

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, *Uttejani*. 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 Ligeria 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 advice 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 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 and 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.*

