support this view, also corroborated by Rammanohar Lohia in a written account. While narrating his experiences with regard to the organizational aspects of the freedom struggle in Goa after the Civil Disobedience Movement of July 1946, he states:

> The non-Brahmins in Goa struggle told me that the movement had petered out because of the Brahmins and that the executive committee comprising solely of the Brahmins would have to be substituted with one having a fair non-Brahmin representation... But when I helped select a new committee, and I cannot be accused of partiality in this matter, I found that nine of the eleven members selected were still Brahmins [Lohia nd:11].

Apparently, Brahmins also exercised leadership at the village level on account

of their dual status as *bamonns* and *bhatkars*.

Among Christians, the commonly held opinion among the freedom fighters was that the Christian *bamonns* did not participate in the movement as readily as *charddos*[55] did, because of the greater patronage the former had received from the Portuguese rulers. From the material gathered for the purposes of this research, it is not possible to prove or disprove this contention.

The fact is that caste has played a role in determining the patterns of leadership and participation in the freedom struggle and continues to play a crucial role in the social and political life of Goa..

The Lusitanised Goans

Some measure of sympathy for the Portuguese existed among the Christians and among a class of wealthy Hindus, but only a minuscule and elite section, predominantly Christian *bhatkars,* had been successfully *lusitanised.* They adopted Portuguese as their language. Konkani was only for conversing with servants and fisherwomen. They prided themselves on being Portuguese citizens, distinct from Indians. Even now, remnants of this section rue the day the Indian Army liberated Goa. Although numerically very small, this section is often taken as representative of Goans,[56] because they form a very visible, vocal and articulate

[55]The *charddos* comprise a caste group peculiar to the Catholic community. In the caste hierarchy this caste is a dominant caste, second to the *bamonns*. It is often referred to as being equivalent to the *Kshatriya* caste.

[56]The views of this section often find representation in the popular media. A typical example of this representation is an article titled *Goa -- India with a Portuguese Accent* carried in *Reader's Digest*, featuring a photograph of the Panaji Church on the cover page and quoting Portuguese lecturer Selma de Vieira Velho as saying: 'The Portuguese left us with a taste for the Latin way of life' [July 1990:105].

segment.

The social life in Goa was thus distinguished by certain features; a population that was depleted on account of the large scale migration to other parts of India and abroad, a peculiar phenomenon of the languages of literacy being different from the spoken language of the people, a population which was divided by religion and conscious of caste.

CHAPTER THREE

Braganza Cunha's Role in the Development of Nationalist Consciousness in Goa

Nationalism in Goa was a part, though distinct, of the process of Indian nationalism. But the experience of nationalism in Goa differed from the 'Indian' experience of nationalism.[1]

To talk of a uniform 'Indian experience' is an over-simplification. But in India, the fact is that anti-British sentiment was widespread and thousands of people participated in the anti-British struggle. The people were bound by a sense of Indian identity.

In spite of nostalgic reconstructions of Goa's freedom struggle which portray the struggle as being a popular one, traces of a mass struggle are elusive.[2] At a seminar on the freedom struggle, Dionisio Ribeiro highlighted the sense of isolation experienced by freedom fighters, saying:

> In India, for every man who went to jail, the empathy of thousands accompanied him. In Goa, not even the empathy of

[1]Attention was drawn to this fact at a seminar on *Nationality Question in India* hosted by the Training for Development Scholarship Society (TDSS) in Pune in 1987, at which Prof Hargopal pointed to the 'absence' of Goa's participation in the anti-colonial national movement [TDSS 1987:450-453]

[2]Barring a brief period of time spanning a few months in 1946 -- when thousands of people openly protested, asserting their right to civil liberties -- there is little evidence to suggest the participation of the broad masses of people in the anti-colonial struggle.

half a person accompanied him.[3]

Although the colonization of Goa was initiated two centuries prior to the British colonization of India, the freedom struggle in Goa began to emerge when the demand for *Swaraj* had become popular and nationalist consciousness was widespread in British India.

An important reason for this is the success of the Portuguese in creating an elite which identified its interests as being in consonance with the continuance of Portuguese rule. No doubt, the Portuguese had been discriminatory in their distribution of privileges among various groups. However, till 1910 the manifestation of dissent by the discriminated groups was disorganized and spontaneous, and it was the *lusitanised* elite that dominated the political scenario.

An organized attempt to build an anti-colonial movement in Goa can be traced to the efforts made by Braganza Cunha in the second decade of this century. Prior to this, sporadic uprisings occurred, reflecting the desire of particular groups to protect their interests. This chapter examines the attempt made to establish an enduring anti-Portuguese nationalist movement.

Early Struggles

The early struggles against the Portuguese reflect the discontent that arose among the people on account of the varying degrees of discrimination they were subject to by the Portuguese state.

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[3]Ribeiro made this statement at a seminar on *Advent of Portuguese in Goa and Goa's Struggle for Freedom* in December 1990 at Cuncolim, Salcete. Those who took part in the struggle were the chief participants in the seminar. While there was heated debate and disagreements on various issues, no one raised any objection to Ribeiro's statement.

In 1543, the villagers of Cuncolim rose against the Portuguese for their sacrilegious acts of killing a temple cow, smearing the temple idols with its blood and polluting the well water with its carcass. They were further enraged by the desecration of several other temples by a group of Jesuits. Five Jesuits and numerous people were killed in the skirmishes that ensued.

In 1652, Fr Mateus de Castro Mahale, Bishop of Chrisopolis, attempted to organise a revolt against the Portuguese. The immediate provocation was the harassment he suffered from the Portuguese officials, having been made a bishop against their wishes by the ecclesiastical authorities. The attempt was aborted by the Portuguese.

An uprising popularly known as *The Conspiracy of the Pintos* was planned under the leadership of Caeteno Francisco Couto of Panaji and Jose Antonio Gonsalves of Divar, in 1787. In spite of possessing the requisite qualifications, they were not made bishops. This prompted them to go to Portugal to plead their case. Having received no response from the ecclesiastical authorities, they mobilized support from native priests and army officers in Goa and met frequently at the house of one Father Pinto. They drew up a plan to drive the Portuguese out and to establish a republic. But news of the plan leaked out and the rebellion was foiled.

After the aborted Pinto Rebellion, the most significant struggles that took place were by the Ranes of Sattari. These struggles reflected the aspirations of a people to preserve their lifestyle and uphold their dignity. Between 1740 and 1822, the Ranes rebelled against the Portuguese over a dozen times. But the

most significant rebellion was in 1852 [Gune 1979:187].

In 1851, the Governor of Goa clamped taxes on the people and issued decrees interfering with their local dress. Apparently on the pretext of inspections, many women were raped by Portuguese soldiers. These circumstances resulted in a revolt in 1852, led successfully by Dipaji Rane, forcing the withdrawal of the decree. Revolts by the Ranes continued, sporadically, till 1913.

Goan expatriates attempted a revolt in 1833, to reinstate Bernardo Peres da Silva[4] as prefect (equivalent of governor) of Goa. Da Silva, a Goan appointed prefect by the Crown on account of his merits, was overthrown by the local Portuguese elite, through a military uprising. Wealthy Bombay merchant Rogerio da Faria and other Goans from Bombay, Belgaum, Dharwar and Pune, organized an expeditionary force to sail to Goa to reinstate the deposed prefect. But the onset of the monsoon prevented the success of the plan. Da Silva was deported to Lisbon and his followers imprisoned.

The earlier struggles, including the revolts of the Ranes -- which ended only in 1917 -- are quite distinct from the struggle that developed later on. They were motivated by certain immediate aspirations; for example, the participants of the

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[4]Da Silva was elected a deputy to the *Cortes* in the first elections held on 14 January 1822. By the time he reached Portugal, however, he found that the constitutional monarchy had been replaced by an absolute monarchy. This situation persisted till 1827, when a liberal government came to power, and Da Silva was once again elected a deputy. Once more, upon reaching Lisbon, he found the Cortes dissolved! He then aligned with the Liberals in Portugal, as a result of which he was exiled; first to Plymouth and then to Rio de Janeiro. Returning to Portugal on establishment of the constitutional regime in 1834, Da Silva addressed a memorandum to King Dom Pedro IV demanding liberties for the people of Portuguese India. He was appointed *Prefecto do Estado* on 7 May 1834, and returned to Goa. Immediately, he dismissed employees appointed during previous regimes, reorganized the judicial service, dissolved the religious orders and exempted village comunidades from tax, which comprised one-sixth of state revenue. The local Portuguese elite instigated a military coup which deposed him on 1 February 1835.

Conspiracy of the Pintos wanted to establish their right to top ranking positions. Or the struggles were against specific provocative measures of the Portuguese government. No attempt was made to challenge the political domination of the Portuguese, by launching a movement and building an enduring organization.[5]

In British India, the Indian National Congress [INC] was formed in 1885. The INC grew into the political organization that gave leadership to the independence movement and continued to play a role in the political mainstream after independence.

Attempts to build a similar organization in Goa are discernible only from the second decade of the twentieth century. Concerted efforts were made to give an organizational form to the anti-Portuguese sentiment that existed, and the organizations that emerged were articulate about the need for Goa to be freed from the Portuguese, and integrated with India. For this reason, in referring to the struggle that developed in the twentieth century, the terms freedom struggle or nationalist movement have been used.

The Genesis of the Nationalist Idea

The origin of the nationalist movement is generally traced to the origin of the

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[5]Antonio Menezes, formerly editor of a local Portuguese journal, *Diario da Noite*, recalled accompanying Governor General Mendonza Dias to visit Zotideva Zotiba Rane, at the historic house of the Ranes at Sanquelim. Rane talked of the '*friendly* and *ancient* family ties with the Portuguese'. Almost as if presenting proof of this, he showed them the sword received as a present from the last Viceroy, Dom Afonso Henriques. Menezes observed that the sword was maintained 'as if some ancient relic'. As further illustration of the fact that the Ranes were not thoroughly anti-Portuguese as is often made out to be, he stated that when an expedition from Portugal, led by Prince Dom Afonso Henriques, came to suppress the revolt of the Ranes (1895), on reaching Sattari they found a written message affixed to the fort saying: 'The rebels did not wish to open fire against the King of Portugal, represented here by His Highness, and therefore they dispersed' [Menezes:1994].

Goa Congress Committee in 1928. However, prior to this the concept of freedom began to emerge, and was articulated by individuals who played a role in paving the way for nationalism in Goa.

A unique privilege enjoyed by Goa was the election of representatives to the *Cortes* -- the parliament of Portugal from 1822 onwards. Although the right to vote was severely restricted -- literacy in Portuguese being one of the requisite qualifications -- on a few occasions the elected representatives did not remain mere puppets of the Portuguese but articulated protests against the colonial regime.

As noted before, Bernardo Peres de Silva, a member of the Liberal Party and a representative of Goa in the Portuguese parliament between 1822 and 1844, attempted to assert his right, following his ouster by the military, to continue in the post of prefect of Goa with the help of the Goan diaspora. Although unsuccessful, this episode was an indication of the growing self confidence of Goans.

In 1860, another articulate Goan, Franciso Luis Gomes (1829-1869), was elected to the *Cortes*. Gomes' views represent an acceptance of the superiority of Portuguese culture, while bemoaning the loss of the great Indian cultural heritage. An oft-quoted letter to French poet, Lamartine, is illustrative of his manner of thinking:

> I was born in the East Indies, once the cradle of poetry, philosophy and history and *now their tomb*. I belong to that race which composed the Mahabharata and invented chess . . . But this

> nation which made codes of its poems and formulated polities in a game, is no longer alive! It survives imprisoned in its own country . . . I ask for India liberty and light; *as for myself, more happy than my countrymen, I am free-civis sum*[6] [Gomes 1931:368 emphasis added].

Gomes advised the Portuguese government to look after the health services, judiciary etc, so as to ensure that the overseas provinces would not become *extinct*! For him, the Christian religion and primary education did not signify instruments of colonization, but were 'the most powerful instruments of civilization'[7] [1931:148,356].

Gomes worked to bring about changes in various spheres. He succeeded in getting public servants in the colonies to be placed on par with public servants in Portugal, aside from working for the reduction of court fees, the abolition of certain taxes and other such reforms.

His life was marked by the paradoxical praxis of acceptance of Portuguese colonial rule, and an attempt to strengthen it by taking measures favorable to the inhabitants of the colonies on the one hand, while on the other hand bemoaning the 'death' of the great nation, India, and its cultural heritage.

Gomes expresses his love for the glorious India of the past, but in the present day, asserts that Christianity and education are necessary for progress to be made

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[6]The last line of this letter is significant, though many writers, probably in trying to depict Gomes as a nationalist, have chosen to omit this line while quoting him [see Priolkar 1967:4 or Da Cruz 1974:1-2]. This line clearly reveals Gomes' perception of himself as 'free', on account of his being able to live in Portugal as a Portuguese citizen.

[7]It is significant to note that this necessarily meant Portuguese education, conducted in the Portuguese language.

in the colonies. In practice, he expresses his commitment to the people and to the land of Goa, by opting to be part of the Portuguese government, and working for reforms which can ensure that inhabitants of the colonies secure all the rights due to them as citizens of Portugal.

This acceptance of Portuguese colonial rule is by no means simplistic. In his novel *Os Brahmanes,* Gomes is caustic in his portrayal of the new caste system introduced by the European colonizers. However, the hero of *Os Brahmanes* is a priest: a true man of God who cures the European protagonist of his arrogance and lays the foundation for relationships based on equality between all.

While Gomes certainly believed that a struggle to effect changes was necessary, what appears to be important to him is not the overthrow of Portuguese rule but the spread of Christianity and education to facilitate the creation of a more humane and non-hierarchical society.

His affirmative acceptance of Portuguese rule is somewhat similar to Maharashtrian social reformer, Jyotiba Phule's (1827-1890) response to British colonial rule. However, while Phule attempted to bring about changes by utilizing the relative freedom offered by the British rule (as compared to the cruel, traditionalist rule of the Peshwas) to organize and work among the people; Gomes saw the Portuguese political institutions as vehicles of social change, which could be relied upon.

The emergence of Luis de Menezes Braganza (1878-1938) on the political scenario marked a different trend. First of all, Menezes Brazanza was an agnostic; vocal in his criticism of the Church. However, like Gomes, in the initial

stages of his political life he too believed Goa could benefit from the Portuguese colonial regime. He opposed the monarchy and supported the republican democracy which ruled from 1910 onwards.

The period of the Republic played a vital role in developing aspirations for liberty among Goans. When the Absolutists came to power in 1917 and denied the people their civil liberties, Menezes Braganza put forward the demand for autonomy. In his famous article *Solemnia Verba* [Solemn Issue] he stated:

> (T)he hour is sounded so that we may demonstrate that we have every right to autonomy . . . that we are neither automatons . . . nor beggars, accepting the disillusioning minority in the Government Councils, which is but a mockery of our rights [Shirodkar 1988:26].

When the Portuguese failed to give autonomy after agreeing to do so, Menezes Braganza called for a boycott of the polls to be held, to elect representatives to the Government Council. The result of the polls is indicative of the process of politicization that had been started with the advent of the republic. Of a total of 11,134 electors registered, only 885 voted, mainly comprising government servants afraid of losing their jobs [Esteves 1896:16].

Portuguese failure to concede autonomy and the advent of the dictatorial Salazar regime, caused Menezes Braganza to advocate freedom from Portugal as a necessary condition for the well being of Goa. Thus, Menezes Braganza was the pre-cursor of the freedom movement which began to take shape before his death on 10 July 1938.

Stirrings of nationalist consciousness

During the period of the Republic, journals were started which were important in shaping the ideas of the intellectuals of Goa and in sowing the seeds of patriotism. A number of bi-lingual journals were published and several organizations emerged.

O Debate was started by Menezes Braganza in 1921. Later, *Procasha* and *Bharat*, both bi-lingual Portuguese-Marathi journals (mentioned earlier) appeared. The latter was clearly anti-Portuguese in its outlook and was brought out for 30 years. Braganza Cunha regularly contributed to this journal. *Hindu,* a Marathi weekly edited by Dattatreya Venkatesh Pai, was brought out between 1924 to 1931. These were amongst the most influential journals in generating nationalist consciousness.

Around 1911, a political organization called the *Pragatika Sangh*, comprising Hindus, was set up [Esteves 1986:38]. Its formation marked a change in the political climate brought about by the new republican regime, and the awareness amongst Hindus of their political rights.

In 1937, the *Gomantakiya Tarun Sangh* was started in Margao by Shamrao Madkaikar. The Sangh organized discussions on topical issues which were not overtly political. It also founded the *Swayam Sevak Dal*, which ran a library and published a handwritten Marathi monthly named *Uttejan*. Though it operated under the guise of a social organization, the latent function of the Sangh was to

generate political consciousness in youth that were drawn to it.[8]

In 1945, Purshottam Kakodkar founded the *Goa Seva Sangh*, a social-cum-political organization in Margao. It held spinning classes, instructing people how to spin *Khadi* cloth, and introduced *charkhas* in many homes. It organized prayers and *pravachanas* and later on became part of the National Congress (Goa), or the NCG.

Juliao Menezes formed a group in Assolna known as the *Juvenile Club* in 1938. The club was short-lived. When the Piazza Cross at Assolna was found to be demolished the action was attributed to the club, on account of which its office was sealed. Menezes, a doctor by profession, then shifted to Bombay and started an organization called the *Gomantak Praja Mandal* in 1939, and in 1942 launched a weekly called *Gomantak* in Konkani and English.

The Role of Braganza Cunha in the Nationalist Movement

Braganza Cunha can be said to be a child of the republic. Born in 1891, he was nineteen years old when the republic was established, and was very aware of the optimism it had generated in Goa. He left for France in 1912 and returned to Goa the year that the Portuguese Army seized power through a coup and disbanded the republic, in 1926.

Braganza Cunha's activism can be classified into two distinct periods. The first period; prior to his imprisonment and transportation to Portugal in 1946, begins after his return to Goa in 1926. This was also the period prior to India's

[8]Personal communication made at an interview with Shamrao Madkaikar on 20 May 1992, at Navelim.

independence, when there was much nationalist activity being conducted throughout the country.

It marked the initiation of political activity by Braganza Cunha at a time when the military dictatorship had just seized power in Portugal. This meant a reversal of policies in Goa; notably the revival of racial discrimination, which had been considerably relaxed under republican rule. Civil liberties, too, were completely withdrawn from the colonized people.

During this period Braganza Cunha was concerned with arousing nationalist consciousness amongst the intelligentsia in Goa. It was a formidable task, considering the apparent apathy prevalent amongst the people, particularly the largely Portuguese-educated intelligentsia.

Significantly, during this period, his writings appeared mainly in the form of Portuguese pamphlets, some of which were subsequently translated into Marathi by fellow nationalists to reach a wider audience.

Unfortunately, immediately after the struggle for civil liberties in Goa was brought into the open after Lohia's intervention in June 1946, Braganza Cunha was arrested, sentenced, deported and deprived of the opportunity to participate in the liberation struggle from within Goa.

The second period is the post-Indian independence period, beginning with his return to India in 1953, till his death in 1958. Braganza Cunha was compelled to participate in the liberation struggle from Bombay. His activism consisted in appealing to the Indian government to take steps to bring about a solution to the Goa problem, and in appealing to different nationalist groups to unitedly work

for Goa's freedom.

Braganza Cunha's writings during this period were mainly in the form of articles, editorial notes and reports. These were in English and occasionally in Portuguese, and appeared in the fortnightly journal *Free Goa*, which he edited from 1955 to 1958 and, for a brief period of time, in Roman Konkani in *Azad Goem*. Both of these were published from outside Goa and so had a limited circulation in Goa.

A Free Goa in a Free India

In 1928, he established the Goa Congress Committee [GCC]. Its significance in the history of Goa was that it was the first attempt made to forge an organizational link between the interests of the people of Goa and the Indian independence movement. That same year, the GCC was affiliated to the INC at its Calcutta session.

The GCC was greatly inspired by the Indian nationalist movement. This was reflected in its activites. The late Berta Menezes Braganza, the only surviving member of this organisation, recalled distributing copies of the Quit India resolution and propagating the need for Goans to support the Indian nationalist struggle, which was intrinsically linked with Goa's liberation struggle. It also published pamphlets and booklets, many of which were authored by Braganza Cunha.

Unfortunately, the INC derecognised the GCC in 1934, as part of its decision to derecongnise the branch committees of the INC functioning in foreign

territories like London and New York. As it was functioning in a territory under Portuguese rule, the GCC was treated in the same category [Shirodkar 1988:29].

In spite of the existence of repressive legislation, the GCC was able to distribute literature openly.[9] Its influence was limited to a small intellectual section and it comprised dedicated patriots. After its establishment, other groups were formed, but the significance of the GCC was that it represented the first attempt to build an enduring organisation which would link the anti-Portuguese struggles in Goa with the nationalist movement that was rapidly gaining ground all over India.

While this effort suffered setbacks on account of the derecognition of the GCC by the INC, the foundation for Goa's freedom was laid.

In spite of the INC decision to derecongnise it, the GCC continued to function and, in 1936, a branch of this committee was started in Bombay and its main office was based there [Rao 1963:29].

The Goa Congress Committee, Bombay, issued the pamphlets titled *The Attack on the Indian Rupee* and *The Denationalisation of Goans*,[10] authored by Braganza Cunha, in June 1944. In January 1945, at the request of the Portuguese consul in Bombay, both booklets were banned in British India. The ban order was revoked in September 1945 following a historic ruling by Justice Chagla of

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[9]Berta Menezes Braganza (interviewed on 14 June 1990 at Margao) stated that they openly sold or distributed nationalist literature prior to 1946. Repressive legislation was enforced only after the launch of the Civil Disobedience Movement on 18 June 1946.

[10]*The Denationalization of Goans* is Braganza Cunha's indictment of the Goan intelligentsia, which he believed could not attain freedom unless it regained its pride of race and its identification with the Indian nation. This formulation of his has been discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5.

the Bombay High Court.

Braganza Cunha had believed the affiliation of the Goa Congress Committee to the Indian National Congress to be a significant step, which would facilitate the identification of the people of Goa with the nationalist struggle being waged in India. He was also optimistic that the Goa Congress Committee would be greatly strengthened with its affiliation to the Congress. The high opinion he had of the Congress is reflected in the following words:

> The evolution of Indian nationalism has today reached a stage which does not permit the Congress to limit its field of activities to British India alone, but compels it to accept within it all Indians without any regard for distinctions made by the foreigners in their own interest. This is the reason why we, like the subjects of the Indian states, cannot but welcome with enthusiasm the ideal of independence [Cunha 1961:145].

Braganza Cunha had obviously seen the affiliation of the Goa Congress Committee to the Indian National Congress as a necessary step. However, there is no evidence to indicate what he felt after the GCC was disaffiliated by the Congress in 1934. In contrast to his conception of Indian nationalism evolving to a certain stage, had Indian nationalism taken a step backwards?

Braganza Cunha's approach towards the Congress was marked by a certain ambivalence, in that he regarded its leaders and the cadres differently. After attending the Indian National Congress at Calcutta in 1928, where the GCC had secured affiliation, he remarked:

> The old leaders . . . seem to have lost contact with the new mentality which rules India today . . . they (the leaders) are no longer able to keep up with the rapid evolution in the country [Cunha 1961:159].

Braganza Cunha possibly viewed the disaffiliation as a technical matter, or perhaps thought that to comment adversely on the disaffiliation would have a negative effect on the GCC cadre. This could explain the statements made by him in the 'Concluding Remarks' of *Portuguese India,* an essay written in 1939:

> The Indian National Congress has long proclaimed India to be one and indivisible... It is on the combined efforts of all Congress organisations functioning throughout India, that depends the success of this struggle for freedom [Cunha 1961:54].

Braganza Cunha constantly emphasised that the liberation of Goa was linked with the independence of the Indian nation and would come about with its re-integration into India, as articulated in the slogan: 'A Free Goa in a Free India'.

Prior to 1946, propaganda had been carried out and the seeds of nationalist consciousness had been sown. However, the use of repressive legislation by the Portuguese authorities was not in evidence till the launch of the Civil

Disobedience Movement on 18 June 1946.[11]

Perhaps the comparatively mild attitude of the Portuguese authority in dealing with political activity prior to 1946 indicates that it did not view this activity as a threat to its rule.

This complacency was rudely shaken when the Portuguese witnessed the mass support received by the Civil Disobedience Movement. On 18 June 1946, the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched in Goa by Dr Rammanohar Lohia, a socialist and a respected nationalist leader in India.[12] Thousands of people participated in this movement, and the Portuguese authorities were obviously caught off guard.[13]

Following the meeting of 18 June 1946, a series of public meetings was held. Braganza Cunha, who had not been contacted when the movement was initiated, was apparently requested to act as a guide to the struggle after it had

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[11]Prior to the civil disobedience movement, incidents of harassment and the arrest of activists did take place, but the penalties were mild compared to the penal action taken after June 1946. The editor of *Bharat*, Govind Purndalik Hegde Desai, was arrested a few times but the longest period of detention he underwent was eight months. Shamrao Madkaikar was arrested after the Gomantakiya Tarun Sangh had invited a Royist from Belgaum to give a lecture in Margao in November 1938, without taking the permission of the Portuguese authorities. He was sentenced to five days imprisonment or a fine Rs 15 (Shamrao Madkaikar was interviewed on 20 May 1992, at Navelim).

[12]According to popular accounts, Lohia came to Goa at the invitation of Juliao Menezes, for a holiday. Seeing the state of repression that the Goans lived in, he decided it was time to come out in open defiance of the Portuguese regime and to wage a struggle for civil liberties. However, Urselino Almeida -- a relative of Menezes -- insists that the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched in a planned manner, and that Lohia had come to Goa with the express intent of launching this movement (interviewed on 6 March 1992, at Margao, Salcete).

[13]George Vaz recounts that the Portuguese authorities, after arresting Lohia, were unable to control the mass of humanity that gathered to listen to him. Consequently, they appealed to the arrested Lohia to address the crowd and order their dispersal: 'Rammanohar Lohia took advantage of this to address the people in Hindi from a balcony of the police station and to assert the fundamental right of the people to assemble and discuss. The police did not understand what he was saying as he talked in Hindi but they soon realised that he was talking something else and took him back. They ordered a lathi charge. But the fear complex was broken. This was his (Lohia's) most important contribution' (interviewed on 18 December 1990 at Assonora, Bardez).

been launched, on account of his seniority and experience.[14]

The Portuguese officialdom, accustomed to viewing Goa as 'an island of imperialist safety', now felt the need to utilise its repressive laws. Braganza Cunha, who actually had little role in initiating the movement, was identified as a leader and 'a subversive element' [Shirodkar 1991:16].

On 30 June, when Braganza Cunha was accompanying his niece, Berta Menezes Braganza, who was to offer *satyagraha* at Margao on that day, Portuguese soldiers beat him with rifle butts till he fell to the ground.[15] This was the first recorded incident of police brutality on a political activist in Goa's freedom struggle.

This was followed by another unprecedented step -- the arrest of Braganza Cunha on 12 July, his trial before a military court on 24 July and the sentence of eight years imprisonment, deportation to Portugal and the suspension of political rights for 15 years, awarded to him. He was the first freedom fighter to be tried by a military court and exiled (for a detailed account, see the biographical essay in Appendix II).

The fact that the rest of India was on the verge of attaining independence appears to have had a dual impact. On the one hand, it gave an impetus to the people of Goa to develop the struggle -- many who otherwise may not have

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[14]A document of 1946 describes the atmosphere that prevailed subsequent to Lohia's arrest:
'Meanwhile, the Civil Disobedience Movement to safeguard the rights of freedom of expression and of press *under the leadership of Tristao Braganza e Cunha* [sic] who belongs to the Committee of Goa Congress is making rapid strides. Huge crowds of four to five thousand persons (an [*sic*] unique event in the political history of Goa) attend daily, the meetings held at Madgaon, where there are persons who in spite of prohibitory orders desire to speak' [Shirodkar 1991:48 emphasis added].

[15]Narrated by Berta Menezes Braganza on 14 June 1990, at Margao.

participated, chose to take part. On the other hand, one cannot rule out the possibility of some opportunistic elements entering the struggle at this juncture, believing that this was their chance to carve out a niche for themselves in the political mainstream.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese authority stepped up the use of terror tactics as it began to view the freedom struggle as a threat to its rule over Goa. Long sentences of imprisonment and deportation to Portugal or, worse still, to the colonies in Africa, was common fare that awaited almost anyone whom the Portuguese identified as a 'trouble maker'. Since many of the leading freedom fighters were arrested and the use of terror tactics mounted, the civil disobedience movement petered out by the end of 1946.

The offering of satyagraha on certain symbolic occasions continued for some time -- such as every 18 June, 15 August or on Gandhi Jayanti (after 1948) -- but the fear of arrests effectively hampered its growth within Goa.[16]

Nationalists of Goa worked under the banner of the National Congress (Goa). Regular meetings of the NCG took place outside the territory. But in Goa, the activities of the NCG consisted mainly of distributing literature secretly and the hoisting of the national flag of independent India.

Terrorist groups emerged, but had limited impact as they functioned in isolation and could not join forces because of personal and ideological

[16] The Portuguese exhibited a certain paranoia in dealing with dissent. A case in point was the deportation of a well known surgeon, Dr Pundalik Gaitonde, for his act of having said '*Eu protesto*' (I protest), to the assertion of a Portuguese officer at a party, that Goa was a part and parcel of Portugal, and that Goa was in fact Portugal.

differences.[17]

India's Independence Incomplete without Goa's Freedom

After Braganza Cunha's return to India in 1953, he continued to emphasise the concept of 'A Free Goa in a Free India'. However, he focused his efforts in a different direction. While earlier he was concerned with convincing the Goan intelligentsia that they were Indians, in his later activism, Braganza Cunha's efforts were directed towards impressing upon the government of independent India that it could not be considered truly independent while pockets of its territory remained under foreign colonial domination.

Braganza Cunha was hopeful that Goa and the other foreign pockets would soon be free as India had become independent. He immediately initiated efforts to bring various groups committed to Goa's freedom under one umbrella organisation, the Goa Action Committee.[18]

While he believed that it was important for groups with divergent ideologies to unitedly resist Portuguese colonial rule, he no longer seemed to view the apathy of the Goan intelligentsia, or the 'denationalisation' of Goans as a matter of major concern. On 25 June 1954, writing about the Civil Disobedience movement in Free Goa, Braganza Cunha asserted:

(T)he savage sentences of long years of imprisonment and

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[17]The *Azad Gomantak Dal* (AGD), formed in April 1947, was the first terrorist group, comprising persons who broke away from the NCG.

[18]Many freedom fighters chose to go to Bombay, where they could carry on their political activity openly, rather than remain in Goa under fear of being arrested. Consequently, in Bombay, representatives of all the organizations concerned with Goa's freedom could be found.

> deportation, with bestial treatment, are on their part the best recognition of the magnitude of the movement that they tried to defeat using such bestial repression [Cunha 1954:1].

The reason for this was possibly the overwhelming response that Lohia's call to start a movement demanding Civil Liberties received, and his experience of participation in this movement, in addition to the fact that his base of operations was outside Goa. Thus, there is a clear shift in his thinking. The onus of freeing Goa was no longer on the Goans, but on the Indian government. Contrary to his own earlier position about the denationalisation of Goans, he now disputed claims that only a handful of discontents had declared themselves against foreign rule and for independence. In the wake of the popular upsurge for civil liberties during the civil disobedience movement of 1946, he now held that overwhelming popular sentiment within Goa was for its re-integration into India.

Attitude of the Indian Government

Besides attempting to forge unity between the various groups, Braganza Cunha urged the Indian government to take strong economic action against Goa, so that the Portuguese government in Goa would find it difficult to survive. He believed that such action would pave the way for Goa's liberation. However, he was critical of the manner in which the Indian government imposed the economic blockade which, according to him, 'served to harass innocent Goans without in the least affecting the Portuguese and their supporters, for whom they (the

sanctions) were meant' [Cunha 1961:389].[19]

The further course of events increased his disillusionment with the Indian government. In 1954, at the initiative of the *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* formed by Peter Alvares, a member of the Congress Praja Samajwadi Paksha (a Socialist Party faction), the *satyagraha* movement was relaunched. In August 1954, nationalists crossed the India-Goa border in a symbolic act to show the 'artificiality' of the boundaries. Significantly, the Indian government banned Indians from taking part in this protest.[20]

Probably on account of the awareness created of the Goa problem by the *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*, the Indian government did not ban the participation of Indians in the *satyagraha* of 1955. It attracted the participation of thousands of nationalists from India, and was described by a nationalist of Goa as being representative of 'true national integration'. The Goa problem invited international attention as the Portuguese troops opened fire on the unarmed *satyagrahis*.

Braganza Cunha's disillusionment with the Indian government was enhanced; firstly, on account of the attempt of the Indian government to prevent the participation of Indian nationalists in the movement; and secondly because of the response of the Indian government to the brutality shown by the Portuguese troops in dealing with the *satyagrahis*, which consisted in merely making 'platonic

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[19]In fact, two Goan nationalists -- Pandurang Mulgaonkar and Purshottam Kakodkar -- visited Nehru in 1960, asking for the relaxation of curbs that were causing hardships to the Goans.

[20]On 15 August 1954, three batches of Goans marched into Goa from Banda, Karwar and Tiracol. The batch entering Goa through Tiracol captured and held the Tiracol Fort for one night. All the satyagrahis were arrested.

protests'.

The Portuguese tried to project the movement as the creation of non-Goans, but in spite of the fear of arrest, Goans participated in significant numbers. Further, of 49 martyrs listed in a journal published soon after the movement, 28 were Goans [United Asia 1957:342].

On 10 July 1957, Braganza Cunha wrote in Free Goa:

> By stressing the distinction between Indians and Goans, the Indian bureaucracy not only fully recognised the Portuguese sovereignty on Goa, as it was never recognised by the Britishers, but treated Goans in India as foreigners and thus rendered more difficult their integration into India.

The question of Goa had not been considered in a 'broad national aspect' by the Indian leaders but through a 'narrow-minded, bureaucratic angle' [Cunha:1958]. The role played by the Indian government in the liberation of Nagar Haveli in 1954 was another case in point.

Members of the Goan People's Party [GPP], a leftist organisation, entered Nagar Haveli with the intention of liberating it but were arrested by the Indian police on the instructions they received from the then Bombay Presidency Chief Minister Morarji Desai. The reason for this was that he did not want a leftist organisation to take the credit for liberating Nagar Haveli.

Meanwhile, the *Azad Gomantak Dal* was permitted to enter Nagar Haveli. By 11 August, the liberation of Nagar Haveli was complete. On 15 August 1954, Braganza Cunha was called to Silvassa, the capital of Nagar Haveli, to hoist the

national flag. At first he refused on the grounds that the GPP members had been arrested by the Indian police. Ultimately, however, he went ahead with the flag hoisting ceremony as he did want to create ill feeling and highlight the differences that existed in the movement.

Shortly before his death, Braganza Cunha authored an editorial in *Free Goa* on 25 July 1958, titled *Portuguese Occupation of Goa Supported by Indian Merchants*,[21] in which he stated his views about the Indian government in no uncertain terms.

According to him, Goa's continued colonial status was owing to the protection given by Indian politicians to Indian businessmen for deriving profits from Goa, with the help of the Portuguese. He referred to the 'pseudo Gandhians in power in India' safeguarding the interests of the Indian merchants in Goa, who operated in connivance with Portuguese officialdom.

On 26 September 1958, Braganza Cunha died in Bombay of a heart attack. Ironically, though he has been called the 'Father of *Goan Nationalism*', what he attempted to do during the period of his political activity was to work for Goa's integration with India.

While he was politically active in Goa, he tried to convince the Goan intelligentsia of the fact that Goa was an integral part of India. When he was forced to carry out his political activities from outside Goa, he attempted to convince nationalists and the officialdom of India that India's independence

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[21]As this was the last polemical piece he ever wrote and it has not been included in the selection of his writings, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, published in 1961, this has been appended to the thesis. See Appendix 3.

would be incomplete without the integration of Goa and other foreign-ruled pockets within India. The result of his efforts was that the question of nationalism in Goa was put firmly on the agenda of Indian nationalism.

Course of Goa's Freedom Struggle

The integrationist concept voiced by Menezes Braganza towards the end of his life, was shaped and developed by Braganza Cunha. The dominant trend in the freedom struggle was integrationist, though other trends also existed, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The government of India's attitude of non-interference and the repressive measures used by the Portuguese government, led to a sharp decline in the tempo of the movement. No open struggle was conducted after 1955, till Goa was liberated by the Indian army in 1961.

The activities of the terrorists groups in Goa continued, but possibly did not have the desired impact on the Portuguese state because they were unable to join forces with each other.[22] Undercurrents of tension on grounds of moral issues or personality clashes marred the relationship between the groups.[23]

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[22]Having seen the 'futility' of the satyagraha movement, which only had the effect of further brutalising the Portuguese state, a need was felt for more militant action against the Portuguese, leading to the formation of the Goan Liberation Army. Among the actions they undertook was the sabotage of mines at Bicholim [interview with Urselino Almeida on 6 March 1992, at Margao, Salcete]. In 1957, a breakaway group from the AGD formed the Rancour Patriotica (RP). The RP led a series of formidable attacks on police outposts and launched a major attack on the Mulgao mines. In 1961, prior to liberation, they destroyed a tanker and a military van [Shirodkar 1986:334].

[23]While none of the members of different groups made any direct accusations at each other, Prabhakar Sinari, leader of the *Rancour Patriotica*, asserted: 'We wanted to uphold the principles of integrity and did not want any misuse of power.' He was implying, perhaps, that this took place in the AGD, from which his group had broken away.

Efforts were also made by various individuals to solve the Goa problem by mounting national and international pressure on the Portuguese government to end its colonial rule, and on the Indian government to re-examine its *panchasheel* philosophy and its policy of 'non-interference' in relation to Goa.

Dr Pundalik Gaitonde was elected as the President of the National Congress (Goa) in 1960 and visited America in 1961 trying to elicit support from leaders like Norman Thomas. Later, he and others worked to hold the Afro-Asian Seminar on Portuguese Colonies in Delhi in October 1961, at which representatives of various African colonies questioned the Indian stand on the Goa problem.

International awareness of the Goa problem had been growing ever since Portugal's inclusion in the UNO on 22 December 1955. On the day of its inclusion, Portugal had filed a case in the International Court at The Hague, demanding the right of passage over Indian territory between Daman, Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The case continued till April 1960 and concluded with the International Court's rejection of the Portuguese claim [Gune 1979:205].

Subsequently, in July 1960, some countries in the UNO demanded that Portugal give information about Goa and its other overseas territories, which Portugal refused to do. This resulted in the UN Trusteeship Committee passing a resolution in November 1961, condemning Portugal's refusal to divulge the information asked for. Further, it asked all members to deny any help to Portugal which could be used by her to subjugate the people of the non-autonomous territories under Portuguese administration [Kher 1947:32].

Within India, propaganda for Goa's liberation had been undertaken by the National Campaign Committee [NCC] formed by various individuals such as Romesh Chandra, Aruna Asaf Ali and Berta Menezes Braganza. All over India, widespread support was expressed for Goa's liberation in the meetings held by the NCC.

Meanwhile, all the above developments led to a change in the attitude of the Indian government. In the seminar on Portuguese colonialism (mentioned earlier) held in October 1961, Nehru confessed that India's policy on dealing with the Goa problem had failed, possibly necessitating the adoption of 'other methods' [Thapar 1962:9]. Similarly, in November 1961, when the UN Trusteeship Committee made a statement that Nehru had renounced the use of force, Krishna Menon denied this [Khera 1974:32]. Within a month of this, the Indian government launched *Operation Vijay* on 18 December 1961. In less than 48 hours, the Indian army succeeded in freeing Goa. On 19 December 1961, Goa was free.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Problematic Course of Nationalism in Goa

While Russia and the other socialist countries applauded India's freeing of Goa, the western international media, especially the British and American press, were highly critical of the Indian 'invasion' of Goa. On 21 December 1961, the *New York Journal* referred to 'India's Imperialism in Goa' and reported:

> The invasion of the tiny Portuguese enclaves was naked aggression against a peaceful neighbor [National Secretariat for Information (NSI) 1962:337].

The army action was described as a 'mockery of morality' and a violation of the doctrine of *ahimsa*. The *Liverpool Daily Post* went so far as to draw allusions with Hitlerian aggression in Poland [NSI 1962:395]. Projections were made about the fate that awaited the Goans in their merger with India, and Goan 'prosperity' and 'enlightenment' were contrasted with Indian 'poverty' and 'backwardness'.

A legislative assembly member in Brazil was quoted by the *Diario da Manha* as referring to India as 'the India of the castes . . . where Indians have a reddish saliva that looks like blood . . . It is not blood but is caused by a plant which people chew to guile their stomachs and prevent them from feeling hungry' [NSI 1962:603].

While propaganda of this nature was motivated by political allegiances, a charge made by the international press which could not be so easily dismissed was the weakness of the freedom struggle in Goa.

A few days after Goa was freed, Dom Moraes -- the noted writer of Goan origin -- then a young student in England, wrote in the British daily, the *Evening Standard:*

> I think this must be the first occasion, seen through the rain of Indian propaganda pamphlets fluttering down on Goa, where the 'liberation' of a country was achieved from outside rather than inside [NSI 1962:393-394].

A report titled 'Darkness in Delhi' in the British daily *The Daily Telegraph* speculated:

> Did the Goanese really yearn for 'liberation'? If so, they kept remarkably quiet about it, despite every incitement from India to express their feelings. Indeed many of them -- possibly a majority -- have obvious reasons for wanting to stay out of India [NSI 1962:391].

It is evident that the attainment of freedom by Goa was not a natural corollary to the development of nationalist consciousness in Goa. It would be more correct to say that Goa was freed by India on account of the mounting national and international pressure it was subject to, and in spite of the absence of a concerted and popular nationalist struggle.

Though in most accounts of the freedom struggle much is made of the

military build up by the Portuguese in Goa, the fact is that when the Indian army entered Goa with 15,000 troops (and with 15,000 additional troops in reserve, at the border) only 3,500 Portuguese troops were actually stationed in the territory.[1] This belies claims by nationalists that the Portuguese were maintaining their rule over Goa by the use of brute force.[2] Nationalists in Goa had been consistent in their demand for Goa's freedom, but were unable to develop a full-fledged movement which could force the Portuguese to leave. This was expressed most articulately by Dr Sukhtankar:

> We were not liberated by our own efforts. We were liberated by *Sardarjis* whom we didn't know and who had no love for us.[3]

The perceptions of participants shed some light on the factors responsible for the impaired development of nationalist consciousness in Goa, and the problematic course of nationalism in Goa.

Repressive measures

The freedom fighters were unanimous in identifying fear as a major factor preventing the development of the nationalist struggle. The late Dr Pundalik Gaitonde, who assumed importance in the freedom struggle after he was transported to Portugal for having uttered two words of protest (see Chapter 2),

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[1]According to the *US News and World Report*, 1 January 1962 [National Secretariat for Information 1962:346]. Also corroborated by Keesings Contemporary Archives, quoted in Kay 1970:319.

[2]Braganza Cunha's claims, too, appear a little exaggerated. In a *Report to the World Assembly for Peace* he states: 'After India's independence the Portuguese, who had no army of occupation, brought thousands of African and European soldiers to Goa equipped with modern British and American weapons, and with them posed a challenge to independent India' [1961:336].

[3]Personal communication at an interview with Dr D S Sukhtankar on 10 December 1991, at Bandra, Bombay.

explained:

> The difference between arrest under the Portuguese and British, was that under the British you knew you would be released after some period. Whereas under the Portuguese, there was no guarantee of being released at all. Goa is such a small place and so many arrests took place from north to south.[4]

Dr Sukhtankar fled to Bombay in 1953, as he feared being arrested and deported to a far off place for a long period of time. He identified fear as a major factor preventing people from actively associating with the movement or causing others like himself to flee from Goa. He confessed: 'The fear of being arrested anytime actually killed me.'[5]

As a result of the repressive regime in Goa, numerous freedom fighters thought it better to stay outside Goa and fight rather than stay in Goa and face arrest and transportation. George Vaz, a member of the leftist Goan People's Party (GPP) was one such freedom fighter. He stated:

> We mainly operated from Bombay. In Goa, because of the absence of civil liberties, it was not possible to participate.[6]

Consequently, within Goa, effective leadership was laeking. The Civil Disobedience Movement of 1946 had resulted in 1500 Goans being arrested, held in police detention for various terms or being subjected to police excesses [Shah

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[4]Personal communication at an interview with Dr Pundalik Gaitonde on 8 December 1992, at Palolem, Canacona.

[5]Personal communication at an interview with Dr D S Sukhtankar on 10 December 1991, at Bandra, Bombay.

[6]Personal communication at an interview with George Vaz on 18 December 1990, at Assonora, Bardez.

1965:14]. Among those arrested and transported were persons who had the organizing capabilities needed to build a movement. This meant a major setback to the movement.

Of the activists who remained, some moved to places like Bombay and Belgaum, as to remain in Goa and openly associate with the movement was not possible. Others remained in Goa and functioned clandestinely, mainly engaging in terrorist activities and not in mobilizing popular support for the movement. Gaitonde remarked:

> The Goa freedom struggle was leaderless . . . There was a movement. It was not as though we were totally bankrupt of movements. But we did not know how to organize effectively . . . We were ignorant people trying to do something for the movement.

Collaboration of Upper Castes

Without doubt the phenomenon of fear played an important role in restricting participation in the movement and rendering it leaderless in the post-1946 period. However, it does not account for the late development of the movement. Casual comments and observations provide some insight into the reasons for this.

Sukhtankar identified collaboration of the upper classes with the Portuguese as a factor preventing the development of the anti-Portuguese struggle. He emphasized that among the upper classes, the *bamonn* caste was especially interested in the continuance of Portuguese rule:

> After the Republic was formed, Hindus had an interest in Portuguese rule because they could reach the top. The Director of Postal Services was a Hindu, so too of Customs. In Goa the *bamonns* were more with the Portuguese; even Hindu *bamonns* were with the Portuguese. They had a divided loyalty to some extent. They were loyal to the Portuguese because of financial security, and the worry -- what will happen after liberation, when all land will belong to the tiller?

Sukhtankar also said that once the mine owners got rich, they used to give money to *both* the Indian government and to the Portuguese government. He pointed out that different castes participated in the movement differently, according to the treatment they had received from the Portuguese. He differentiated the position of the Catholic *charddos* from other Christians:

> Among Catholics, *bamonns* had more interest in Portuguese rule. *Charddos* had more interest in the nationalist movement as they did not get an equal opportunity with the *bamonns*.

According to him, the *charddos* who joined the movement were 'more nationalist than any Hindu'.

Divakar Kakodkar shared similar views regarding the position of the upper castes in the movement. Kakodkar joined the CPI at the age of 18, as a student in Bombay. In 1947, he came to do political work in Goa but within two years was arrested and sent to Cabo Verde for eight years, after spending one and a half years in the Fort Aguada jail in Goa. He commented:

> In India, many jails were like universities. Here it did not happen. Participation was often on caste basis. Upper caste Hindus who liked to lead, did not want to give 'pep talks' in jail or political talks . . . The upper caste *Saraswats*[7] were next to the Portuguese in stressing their power and would control the masses.[8]

Kakodkar was critical of upper caste participants who tried to dominate the movement, consequently alienating the lower castes from the struggle. According to him, this accounted for the fact that freedom fighters who stood for elections after liberation were defeated, while the *Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party*, seen as a party of 'the people' rode to power.

Indian Government's Response

For most freedom fighters in Goa, the nationalist movement in India was a source of inspiration and served to strengthen their nationalist sentiments. But on numerous occasions, the attitudes of the leaders of the INC, and later of independent India towards the Goa problem, appear to have had a demoralizing effect on the freedom fighters. It also led to the reification of the belief that Goa was distinct from India, and the process of 'Goan nationalism' distinct from the process of Indian nationalism.

Berta Menezes Braganza was critical of the behavior of some Indian leaders

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[7]The term `Saraswats' is used to indicate Goud Saraswat Brahmins, the dominant Brahmin grouping in Goa. The upper strata of the Saraswats is Goa's major Hindu *bhatkar* community.

[8]Personal communication made at an interview with Divakar Kakodkar on 28 January 1991, at Curchorem, Quepem.

who propagated the politics of exclusion. She recalled:

> Morarji Desai came for a meeting and said: 'You Goans, you fight for yourself. What has India got to do with it? ' I couldn't stand it. I got up and shouted, and told him: 'You are an Indian and I am not? Would Mahatma Gandhi listen to this?'[9]

All the freedom fighters had expected Goa to achieve freedom soon after India won its independence from the British, and were surprised by the indifference of the Indian government towards the Goa problem. Sukhtankar was critical of the Indian government's obsession with her 'international image' and claimed:

> We remained Portuguese, not because of Portugal, but because of Nehru. He wanted to maintain *panchasheel* and settle things amicably, which was not possible with Salazar.

The Indian government's ban on the participation of Indians in the *satyagraha* movement of August 1954 was incomprehensible to the freedom fighters. Divakar Kakodar remarked:

> When Indians marched from every part of the country in the *satyagraha* movement, that was the real *Ekatmata*. But the role of the INC was very much influenced by their desire to protect the Gujarati merchants in Goa.

What the intentions of the INC were is a debatable question, but the fact is that the INC failed to meet the expectations of the freedom fighters, and

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[9]Personal communication at an interview with Berta Menezes Braganza on 14 June 1990 at Margao, Salcete.

contributed to weakening the nationalist movement in Goa.

The Lusitanisation Process

Aside from the caste factor, the nature of Portuguese rule in general and its use of religion in particular were cited as factors determining the development of nationalist consciousness.

For the elite sections, being a Portuguese citizen was not just a paper privilege, but had real implications. Barring the post of governor, they could realistically aspire to any other high ranking official positions in Goa, Portugal or in the other Portuguese colonies.

A telegram sent to the Portuguese head of state on the eve of Goa's attainment of freedom by a group of Goans resident in England, is illustrative of the loyalty of this elite section towards Portugal:

> As Goans who reside in the United Kingdom, faithful to our motherland, we have the honor of informing you that yesterday we sent telegrams to his Holiness the Pope, the Heads of State and Prime Ministers of various countries and high officials of the UNO among others, appealing to them to use their influence with the Indian government to avoid any aggression against our beloved land . . . In this most grave hour we respectfully greet you as the esteemed Head of our dear Homeland, as well as the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, and the Overseas Provinces, in whose efforts to defend the sacred rights of Goa we place the

greatest hopes and confidence.[10]

Commenting on the reasons for the weakness of the nationalist struggle in Goa, George Vaz stated:

> The Portuguese, unlike the British, had developed more rapport in their 450 years of rule, as a result of which sharp anti-Portuguese sentiment was absent.

Pandurang Mulgaonkar pointed out that the people of Goa were considered citizens of Portugal, enjoying the right to send their elected representatives to the Portuguese parliament, and that this gave the elite sections a feeling of superiority over their counterparts in British India. The period of the republic had especially helped in bringing the Hindu elite to enjoy positions of power under the Portuguese:

> The Republican Regime was far more liberal than British India. People had all the fundamental rights. During this period a small delegation of Goans visited Gandhi for guidance on what to do in Goa. Gandhi told them: 'Your position is better than ours. You have civil liberties.'[11]

Commenting on the nature of the Portuguese administration, Sukhtankar observed:

> I saw very few Portuguese. We used to see only Indians ruling. Practically speaking, Indian Catholics ruled first, later Hindus; the

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[10]Reported in the Portuguese journal *Diario de Noticias*, 19 December 1961 [NSI 1962:434].

[11]Personal communication at an interview with Pandurang Mulgaonkar on 22 February 1992, at Porvorim, Bardez.

higher castes ruled. Every office we would go to, some acquaintance would be there.

While the phenomenon of co-option of the elite to the administrative services is common in countries under colonial rule, there was a vital difference in the way in which the Portuguese treated this section as compared to other colonial rulers.

Portuguese residents of Goa mingled freely with Goans. In British India, the recreational clubs were the preserve of the Britishers, and were closed to all non-whites; while in Goa, the elite Goans freely fraternized with the Portuguese at such clubs, which were established at the initiative of Goans.

Scholarships to study in Portugal were liberally doled out, enabling Goans to stay in Portugal. Among the co-opted elite the feeling of being citizens of Portugal was a very real one. Till today, there is a minuscule section of Hindus and a small section of upper caste Christians whose first language is Portuguese.

How successful the use of the church as an agency of lusitanisation had been -- especially in the educated elite -- can be gauged from the fact that Hindu and Christian freedom fighters were unanimous in their identification of the church as being an agency instrumental in curbing the development of nationalist consciousness.

According to Urselino Almedia, there was no interest in Goa's freedom struggle on the part of Christians. If they got involved, they would be treated by other Christians as if they had been 'bought over'. Most of those who participated did so from Bombay, or did so only after getting a chance to broaden

their vision, having spent time outside Goa.[12] Narrating some of his experiences when he was an underground activist, Almeida recounted:

> In Goa, Catholics would inform on others. When I was underground, no Catholic family offered me shelter. I stayed with Hindus. And to stay with Hindus, I used to take on a Hindu name to gain their acceptance.

George Vaz commented on the use of religion by the Portuguese, saying:

> They (the Portuguese) had successfully separated the people from the nationalist trend in India. The Church had made the Goans feel separate from the Indians, especially the Catholics. We were few Christians in the movement; later, others joined.

Most persons interviewed irrespective of their religious beliefs were of the opinion that for a Christian to become active was far more difficult than for a Hindu. This is substantiated by a first hand account given by Evagrio Jorge (1925-78), a former secretary of the Youth Congress (Goa) in his *Reminiscences*, in which he explains why on one particular occasion he decided to postpone the date for his offering satyagraha. One of the reasons was:

> Being at that time one of the few Christians in the front rank of the movement 'sui generis', somewhat foreign to the westernized traditions of a sector of our people, it did not please me to be merely one of the many who offered satyagraha. I wanted time to contact our people, to pass on to them our message, to publish

[12]Personal communication at an interview with Urselino Almeida on 6 March 1992, at Margao, Salcete.

> something, and only then give myself up into the hands of the authorities. [1973:69].

Berta Menezes Braganza said that most of her close friends and associates were Hindus and that only a few Christians understood or were supporters of her activities.

When asked whether the numerical strength of Christians in the freedom struggle was significantly smaller than that of Hindus, however, most freedom fighters felt that the relationship between religion and nationalist consciousness could not be quantified in such definite terms. But they felt that sympathy for the movement was much greater among Hindus than Catholics. Dr Sukhtankar gave various examples to illustrate his point of view that, generally, the mass of Christians was apathetic to the freedom struggle:

> Catholics staying in *cuddos*[13] were completely ignorant of the situation in Goa . . . They identified their interests as being safe under the Portuguese . . . Catholics in Delhi organized a grand function for the Ambassador of Portugal . . . After liberation, the next week was Natal but Christians had no desire to celebrate it.

On 17 August 1954, the Goa correspondent of the British daily newspaper *The Times* reported on the reaction of the local population to *satyagrahis* entering Goa to demand her liberation: 'The "oppressed brothers", seemingly unattracted by this prospect, resorted in almost unprecedented numbers to the shrine of St

[13]The *cuddos*, or Goan clubs in Bombay, were residential dormitories, organized mostly on a village basis, for the migrant Goans who had come to the city to work. These Goans belonged to the lower or middle classes.

Xavier with petitions to be saved from the disturbances which threatened their way of life' [Kay 1970:304].

The Church in Goa had, through a process of enculturation, attempted to alienate and segregate the Christians from the nationalist movement, and caused them to identify with their colonial masters on account of the religion they shared. It is noteworthy that in spite of this, numerous Christians participated in the movement, although this often implied their alienation from relatives and friends.

The use of terror to curb the movement and the attitude of the Indian government to the struggle, contributed to curtailing the development of nationalist consciousness in Goa. But more important than these factors was the cultural penetration achieved by the Portuguese, which led a section of the elite to refuse to admit that they were Indian.[14]

In fact, three years after Goa was freed, the *Goa Freedom Movement* was established with the objective of ending Indian 'imperialist' rule over Goa. Although this organization was formed in Paris, mainly by non-resident Goans, it would be wrong to assume that this trend of thought enjoyed absolutely no sympathy within Goa.

The historiography of the nationalist movement to date, fed by nostalgic reconstructions, at times seeks to deny the existence of the affinal feelings

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[14]On 6 October 1964, Evagrio Jorge, a nationalist of Goa, while watching a *tiatr* staged by a famous Goan dramatist, Kid Boxer, got up to publicly protest against frequent anti-India jokes in the *tiatr*. Jorge demanded to know why Boxer lived in India, and asked him why didn't go to Portugal if he liked that country so much [Konknni Borovpeancho Ekvott 1964:42-46]. It is to be noted that after 1946 and till 1961, numerous *tiatrs* were pro-Portuguese. *Tiatrs* continue to be very popular among Christians.

towards Portugal still to be found in a section (no doubt small) of Goans. But this is a form of exclusion. The validity of different trends of thought cannot be denied.

R.K. Laxman comments on Goa's Liberation, *The Times of India*, 20 Dec 1961

CHAPTER FIVE

Denationalization vs Nationalism

Perhaps one of the most outstanding achievements of Braganza-Cunha was his graphic detailing of the cultural and social penetration achieved by Portuguese imperialism in Goa, in his noted essay *The Denationalization of Goans*, first published in 1944.

According to Ashis Nandy, Frantz Fanon (1926-61), a psychiatrist and social philosopher involved in the Algerian liberation struggle, was one of the first to realize the psychological dominance of European middle-class cultures in the colonies[1] [Nandy 1983:4]. However, more than two decades before Fanon's first work was published, Braganza-Cunha had recognized that imperialism was not just political and economic in nature, but led to 'intellectual servility, the degeneration of its (the people's) culture, the negation of progress and the death of its personality' [Cunha 1961:218]. *The Denationalization of Goans* is an analysis of the process which had led to the enslavement of the minds of Goans, and which prevented them from resisting colonial rule.

Nandy observes that while one form of colonization had been defeated, the second form of colonization persisted:

> This form of colonialism colonizes minds in addition to bodies...

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[1]Fanon's noted works were *Black Skins White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, published in 1952 and 1961 respectively.

> it helps generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds[2] [1983:XI].

Braganza-Cunha displays an acute awareness of the impact of colonial rule on the intellectual modes of the colonized people, especially the elite sections. His concept of the 'Denationalization' of Goans shares much in common with Fanon's conception of the process of the 'mutilation' of the people and the 'colonization' of native intellectuals in Algeria. 'Denationalization' is the process through which the people, especially the elite sections, had lost touch with their own culture and lost their 'pride of race'. Similarly, Fanon is concerned with the manner in which the colonized intellectuals had adopted 'Mediterranean' values, resulting in the 'spiritual penury' of this class and the 'profoundly cosmopolitan mode' that its mind was set in, causing it to be distanced from the people. Both of them believed that the process of mental enslavement of the elites enabled the colonial rulers to sustain their rule over the colonized with their consent.

An important difference between Braganza-Cunha and Fanon is that the former is exclusively concerned with the plight of the enslaved elite, while the latter pays a great deal of attention to the role of the 'natives' (the ordinary people, especially the peasants) in the nationalist struggle. The reason for this is their divergent perceptions of the course that the nationalist struggle had to

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[2]While Nandy is concerned with the colonization of minds that persists *after* the departure of the colonizers, Braganza-Cunha was concerned with the strength, persistence and even seeming 'popularity' of ongoing colonial domination, because the minds of the people had been enslaved.

take in their respective countries.[3]

While there is a tendency to attribute the absence of a nationalist struggle to the repressive nature of Portuguese colonialism; according to Braganza-Cunha the stranglehold of Portuguese imperialism over the minds of the colonized had resulted in a loss of the will to resist the rule of the colonizers.

Braganza-Cunha is most remembered by his contemporaries for this essay. At the very mention of his name, freedom fighters interviewed recalled this essay and viewed it as one of his distinguished achievements. As one freedom fighter remarked: 'His (Braganza-Cunha's) whole life he fought against the Denationalization of Goa. There was no Hindu leader of his stature.'[4]

However, the popular interpretation of this essay is that it is an analysis of the plight of Goan Christians. This view sees the Goan Christians as denationalized in contrast to the Hindus, who by implication were imbued with a greater level of national consciousness.[5]

An examination of this essay and Braganza-Cunha's use of the term 'denationalized' will serve to show the incorrectness of this interpretation.

Etymology of the term 'Denationalization'

The concept of 'Denationalization' first appears in Braganza-Cunha's essay *What*

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[3]Fanon views the peasantry as a revolutionary class having 'nothing to lose and everything to gain'[1963:47]. According to him the struggle against colonialism was necessarily violent, entailing the use of arms. While Fanon is wary of the vacillating nature of the 'colonized intellectuals', Braganza-Cunha felt that the struggle had to be initiated by this class, although the source of its strength would be the participation of 'the people'.

[4]Personal communication at an interview with Dr D S Sukhtankar on 10 December 1990 at Bandra, Bombay.

[5]This view is elaborated upon in the section of this chapter titled *The 'Denationalized Christian' - A Viewpoint.*

is Imperialism, published in 1928. In a section of this essay titled *The Indian Nationalism*, Braganza-Cunha emphasizes the fact that the people of Goa are part of India, and that the Indian national movement should be of concern to them. He is astounded by the phenomenon whereby:

> Our educated class, aiming at official posts and formed by an absurd education . . . renders it alien to its country, finds itself socially and intellectually denationalized [1961, 219].

Interestingly, within Portugal the term 'Denationalization' was used in quite a different sense. Antonio de Figueiredo, who was born in Portugal and worked in Mozambique as an underground activist opposing the Portuguese regime states:

> Writers and thinkers (in Portugal) who had, through contact with their European cultures discovered the obscurantism of their own, were to be known in Portuguese history as the *estrangeirados* -- 'the foreignized' or those influenced by imitation of foreigners. To this day they are the target of hatred of the regime's 'ultras' who regard them as 'dogmatic masters of Denationalization'[6] [1975:147].

Attempting to project the *satyagraha* of 1955 as being conducted mainly by Indians, Salazar stated:

> Once the supply of the few denationalized Goans had run out -- and they were essential to give color to the protest -- Indians had to be exclusively resorted to [Salazar 1955:5]

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[6]As quoted by Figueiredo from Murias, Manuel, *Retrato de Salazar - In Memorian*, Lisbon, 1971.

In 1914, arguing in favor of imparting primary education in the mother-tongue, Konkani, rather than in Portuguese, Menezes Braganza wrote:

> What makes us to hesitate to follow that course is, perhaps, the *danger of denationalization* about which so much is talked now-a-days (*sic*) [Menezes Braganza Memorial Committee 1972:58].

If the term 'denationalized' was commonly used by Portuguese officialdom in this manner, Braganza-Cunha possibly adopted its usage in a paradoxical fashion. The term 'denationalization' is not commonly used by nationalist thinkers, and it is difficult to ascertain exactly how Braganza-Cunha came to use this term.

In the mid-1870s, Keshab Chandra Sen remarked: 'Truth is not European, and it would be a mistake to force European institutions upon the Hindus, who would resist any attempt to denationalize them' [Chatterjee 1993:40]. Around 1910, Aurobindo Ghose used this term in an editorial he authored for his journal *Karmayogin*. He wrote of how Indians had lost their spirituality and needed to regain their *Brahmatej* but, he lamented:

> Our educated class have become so unfamiliar with the deep knowledge of their forefathers that it has to be translated into modern European terms before they can understand it. For it is the European ideas alone that are real to them. . . so well has British education done its total denationalizing work in India [Grover 1992:152-153].

It is perhaps mere coincidence that Braganza-Cunha was in Pondicherry as

a student when Aurobindo Ghose decided to take up residence there. It is doubtful whether Braganza-Cunha's actual usage of the term 'Denationalization' was inspired by him. However, in his formulation of the concept he was possibly influenced by the mode of thinking of Aurobindo Ghose and other nationalists like Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, who emphasized the rich tradition and culture of India which people had forgotten in their encounter with the west. Bipin Chandra Pal, for example, asserted that the problem of India's domination by the British was not of politics, economics or administration:

> It was a simple, psychological problem . . . you ought to be able to find it yourself, now, this problem . . . the government of 300 millions and more of aliens by less than 3 lakhs people over a vast continent [Murthy 1967:163].

Thus the denationalizing effect of imperialist education, the need to affirm the achievements of the past and the problem of dominance being a psychological one, were concepts that had been suggested by nationalists prior to and contemporaneous to Braganza-Cunha. But in the early phase of his activism[7], Braganza-Cunha attempted an analysis of the concept of denationalization which encompassed all these aspects, as he saw the denationalization of Goans as the main obstacle for the development of nationalism in Goa.

The First Premise - the Indian Nation

In the first chapter, the lusitanisation endeavor of the Portuguese has been

[7]From 1926 to 1946, the period of his activism in Goa.

examined. Braganza-Cunha's formulation of the thesis of the denationalization of Goans addresses the process of lusitanisation; however, denationalization necessarily implied the process by which Goans had lost their 'Indianness'.

His attempt is to show the primordial affinity of Goa to the mother nation, India, in order to create an Indian identity for the Goan. This was in fact an instrumentalist construction, considering that the creation of 'India' was preceded by the definition of Goa.[8]

What made Braganza-Cunha identify himself as an Indian is a mystery, especially when one considers that his father edited a conservative, pro-Portuguese journal, *O Nacionalista*, and given the fact that the greater part of his youth was spent in France. But possibly his self-identification as an Indian sprang from his stay in France, which facilitated his contact with thinkers like Romain Rolland and nationalists from other parts of the world like Chou En Lai and Ho Chin Minh, at a time when the nationalist movement in India was attracting international attention (see the biographical essay in Appendix 2).

Braganza-Cunha was deeply impressed by the Congress-led nationalist movement in India, which helped him -- a 'denationalized Goan' himself -- to gain a sense of national identity. As he rarely wrote about himself, it is difficult to ascertain exactly how he came to identify himself as an Indian, but the fact is for him, the nation was the 'Great India'. However, there were other nationalist

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[8]As pointed out by Kaviraj in *The Imaginary Institution of India*. 'India' was a product of a conjuncture of modernity, which nationalists tried to portray as a 'community which was lost -- to be regained' [Chatterjee 1993:21]. Braganza-Cunha identifies the empires of Asoka and the Kadambas' as representative of the 'Indian Civilisation' [1961:4,5]. See the section titled *Approach to History* in Chapter 6.

imaginings.

Among the nationalists, there was a section that viewed Goa as a part of Maharashtra. Braganza-Cunha was critical of this trend, which according to him was responsible for sowing distrust among Christians regarding their future in a free Goa.

As seen in Chapter One, a section of the elite comprised lusitanised Goans, for whom the parent nation was Portugal. They identified themselves as being Portuguese.

Among the nationalists, a small section sought autonomy for Goa, temporarily under Portuguese sovereignty. Though most nationalists were extremely critical of this section and viewed it as 'anti-national' or 'pro-Portuguese', proponents of this section identified themselves as being 'Goans', and wished to make Goa into a small, autonomous state like Monaco [The Goa League 1956:34].[9]

Commenting on a manifesto making the plea for an autonomous Goa, Braganza-Cunha says these nationalists acted 'as if Goans belonged to a nationality of their own distinct from any other'. He remarks in *Free Goa*: 'Obviously, Sheikh Abdullah has succeeded in making disciples among Goans' [25 Jan 1958:2]. According to him, an appeal to the Portuguese government for autonomy necessarily implied an acceptance of Portuguese sovereignty. He responded to the move for autonomy in a series of two articles in Free Goa: *Our*

[9]Purshottam Kakodkar (interviewed on 15 May 1992), supposedly one of the nationalists who had initiated the autonomy move, declined to comment when asked about it.

Goan Abdullahs [25 Jan 1958:2] and *Again Our Goan Abdullahs* [10 April 1958:4].

Braganza-Cunha believed in the Leninist concept of the right of nationalities to self-determination in the context of the Soviet Union, but was extremely critical of Sheikh Abdullah's attempts to build a movement for Kashmir's liberation from Indian sovereignty or even its autonomy. He obviously did not believe this concept to be relevant to the Indian situation.

There are instances when Braganza-Cunha refers to Goa or to 'Portuguese India' as a 'country'.[10] His use of the word 'country' is to indicate a definite space or a particular territory, be it Goa or 'Portuguese India'. However, he never refers to Goa as a nation. India was the nation to which Goa belonged.

Agencies of Denationalization

The Denationalization of Goans starts with a statement which must have startled his readers:

> In the whole of India no people is so denationalized as Goans. A complete lack of national consciousness and the most shameful subjection to foreign rulers, either Portuguese or British, render the Goan and particularly the Goan Christian a stranger in his own land [1961:59].

The causes for the denationalization of Goans are manifold. First, the long tenure of Portuguese rule had brought about a 'pronounced deformation of

[10]As in *Portuguese India -- A Survey of Conditions* [Cunha 1961:3] or *The Denationalization of Goans* [Cunha 1961:55-98].

character'. But more than this, what had led to the 'disfigurement' of the national character of the Goan people was 'the peculiarly tyrannical and intolerant ways of the Portuguese rulers' [1961:59].

To facilitate the continued mental enslavement of the people of Goa, the Portuguese created myths which dominated the historiography of their rule over Goa[11] (discussed in Chapter 6). The result of this was that Goans who had received Portuguese education grew up believing Albuquerque to be tolerant and in favor of inter-racial integration, and nurtured the belief that Francis Xavier had effected conversions miraculously. Consequently, many Goans were in awe of the Portuguese.

Braganza-Cunha demolishes the myths contained in the Portuguese historiography of its conquest of Goa. He examines their impact on the people, details the manner in which the language of the people, *Konkani*, was destroyed and shows how the traditional culture of the people was replaced by an imitative culture. He argues that although politically and economically, Goa was an integral part of India, an 'artificial barrier' separated Goa from the mother-nation.

For Goa to be liberated, it was essential that the people become conscious of their present state of degradation and that they cultivated pride in their nationality, identifying with the nationalist struggle being waged in India.

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[11]Kaviraj has stated: 'To give itself a history is the most fundamental act of self-identification of a community' [Chatterjee 1993:16]. Hobsbawm, commenting on the role of history in the formation of national identity, states that some nationalist movements are compelled to reach 'far back, beyond the real memory of their peoples in the search for a suitable (and suitably impressive) national state in the past' [1992:76]. The use of historiography in the construction of identity can be seen in the Portuguese endeavor to *lusitanise* the Goans, as also in the appeal of the nationalists to the Goans that they should assert their Indianness.

Braganza-Cunha concerns himself with the different methods utilized by the Portuguese to enslave the minds of the Goans. He identifies the media, the Portuguese system of education, the church and the state as the agencies of denationalization.

All printed matter had to be approved by the colonial administration's censors before it could be published. According to Braganza-Cunha, the Portuguese virtually determined what people in Goa read, as the media in Goa was controlled by the Portuguese press (the reference is obviously to the stringent legislation introduced after 1928). This had the effect of 'deforming our vision' and was responsible for Goans viewing ideas and facts that were foreign to them, from an angle of vision opposed to their own interests, as exemplified by letters in the local newspapers, expressing admiration for the fascist regime of Mussolini in Italy [1961:135-36]. News of the nationalist struggle in India was censored, so that Goans lived in ignorance and isolation in relation to the rest of India [1961:219].

Education in government schools was conducted in Portuguese, which severely limited the number of people availing of education, Braganza-Cunha contends. Moreover, anything pertaining to India was excluded from the curriculum. Thus the education was alien to its country and contributed to the denationalization of those who availed of it. Its only function was to make its recipients aspire for official posts.[12]

He identifies the Portuguese state working in conjunction with the church as

[12]For a more detailed discussion on education, refer to the section on education in Chapter 1.

being the principle agencies of denationalization and analyses the dynamics of the process of denationalization as effected by these agencies.

The Special Role of Religion in the Denationalization Process

In the introduction to the essay Braganza-Cunha states:

> Our aim is to expose the attempts of foreign agencies to enslave the minds of our people and split the country into rival factions [1961:55].

The 'foreign agencies' were inclusive of the church and the missionaries based in Goa. However, right at the outset Braganza-Cunha clarifies that the Goa Congress Committee, responsible for the publication of the essay, was not anti-religion and was 'strictly neutral in the matter of religion' [1961:57]. But the conditions prevailing were such that certain interests were keen on foisting sectarianism among Goans, similar to the manner in which individuals and groups in India, under a religious or anti-religious banner, were creating dissensions among Indians. Consequently, 'more than just a passive neutrality' was needed and communalism, be it of caste or religion, had to be opposed. It is with this perspective that Braganza-Cunha undertakes the task of highlighting the nexus between the church and the state and explicitly states:

> We do not fight religion but we expose the exploitation of religion for the benefit of the foreign rulers and to the disadvantage of India's unity.
>
> Therefore our organization is anti-communalist; that is, it is

> against all individuals or groups who, under a religious or anti-religious banner, create dissensions among Indians and thereby play into the hands of imperialists or their agents [1961:57].

He views the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League as communalist parties and sees the functioning of the foreign clergy in a similar manner.

Braganza-Cunha traces forcible mass conversions to the period immediately after the conquest of Goa when, in the wake of the mass massacre of Muslims, marriages were encouraged between Portuguese soldiers and the 'native' women, mainly Muslim widows.

He quotes from various official sources and correspondence of the clergy to show that conversions were not brought about through preaching and doctrine, but through a series of administrative measures that prescribed severe disincentives for non-conversion. Further, he notes that forcible conversions had a profound effect on *all* Goans:

> This regime of permanent violence of the people's convictions produced a debasement of moral qualities. And it affected both the Hindus and Christians . . . It destroyed their self-respect and enslaved them to the point of rendering them incapable of reacting against the tyranny of their rulers [1961:76].

Referring to the peculiar effects of conversions on Christian Goans, he comments:

> And worst of all it imbued in the Christian Goans the false idea

> that there must be a certain solidarity among them and their Christian rulers, for the mere reason that they are both Christians, when as a matter of fact the interest of the imperialist rulers and the ruled are essentially opposed whatever their religion may be [Cunha 1961:76].

Thus, Braganza-Cunha shows how religion was utilized by the colonizers to bring about an identification of the colonized with the colonizers. Moreover, he shows that religion had unwittingly become linked to political consciousness. On the one hand, the Hindu religion bore the seeds of a 'national resurgence' constituting a danger to foreign domination. On the other hand, the Catholic religion was an 'imperialist weapon of subjection' [1961:279].

However, Braganza-Cunha clearly states that even those who had not been converted, had been psychologically affected by the use of force made by the Portuguese to bring about conversions. He observes that conversions served to loot one half of the natives of their properties, to the advantage of the Portuguese, while they reduced to 'impotent submission' the other half. 'In the name of religion, the Hindus were robbed and the Catholics enslaved. *Both* were terrorized for the greater security of the usurpers' [1961:76 emphasis added].

This showed that the Portuguese state had actively used religion to advance the aims of empire. It was further illustrated by the fact that the Concordat between the dictatorship and the Holy See had made provision for the overseas dioceses and missions to be helped by the state, to enable it to perform its tasks of civilizing and exercising a 'national influence' in the colonies.

As per the Concordat the ecclesiastical authorities were 'to see that in the teaching of special subjects such as history, the *legitimate Portuguese patriotic sense* be taken into consideration.'[13] According to Braganza-Cunha, this clearly confirmed that 'for them (the Portuguese) religion is a tool of our denationalization'. Consequently, 'The Catholic Goans should be conscious of and think over the role assigned to religion by imperialistic politics' [1961:77].

Portugal had consciously utilized religion to create a support base to ensure its continued rule. While the non-Christians did not identify with the Portuguese rulers in the same manner as the Christians did, a mentality marked by servility had been cultivated amongst them. Barring the retrograde caste system which, according to Braganza-Cunha, was seen by the Portuguese as an effective means of keeping the people divided, every aspect of the culture of the people had been violated. The people were reduced to imitating the culture of their colonizers and had lost a sense of their national dignity.

The 'Denationalized Christian' - A Viewpoint

In common parlance, the denationalized Goan has become synonymous with the Goan Christian. Divakar Kakodkar believed that *The Denationalization of the Goans* was Braganza-Cunha's most important contribution to the nationalist struggle, as it contained a 'correct' analysis of the condition of Christian Goans. This was a view shared by many others. Kakodkar stated:

The theory of denationalization put forward by Cunha is correct

[13]Quoted by Braganza-Cunha from Article 20 of the Concordat [1961:77, emphasis added].

> . . . Although 29 years have passed since liberation, the process of denationalization has not been arrested. Re-nationalisation has not yet started. The church is responsible for this. It has played an anti-national role . . . The Christian masses were afraid. They did not want a change of regime . . . They (Hindus) identified with what was going on in Maharashtra -- Tilak, *Sarvajanik Ganapati*, the reformist movement -- all affected Hindu Goans. Christians were unaware of these.[14]

According to Kakodkar, the denationalized Goan was necessarily the Christian Goan. Similar sentiments were voiced by other freedom fighters. George Vaz stated:

> *The Denationalization of Goans* was not read by many people. Most Christians read very little nationalist literature.[15]

However, as we have seen, Braganza-Cunha makes it quite clear that while the Christian Goan may have been more denationalized (and a much larger proportion of the Christian Goans were denationalized), Hindu Goans were not exempt from the process of denationalization. Braganza-Cunha is very precise in his writings. When he wishes to refer specifically to the Christian population, he does so in clear terms, referring to 'the Catholic Goan woman', 'the Catholic population' or 'Christian Goans'. But here, the more frequent reference is to 'Goans', inclusive of Hindus and Christians. This is adequately clear in a

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[14]Personal communication at an interview with Divakar Kakodkar on 28 January 1991 at Curchorem, Quepem.

[15]Personal communication at an interview with George Vaz on 18 June 1990, at Assonora, Bardez.

paragraph of the conclusion:

> The terroristic method of conversion under threat of exile and confiscation is responsible for the physical and moral cowardice, the habits of dilation and adulation, and the debasement of the character produced in the Goan people, both Christian and Hindu [1961:96].

There are two reasons that explain why *The Denationalization of Goans* is seen as an analysis of the condition of Christian Goans. First, in tracing the problematic course of nationalism in Goa, religion was cited as a factor that came in the way of the participation of Christians in the national movement. On account of the lack of sympathy for the movement among Christians, the Christian Goan assumed the identity of the denationalized Goan. Second, while Braganza-Cunha asserts that Hindus were also denationalized, he does not illustrate the condition of the denationalized Hindu in as much detail as he does the denationalized Christian. Each of these reasons is examined separately.

In the context of the first reason cited, the response of a freedom fighter on the question of religion is noteworthy. Flaviano Dias asserted:

> The basis of nationalism for Hindus differed from the basis of nationalism for Christians. The nationalist sentiments of Hindus were often inspired by religion. Many Hindus derived their nationalism from nationalists like Veer Savarkar and Lokmanya

Tilak, who were exponents of Hindu nationalism.[16]

On the other hand, Dias felt, in order to facilitate the growth of nationalist thought, Christians first had to develop an 'anti-church' consciousness. Developing an 'anti-church' consciousness did not necessarily mean giving up Christianity, but it was part of the process of developing an anti-Portuguese consciousness.

While a pre-requisite for the development of nationalist consciousness among Christians was the recognition of the role played by the church in strengthening Portuguese rule, many Christian nationalists were compelled to look westward for their nationalist inspiration, as conversions had served to sever their connection with their 'Indian heritage'. The influence of western thought as epitomized by the French revolution was an important factor in shaping the nationalist consciousness of Christians.

Dias shares Braganza-Cunha's point of view that for Christians to become nationalists, it was imperative that they recognized the political use the Portuguese had made of Christianity. This viewpoint was reinforced by Ravindra Kelekar who, while admitting that many Christians played a leading role in the struggle, stated:

> Most Catholics who joined the movement had to liberate themselves from the church. Many of us were suspicious of

[16]Interestingly, in 1955, V D Savarkar said at a *Shuddhi* (A movement for re-conversion to Hinduism) function in Bombay of Christian fisherfolk, that had Hindus attended to *Shuddhi* earlier, the problems of Goa and Kashmir could have been averted. According to him, if Goa had a Hindu population the Portuguese would have left much earlier. He recommended that Hindus spend as much on *Shuddhi* as foreign missionaries did on conversions [Keer 1960:495].

Catholics unless they had been imprisoned at one time or other.[17]

Thus, in the case of the Christians there was a direct relationship between religion and the process of denationalization, leading to the perception of the Christian as the denationalized Goan.

In the case of the Hindus, the relationship between their religion and the process of denationalization could not be established, but as in the case of Christians, their culture had also been denationalized. They were deprived of the educational, literary or cultural use of their language -- a point that Braganza-Cunha stresses time and again.

However, to fill the vacuum created by the state of 'inculture' to which Hindus were reduced, unlike the Christians, they did not have to look westward. Instead, they appropriated the culture that was most accessible to them, this being the dominant Marathi culture of the neighboring province, later to become the state of Maharashtra. Moreover, the resurgence of Marathi culture in the nineteenth century -- reflected in the emergence of several great thinkers like Jyotiba Phule, M G Ranade, Tilak and Agarkar, to name a few -- made Marathi culture an attractive alternative for the denationalized Hindu Goan.

Consequently, the process of denationalization resulted in the identification of the Hindu with Marathi culture. As this was part of the 'Great Indian culture' which Braganza-Cunha sees as the ideal, he is not as critical of the Hindu Goan as he is of the Christian Goan, who imitated the culture of the colonizers.

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[17]Personal communication at an interview with Ravindra Kelekar on 25 October 1990 at Priol, Ponda.

The Aping Culture

Braganza-Cunha identifies the chief cause of the 'cultural bankruptcy of Goans' as being the persecution of their languages, particularly Konkani, and the imposition of the Portuguese language. The Inquisition, the religious orders and the officialdom were responsible for the persecution of Konkani with the result that not a single Konkani school existed and the level of illiteracy was appalling.

The literature produced in Goa was in Portuguese, Marathi and English and, according to Braganza-Cunha, was devoid of 'the creative spirit and originality which are the privilege of those who are inspired by the deep consciousness of the race'. Instead, 'an ape-like literature' was produced 'which lacks vitality because it has no roots in the soil where it was born' [1961:87].

Braganza-Cunha is critical of Goan intellectuals who, instead of encouraging the use and spread of Konkani, concerned themselves with the 'pedantic question of ascertaining if Konkani is a language or dialect'[18] [1961:86]

As the people were deprived of their language, the Portuguese hindered the growth of a 'national culture'. This was evident in the fields of literature, art, science and technology, which were marked by an imitation of the Portuguese masters. Braganza-Cunha describes the consequences of this on the field of art in colorful terms:

> As for painting, we have the portraits of Viceroys exhibited in the Government Council Hall; monstrous scarebugs made in series

[18]It is interesting to note how in recent times some pro-Marathi political leaders have upheld Braganza-Cunha as the 'Father of Goan Nationalism', ignoring the essential tenets of his nationalist thought, particularly his definitive views on the language question.

> which may serve to terrorize our councillors . . . A few samples of applied art exhibited by girls' schools and convents . . . only prove that they diligently cultivate bad taste in their pupils.

In the fields of science and technology the achievements of the Indian people had been far superior to those of the Portuguese conquerors on the eve on their conquest. However, four centuries of Portuguese domination had led to regression, and progress had become synonymous with 'a mock-westernization'.

Not only had the process of 'cultural denationalization' taken place so that the culture of the people of Goa was imitative in all respects, best described as an 'aping culture'; he contends that the people of Goa lived in utter cultural bankruptcy.

Braganza-Cunha is particularly concerned with the political implications of the process of denationalization and holds that while this process had taken place in other colonies, its effects were most pronounced in Goa. This is evident from his statement:

> In fact no people has sunk so low into indignity as Goans. They have been deprived of the most elementary human rights . . . But in spite of all tyranny and humiliation not a single public protest was ever uttered against the brutal colonial rule. On the contrary, Goan renegades shamelessly boast in their press and their speeches that they are tied to Portugal for ever . . . [1961:91].

Consequently, he traces the reticence of Goans to involve themselves in the struggle for India's independence and Goa's liberation to the denationalization

process that they had undergone.

Essential to Braganza-Cunha's thesis of the denationalization of Goans is the understanding that an assertion of the endogenous culture of the people would facilitate the growth of nationalism in Goa. 'Forced westernization' had resulted in the creation of 'submissive servants' [1961:96] and their 'denationalized culture' had made Goans 'the tools of their own enslavement' [1961:90]. Consequently, for nationalist consciousness to develop in Goans, it was necessary for them to identify with the 'Great India' from which the origins of Goa could be traced.[19]

For Braganza-Cunha, acceptance of the 'Great India' is not just a political concept, but is a cultural concept implying a rejection of the superiority of the west and a vigorous reaction against the colonial rulers in the 'political, ideological, social and economic fields, and *even in the most everyday habits of our life*' [1961:97 emphasis added]

Thus, during the period of Braganza-Cunha's activism in Goa, his prime concern was to evoke in Goans an awareness of the denationalized state of their culture and an identification with the 'Great India'. He saw the generation of this awareness as essential for facilitating Goa's integration with the Indian 'nation'.

The emphasis given by Braganza-Cunha to the cultural penetration of imperialism, and the basis for nationalism being the recovery of the traditional culture, is a result of the peculiar nature of Portuguese colonialism. Two decades

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[19]Anderson, in his formulation of the nation as an 'imagined community' has discussed the 'cultural roots' of nationalism and has suggested that nationalism could be understood by aligning it with the cultural systems which preceded it [1992:12]. The assertion that Goa was an intrinsic part of the 'Great India' was essential to Braganza-Cunha's discourse of nationalism.

after *The Denationalization of Goans* was published, Amilcar Cabral, a thinker-revolutionary fighting for Guinea-Bissau's liberation from Portuguese colonial rule, declared: 'Liberation is an act of culture.' He talked of the necessity of penetrating 'the wall of silence' built around the colonized people by Portuguese colonialism and the attempt of the Portuguese to project the colonized Africans as 'happy Portuguese *of color*' [Davidson 1968:1]. Cabral referred to 'the ineffaceable marks of colonialism' on the minds and bodies of the people [Davidson 1968:3]. This is an indication of the fact that for those fighting Portuguese colonialism, the assertion of nationalism necessarily implied an assertion of the culture of the colonized.

CHAPTER SIX

Essential Features of Braganza-Cunha's Nationalist Thought

Braganza-Cunha's nationalist thought was shaped by his programmatic response to the political situations with which he was confronted. He was inspired by the Russian revolution, but was not a Communist; he was impressed by the philosophy of *ahimsa*, but was not a Gandhian; he wanted Goans to recover the cultural heritage of India, but was not a revivalist. The focus of this chapter is the heterogeneity of his discourse, which emerged in the course of three decades of activism and which reflects the diverse influences that he had been subjected to.

The Myth of Cunha the Communist

During his lifetime, Braganza-Cunha was denounced as a Communist by the Portuguese state and the church; most of the freedom fighters interviewed referred to him as a Communist or a leftist;[1] not in a derogatory manner but in a matter-of-fact way. However, in spite of searching for the Communist content in his writings, one is hard placed to find it, consigning the belief of 'Cunha the Communist' to the realm of myth.

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[1]Prabhakar Kamat, who was a student in Portugal when Braganza-Cunha was imprisoned there and consequently came into contact with him, did not see Braganza-Cunha as a Communist. According to him, it was the democratic practices which the Soviet Union and China adopted that impressed him: 'He was more concerned about the manner in which they took decisions. Decisions were based on consensus, unlike in France or Portugal; there was no dictatorship of a single person' (interviewed on 12 May 1991 at Panaji).

Braganza-Cunha was deeply impressed by the successfully concluded October Revolution led by Lenin, which gave birth to the Soviet Union. This is especially evident in a booklet titled *What is Imperialism*, his earliest accessible work, which is much on the lines of Lenin's lengthier booklet of the same name.

Lenin sees imperialism as the 'latest stage of capitalist economy' [1976:701]. Likewise, Braganza-Cunha asserts that imperialism is a modern phenomenon 'born of the disproportionate industrial development of certain countries in relation to others in a backward state of production' [1961:210].

In defining imperialism, Lenin outlines five features central to the concept of imperialism: (1) The creation of monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) The merging of basic capital with industrial capital, and the creation on the basis of this 'finance capital', of a financial oligarchy; (3) The export of capital, as distinguished from the export of commodities, acquires exceptional importance; (4) The formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) The territorial division of the whole world among the biggest powers is completed [1976:700].

Tracing the path followed by a nation in attaining its imperialist phase, Braganza-Cunha is evidently informed by the Leninist definition of imperialism. He asserts: 'It begins with the development of a big industry which demands markets where its products might be placed.' He then outlines the process whereby territories and populations are conquered. With the increase and accumulation of capital resulting from the profits, the need arises to export the extra capital to countries which have not yet been exploited. The domination of

industrial capital by financial capital results 'in the growing appetite to increase the number of territories and populations by capturing markets and monopolizing raw materials.' Industrial and financial concentration lead to the creation of industrial trusts and banking oligarchies. Finally, rival international monopolies divide and distribute the world among themselves, which makes war inevitable [1961:211-212].

In this essay, Braganza-Cunha goes on to show that Portugal represents a different type of imperialist organization from the other colonial powers. He argues that while Portugal had an extensive colonial domain to which it justified its claim on the basis of historical right, it was not an independent power:

> Its existence as a colonial nation is dependent on the imperial policy of Britain! . . . Portugal as well as Holland, though on a smaller degree, are satellite countries of the British Empire [1961:216].

This analysis is more or less in line with Lenin's characterization of Portugal's 'somewhat different form of financial and diplomatic dependence accompanied by political independence':

> Portugal is an independent sovereign state, but actually for more than two hundred years, . . . it has been a British protectorate. Great Britain has protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify her own positions in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France . . . [1976:698].

Braganza-Cunha extends the Leninist analysis of the nature of Portuguese

imperialism, pointing out that Portuguese India was 'subjected to a double domination: if politically we were dependent on Portugal, economically we live under the British yoke' [1961:217]. He argues that a large civil, military and ecclesiastical bureaucracy was exported to Portuguese India in order to justify Portuguese domination over her colony 'in the absence of industry, financial means and technical organization . . . to develop its colonies and derive benefit from them' [1961:217].

A significant point of difference to be noted between Braganza-Cunha's analysis of imperialism from Lenin's thesis is the way in which the collapse of imperialism is perceived. Lenin is unequivocal in his assertion that: 'Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat' [1976:640]. Braganza-Cunha instead, refers to 'rival imperialisms digging their own ruin' and 'the anti-imperialist current growing in the most populated countries of the world like China and India' [1961:218]. He concludes by referring to 'the supreme struggle against the absurd system which is an affront to human dignity' [1961:219].

While the absence of any references to standard Marxist terminology like 'proletarian revolution' or 'the bourgeoisie' may be interpreted as a tactical device to avoid the 'Communist' label, there is reason to believe that this is not merely a difference in language but reflects a divergence of conceptual frameworks. For Braganza-Cunha, the 'supreme struggle' was anti-imperialist, but was not necessarily a 'socialist revolution of the proletariat'.

He nowhere suggests that the people of Goa or India should shape their struggle on the lines of the Soviet experience or according to Marxist tenets.

Unlike Nehru, whose anti-imperialist stance necessarily brought him closer to communism, Braganza-Cunha steered clear of Marxist prescriptions for revolution.[2]

His concern was with waging an anti-imperialist struggle, but he was open to the idea that the form of struggle and the consequent socio-political organization may vary from the Soviet model, or from Lenin's conception of the struggle. Other indices strengthen this belief. According to Marxist methodology, class analysis is of fundamental importance in formulating a programme of action. However, though Braganza-Cunha frequently analyses the conditions prevailing in Portuguese India, he offers little insight into the class structure of this society. His analysis of Goa's economy is essentially informed by his integrationist framework, and by his attempts to establish and prove the artificiality of Goa's separation from India.

Analyzing the economic conditions of Goa, Braganza-Cunha asserts that the Portuguese colonial domination had led to Goa's artificial separation from India. The dependence of Goa on India for all essential commodities was an indication of the fact that Goa was naturally a part of India. He was optimistic that if this artificial barrier was removed, Goa's economy could be strengthened.

As far as the method of struggle is concerned, Braganza-Cunha is consistent; he favors a popular, non-violent struggle of the people. In 1942, he talked of the

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[2]Jawaharlal Nehru asserted that 'the nationalist movement had to be uncompromisingly anti-capitalist, anti-feudal, anti-bourgeois. . . and, of course, anti-imperialist'. The aim of the movement was to establish a democratic, socialist republic: 'So I turned inevitably towards communism . . . whatever its faults, it was at least not hypocritical and not imperialistic' [Pantham 1986:262-263]. Braganza-Cunha's conception on the form that the nationalist movement should take was comparatively ambiguous.

necessity 'to subject our action to general interest: to carry it out with the support of the majority' [1961:291]. Again, in 1954, in *Our Method of Struggle*, Braganza-Cunha is more explicit:

> The first lesson (to be learned from the struggles of Dadra, Noroli and Khanwel, former Portuguese enclaves) is that, in an unequal fight between unarmed people and the people using modern deadly weapons, the chances of success rests in their moral courage and in the amount of support they can receive from the local people [1961:204].

It is also relevant to note that from the beginning of Braganza-Cunha's activism in Goa, he did not try to establish links with the Communists, who had begun functioning in India from the 1920s. Nor were his activities in consonance with the guidelines drawn up by the Communist International (Comintern), initially under Lenin's leadership. In the debate between Lenin and M N Roy (who had been deputed by the Comintern to lead the Communist Party in India) about whether Communists should form separate organizations, Lenin's view prevailed and Communists were told not to form separate organizations from those in existence (like the Indian National Congress in British India).

However, following a number of events -- including the death of Lenin and the withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement by Gandhi, which the Communists in India viewed as a betrayal of the movement -- the Comintern reviewed its position at its sixth Congress in 1928 and advocated that revolutionary movements should be led by the proletariat, and that the

Communists should establish new organizations of their own, distinct from the already existing, 'bourgeois-led' organizations.

Significantly, in the same year, Braganza-Cunha established the Goa Congress Committee, with the objective of getting it affiliated to the Indian National Congress, indicating his independent stance. In fact, throughout his life he identified himself as a Congressman and viewed the Indian National Congress as being representative of Indian nationalism.

In an article appended to *What is Imperialism* titled *The Bolshevist Policy and the Colonial Peoples,* Braganza-Cunha expresses admiration for the 'open anti-imperialist policy' [1961:227] of the Soviet Union. This he saw manifested in Soviet policy towards the ethnic national minorities, according to which their language and culture was respected, and they enjoyed the right to autonomy, including the right to secession [1961:229]. He contrasts this with the language policy of the Portuguese in Goa, where 'intellectual degeneration and illiteracy are mostly due to the systematic banishment of the konkanni (*sic*) language from the schools' [1961:230]. He also commends the Soviet Union's renunciation of all the privileges held by the former Czarist regime over China, Afghanistan and Turkistan. He saw this as added proof of the Soviet Union's anti-imperialism [1961:227].

Consequently, Braganza-Cunha believed that all colonial and semi-colonial countries should see the Soviet Union as a 'powerful force' on their side [1961:235], but he had his own views regarding the course that Goa's struggle to end colonialism should follow.

An examination of Braganza-Cunha's nationalist thought and practice clearly reveal that he was *not* a Communist. Then why does he survive as one in the memory of his associates and followers?

Perhaps a reason for this was his atheism.[3] Although he did not propagate his personal beliefs or give them a doctrinal form, he did not hide the fact that he was not a practicing Christian. Moreover, his exposition of the role of the church and foreign missionaries must have strengthened his irreligious image and given greater credence to the idea that he was a Communist, as propagated by the church and the state.

When the Portuguese government dubbed members of the Portuguese opposition whom it had arrested as 'Communists', Braganza-Cunha dismissed this as 'the usual tactics of the reactionaries all over the world to brand as Reds all those on whom they exercise their highhandedness' [*Free Goa*, 25 Sept 1954]. He was aware that these very same tactics were used against him. But over three decades after the departure of the 'reactionaries', it is important to set the record straight and debunk the myth of his identity as a Communist.

Role of the Intelligentsia

A vital point of departure of Braganza-Cunha's conceptual framework from the Marxist mode is the central role he assigns to intellectuals in the nationalist movement. This is in contrast to Marxist doctrine, which holds that the oppressed

[3]His niece, Berta Menezes Braganza, was one of the few persons to deny that he was a Communist. Being an atheist herself, however, she admitted that he too was an atheist (interviewed on 14 June 1990 at Margao).

sections, particularly the proletariat, are the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle.

Braganza-Cunha sees a difference in consciousness amongst the 'educated class' and 'the people'. The intelligentsia, particularly that section which had been educated in Portuguese, had a tendency to see themselves as different from Indians. He saw this as a major obstacle in the development of nationalist consciousness, but did not see the predicament of Goa's educated class as unique. He observed:

> In colonial countries, the very organization of public education in which the cultured class is formed has the sole aim of creating a helping element that will place itself at the service of foreign domination [1961:246].

However, he is not dismissive of this class because, according to him, 'the remedy has been produced by the very evil itself' [1961:247]. This was because the 'bureaucratic factories' -- the institutions of education -- produced more and more candidates which the officialdom was not able to absorb since it had a limited capacity and had, in fact, already attained its 'maximum expansion capacity' [1961:247]. The better paid jobs were filled in by Europeans, and educated Goans did not stand a chance of attaining these higher posts. Consequently, this led to the creation of an 'unemployed, intellectual proletariat', discontented at the crumbs thrown to them by foreign rulers. According to Braganza-Cunha, from this discontentment springs 'the origin of the growth of the nationalist idea in our intelligentsia' [1961:247].

This trend could also be seen in the struggles of the students in China, Indonesia, Egypt and even in India. He asserts:

> It is the most denationalized who aspire to reconstruct their national life, by fighting against the false notion of progress, which consists in servilely accepting everything that is imposed on them by the dominating nation [1961:248].

In contrast to the denationalized educated elite were 'our people who till now remained immune to the exotic influence, and have even maintained themselves hostile to the current that has led some of us to ape in everything the ways and customs that are foreign to this land' [Cunha 1961:248].

From Braganza-Cunha's formulation it is clear that 'the people' were more nationally conscious than the denationalized educated elite. But whereas the educated classes had the potential to articulate 'the nationalist idea' as reflected in struggles in different parts of the world, the people were not able to do so, though they would give their support to the nationalist struggle once it was initiated. Braganza-Cunha's writings are primarily addressed to this section on account of his conviction about the decisive role they were to play.

However, in the process, one is led to question his attitude towards 'the people'. In 1926, commenting on the political situation in India, he points to the alienation of political parties from the masses in India, resulting in their action becoming 'sterile' [1961:224]. Towards the last stages of his activism, one is led to question whether his own alienation from the people -- necessitated by the fact that he could not enter Goa -- led to a static approach to the nationalist struggle;

resulting in his exclusive reliance on the Indian government and his inability to conceive of any other programme of action for the solution of the Goa problem, in the wake of India's inaction.

Approach to History

In *The Denationalization of Goans*, Braganza-Cunha's concern with constructing an 'Indian' identity for the denationalized Goan is evident, as is his emphasis that Goa was a part of the 'Great India'. His view of history was also informed by this integrationist perspective. Consequently, his approach is consistently one of unequivocal affirmation[4] of Goa's 'rich' heritage.

For Braganza-Cunha, the pre-colonial past signified the existence of values that are generally attributed to the enlightenment thought of Europe, whereas the encounter with western colonialism implied the destruction of these values.

In *Portuguese India*, one of the early pamphlets brought out by the Goa Congress Committee -- in which he has analyzed the conditions prevailing in Goa -- he tries to establish that historically, Goa came under the 'Indian Civilization'. He explains:

> Probably it formed a part of Asoka's great empire in the third century before the Christian era. It is however more certain that in the third century AD, it belonged to the Kadambas' empire

[4]The use of the term affirmation is in keeping with Sudipta Kaviraj's examination of nationalist thought, distinguishing between the affirmative and negative responses of the nationalist to his own culture, as discussed in Chapter 1.

[1961:4,5].

He emphasizes the values of tolerance and religious harmony that prevailed prior to Portuguese domination, stating that 'the Hindu rulers lived in such harmony with the Mahomedans that Jaykeshi I (founder of the Kadamba dynasty), chose a Mahomedan to be the governor of Konkan' [1961:5].

In the contest for power, Braganza-Cunha asserts that the religious struggle between the Hindus and Muslims became more 'ferocious'. But in 1470, Goa fell into the hands of the Muslim rulers of Bijapur who, according to him, were also tolerant as was evident from the fact that Hindus held high offices under their administration, and temples and mosques stood side by side.

The explicit assumption is that while the contention for power was marked by Hindu-Muslim rivalry, once the struggles were resolved, religious tolerance was exhibited by the rulers. Tolerance was thus a value that existed in the pre-colonial history of the people, in contrast to the extreme intolerance that marked Albuquerque's entry into Goa.[5]

The manner in which Braganza-Cunha regarded the past is most explicit in *The Denationalization of Goans.* In this essay the Portuguese are portrayed as bearers of an inferior culture who deprived Goa of her rich heritage. While the colonizers had been 'ferocious in their zeal' for the destruction of traditional culture, they reduced the people to a state of 'inculture', to overcome which it was necessary to 'go back to the Indian tradition' [1961:86].

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[5]Braganza-Cunha's reading of history leads to his conceptualization of religious tolerance as a value that existed in the past, while religious intolerance was a colonial import. This is in line with Nandy's attempt at recovering the domain of religious and ethnic tolerance from the 'hegemonic language of secularism' [Das: 1990:69].

He argues that in the realm of art, science, technology, philosophy and human values, the achievements made in Goa had been equal to, if not superior to the achievements of the Portuguese. Commenting on the backwardness of Portugal, Braganza-Cunha states:

> It is well known that the Portuguese have no scientific and technological literature . . . Albuquerque recognizes in his letters that the ships built in Goa were as good as those of Portugal and that 'cannons and guns better than those of Germany' were made in Goa. Viceroys and Archbishops had themselves treated by local physicians, our *vaidyas* and *hakims*, who had escaped religious persecution thanks to their science [1961:88].

However, Portuguese education had resulted in a state of amnesia among Goans. '(I)ndifference to everything national' had been 'shrewdly cultivated' among them, so that they were oblivious to the great achievements of the past. A pre-requisite of nationalism in Goa was that the position of the past be reinstated in the memory of the people.

In this approach Braganza-Cunha has more in common with nationalist thinkers such as Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, V D Savarkar and Aurobindo Ghose, each of whom reiterated the glories of the past. This was unlike the approach of thinkers like Gokhale and Nehru, who were more critical of the

past.[6] For example, Nehru, while admitting that India had a rich cultural heritage, believed that in her march to progress India had to make a break with the past. He saw Indians as being inflicted with unreason, magic and superstition, which was in contrast with the 'rational and scientific temper of the west' [Pantham 1986:272].

The approach of Marxist nationalists was also marked by a negative response towards the past. They remained loyal to the assertion made by Karl Marx in his *First Indian War of Independence (1857-1859)* that:

> England has to fulfill a double mission in India: one destructive, the other regenerative -- the annihilation of the old Asiatic society, and the laying of the material foundations of Western society in Asia [1978:29]

While the 'old Asiatic society' was seen as a model of collectivism, the assumption was that it did *not* contain within it the potential for progress. For this the intervention of the British was necessary.

This 'modernist' approach was in contrast to the approach of nationalists like Aurobindo Ghose or Mahatma Gandhi, who saw in the past the potential to empower the people with a confidence in their indigenous abilities, which could help the people to follow a self-determined road to progress.

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[6] Bhikhu Parekh in his analysis of the ideology and practice of M K Gandhi in *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform -- An Analysis of Gandhi's Political Discourse* has classified nationalist thought into four categories in accordance with the direction in which nationalist leaders looked, in defining the course to be followed: the traditionalist, the critical traditionalist, the modernist and the critical modernist. The traditionalists saw British intervention as 'irrelevant', as Indian traditions were too strong to be affected by the colonizers. The critical traditionalists believed they should rely on the strength of their indigenous resources, borrowing selectively from the west that which was likely to enrich them. The modernists believed that Hindu society was 'beyond hope' and needed to be restructured along 'modern' or 'European' lines. The critical modernists or 'syncretists' were in favor of a 'creative synthesis of the two civilizations' [1989:35].

For Aurobindo Ghose, history played an important role in governing possibilities for the future. He states:

> There is the sentiment of Indianism, there is not yet the knowledge . . . We have yet to know ourselves, what we were and may be; what we did in the past and what we are capable of doing in the future; our history and our mission [Minor 1978:153].

In the writings of Gandhi the 'moral being', elevated by the Indian civilization, is contrasted with the tendency of the western civilization 'to propagate immorality'. Consequently, he claimed that 'it behoves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilization even as a child clings to the mother's breast' [Murty 1967:122].

Braganza-Cunha shares this sense of pride in the past and a denial of the superiority of the west with these thinkers. However, the important difference between the approach of Ghose and Gandhi, and that of Braganza-Cunha, is that while there is a tendency to stress the spirituality and morality of the Indian civilization amongst the former, for Braganza-Cunha the past represented a stage in India's development from which further progress could be made. Indians in Goa had shown themselves to be capable in the past, and were capable of determining the path of their development in the future. Thus he stated:

> Instead of taking for granted that we must pass from one master to another like cattle, we must acquire and cultivate the pride of race that a long process of Denationalization seems to have totally abolished in us [1961:98].

His affirmative response to the past is marked by an approach which is logical and rational, and devoid of nostalgia or sentimentality. In *What is Imperialism* he declares that 'the theory of superior and inferior races' which westerners used to explain the backwardness of certain peoples was untenable with the 'modern determinist concept of history'. His reading of the past is informed by this perspective. Accordingly, India would have progressed without the colonial interventions of Europe in its history.

Although Braganza-Cunha's response to the advent of the Portuguese has been compared with the Indian nationalists' response to the British, it must be borne in mind that they were addressing themselves to different imperialisms.

Earlier, we have seen that Braganza-Cunha viewed Portugal as a satellite of Britain. Aside from this, his casual remarks reveal that he not only saw the Portuguese as being culturally inferior to the Goan people, but he viewed Portugal as a country having a culture that was inferior to that of Britain or France.

He describes the Portuguese language as 'unsuitable to our country', and states that its imposition had led to the 'shocking illiteracy of the country'. Braganza-Cunha remarks that unlike English, 'it cannot even serve as a means to acquire universal culture and for commercial purposes' [1961:86]. In *The Goa Problem*, Braganza-Cunha asserts that very few Goans could speak in Portuguese and that:

> In matters cultural, unlike our brethren from Pondicherry, in touch with the high French intellectual achievements, we have in

> Goa hardly any heritage worth preserving after four centuries old contact with the Portuguese, since their own culture has been deprived by their present masters of all qualities of universality and humanity by which any national culture is rendered precious to outsiders [1961:166].

While possessing a culture that was inferior to Britain and France, the methods used by Portugal in 'disfiguring the national character of the Goan people' had also been 'peculiarly tyrannical' [1961:59].

Portuguese Historiography

Braganza-Cunha was of the view that in order to gain acceptance from the people, the Portuguese conquerors had built myths to blur the brutality of their conquests, and he attempts to acquaint his readers with the 'true history' of the Portuguese in India [1961:5]. He endeavors to unravel the truth concealed by the myths that had been created. He specially dwells on the myths of Albuquerque's 'tolerance' and the 'miraculous' conversions to Christianity supposedly effected by the Jesuit Francis Xavier.

Braganza-Cunha asserts that Albuquerque's rule, far from being tolerant. was marked by the massacre of Muslims and the politics of intrigue. As an example, he cites Albuquerque's having instigated a Hindu 'Nambiadri' to slay the (Muslim) Zamorin of Calicut, for which he rewarded him with an assurance of protection to the Hindu religion and to the King of Cochin. Thus, the Hindu religion was 'protected' in Calicut only as a 'reward' for a political service

rendered.

The massacre of Muslims and the destruction of mosques and temples in Goa could be traced to Albuquerque's reign. Quoting from Albuquerque's letters to King Dom Manuel, Braganza-Cunha tries to establish that far from being racially tolerant as was the common belief, Albuquerque had in fact harbored the hope of turning the 'natives' from the land and enabling Portuguese men to come and settle in Goa by encouraging them to take as wives the 'fair and good-looking Turkish women' [1961:67].[7]

The mixed marriages that had taken place under Albuquerque, often cited as an example of his racial tolerance, were performed as a matter of political expediency. As it was difficult to bring Portuguese women to Goa, Albuquerque encouraged his men to marry native women, particularly the widowed Muslim women, 'to tie down his people to the conquered land and to ensure the continuation of their predominance through these strange unions' [Cunha 1961:64]. Aside from this, Braganza-Cunha argues that the mixed marriages were a means of conversion, as the women were necessarily converted to Christianity and the offspring of these unions baptized and raised as Christians.

He attempts to destroy the myth of Francis Xavier's 'miraculous' conversions by quoting from correspondence that transpired between Xavier and the King D Joao III of Portugal, in which the former averred that 'the only effective way' to spread religion in India was for the king to proclaim that he would only place his trust in those officials who exerted themselves 'to extend the reign of religion by

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[7]In his letters to the king of Portugal, Albuquerque referred to Muslim women as "Turkish women".

every means in their power' [1961:68,69]. Forcible conversions with the use of civil and military powers are traced to Francis Xavier, as is the establishment of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

Braganza-Cunha's attempt at demystifying Francis Xavier was an extremely bold step, considering the reverence with which Francis Xavier is viewed throughout India. It is especially so in Goa among Christians, who regard him as *Goencho Saib* or Goa's patron saint. This is evident from the millions that gather in Goa at the periodical expositions of his relics.[8]

In his treatment of history, Braganza-Cunha is concerned about the Portuguese use of the Christian religion to consolidate their political rule over Goa. However, he also addresses the problem of the inegalitarian nature of the ecclesiastical orders in Goa, pointing out that the Archdiocese of Goa in its life span of 400 years had not a single Indian bishop; comparatively in British India, 17 bishops had been appointed [1961:75].

Braganza-Cunha points to the tenure of Marquis de Pombal as a minister in Portugal, as a period in which 'scanty freedom of worship' was granted to Hindus and Muslims, though they continued to face some measure of discrimination. During this period the Goan clergy benefited, as they were protected from the injustices meted out against them by the European clergy. The Inquisition was also withdrawn during this time.

Of all the methods employed by the Portuguese, Braganza-Cunha believed the

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[8]Teotonio R De Souza comments on the difficulty of critically assessing Francis Xavier because of the 'emotional block' of the saint's devotees. He compares the sensibilities of the Christians with regard to Francis Xavier to the sensibilities of the Maharashtrians with regard to Shivaji [De Souza 1994:8]. One can imagine the intensity of the Christian reaction to Braganza-Cunha, when he critically referred to Xavier five decades ago.

Inquisition was 'the instrument that most served to change the customs of Goans' [1966:77]. The Court of the Inquisition issued an edict containing a number of bans which 'interfered with the smallest details of intimate life, on the pretext of curbing paganism' [1961:78]. But, paradoxically, the Portuguese not only preserved the caste system but co-opted it as a form of social organization within the church. He comments:

> Most astonishing of all is that while the pious reformers ruthlessly waged war on Indian customs, they did not meddle with the castes of Hinduism . . . As a matter of fact, the Portuguese not only maintained the Hindu castes but even added a new one; the caste of Europeans and their descendants [1961:78,79].

The significance of this statement is that while Braganza-Cunha frequently hails the achievements of the past, he is largely silent on social and religious practices which had received the attention of Indian social reformers, and which most Indian nationalists commented on, even if their activism was not directed towards such issues.[9] While one can sense Braganza-Cunha's opposition to the institution of caste, it is unclear whether like Nehru, Braganza-Cunha viewed caste as untenable with the principles of social equality, or whether like Ranade he saw a discrepancy between present practices and the original recommendations of the ancient scriptures, which called for rectification. From the general approach of rationality in Braganza-Cunha's writings, his approach towards the

[9]In reconstructing the history of nationalism in India, Chatterjee gives importance to the phase of social reform, when attempts at reform were self engendered and necessarily resisted colonial intervention. This phase he recognizes as a period of nationalism [Chatterjee 1993:6]. However, the influence of the reform movement, if any, was restricted to the New Conquests.

question of caste was probably closer to Nehru's 'modernist' approach, but his reticence to criticize any aspect of the past necessarily makes his discourse vulnerable to varied interpretations.

The achievements that the people had made in pre-Portuguese Goa had been noteworthy and were demonstrative of the fact that Goans did not need to look westward to be able to progress. The people needed to recover their 'pride of race' and to have faith in their indigenous abilities. This, according to Braganza-Cunha, would enable them to follow a self-determined road to progress.

The Influence of Gandhi

Braganza-Cunha identified Indian nationalism with the Indian National Congress, but his opinion of it was never static. The Congress evoked in him responses ranging from optimism to disillusionment, but he did not contest its basic ideology. The shaping of his nationalist thought can be understood by his varied responses to the Congress and its leaders; in particular, M K Gandhi.

On returning to India from France, Braganza-Cunha found himself at variance with Gandhi, whom he viewed as being 'pusillanimous' and 'opportunistic'. This extreme reaction was influenced by his perception of the non-cooperation movement, which he saw as a revolutionary rising of the masses, and which had nothing in common with 'the sentimental pacifism of the Mahatma' [1961:221-222].

Commenting on Gandhi's disassociation with the non-cooperation movement after the setback it had received, Braganza-Cunha states that it was only fitting

that Gandhi had recognized his inability to lead such a movement and limited himself to social work [1961:222]. Further, he claims that it was only the illegal groups -- which functioned secretly -- that enjoyed the support of the masses and represented the real pulse of the people [1961:224].

This was in 1926 when, influenced by the recently concluded Russian revolution and enthused by the anti-imperialist struggles waged in other parts of the world, Braganza-Cunha believed that the Indian national movement was in its final stage. This must have led to his impatient response to Gandhi. It probably represents the furthest 'left' limit of Braganza-Cunha's thinking.

For, in the course of the events that followed, a change in his perception of Gandhi took place, along with the assimilation of some of his ideas. As a result of this, in the last polemical article written before his death, he is critical of the 'pseudo-Gandhians' who ruled over India [*Free Goa* 6.18.1]. He also believed that the Goa problem persisted because Gandhi's advice had been ignored by the Indian government [1954.17.1]. Thus, Gandhi, of whom he had been most critical at the inception of his nationalist activism, became the Congress leader whom he admired the most towards the end.

Even though he believed that Gandhi had been instrumental in causing the downfall of the non-cooperation movement; unlike the Indian Communists -- whose response was to spurn the Congress -- Braganza-Cunha attempted to integrate his political aspirations for Goa with those of the Congress.

Within two years of his caustic criticism of Gandhi and the Congress, Braganza-Cunha established the Goa Congress Committee (GCC) with the

express intention that it function as a branch of the Indian National Congress.

After attending the Congress session of 1928, Braganza-Cunha's distrust of Gandhi seemed to recede and the GCC functioned according to the programmes taken up by the Congress. After the Congress announced its constructive programme, Braganza-Cunha apparently responded by requisitioning *charkhas* to distribute among people of different villages.[10] Some of the GCC members adopted the use of *khadi*.[11]

As the influence of Gandhi could be seen in the practice of the GCC, his influence could also be discerned in Braganza-Cunha's conception of the nature of the struggle and his programmatic response to the problems of Goa.

The change in Braganza-Cunha's attitude towards the political use of violence is a case in point. In assessing the non-cooperation movement, Braganza-Cunha refers to the non-violent struggle as a struggle by the people, '*at the moment* incapable of fighting with arms' [1961:221 emphasis added], giving the impression that he was not adverse to people fighting with weapons, though they were unable to do so then. His appreciation of the illegal groups functioning in India at the time serves to reinforce this opinion, as also his dismissal of Gandhi's 'pacifist ideas'.

However, his attitude towards violence seemed to change considerably as in place of the temporality of violence, his emphasis shifted to the 'moral forces' of

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[10]Albert Cunha, a *bhatkar* who was a neighbor of Braganza-Cunha, recalled that Braganza-Cunha requisitioned *charkhas* to distribute among the people of his village (interviewed on 16 March 1992 at Cansaulim, Salcette).

[11]Berta Menezes Braganza narrated that initially, she and her sister wore *khadi* dresses, but later they took to wearing *khadi* saris (interviewed on 14 June 1990 at Margao).

the people. He hails the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli which had shown that 'non-violence with mass support is irresistable' and had avoided 'useless bloodshed' [1961:203].

When *satyagrahis* marching into India were fired upon by Portuguese troops, Braganza-Cunha upholds the struggle of the people 'who do not retaliate violence with violence *even when they are in a position to*' [1961:325 emphasis added]. Moreover, he contrasts the two 'opposite ways of thinking', reflected by those who abjured violence and those who worshipped it. Thus, he unwittingly advocates the desirability of non-violent struggle.

However, he does not advocate non-violence in the unequivocal manner of Gandhi. In 1957, he criticized the Indian government for failing to heed Gandhi's advice with regard to Goa. But while he does not rule out the fact that there were other non-violent means that could be used against Portugal, he states that India's refusal to use force to liberate Goa 'had neither political nor moral foundation' [1961:389]. This is quite contrary to Gandhi's advocacy of *satyagraha* in the face of the most brutal of oppressors, as according to him:

> Even Nero is not devoid of a heart. The unexpected spectacle of endless rows of men and women simply dying rather than surrender to the will of the oppressor must ultimately melt him and his soldiery [Pantham 1986:326].

Braganza-Cunha condemns the use of military force for aggression, but believed the use of military force was justified if it was used for the legitimate defence of interests [1961:389].

The strongest point of agreement between Gandhi and Braganza-Cunha was in their rejection of the notion of western superiority. This has already been seen with regard to their responses towards the past. As in the case of Gandhi's thought, the essential features of Braganza-Cunha's discourse were influenced by his critique of the west. In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi stated: 'Those alone who have been affected by Western civilization have become enslaved . . . if we become free, India is free' [Murty 1967:123]. This is an essential argument contained in *The Denationalization of Goans*, and is a recurring theme in Braganza-Cunha's writings.

An area in which the views of Braganza-Cunha are clearly antithetical to Gandhi's is in his conception of the relationship between religion and politics. For Gandhi, religion and politics were inseparable. The methods to be used to bring about change, *ahimsa* (rejection of violence on the basis of the moral force of the soul), and *satyagraha* (force of truth), and the ideal state that he conceived of, *Ramarajya*, represented the unity of religion and politics. Whereas, Braganza-Cunha believed that any stress on religion could only lead to communalism [1961:182]. He is caustic in his criticism of the Portuguese use of religion, but refrained from any comment on religion as a belief system in spite of his personal atheistic inclinations.

Thus, Braganza-Cunha could not have been in agreement with all that Gandhi said and did. However, after the initial free flow of invective against Gandhi, no further criticism of him is to be found in his writings. Instead in his later writings, after Gandhi's death and India's independence, frequent appreciative references

to him can be found. More than the mellowing of Braganza-Cunha, what probably endeared him to Gandhi was the fact that he saw him as the only Congress leader, aside from Lohia, who did not merely pay lip service to the problem of Portuguese domination over Goa, but who gave the problem of Goa's liberation serious attention.[12] This was an important factor, given the general disappointment of nationalists with the apparent indifference of the Congress to the problem of Goa. Moreover, he saw him as an effective politician and 'a great realist' [1961:543], whose 'genial statesmanship' had facilitated the independence of India.

The undefined future

A peculiar feature of Braganza-Cunha's discourse is his virtual silence on the future he envisaged for his 'free Goa in a free India', to achieve which he had dedicated his entire life.

His analysis of imperialism was shaped by Lenin, while his mode of opposition to imperialism was influenced by Gandhi and a desire to recover Goa's 'Indian past'. Yet, he does not advocate returning to the past; the past merely represented a stage in history from which progress could be made.

On a rare occasion, addressing the Asian Socialist Conference in 1956,

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[12]Gandhi in his individual capacity attempted to raise the Goa problem at various levels. On hearing that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Goa had been contributing to 'lawlessness', probably by his remarks against India, he asked the Archbishop of Bombay to investigate the complaint [Gandhi 1959:101]. He also prevailed upon the British Viceroy to at least make 'a friendly remonstrance' against the 'harsh and unjust treatment of Indians' [Gandhi 1959:100]. In *Harijan* he wrote: 'In Free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State [Gandhi 1946 X.21:208]. Aside from this, he had issued statements condemning the arrests of Lohia and Braganza-Cunha, and publicized the situation in Goa in *Harijan*.

Braganza-Cunha referred to himself as 'a believer in socialism'. But he never defined what socialism meant to him. Like Lohia, did he believe in the 'equal irrelevance' of capitalism and communism and wish to build a third camp? Although he was critical of the Congress leadership, could the absence of criticism of the actual policies of the Indian government be interpreted as his endorsement of Nehruvian socialism? Or did he believe that it was up to the people (in some determinate or indeterminate manner) to shape their future once they had been freed from colonial rule? Unfortunately, with his vision for the future undefined, his discourse remains incomplete.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Reception of Braganza-Cunha in Goa

Though posthumously recognised as the *Father of Goan Nationalism*,[1] Braganza-Cunha is accorded no place in studies of Indian nationalism. His efforts were to bring about the integration of Goa with India, at both a pragmatic and ideological level. This was a task that was ridden with difficulties, considering the fact that a significant section of the elite in Goa had been assimilated by the Portuguese into supporting their regime.[2] The fact that Goa was divided along communal lines compounded the problems that he faced. It is in this context that Braganza-Cunha's reception has to be understood.

He was viewed by his contemporaries as an atheist and communist, and yet he was recognised as virtually the undisputed *Father of Goan Nationalism*. Today, politicians try to portray him as a symbol of the divergent viewpoints which they represent. An examination of the reception of Braganza-Cunha at a pragmatic level, and also at the level of ideology, will help to understand the nature of this

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[1]The late Pundalik Gaitonde was the only one who believed that 'scientifically, it is not correct to say that Cunha was the Father of Goan Nationalism. His influence was restricted to a few persons' [personal communication made at an interview on 8 February 1992 at Palolem, Canacona]. Personally, Gaitonde was influenced more by the writings of Luis Menezes Braganza, who he felt had educated a whole generation. Another peron to question this title from a different standpoint was Aleixo Manuel Da Costa who had served as the curator of Cental Library, Panaji, from 1930 to 1967. He was acquainted with Braganza-Cunha as a visitor to the library. According to him, 'after liberation he has been put on a pedestal, which should not have been done' [personal communication made at an interview on 6 March 1991, at Panaji].

[2]Brass observes that when the local aristocracy collaborates with 'the alien conquering group' it postpones or prevents ethnic mobilisation and the development of nationalism [1991:279].

paradox.

Braganza-Cunha Remembered

The person of Braganza-Cunha is enigmatic. After conducting interviews with people who knew him either in the capacity of a fellow freedom fighter or at the level of a *bhatkar* of the village, the image that emerges is that of a 'thorough gentleman', with a westernised aristocratic bearing, who spoke fluent Portuguese and French, but who had difficulty speaking Konkani. But a concomitant image is that of a man of superior intellect, who had won the respect of fellow freedom fighters.

First of all, it must be pointed out that there were freedom fighters who participated in the freedom struggle, ignorant of the existence of Braganza-Cunha till his arrest in 1946.

Manohar Prabhudesai, a freedom fighter who was active in Canacona, in the border areas of South Goa, said that during his activism, the leader whom he was most influenced by was the *Praja Socialist Party* leader, Peter Alvares. While he came to know of Braganza-Cunha on account of his arrest, he had occasion to read his writings only after Goa was freed. It is to be noted that Prabhudesai was one of the few persons from his village who took an active part in the freedom struggle and, consequently, was a man who was better informed than most about current political affairs. However, according to him:

> When I was active I was unaware of his significance, and had not even heard of him till he was arrested. Now I understand his

contribution. He was learned. His theory of denationalisation is relevant even today.[3]

Braganza-Cunha was not viewed as a mass leader but was seen as an ideologue for the movement. Shamrao Madkaikar had personally associated with him while doing relief work in Salcette, which was ravaged by heavy floods in 1941 (see Appendix 2). He stated as a matter of fact: 'In the movement Cunha talked to the top level leaders, while we talked to the ordinary people.' Madkaikar saw him as a leader whose function was to prepare other leaders who would mobilise the people.[4]

Braganza-Cunha belonged to the wealthy *bhatkar* class and mantained his liking for good food and good living even after he became politically active.[5] While this is a matter which is viewed critically by some today, none of the freedom fighters interviewed were critical of this aspect of him.[6] Instead, they were awed by the fact that in spite of being a Christian and a man of wealth, he chose to take up the cause of Goa's freedom, although personally he had everything to gain by supporting the Portuguese, and suffered considerably on account of his involvement in the movement.

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[3]Personal communication made at an interview on 10 February 1992, at Mashem, Canacona.

[4]Personal communication made at an interview on 20 May 1992 at Navelim, Salcette.

[5]Aleixo Manuel Da Costa recalled having lunch with him frequently at the *Hotel Republica*, Panaji [personal communication made at an interview on 6 March 1991 at Panaji], while George Vaz recalled how Braganza-Cunha used to like having 'a good meal' at the *Wayside Inn*, at Fort, Bombay, which was under Goan proprietorship [personal communication made at an interview on 18 December 1990 at Assonora, Bardez].

[6]At a seminar hosted by the *Institute of Indo-European Studies* on 'Understanding Goan Culture' at Panaji, 20-22 October 1994, Mario Cabral E Sa, a journalist, asked how Braganza-Cunha could propagate his thesis of denationalisation when he was himself so westernised in his way of life.

Divakar Kakodkar, who under the guidance of Braganza-Cunha established *The Goa Youth League* in Bombay in 1944, stated: 'It cannot be denied that in a sense Cunha lived in an ivory tower and was unable to mix with everybody.' But, he pointed out, 'all Christian leaders before him wanted to move in the orbit of Portugal. It is to his credit that he was unlike them'.[7]

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, in the initial stages of the movement for Christians to participate in the freedom struggle was not common. For a Christian *bhatkar* to initiate a movement was even more remarkable. But Braganza-Cunha was different from the other *bhatkars* of his village and was quite estranged from them.

Albert Cunha claimed that Braganza-Cunha had minimal association with the *bhatkars* of the village, and was viewed with distrust by Christian *bhatkars* (who were in the majority), as he never went to church.

But his aloofness from his own class did not bring him substantially closer to the *gaudas* who resided in neighbouring Borsulem, some of whom were his *mundcars*. According to a confidential memorandum signed by the administrator of Salcette a number of *gaudas* attended a meeting addressed by him.[8] But, while the elderly *gaudas* interviewed deeply respected him and appreciatively remembered his active concern for them in times of crisis,[9] their interaction with

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[7]Personal communication made at an interview on 28 January 1991, at Curchorem, Quepem.

[8]The memorandum dated 2 July 1946, states that 150 *mundcars* of Braganza-Cunha, armed with bamboo sticks, were among the 1300 people who attended a meeting held at Cansaulim addressed by him [Shirodkar 1991:11].

[9]For details of Braganza-Cunha's role in the repatriation of *gaudas* maintained as indentured labourers in Assam and the relief work organised by him for flood victims, see Appendix 2.

him had not brought them closer to the freedom struggle. Caetano D'Souza, one of his *mundcars*, stated:

> He never talked much to anyone or came where we stayed. But if anyone had a problem he would look into the matter. If we plucked any fruit from his trees he never objected. If we went for payment, the *mukadam* would look into it and pay immediately . . . He never took any meetings here.[10]

Jacque Anton Vaz occasionally worked on Braganza-Cunha's land. He recalled how Braganza-Cunha had allowed the *gaudas* to organise a *tiatr*[11] in the compound of his house when they were refused permission by the concerned authorities to put up a *mattov* for the purpose. He recalled:

> Some of my neighbours went to Assam. If not for Tristao *bab* they would have remained there . . . He used to tell us about the terrible times they had there: no proper food and sickness everywhere.[12]

Bosteao Diago Soares, an elderly *gauda* of Borsulem stated that while Braganza-Cunha was good to them, he never talked to them about his activities. His arrest surprised and saddened them.

In Chapter 6, Braganza-Cunha's views regarding the role of the intellectual have been examined, according to which he believed that once the nationalist idea

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[10]Personal communication made at an interview on 23 March 1992, at Borsulem, Salcette.

[11]According to Albert Cunha it was not a *tiatr* but a *zagor*, another folk form.

[12]Personal communication made at an interview on 23 March 1992, at Borsulem, Salcette.

had been expressed by intellectuals, the people would automatically give their support to it. Perhaps he believed that his role was to generate political consciousness among the intelligentsia, as he was best suited to this task. This could explain why he did not take up the political education of the people, and concentrated on propaganda work among the intelligentsia.

His predicament was peculiar in that, on the one hand he was estranged from the members of his class, while on the other hand, as far as the common people were concerned, he could not shed his identity as a *bhatkar*. For, notwithstanding his benevolence, he was still seen as a *bhatkar*, whose incarceration by the Portuguese was incomprehensible. Thus, for Braganza-Cunha, the only social group he could identify with was the small circle of politically aware intellectuals, and it was on this class of people that he had the maximum impact.

Braganza-Cunha was no doubt aware of his own denationalised state. Though he was an ardent proponent of the development of Konkani, his knowledge of the language was deficient; while admiring the resilience of the people who had not succumbed to the denationalisation process, his communication with them was limited.

In 1927, in an open letter to Antonio Furtado, a student in Portugal at the time, he wrote that it was the task of the denationalised to reconstruct national life, questioning and resisting the notions of progress imposed on the people by the dominating nation. For Braganza-Cunha, the manner in which he sought to overcome his denationalisation was in articulating the nationalist idea. He tried to assert his nationalism by discounting the question of his bearing and

appearance and asserting his Indianness through his ideas -- through what he said and wrote. This is in keeping with his belief that: 'Mental enslavement is incompatible with liberation' [1961:371].

During his period of activism in Goa, the Goa Congress Committee comprised a small circle of politically aware intellectuals; the rallying slogan of the GCC being 'A Free Goa in A Free India'. The fact that the activities carried out by the GCC were modelled on the programme of the INC was possibly responsible for the limited response it received. According to Hobsbawm, icons representing symbols, rituals or common collective practices are a 'crucial component' of proto and modern nationalism [1992:72]. But there is no evidence of the use of any icon by Braganza-Cunha; instead he relied on projecting the INC as a symbol of Indian nationalism.

Perhaps this did not represent a symbol that was powerful enough to override the communal divisions and the plurality of nationalist imaginings that existed among the people. It relied on an appeal which was in effect internationalist in nature.[13] The GCC was thus unable to become a popular organisation and comprised of the exiguous group of Goan intellectuals who identified with the Indian nationalist movement and were based in and around Goa.

Seton-Watson has pointed out that people who have a genuinely internationalist world-view are scarce 'and their capacity for leadership of real

[13]According to Hobsbawm the call of nationalist leaders to the people to surmount sentiments of tribalism or communalism was internationalist, and signified 'the opposite of nationalism, which seeks to bound together those deemed to have common ethnicity, language, culture, historical past and the rest' [1992:179]. For Braganza-Cunha, the act of identifying with India was sufficient to resolve the religious and other differences that existed among the people.

men and women is doubtful' as they are unable to recognise 'the nationalist passions and prejudices which animate so large a portion of humanity...' [1977:465]. Braganza-Cunha represented a person of this type. It accounted perhaps for his inability to conceive of populist measures to develop the nationalist movement in Goa. But his internationalist world view also gave him a certain strength.

His strength, or the reason for his identification as the *Father of Goan Nationalism*, was his ability not only to conceive of Goa as an integral part of India but to build an organisation intended to facilitate the process of integration, to identify denationalisation as a phenomenon which came in the way of the growth of nationalism, and to bring about the unification of ideologically differentiated groups under the banner of one umbrella organisation.

The Goa Congress Committee founded by him, notwithstanding its limitations, was the first effective agency of nationalism in Goa. It laid the foundation for the formation of the National Congress (Goa) in 1946, which emerged as the most important nationalist group in Goa.

The Goa Action Committee, the umbrella organisation which was formed at his initiative in 1953, was an indication of the respect Braganza-Cunha commanded among people with political orientations totally at variance with each other. Liberals, leftists, terrorists and Gandhians united on the strength of the personality of Braganza-Cunha. Perhaps his internationalism prevented him from becoming a popular mass leader, but it enabled him to bring ideologically differentiated elites together, to work unitedly for the cause of nationalism in

Goa.

Braganza-Cunha's weakness was his exclusive reliance on the strength of the concept of 'A Free Goa in A Free India' to excite the nationalist imagining of the people prior to India's independence, and his excessive reliance on the Indian government to take action to free Goa after India became independent. According to Ravindra Kelekar, there were freedom fighters in Goa who were willing to do something but faced a crisis of leadership. Distrustful of many of the leaders in Goa, they would have been willing to follow any guidelines for action given by Braganza-Cunha after his escape from Portugal, but none were forthcoming.[14]

There is evidence to suggest that in the period prior to Braganza-Cunha's arrest, his popularity was on the rise, a fact which the Portuguese authorities were conscious of. Since 1938, the police had been keeping a tab on his activities.[15] A confidential memorandum of the Administrator of Salcette, dated 2 July 1946, states:

> I have learnt that yesterday evening a meeting was held at Cansaulim, where, Tristao Braganca e Cunha (*sic*) and his niece Berta Menezes Braganca were carried in a procession from village Cuelim to the site of the meeting at Cansaulim [Shirodkar 1991:11].

Earlier, when Braganza-Cunha and Berta Menezes Braganza were physically

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[14]Personal communication made at an interview on 25 October 1990 at Priol, Ponda.

[15]This was stated in the confidential memorandum of the Administrator of Salcette, dated 1 July 1946 [Shirodkar 1991:10].

prevented from addressing a meeting at Margao (and the former was savagely beaten, see Appendix 2) after the launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement by Lohia, the memorandum cited above gives evidence of a *bandh* being held, as the commercial establishments of the parish of Cansaulim remained closed as a mark of protest against the taluka authorities' action on them.

Perhaps if Braganza-Cunha had not been arrested shortly after this, he may have made his mark as a popular mass leader. Instead, his role as a 'mass leader' remained too short a phase of his political career, so that it did not even form a part of the memory of his contemporaries.

The Changing Significance of Braganza-Cunha

Freedom fighters see Braganza-Cunha either as a symbol of secularism and/or as one who was acutely aware of the 'denationalised' state of the Christian Goan (discussed in Chapter 5). Interestingly, the shared perception among freedom fighters of Braganza-Cunha as a 'Communist' (discussed in Chapter 6) did not come in the way of their acceptance of him as a founding father of the nationalist movement in Goa, or their perception of him as one who could bring about the unification of divergent groups under one umbrella organisation. Urselino Almeida attributed this to the fact that 'he never got involved in any controversy and so was acceptable.' This explained why 'all organisations accepted his ideas and leadership'.[16]

Flaviano Dias was appreciative of the fact that whatever Braganza-Cunha's

[16]Personal communication made at an interview on 6 March 1992, at Margao.

private views on religion may have been, he was not inflexible. He recalled:

> Father Mendonsa, a professor of philosophy, was highly agitated over the harassment he was facing in the Jesuit order -- having given an unconventional interpretation to the concept of virginity. Consequently, he told Cunha that he wanted to leave the order. Cunha asked him whether he was against Christ and the church. When Father Mendonsa said he was not, Cunha, much to the surprise of the former, said he should remain inside (the order) and fight for his ideas. Father Mendonsa, expecting Cunha to encourage him to leave, was surprised and told Cunha that he had become 'soft'.[17]

In 1929, a committee was constituted to organize the birth centenary celebrations of Francisco Luis Gomes. A Christian religious ritual was included as part of the programme, in spite of protests from the Hindu members of the committee. Braganza-Cunha wrote a letter in *Procasha* protesting against the disrespect shown towards the Hindus [Angle 1994:62]. His sensitivity to religious questions is further illustrated by an incident narrated by Antonio da Cruz [1974:58]. When an uproar had been created in the Christian community on account of the criticism launched by da Cruz against a 'peace message' of Pope Pius XII, Braganza-Cunha warned him that 'a Goan nationalist should always be on his guard (and) not allow himself to be dragged into such religious polemics'. He advised him to drop the attack or 'withdraw from the fray' [1974:58].

[17]Personal communication made at an interview on 11 November 1990, at Panaji.

Commenting on Braganza-Cunha's stand with regard to religion, Dr Sukhtankar said:

> He never talked against Christ though he was a Marxist. He talked against priests or the influence of Jesuits. He would say, how can I talk against the Christian religion? It is good.[18]

His ability to respect the religious sentiments of others facilitated his acceptance by a large cross-section of people.

In his preface to *The Denationalization of Goans*, Braganza-Cunha comments on the responses that an earlier booklet written by him, *Portuguese India After 400 Years of Foreign Rule*, had received. In particular, he refers to the responses of the 'Catholicus' of a prominent Catholic journal, *The Examiner* and the 'anti-Catholicus' of the nationalist journal, the *Gomantak*. He comments:

> While the former (the 'Catholicus') states that the guiding spirit of our Committee is 'a notorious atheist, apostate and anti-clerical, who professes communistic ideas', the latter not less emphatically blames our organisation for working 'under the Jesuits' wing' [1961:57].

According to him, 'the charges which mutually destroy each other' were motivated by opponents, who were decided on 'fostering sectarianism among Goans' [1961:57].

Meanwhile, the Administrator of Salcette referred to Braganza-Cunha as a

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[18]Personal communication made at an interview on 10 December 1991 at Bandra, Bombay.

man who aspired to be 'an ardent leader of the Hindus' [Shirodkar 1991:10].

He was quite aware of the fact that his criticism of the Portuguese use of the Christian religion rendered him open to attack by pro-Catholic interests, while his consciously secular stance made him vulnerable to attacks by pro-Hindu forces.

The reception of Braganza-Cunha during his lifetime, his rejection by a section of the pro-Hindu forces on the grounds that his secular stance represented a pro-Catholic bias, and his rejection by Christian interests who viewed his attacks on the church as an indication of his being anti-Christ, was the reflection of a society divided on the basis of religion.

This was evident even after his death, as the Catholic church authorities in Bombay (in independent India!) refused to allow his burial in any Catholic cemetry.

Though no one was willing to own him when he died, today, Braganza-Cunha belongs to everyone -- the state, the leftists, the liberals and the Hindu rightists.[19] Interestingly, however, while he is projected as a symbol of their supposed values, little is said about the values that Braganza-Cunha stood for. Consequently, he signifies a portrait that may adorn the hall of a meeting organised by any political group, be it the establishment or its opponents.

A report carried by a daily newspaper is revealing:

> The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) bicycle *Ekta Yatra* was welcomed at Mapusa by Block president Narayan Karekar and

[19]The Catholic rightist force is politically weak. However, the church, which was at one time opposed to Braganza-Cunha, today makes no comment about him.

BJP workers on Sunday. *He garlanded the portraits of T B Cunha and Bharat Mata on the rath...*[20]

While the various organisations posing to be inheritors of Braganza-Cunha's legacy are silent on the values that he stood for, the fact is that fragments of his discourse can be utilised variously to represent the divergent points of view of the organisations concerned.

His artieulation of the great Indian nation of which Goa was once a part, in eonjunetion with his numerous attaeks on the politieal use made of Christianity by the ehureh and foreign missionaries, can be utilised by the Hindu rightists to strengthen their ease for a Hindu nation.

At the same time his analysis of global conditions along the lines of Lenin. ean be seen as evidence of his Marxist methodology and explain his appropriation by the left. While his avowed 'neutrality' in the matter of religion and his attempt to expose the exploitation of religion for political purposes ean be used to strengthen the ease of the liberal proponents of 'secularism'.

The projeetion of Braganza-Cunha by all manner of politieal forces as a symbol of the varied ideologies they represent is based on the seleetive appropriation of his diseourse. This ean be understood at two levels.

On the one hand, it is faeilitated by the faet that there is a high level of ignorance about the peeuliar history of nationalism in Goa, even among Goans. Till a few years ago, the history of Goa did not come under the purview of Indian history studied at the sehool and university level. This accounts for the ignoranee

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[20]*Gomantak Times*, 7 January 1992 (emphasis added).

of the ideas that Braganza-Cunha stood for, even in political and academic circles in Goa.

On the other hand, one could view the selective appropriation of his discourse as a manifestation of a society attempting to come into its own, with different interest groups claiming to represent the interests of Goa, and appropriating Braganza-Cunha to give legitimacy to their claims. Thus there is competition within the political elite to capture the imagination of the people of Goa by using Braganza-Cunha as a symbol belonging to that notion of history which is supportive of their ideology.[21]

A Divided Society

Throughout this thesis the importance of religion in Goa is highlighted. It is impossible to examine Braganza-Cunha's activism or ideology without referring to the religious divisions in Goan society.

In fact Braganza-Cunha's discourse in general and his thesis of the denationalisation of Goans in particular are a product of the divided society in which he operated, attempting to unite the people by appealing to their identity as Indians. His discourse is meaningful because it directly addressed the problem of the communal divide, although his effectiveness was limited by the fact that he was unable to conceive of symbols that the people could identify with, and which

[21]In the *New York Review of Books*, Amos Elon, discussing the significance of archaeological findings as a 'reassurance of roots' to the Israeli, points out that 'We all have the right to pursue what we want to pursue, and to explore the buried past and eventually dig it up -- the discovery . . . The problem arises when the proof of our discovery is prompted not by evidence but by ideology' [1994:15]. A similar problem is discernible in the appropriation of Braganza-Cunha by divergent interest groups.

overrode the divisions among them. But this limitation was not necessarily a weakness only on the part of Braganza-Cunha. The reality was that the divisions in Goan society were pronounced, resulting in a duality of culture. As pointed out by Louis Dumont, people who have co-existed for centuries do not necessarily constitute a society if their values have not fused [1970:98]. To find acceptable symbols which the people could identify with in these circumstances was difficult.

In spite of efforts to project Goa as an epitome of communal harmony the divisions in Goan society persist.[22] This is evident in the fact that in post-liberation Goa, opinions on a wide range of secular issues have been coalescing along communal lines. After liberation, whether Goa should merge with Maharashtra or remain a union territory was a contentious issue. This compelled the Indian government to conduct an opinion poll in 1967, the first and to date the only one conducted in the country's history, to resolve the issue. In 1986, Goa's glorified 'peace loving' society was violently divided on the issue of language. In the recent past, agitations on the medium of instruction in schools and the alignment of the Konkan railway have been testimony to the fact that divisions exist among the people of Goa. In all these issues people have participated in large numbers, while religion has played a crucial role in determining the formulation of opinion. It is relevant to note that the ruling Congress Party has been unable to take a united stand on even a single of the

[22]Hobsbawm has observed that conversion to different religions can help to create two different nationalities among people who share a common culture [1992:70]. In this work the relationship between religion and national consciosness has been explored. While two tangential forms of consciousness persist, neither the Christian response nor the Hindu response is homogenous because of other factors, especially the caste system, which is observed even by Christians as discussed in Chapter 2.

major issues which came up after it came to power in Goa in 1980, as the opinion of its members has been divided along communal lines.

Braganza-Cunha's discourse of nationalism was a consequence of the ambiguity of Goa's identity during his lifetime. In spite of 34 years having passed since the Portuguese were forced to relinquish their hold over the territory and eight years since she achieved statehood, the ambiguity of Goa's identity persists. Braganza-Cunha's relevance is seen in his appropriation by divergent interest groups, all separately seeking to carve an identity for Goa in accordance with the ideologies they represent.

Glossary

Ahimsa: Non-violence

Assimilado: Those who had been 'assimilated'; meaning they could read, write and speak Portuguese.

Bab: An honorific, used to address another with respect (like *ji* in Hindi).

Bamonn: Refers to Goud Saraswat Brahmins, which comprise the vast majority of Goa's brahmins, and are nowadays widely called 'Saraswats'. Even after centuries of being converted, the caste system still prevails among the Christians, all of whom can still trace the caste to which they originally belonged. Hence, *Bamonn* refers to Hindu as well as Christian brahmins, a large number of whom were also *bhatkars* or landowners.

Bandh: A general strike, when all establishments of all kinds remain closed as a mark of protest.

Bhatkar: Landowner.

Charddo: An intermediate upper caste among the Christians. According to *Charddos* themselves, they are originally Kshatriyas in the post-Vedic four-tier *Varna* system. Some sections of *Chardos* are also landlords, and the caste sees itself as being discriminated against by the *Bamonns*, leading to ongoing rivalry between the two.

Charkha/khadi: A spinning wheel, used to hand-spin cotton threads, which can then be woven to create *khadi* or handloom fabric.

Choli: The traditional bodice or blouse, worn by women with the *óll* or traditional saree.

Comunidade: The Portuguese name for the village community or *Ganvponn*.

Confraria: A committee of the laity

Conselhos: The Portuguese term for provinces. Till the second half of the 18th century, Goa had three *conselhos*; Ilhas, Bardez and Salcette. The *Novas Conquistas* or New Conquests from 1763 to 1788 added 10 more *conselhos* to the territory of Goa, making a total of 13. Later, these were consolidated into 10. Then Mormugao was carved out of Salcete, making a total of 11. After liberation, these were renamed talukas.

Cortes: The Portuguese parliament, first set up in 1822.

Cuddo: Literally, a room (the 'o' is silent). Cuddos were clubs in Bombay, organised villagewise, where Goan Christians who went to the city to earn a living could stay.

Ganvkars, Ganvponn: The *Ganvponn* or village community is the ancient form of social and political organisation in Goa, which survived through innumerable dynasties. *Ganvkars* are the original inhabitants of the village, who comprised the sharcholders of this village cooperative and consequently became the joint owners of nearly all the land in the village. They received a *zonn* or dividend from the revenues collected through rents paid by the tenants who worked the land.

Gauda: A socially, educationally and economically backward community, mostly agricultural labourers by occupation. Are believed to be the original inhabitants of Goa.

Indigena: 'Native', or a colonial subject who was not assimilated into the Lusitanian mainstream.

Kunbi: Another socially, educationally and economically backward community; like the Gaudas, also primarily engaged in agriculture.

Lusitanisation: *Lusitania* is the Roman name for the western part of the Iberian peninsula. *Lusitanisation* is the term the Portuguese coined for what they saw as their mission of 'civilising' barbarian and pagan peoples and making them into fit Portuguese subjects.

Mattov: Shamiana or Pandal.

Mukadam: An assistant to a bhatkar; the one who actually managed the properties.

Mundcar: Tenant occupying a house belonging to a *bhatkar.*

Ovio: Traditional couplets composed and sung by women in Konkani.

Prabhat Feri: A procession taken out at dawn. They are used mostly to create awareness, and were popular during the freedom struggle in India.

Puddvem: The Goan form of the *dhoti*, worn traditionally only by upper-caste males (the lower castes wore only a loin cloth, called a *kashti*). It is a piece of cloth five yards long, which is wound around the waist and an end brought between the legs and tucked in at the back, covering the lower half of the body.

Sashti: The Konkani word for Salcette.

Satyagraha: Literally, the 'force of truth'. A form of non-violent protest invented by M K Gandhi, of offering no resistance to the violence of authority. It was the principal form of protest used during India's freedom struggle.

Tiatr: A Konkani musical operetta in seven acts, with sideshows (comic interludes) in between. An extremely popular form of entertainment among Christians.

Tulsi: The holy basil, a shrub held as sacred. It is usually planted in a tall, elaborate pot in the front yard of every Goan Hindu household.

Vaddo: Hamlet or ward; every village comprises several *vaddos*.

Zagor: A form of folk theatre; very popular among Christian and Nava-Hindu Gaudas (those re-converted during the Shuddhi movement).

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APPENDIX ONE

Thumbnail Sketches of Freedom Fighters who were Interviewed

ALMEIDA, Urselino: (born on 24 October 1926) Active member of the NCG. Left his job to organize the satyagraha movement in Goa in 1955. A founder member of the Goa Liberation Army (GLA), formed in 1956. After liberation, has been active in organizing trade unions. He is an office bearer of the National Union of Seafarers of India (NUSI).

AZEVEDO, Carmo: (born on 12 February 1912) Qualified as a doctor from Portugal. In Portugal, edited the *Jornal d' India,* which was closed down on account of rigid censorship laws. Resigned his government job as a Health Officer in Panaji in December 1946. Shifted to Bombay, where he published numerous booklets and articles highlighting the Goa problem. Presently resides in Panaji and takes an active interest in the history of Goa.

DIAS, Joachim: (born on 12 May 1920) As a student was active in the Indian independence struggle. Was a founder member of the Goan Youth League (GYL) in Bombay. He offered satyagraha in Goa in 1946. Had come into contact with Braganza Cunha before the latter was arrested, and associated with

him in Bombay after his return from Portugal. At the time of conducting the interview, was Advocate General of Goa. Presently a busy legal practitioner.

DIAS, Flaviano: (born on 22 December 1931) Active in the NCG. Was influenced by Peter Alvares (leader of the *Praja Socialist Party*). Worked for some time in Goa but forced to go to Bombay to evade arrest. Came into contact with Braganza Cunha in Bombay and was elected Joint Secretary of the Goan Clubs Committee which the former had founded. At the time of conducting the interview, he worked for the news agency PTI. Now retired, but still active in journalism.

GAITONDE, Pundalik: (3 July 1913 to 13 November 1992) Qualified as a surgeon from Lisbon. Active in the NCG. Rose to prominence after his arrest and deportation to Portugal for uttering *Eu protesto* (I protest) to an assertion that Goa was a part of Portugal at a social gathering. Helped organize the Afro-Asian Seminar on Portuguese colonies in New Delhi. Nominated a member of the Lok Sabha from 1962 to 1963. Was residing in London at the time of his death.

GAITONDE, Nanda: (born on 10 February 1927) Active member of the NCG. Was influenced by Peter Alvares, especially his emphasis on striking roots in every village. Was actively involved in organizing the satyagraha movement of 1954, concentrating his efforts in South Goa. On account of this, was incarcerated from

June 1954 to May 1959. Presently resides at Palolem, Canacona.

KAKODKAR, Purshottam: (born on 18 May 1913) As a student, ran away to Benares to learn about 'Indian culture' and attained the Shastri (Sanskrit) Degree. Participated in the Indian independence struggle. In Goa founded the Goa Sevak Sangh in 1945. Participated in 1946 satyagraha. Deported to Portugal in 1946, returning to India only in 1956. In 1961 put forth the controversial proposal for provincial autonomy for Goa. In 1971 was elected as a member of the Lok Sabha and was nominated as a member of the Rajya Sabha in 1985. Continues to be an active Congressman.

KAKODKAR, Divakar: (born on 29 September 1918) As a student in Bombay, was active in the Indian independence struggle. Became a CPI member in 1935. Was also a member of the GYL. On returning to Goa worked as a high school teacher, and was a founder member of the GPP. In 1949, was arrested and detained in solitary confinement in Aguada for 20 months without trial. In 1951, was deported to 'Devil's Island' at Cabo Verde for seven years. Continues to be politically active.

KELEKAR, Ravindra: (born on 7 March 1925) Associated briefly first with the National Congress (Goa) -- or NCG -- after its formation in 1946 and later with the Azad Gomantak Dal (AGD). Disillusioned with terrorist politics he turned to Gandhian philosophy. Edited Konkani journals *Meerg* and *Gomant Bharati.*

Incarcerated in Goa in 1961 for a few months for his nationalistic activity. Presently resides at Priol, Ponda.

MADKAIKAR, Shamrao: (born on 3 January 1911) Attracted to the philosophy of M N Roy in his youth. In 1937, formed the Gomantakiya Tarun Sangh, ostensibly a social organization, with the intent of attracting youth who could be gradually politicized. Brought out a handwritten Marathi journal, *Uttejan*. Associated with Braganza Cunha in 1941, while doing relief work to help the flood victims of Salcette. Resides at Navelim.

MENEZES BRAGANZA, Berta: (17 December 1911 to 13 July 1993) Daughter of renowned free thinker Luis Menezes Braganza and niece of Tristao de Braganza Cunha. Was active in the Goa Congress Committee. Was prevented from offering satyagraha by the Portuguese police in 1946. Moved to Belgaum in 1950 as her husband, Antonio Furtado had been threatened with deportation. Along with her husband, she founded the fortnightly journal, *Free Goa* in 1953, and edited it from 1958 till 1962 when its publication ceased. As a member of the National Campaign Committee, she toured India to publicize the cause of Goa. Also highlighted the cause of Goa at the international conferences that she attended. Besides being related to Braganza Cunha, she was closely associated with him. At the time of her death, she was residing in Margao.

MULGAONKAR, Pandurang: (born on 10 October 1917) Used his qualifications

as a lawyer to help the freedom struggle, taking up the cases of many freedom fighters arrested on account of their participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1946. An active member of the NCG, he was arrested in 1955 and sentenced to eight years rigorous imprisonment, but was released in 1959. Was active in the INC after Goa was freed. Now engaged in legal practice in Porvorim.

NACHINOLKAR, Dr R V P: (born on 6 February 1924) As a student took an active interest in politics. Was an active member of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) and, from 1946 onwards, was associated with the NCG. Installed a secret radio transmitter and tried to build a network to gather secret information from Portuguese government offices. After Goa was freed, was active in the INC and was elected President of the Tiswadi taluka branch of the Congress. Now engaged with his medical practice and looking after his extensive landholding in Santa Cruz, Tiswadi.

PRABHUDESAI, Manohar: (born on 20 May 1925) Active member of the NCG, he worked in the border areas of South Goa. Influenced by Peter Alvares. Arrested for offering satyagraha at Chavdi in 1946. Offered satyagraha at Chavdi again on 17 February 1955. On 11 May 1955 was arrested and sentenced to 10 years of rigorous imprisonment. Released four years later on account of a general amnesty. Is a farmer by occupation.

SINARI, Prabhakar: (born on 23 November 1933) Became politically active in 1946. Believing that peaceful methods were ineffective against the Portuguese, was involved in the founding of the AGD in 1947, but on account of differences broke away from it to found the *Rancour Patriotica* in 1957. Was Deputy Inspector General of Police in Goa at the time the interview was conducted. Presently retired.

VAZ, George: (born on 14 July 1919) Was associated with the GYL, Bombay. Arrested and incarcerated for short periods in Goa on account of his nationalist activities, as a result of which he decided to continue his political activities from Bombay. He was attracted to left politics and was a founder member of the GPP. Came in contact with Braganza Cunha in Bombay and invited him to address meetings of the GPP. Is presently a leading trade union leader (AITUC) in Goa, especially in the iron ore and manganese ore mines.

APPENDIX TWO

A Biographical Essay

Braganza-Cunha came from a privileged background. This gave him access to people, ideas and to lands across the sea, which contributed to the development of his vision for a free Goa. In this chapter, a few of the various influences that Braganza-Cunha was exposed to, which helped to shape his ideas, can be seen.

Early Social Background

Braganza-Cunha was born on 2 April 1891 at his maternal home in the village of Chandor, to Dr Ligoria de Cunha and Filomena de Braganza, and was brought up in his paternal home in Cuelim. Both these villages came under Salcete taluka, belonging to the old conquests. He belonged to the Catholic *charddo* bhatkar (landowning) community.

He was one of four children. His father, a doctor by profession, also edited a political journal in Portuguese, brought out from Cuelim, called *O Nacionalista*. Braganza-Cunha was related to the great free thinker and bold intellectual of Goa, Luis Menezes Braganza. Menezes Braganza, 13 years his senior, was his cousin, being the son of Braganza-Cunha's maternal aunt, aside from being his brother-in-law.

His younger brother, Placido, qualified as a doctor and settled down in Calcutta. His elder brother, Francisco, was a reputed Indologist. He got to know

Lenin when he went to Germany and joined the Moscow University as a professor of Indology, after which he chose to take up residence in Paris. His sister, Anna, married Luis Menezes Braganza.

Braganza-Cunha spent his childhood in the sprawling Cunha mansion nestled in the foothills of the picturesque Rameth dongor. In addition to the ancestral mansion, the Cunhas were in possession of a large tract of land on which resided a number of mundkars. After completing his primary education, Braganza-Cunha joined the Lyceum at Panaji. Apparently he found the method of teaching at the Lyceum stifling, and opted to continue his higher education at a French missionary school in Pondicherry, where he obtained his Baccalaureate.

During the early years of Braganza-Cunha's life, a number of factors influenced him. The relationship between Braganza-Cunha's paternal home and maternal home was very strong. Berta Menezes Braganza, his niece, affirmed that the relationship between the Menezes Braganza and the Cunha households was a very special one. Aside from the familial ties, an intellectual bond existed between these households. Earlier, her father, Luis Menezes Braganza, used to contribute articles to Ligoria de Cunha's *O Nacionalista*. But it was a conservative journal and, as Menezes Braganza's thinking matured, it was untenable to continue writing for the journal.

When Braganza-Cunha was an impressionable teenager, Menezes Braganza was a man of political maturity known for expressing his controversial views on the Portuguese state and the Catholic church fearlessly.

In 1910, the Republican regime came to power, imbuing the politically

conscious Goans with optimism and hopes for autonomy. In the time of the Portuguese monarchy, Menezes Braganza had openly expressed his hostility to the regime, but after the Republican party was sworn in, he fraternised with the rulers. Braganza-Cunha was 19 years old at the time, and must have been affected by the optimism expressed by his cousin and other patriots.

Influences in France

Braganza-Cunha left Goa in 1912 for further studies at Paris. He gained admission to the prestigious Sorbonne University, and qualified as an electrical engineer. He then worked for a private firm. He was 21 when he arrived in Paris and 35 years old when he left it. His 'best years' were thus spent in Paris.

He never wrote about himself, and as it has not been possible to trace anyone who knew Braganza-Cunha during this period, what details are known of his life during this time are from a few stray enigmatic accounts. Sardar K M Pannikar, an eminent historian and former ambassador to China and France, writing of Braganza-Cunha during his Paris years, says:

> I had the honour of knowing Tristao Cunha during the days of his stay in Paris. I came then to know not only how staunch a nationalist he was, but to appreciate his qualities as a thinker, writer and humanist. He wrote with ease and elegance in French, and the biographical study of Mahatma Gandhi which he contributed to the French press created at that time a great impression in France [Cunha 1961:v].

Pannikar and others have mentioned that Cunha came into contact with numerous international luminaries during his stay in Paris, such as Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Ho Chi Minh and Chou En Lai. He was able to establish strong ties with each of these persons, and took part in different activities with them.

Ravindra Kelekar, a nationalist, recounted how he came to know of Braganza-Cunha's contact with these international personalities quite by chance, through Horace Alexander, a Quaker from the United States. Horace Alexander had conducted several in-depth interviews with Braganza-Cunha regarding Goa's freedom struggle. Once, during the course of conversation, Braganza-Cunha mentioned that he had stayed with Ho Chi Minh in the same room for a period of six months. Till this time, no one knew of this fact, as he had not thought it important to tell anyone, such was his modesty. Kelekar said:

> Once a professor in Beijing told me that he had heard of only two Goans. One was D D Kosambi and the other was Cunha. I was surprised that he should have heard of Cunha, but he said Chou En Lai in his memoirs, wrote that the only reliable information on the Indian national struggle was obtained by him from Cunha.

Braganza-Cunha did not make explicit the reasons for his prolonged stay in Paris, but it seems clear that his interest in staying on went beyond his profession. He joined the Anti-Imperialist League in Paris. He also contributed to some French periodicals: *L'Humanite*, *Clarite*, and *L'Europe Nouvelle*. In *L'Europe Nouvelle*, he drew international attention to the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre of

1919 [Cunha 1961:viii].

To help disseminate information about the Indian nationalist struggle, he also joined the Pro-India Committee of the Information Bureau started by Romain Rolland.

The period of Braganza-Cunha's stay in Paris was a period of major upheavals the world over, including the conclusion of the First World War and the Russian Revolution in 1917. He believed that the Russian Revolution marked the beginning of the growth of a mighty anti-imperialist struggle.

Political Activity in Goa

Braganza-Cunha's stay in Paris appears to have been a period of preparation for the activity he was to undertake in Goa. For, he gave up his career as an electrical engineer and, within two years of his arrival from Paris, established the Goa Congress Committee in 1928. This was affiliated to the Indian National Congress in its Calcutta session that same year, under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru.

Menezes Braganza was 50 years old at this time. While he did not openly associate with the Goa Congress Committee (GCC), he was supportive of Braganza-Cunha's activities and attended the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress with him. The one Indian leader who appeared to have influenced them most was M K Gandhi.

On returning to Goa, Menezes Braganza took to wearing *khadi*, and Braganza-Cunha apparently tried to popularise the use of the *charkha* in some

villages of Salcete.

Berta recalled how, after her uncle and her father returned from the Congress session at Calcutta, her father's decision to use *khadi* impressed her. She and her sister Beatrice were also inspired by the message of *Swadeshi*. Consequently, they started wearing *khadi* sarees. Wearing sarees was unheard of amongst women belonging to Catholic *bhatkar* families. This practice of theirs sent shock waves through their entire community.

While Braganza-Cunha apparently never tried to organise the 'downtrodden', there are two instances that illustrate his concern and involvement with the plight of the 'gaudas'.

In 1929, hundreds of gaudas, particularly from Salcete, were duped into going to Assam to work at lowly wages on the tea plantations. Agents of the British tea planters had given them to understand that they were being taken to a nearby place to work for high wages. In fact, they received half of what they were paid in Goa and had no way of returning home.

Braganza-Cunha organised a campaign for their freedom and return to Goa. He was helped by his brother in Calcutta and he also solicited help from Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders.

In 1941, floods in Salcete had severely affected a number of poor peasants. Their homes and fields had been washed away, but the Portuguese government remained apathetic to their condition.

Braganza-Cunha launched a 'relief campaign' in order to help them to pick up the strings of their existence. He also gave them practical advise as to how

they could rebuild their houses. On account of these activities, a few of the old 'Sashti gaudis' till today remember 'Tristao bab' with affection and gratitude.

Braganza-Cunha appears to have been especially involved with the intellectual tasks of the movement for liberation, analysing the international scenario. the conditions prevailing in Goa under the Portuguese and methods to build up consciousness in Goa so that Goans could strive for the independence of India and the integration of Goa with India. His writings were addressed to the intelligentsia.

In 1946, a new phase of Goa's liberation struggle began with the launching of the civil disobedience movement by Ram Manohar Lohia. According to Purushottam Kakodkar, Braganza-Cunha was neither consulted nor informed of the momentous decision to bring the discontent of the people out in the open. While Juliao Menezes has stated that 'Cunha's group' had been informed [Menezes 1947], Kakodkar differs. But Kakodkar's justification of this move sounds unconvincing: 'He was so elderly compared to us, how could we approach him?'

Although the reasons for not approaching Braganza-Cunha were probably petty personal differences on the part of some of the organisers of the movement, this did not prevent him from participating in the movement once it began.

Apparently, after Lohia had been arrested, and it became clear to the organisers of the movement that there were no experienced persons to lead the movement, Kakodkar approached Braganza-Cunha on the night of 19 June 1946, asking him to participate, and 'to lead the movement'.

Without hesitation, Braganza-Cunha flung himself into the struggle. On 20 June, he addressed a meeting at a place today known as Lohia Maidan at Margao. According to a confidential memorandum signed by the administrator of Salcete taluka, between 500 and 1000 persons attended the meeting [Shirodkar 1991:13-14], where Braganza-Cunha read out a memorandum in Konkani, which criticised the government's inaction in the face of the food crisis prevailing then. It also asserted that the freedom of thought, speech and association were fundamental rights of the people, which had been curtailed by the government through the Colonial Act of 1930. The speech was 'delivered publicly and in a loud voice in Konkani' [Shirodkar 1991:11].

Two days later, on 23 June 1946, a big rally of around 2000 persons hoisted the tricolour of the INC on a mango tree at the municipal square in Margao, at the same time at which the Portuguese flag was usually hoisted. This act is supposed to have been inspired by Braganza-Cunha's speech [Shirodkar 1991:11]

On 30 June, Braganza-Cunha accompanied Berta, who was to address the meeting for that day. The police commandant and administrator attempted to intercept them and prevent them from proceeding, but Berta refused to concede and shouted *Jai Hind* and *Inquilab Zindabad*. At this stage, the two officers gave orders for the military to disperse the crowd. Twelve soldiers surrounded Berta and Braganza-Cunha. They assaulted Braganza-Cunha with rifle butts and ordered him to shout *Viva Portugal*, which he stubbornly refused to do. Owing to the severity of the attack, Braganza-Cunha sustained injuries on his upper torso

that continued to give him trouble many years later. On the orders of the officers concerned, Braganza-Cunha and Berta were transported to Chandor.

The next day, 1 July, Braganza-Cunha and Berta were carried in a procession from Cuelim to the neighbouring village of Cansualim to address a meeting. All commercial establishments of Cansualim had remained closed that day as a measure of protest against the treatment meted out to Cunha and Berta the previous evening. The meeting was attended by 1300 persons, including 150 kunbis -- Braganza-Cunha's *mundcars* -- 'armed with bamboo sticks' [Shirodkar 1991:11].

As the meeting at Margao could not take place, a fresh meeting was to be held, either at Margao or Cuncolim. However, before it could be called, Braganza-Cunha was arrested on 12 July at Margao railway station.

Trial

Braganza-Cunha's trial took place on 24 July 1946, 12 days after his arrest. It lasted from 8 am to 8 pm. People from distant parts of Goa came to attend his trial, which was the first and most sensational of such trials. Armed police cordoned off the courtroom to prevent people from thronging outside the doors and windows.

Braganza-Cunha's advocates were Dr Jose Paulo Teles, Vinaica Coissoro and Alvaro dos Remedios Furtado.

The charges levelled against Cunha were:

(1) The speech made on 20 June constituted instigation or provocation against

the security of the state.

(2) The meeting of 23 June was a consequence of the speech delivered by Cunha on 20 June.

(3) When he was not permitted to speak on 30 June, he challenged the authorities 'in a provoking gesture and, with fists closed and arms raised, requested the people present there to follow him and, shouting '*Jai Hind*', incited them to revolt.

In his defence, his advocates pointed out that, firstly, on the occasion of the meeting on 20 June 1946, Braganza-Cunha had read out in Konkani a copy of a collective manifesto published in Bombay titled *Manifesto of Goa's Political Conference*, written in Portuguese, which had been widely distributed in March and a copy of which had been sent to the Portuguese authorities.

The Manifesto pertained purely to the demanding of civil liberties and did not contain the idea of inciting a revolt. Secondly, they pointed out that Braganza-Cunha was not present for the meeting of 23 June and learnt of it later. Thirdly they admitted that Braganza-Cunha had raised the slogan *Jai Hind* but, far from the charges levelled against him such as making provocative gestures, he was attacked and wounded by the police agents.

Apart from answering to these charges, the advocates argued that it was unnecessary to try Braganza-Cunha in a military court as the crimes he was charged with were covered by the Penal Code and could be heard in the common courts. Further, there was no provision for the accused to exercise his 'sacred right of appeal' in the military court.

Originally, five persons were to testify in Braganza-Cunha's defence. Amongst these were three lawyers: Antonio Pereira, Mucunda Sincro and Antonio Furtado, a doctor from Cansaulim, Dr Germano de Menezes and a businessman from Mapusa, Damodar Diucar. But, while admitting to the high personal and mental calibre of Adv Antonio Pereira, the court dispensed of his testimony as he had admitted that the entire speech could not be heard. For some reason the statement of Mucunda Sincro was also dispensed with. Dr Germano de Menezes was the only defence witness permitted to appear before the court, as the other two witnesses failed to come for the hearing.

When the chairman asked the accused if he wished to say anything in his defence, Braganza-Cunha asserted that he was not the leader of the movement, which had taken place spontaneously on account of the economic conditions prevailing.

Further, he stated:

> I always worked openly and my sympathies for the Congress are known by all. To know what I was, it is enough to read my writings in the newspapers and in the pamphlets. You try me for what I did, for what I wrote and not by what others say about me. I appeal to the conscience of the worthy judges.

The trial concluded with the special Military Court sentencing Braganza-Cunha to a penalty of eight years of exile at a place to be determined by the government and the suspension of his political rights for 15 years [*The details of Braganza-Cunha's trial are compiled from* Shirodkar 1991].

Jail in Portugal

Braganza-Cunha was first imprisoned at the Aguada fortress in a dark, damp cell. Here he suffered from an attack of bronchitis, but the medical junta called to examine him declined to transfer him to a hospital. Instead, he was taken to the military barracks at Alto dos Alpaqueiros in Vasco da Gama. From here he was put aboard the Portuguese steamer the *SS Lourenco Marques* on 28 July 1946, bound for Portugal. In Portugal, Braganza-Cunha was first kept at the Aljube jail in Lisbon for some days, and later taken to the Peniche fort dungeon, where he spent four-and-a-half years till his release under a general amnesty granted by Salazar on the occasion of the Holy Year in 1950. However, he had to remain in Portugal under the surveillance of the secret police, known as the *Police Interna de Defesa do Estado* (PIDE).

In 1953, Braganza-Cunha was able to escape from Portugal to France. With the help of sympathetic friends, he secured a passport and a transit visa for 60 days given by the French consulate in Lisbon, supposedly to enable him to attend an international exhibition being held in Paris.

This was possible because Braganza-Cunha's name on the records of the PIDE was 'Tristao da Braganza e Cunha'. Braganza-Cunha's name in the original official records was lengthy, in keeping with the 'idolatrous naming rituals' prevalent at Goan baptismal ceremonies at the turn of the century and earlier. It was in this name that the application for his passport was made and, accordingly, his name on the passport issued to him by the 'Governor Civil de Lisboa' was 'Antonio Sebastiao dos Remedios Francisco Tome Tristao Bragança

'da Cunha'. In his visa, Braganza-Cunha's name was shortened to Antonio Cunha. This accounts for the Portuguese authorities granting a passport to liberty to the blacklisted Tristao da Braganca e Cunha [Cabral E Sa nd:98].

After arriving in Paris, Braganza-Cunha demanded political asylum in the Indian embassy then headed by historian-turned-diplomat K M Pannikar and stayed with his brother, the renowned Indologist Francisco de Braganca Cunha. He then left for India, arriving in Bombay on 4 September 1953.

Braganza-Cunha spent about seven years in Portugal. During this time he came in contact with 'the very finest men of Portugal incarcerated by the Dictator' [Cunha 1961:XI]. According to the late Dr Pundalik Gaitonde, a former freedom fighter who was in Portugal at that time, Braganza-Cunha also met Mario Soares, presently president of Portugal, who was then fighting against the dictatorial regime. It is perhaps through the contacts he established during this period that he was able to get reports on political activity within Portugal which were carried in *Free Goa*.

Soon after Braganza-Cunha's incarceration in Portugal, he was joined by Dr Rama Hegde, Purshottam Kakodkar, Lakshmikant Bhembre and Jose Inacio Lily. According to Gaitonde, conditions in the jail were decent and visitors had easy access to the prisoners.

In a small essay titled *Political Exiles in Portugal* -- which, incidentally, is the only writing by him that I have come across which can, in any measure, be described as personal, he comments:

> When I think of my sojourn in Portugal, I am unable to say which

> one of the two periods of exile was the worst; the one I passed in jail or the other when I was in relative freedom. In fact the whole of Portugal is at present a vast prison where people live under the terror of the political police. The entire mental and social atmosphere is unbearable for anyone having a sense of human and cultural progress. The most elementary rights are denied to people outside prison as they are denied inside [1961:527].

However, even in this essay he refuses to dwell on unpleasant experiences. He writes:

> I have bitter memories of these seven years which I consider as lost in my life, having been unable during this time to exercise my normal activities according to the moods and aspirations proper to my personal aspirations and character... I shall omit here the disagreeable incidents and relate only good impressions and some important aspects [1961:528].

He goes on to say that his best memories were of his prison companions, who were exclusively political prisoners:

> The jail of Peniche was a real political university composed of people who had an exceptional experience in action allied to a remarkable theoretical preparation, partly acquired in jail where they found leisure to learn... These political prisoners were men of strong personality remarkable for their character and intelligence such as is rarely to be found anywhere outside the

prison [1961:529].

It is clear that during the period of his exile in Portugal, he derived spiritual sustenance from his contact with so many people who harboured similar anti-fascist sentiments. Outside jail in Portugal, Braganza-Cunha described the cultural vacuum that had been created on account of the bans placed by the dictatorial regime on 'every progressive idea' [1961:529].

According to him, in order to fill the vacuum thus created the government 'intensified public interest towards such odd recreations as football, games, lotteries and processions of Our Lady of Fatima', so that 'football and Fatima are the main diversions that replace real culture' [1961:529].

He found this in sharp contrast to the cultural and intellectual milieu of France, where he had earlier resided for 14 years and which he had to visit in order to make good his escape. However, the period of his exile gave him the opportunity to witness the manner in which the Salazarist regime operated within Portugal.

Braganza-Cunha concentrated all his energies towards the liberation of Goa and was obviously disappointed with the attitude of the government of independent India. This is reflected in numerous essays written after his return to India. In the Goa Action Committee's report written by him in 1955, he wrote:

> The lack of co-operation of the Indian forces in this work (the work of Goa's liberation) 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...' [1961:314].

He had coined the slogan 'A Free Goa in A Free India' but found that the Indian government failed to measure up to his expectations. He had believed that a free India would necessarily ensure Goa's freedom but found this belief shattered.

The last piece of his writing appeared in *Free Goa* just two weeks prior to his death. Braganza-Cunha translated an interview with Salazar which had appeared in the French journal *Le Figaro*. Salazar is quoted as saying:

> None contests the secular sovereignty of the Portuguese over Goa . . . I think that our position will go on improving. Recently some measures have been taken by the Indian government which are favourable for us [10 Sept 1958:1].

Braganza-Cunha wrote in the introduction to this interview:

> Dr Salazar takes full advantage of the complete silence kept abroad about Goa by the Indian services of information or propaganda and tries to spread all over the world the most blatant lies about India to deceive the foreign public opinion about the real issue of our case [10 Sept 1958:1].

He remained active in the cause of Goa's liberation till the end but the attitude of independent India's government must have deeply pained him. Goa's liberation, which he had been sure would be achieved with India's independence, remained elusive. On 26 September 1958, Braganza-Cunha suffered a fatal attack

of cardiac thrombosis.

Last rites

Death came suddenly and, as Braganza-Cunha had left no written instructions regarding the disposal of his remains, his associates were left in a quandary. Those who were close to him were certain that he would have preferred to be cremated. A short note in *Free Goa* dated 10 November 1958 titled *Cunha's Burial - A Clarification*, says:

> T B Cunha, like all intellectuals, was an agnostic. But he was certainly not godless or anti-church. He never would have approved for himself a consecrated Catholic Church burial. His personal religion consisted of his humanity and his love for freedom for his people, and he had never been frightened with any threat of displeasure of the Catholic church which he could never bring himself to approach for any concession or favour.

In the circumstances, however, his friends and relatives felt compelled to organise a church funeral for him. The church refused to permit his burial in any Catholic cemetery on the grounds that he was a non-practising Catholic. Probably his known writings on the Catholic church's collaboration with the Portuguese state in keeping the people of Portuguese India under subjugation influenced this decision.

Ironically, his associates were forced to urge the church with which Braganza-Cunha had no association during his lifetime to accommodate him after his death.

He was finally buried on 28 September 1958 in a cemetery of the Protestant Church of Scotland at Sewri. From there his mortal remains were brought to Goa nearly 30 years later and placed in the Azad Maidan of Panjim where a memorial (which housed a statue of Afonso de Albuquerque before liberation) now stands in his honour.

'Free Goa' continued after his death under the editorship of Berta Menezes Braganza till March 1962.

Six months after his death, Braganza-Cunha was awarded the gold medal for Peace by the World Peace Council at its session in Stockholm in 1959, in recognition of his 'eminent contribution to the cause of peace and friendship among peoples'.

In 1961, the Dr T B Cunha Memorial Committee constituted in Bombay published *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, a memorial volume containing a selection of his major writings. In the preface to this volume, K M Pannikar referred to him as the *Father of Goan Nationalism* -- a title which has adhered to Braganza-Cunha's name till today.

APPENDIX THREE

Portuguese Occupation of Goa Supported by Indian Merchants

The main cause of the failure to liberate Goa even ten years after the independence of India is the systematic sabotage, carried by Indian businessmen against all the efforts made by Goans as well by others (*sic*) to achieve the liberation. This is now clear to all those who have studied the Goa question objectively and do not believe in the lame excuses invented to explain the shameful continuation of the occupation by Portugal of territories situated in India. It is not the lack of unity among Goans nor the lack of cooperation on the part of Indian people to achieve the integration of Goa, Daman and Diu into India that is responsible for the indefinite postponement of freeing them from foreign rule. It is the protection given by some Indian politicians in power to the Indian businessmen for carrying a profitable speculation in Goa with the full connivance of the Portuguese officialdom. That mainly is responsible for the present state of affairs.

The facilities given by the Portuguese government to the Indian businessmen are such that they have made them interested in the continuance of Portuguese rule in Goa and made them wish to postpone as long as possible the liberation of the Portuguese occupied territories. The Indian politicians who support these Indian merchants do not seem to realise that the profits made by them are gained not only at the cost of economic and financial interests of India but are also

detrimental to her national unity, territorial integrity and future security. Narrow-minded and unable to grasp the national interest as they are, they believe that the profits made by Indians compensate the country for the loss it suffers otherwise from the Portuguese occupation.

We have repeatedly shown here, giving names and figures, that the help given by Indian capitalists to exploit the Goan mining wealth has served to increase the revenue of the Portuguese administration and to allow it to maintain an army of many thousands of European and African soldiers and officers and a costly political police. The exploitation of the mining industry and the contraband trade which is simultaneously carried by the same Indian traders is the main source of income of the Portuguese in Goa who themselves have not invested a single rupee in our country. Under the camouflage of a fictitious economic blockade and sanctions, which they have sabotaged, the Indian merchants, together with some foreign speculators, have extended to the Portuguese the help they needed to perpetuate and consolidate their domination in Goa.

In addition to the help given for the extraction of the iron and manganese ore the Indian capitalists have also helped the Portuguese to improve the transport of the minerals by railway, roads and rivers, to build a new and big airport and to extend the works of the Marmagao (*sic*) harbour. We have given here the names of the Indian businessmen including Goans who have invested their capital in all these concerns. Some of these persons are known to be well-related with Indian politicians and government officers. Most of the industrial concerns in Goa are run by Indians and some by foreigners. The capital, the management

and even a great part of the labour is Indian and are closely connected with concerns functioning in India.

A further contribution to help the Portuguese to consolidate their position in Goa is now the formation of a Ship-building Society with the co-operation of the Indian capitalists who run the mining industry and indulge in its complementary smuggling trade. The capital subscribed for the new society comes from the government of Portuguese India and other institutions depending on the government which are compelled by the government to lend their funds. But a good amount of this capital is also brought by the Indian and foreign firms working in Goa. The capital invested by private Indian and foreign concerns is indeed superior to the sum invested by the government.

The following is the list of the Indian and foreign investors who have contributed to the funds of the new society and who also permanently co-operate with the Portuguese in strengthening foreign hold on Goa. Here are the most important names:

Chowgule and Co. Ltd.
Damodar Mangalji and Co (India) Ltd.
Gangadhal Agrawal.
Hiralal Khodidas
Khantilal & Co. Ltd.
Mineira Nacional Ltd.
Shantilal Khushaldas & Brothers
Subraya & Co.
Timble Brothers Ltd.
V. M. Salgaonkar & Brother Ltd.
V.S. Dempe & Co. Ltd.
Joao Hugo Siqueira
Madev Sinay Talaulikar
A. Abdulrazak
Sesa Goa Ltd. (Germano-Italian)
W.I.P.Railway (British).

Mingoa Society (Italian)

The installation of the ship-building works is to be started in Vasco da Gama near Marmagao harbour under the direction of Portuguese, Indians, and Britishers. The capital subscribed amounts to nearly 35 lakhs divided in shares of Rs 100 each. The report accompanying the project of the Ship-Building Society clearly says that it aims at resisting India's efforts to unite Goa to India. That has not prevented the proteges of our Congress patriots to fully cooperate with the Portuguese in the anti-Indian endeavour. They may allege that it is "constructive work" (Gandhian terminology) pursued by Indians in Goa with the connivance of pseudo-Gandhians in power in India. As a matter of fact they are plundering and mortgaging Goan wealth for the immediate benefit of Portugal.

While the Indian government is quietly awaiting to settle the problem of Goa by "peaceful negotiations" the Indian moneybags s are allowed to peacefully help the Portuguese and enrich themselves at the cost of the Indian and Goan economy, of the suffering of Goans and non-Goans and more than anything else, at the cost of the Indian national integrity, her good name and her safety. It is in the interests of these moneybags indeed that the settlement of the Portuguese pockets has been postponed indefinitely. They are the people who spread here false and distorted news about Goa and mislead and misinform the official circles in India about the real situation of the Portuguese territories in India. Only the Indian government must understand that they are not interested in the liberation of Goa because when it comes, it will deprive them of their easy and tainted profits. One must know also that these double dealers are the real political

informers and advisors of the Portuguese on the Goan question.

One must say that these unscrupulous merchants would not have succeeded in their treacherous work of support to the foreign occupants of Goa if they had not received all facilities from Indian authorities to carry on their nefarious activity. Not only they were given in India all normal facilities allowed to honest traders but they were left free to act in contempt of law and resort to criminal corruption to carry on their smuggling activities which are complementary to the Goan mining industry. In fact, since the Independence they were treated as a privileged class allowed to prosper at the cost of the most vital interests of the nation. Before the relaxation of the permit system, when common people were harassed in every manner when they had to travel to and from Goa, it was precisely these merchants for whom the economic restrictions really meant (*sic*) who enjoyed all sorts of facilities thanks to powerful friends they had in official circles. No wonder that the supposed economic sanctions failed miserably and some had to be removed as ineffective. In fact, they were are still are, sabotaged in benefit of these most unpatriotic citizens and lawbreakers.

While our brave Goan and non-Goan liberators were facing by hundreds and thousands the cruel fascist repression of the Portuguese police state, suffering long years of prison, deportations, beatings, tortures and even death, the Indian adventurist traders were amassing fortunes and prospering at the expense of other people's sacrifices. And it is precisely these people who are now carrying the whispering campaign against Goans accusing them of being responsible for the failure of liberation because of the lack of unity between their too numerous

political parties. As a matter of fact, the disrupting activity among Goans and non-Goans was the work of these very slanderers of the Goan movement who infiltrated bogus nationalists in the ranks of our workers or corrupted others with their tainted money. The whispering campaign is meant to cloak the guilt of those who are really responsible for the continuance of the foreign domination in a portion of the Indian land even after independence. But their treason shall not remain concealed nor forgotten.

- T B Cunha

This is the last article authored by Tristao de Braganza-Cunha. It appeared in Free Goa *on 25 July 1958.*