Chapter V

THE MOVEMENT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES (1946)
AND ITS IMPACT ON THE GOAN SOCIETY
Ever since the Portuguese had gained a foothold on Indian soil, they concentrated on stabilizing their domination and civilizing the Goans by keeping them off from the mainstream in the rest of India. As a part of Portuguese policy of imposing their culture on the Goans, a campaign to eradicate the Indian language from Goa and replace it by the Portuguese, was initiated by the Decree of Conde de Alvor, Governor of Goa as early as 1684. Prior to that period, systematic persecution of the Hindus by the Portuguese rulers had started in 1541. All vestiges of Hindu culture were destroyed. Many Hindus migrated to neighbouring territories to escape the cruel persecution. Most of those who remained behind helplessly were converted to Christianity. The conversion, forcible or otherwise as understood by the Portuguese did not mean merely a change of religion but complete disassociation of the converts from the Indian way of life and adoption of the Portuguese way of life in its place. The Portuguese colonial domination was imposed on the Goan people in a most savage manner. But inspite of the cruelty and barbarian methods adopted by the Portuguese colonizers, their regime faced time and again, strong resistance from the people, they oppressed.

Like other Indians on the mainland, Goans never lacked the experience of violent retaliations against the Portuguese suppression. Goa's political history is a testimony to the above struggle carried out by the Goans, individually or in groups which at times took the breath away from the Portuguese ruling gentry. There have been numerous armed revolts in the past from
different sections of the people. Of course, the relative might of the rulers and the lack of resources on the side of the rebels, such revolts were doomed to failure. But the very fact that they could be attempted, was certainly a matter of great credit to the valour and dignity of the Goan people.

To cite a few instances, the extraordinary courage exhibited by the villagers of Cuncolim, Assolna, Velim, Ambelim and Veroda of Salcete in defying the Portuguese rulers and not recognising their authority way back in 1582 is indeed great, considering the adversities in which they were placed. Before the annexation of the Pednem Mahal by the Portuguese in 1788, the brave Goan, Kaloo Shenai Korgaonkar from Korgaon gave a tough fight to the Portuguese in an effort to drive them out of areas occupied by them.

Towards the end of the 18th century, to be exact in 1787, the native Christian Missionaries of Goa rebelled against the iron hand of the Portuguese monarch the policy of discrimination that was adopted by the White Missionaries, who relegated the native missionaries to a lower status. The native missionaries although were learned and dutiful were not given any respectful position or treatment on par with the European missionaries. Under this situation, two Goan priests namely Caetano Francis Couto of Panaji and Jose Antonio Gonsalves of Divar, who were refused bishopric, owing to their black skin, joined hands with other native priests and some army officers in their plot, to drive the Portuguese out of Goa and to establish a Republic in its place. One Father Pinto, a local priest offered his house to the conspirators. Unfortunately, their plan leaked
out and the Portuguese took the opportunity to take revenge against them just prior to the day they decided for a general rising. As a result, nearly 47 persons including 17 priests and 7 army officers were severely punished for treason. This revolt was better known as Pinto's Revolt⁵.

During the second half of the 19th century, there were several instances to prove the gallant role played by the Goan people, both Hindus and Catholics. It is a matter of pride and admiration to recall the feat of sheer heroism performed by these brave Goans.

When Governor Antonio Caesar de Vasconcellos Correia, Conde de Torres Novas (1858-1864), delivered a speech in the Seminary of Rachol using foul language while referring to the native Goans, a priest from the audience namely David Rosario Souza hailing from Calangute, Bardez, who was a professor of philosophy, flared up and confronted the Governor arguing that a time will emerge when the Goan people will come forward to demand an explanation and make it difficult for the Portuguese to rule over Goa. Annoyed over the said remarks, the Governor-General immediately dismissed the priest from the service and ordered his exile to a chapel at Matheran (Maharashtra), where the great nationalist met his early death⁶.

Similarly, on another occasion, the brave son of Goa, namely Putu Phal Dessai of Canacona, caught the hand of the then Governor-General Freitas Ribeiro, in the midst of a public function and demanded clarification, as to why he had referred the Goan Hindu Brahmans as robbers and further challenged him to either prove the allegation or to withdraw his statement⁷.
In like manner, another Goan namely Nana Lamgaonkar from Pedne, vociferously conveyed his message to Conde de Mayem, that when Portuguese had conquered Goa in 1510, the Goans of his temperament were not present then, but if it had been today, not even an inch of Goan land would have been spared to the Portuguese.

It might be recalled that The Ranes of Sattari Mahal bordering between Sawantwadi State and Goa have always made the Goans proud. In 1740, the Portuguese occupied Sanquelim and the Sattari Mahal and promised the Ranes, to protect their age-old rights and privileges, which they had been enjoying. However, soon the Ranes got disillusioned with the promises and sensed the real intentions of the Portuguese to bring the Sattari Mahal under their law and administration as thoroughly as the territory of the New Conquests. Consequently, they made several attempts to regain their lost territories and rights from the Portuguese. In around a hundred years' span, the Ranes revolted fourteen times, with utmost sacrifices of four generations and shook the Portuguese administration to the maximum extent. The Ranes were aided by the common people who were also eager to sweep out the intolerant and unsympathetic rule of the Portuguese. Finally, in order to strike a compromise with the Ranes, the Portuguese had to bow to the Hindu religious head, the Swami of Sankeshwar Math.

In historical perspective, the French Revolution affected Portugal as it did the whole of Europe, bringing about socio-political consciousness there. Its strong influence however did
not fail to reach Goa. The Goan representatives in the Portuguese Parliament during those liberal times, put up a worthy fight for reforms and rights, making the Goans feel proud of them.

Faced with infinitely complex situation, the Portuguese Monarchy responsible for the conquests and forced conversions, ended in 1910 when the Republic was established in that country. During the Republican regime, the laws were liberal and religion was separated from the state. There were even promises of administrative and economic autonomy, which however remained only on paper. Even then, the Hindus for the first time under colonial rule found themselves free from the shackles of religious harassment and were treated on par with the Catholics, who hitherto had been the most favoured class, well supported by their clergy and the Portuguese Government. Owing to this fact, the Hindus were all the more eager to seize the opportunity resulting from the change in political ideology of the Portuguese Government. This led them to bring about a socio-cultural revolution in their society through spread of education. The process of rousing socio-political consciousness among Goans was to some extent helped by the newspapers from within and outside Goa. These newspapers helped the young literates by making them aware of the latest trends in political thinking around the world and in British India. This consciousness was intensified, when close on the heels of democratic experiment for a while came the dictatorial regime of Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. By withdrawing the Civil Liberties of the people in Goa, Dr Salazar gave a weapon in the hands of the nationalists and prepared them for the great task that lay ahead of them - the struggle for
Civi Liberities, later turning in to struggle for the freedom of Goa from the Portuguese.

It was the great fortune of the Goans that Tristão Bragança Cunha returned to Goa in their hour of need. He established the Goa Congress Committee in 1928 and affiliated it to the Indian National Congress in the same year\(^\text{12}\). In fact, the participation of nationalistic Goan leaders like Louis de Menezes Bragança, T.B.Cunha, J.J.de Cunha and Louis Miranda at the 44th session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1928 was kept a closely guarded secret in view of the restrictions imposed by the Portuguese Government on political activity in Goa. The main mission of the Goan leaders was to accomplish the task of affiliating the Goa Congress Committee to the national body, which they achieved. However, unfortunately the news regarding their participation in the Congress Session was flashed by some newspapers in British India. As a consequence, the pro-Portuguese newspapers in Goa waged a war of criticism against them. Even the newspaper supporting the nationalist movement, Anglo-Lusitano from Bombay did not spare the leaders for keeping their participation at the Congress Session a close secret. In an attempt to save others, who happened to be in Government service, from the wrath of the Government, T.B.Cunha himself claimed the whole responsibility of their participation\(^\text{13}\). Thus, T.B.Cunha provided a solid platform to the nationalist minded Goans by providing them an organisation to work for regaining their lost Civil Liberties from the dictatorial Government. In the words of K.M.Panikkar, he was an Indian nationalist who realized early in his life that Goa could have freedom only in unity with India\(^\text{14}\).
However, the indifferent attitude of the Indian National Congress Party in India soon showed its effect, when it derecognised the Goa Congress Committee in 1934, thereby throwing cold water on the aspirations of the Goan nationalists. Fortunately, the Goans were not easily discouraged by the said shock treatment. When it became difficult to operate from Goa, under the heavy hand of dictatorship, the Goan patriots shifted their scene of action to Bombay in 1936. Another important reason for its shifting to Bombay was to solicit the help of Bombay State Congress Committee, the local unit of the Indian National Congress. In 1935, T.B.Cunha and Venkatesh Sardessai, President of Goa Congress Committee had visited Bombay to meet the Indian National Congress leaders, who had converged there to attend the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Indian National Congress. Both the Goans had gone with the intention of requesting the national leaders to revoke their earlier decision of derecognising the Goa Congress Committee. However, unfortunately, both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose, who had been instrumental in getting the Goa Congress Committee affiliated to the Indian National Congress earlier, had not been able to come down to Bombay for the occasion. Hence, the Goan leaders met Bhulabhai Dessai and others who were present. Although, they maintained that the earlier decision could not be revoked, they suggested that if the Goa Congress Committee established itself in Bombay, the Indian National Congress Committee would help it through the Bombay State Congress Committee. Thus, it was from Bombay that the Goa Congress Committee successfully launched scathing attack on the
Portuguese dictatorial regime, inviting the wrath of not only the Government of Goa but also of Great Britain, the all time friend of the Portuguese.

Hence, it was not at all surprising that the Quit India Movement, master-minded by Mahatma Gandhi against the British colonialism in India gave a further boost to the national aspirations of the Goan youth. His cry to the Indians to do or die for the sake of liberating the motherland and his call, Quit India to the British inspired the Goans like Peter Alvares and a few others, who had participated in the above movement and spent sometime in jails. They utilized this opportunity to gather around themselves, several others, developing contacts with the revolutionaries of British India and carry out subversive activities in Goa.

Significantly, the year 1946 opened with a bold resolution adopted by the Goa Congress Committee in Bombay at a General Body Meeting attended by over 300 members on 3rd March. The resolution read thus: Although Goa cannot have any destiny of its own except that of our common Motherland India, of which it is an integral part, it finds itself chained to-day by binds of political and spiritual slavery to the bankrupt Portuguese imperialism....Only a free India can look after and promote national progress of its Children. The resolution asked the Portuguese to Quit India and Goa, in order to enable the Goans to achieve their own destiny without anybody's restrictions.

About 2500 copies of the above said resolution were printed at Gomantak Press in Bombay, in four languages viz Konkani, Marathi, English and Portuguese on 4th April 1946 and
published by Mr Massilon Almeida, General Secretary of the Goa Congress Committee. These were then secretly smuggled into Goa and distributed all over. The Commandant of Police Major Daniel Fernandes Aguiar of Goa, sought information from Bombay Police chief on the said smuggling of the printed copies of the resolution and thereafter a warrant of arrest was served on Massillon Almeida and a suit against him was filed in the court of Goa 19.

In spite of all the gags and taboos, Goans were finally made to realise the miserable political, economic, cultural and spiritual degradation to which they had been reduced to by the colonialists. This change was possible only through the ceaseless efforts of T.B. Cunha along with other dedicated patriots both from Goa and from among the Goans in Bombay. In spite of the tremendous odds and obstacles, they strived hard to educate and enlighten the Goan people by making them conscious of their national dignity and human rights.

Under this situation of political restlessness, dawned the year 1946, which later turned out to be the most eventful year in the history of the Goa's struggle for freedom, because Dr Ram Manohar Lohia who had come down to Goa, to enjoy a quiet holiday at the residence of his friend Dr Julião Menezes in June of that year, gave all together a new direction to the patriotic Goans 20.

In fact, the visit of Dr Lohia to Goa at such a volatile and critical time and his addressing the meeting at Madgaon was a mere coincidence. It so happened that Dr Julião Menezes from Assolna had a very friendly relation with Dr Lohia,
as both were fellow students at the University of Berlin. Although they belonged to different faculties - Menezes pursuing Medical and Lohia Economics - they had become close friends since there was one common factor between them. Both were citizens of the country suffering from foreign dominations and consequently, felt the humiliation deeply. In 1930, when the League of Nations meeting was held in Geneva, both friends visited Switzerland to attend the same. When Maharaja of Bikaner, representing British India began to address and sing the praises of the British colonial masters, Dr Lohia could not tolerate the hypocratic act and whistled twice and poohpoohed him, scandalising the whole gathering. The outraged President of the Assembly immediately ordered the removal of the two friends from the visitors gallery. Dr Juliao Menezes supported Dr Lohia in all his anti-imperialistic activities during their sojourn there.

In 1946, Dr Lohia was released from the jail in India. After having played a glorious role in the Quit-India Movement and getting arrested for his anti-Government activities, his release was actually one year later than that of others, as the British Government intentionally detained him to keep him out of trouble for some more time. Aware of his need for a few days' rest, he travelled to Goa with Dr Menezes to rest at his place in Assolna and hence reached Goa on 10th June 1946. He was to go back on 19th June to Bombay. Dr Lohia belonged to the Socialist Party which was established in 1934. Aruna Asaf Ali and Jai Prakash Narayan were its other prominent members. The party had played an outstanding role in the Quit India Movement. Dr Lohia was a very popular leader specially among the youth and was
known to be a *crowdpuller* on account of his pursuasive style of convincing the masses.

In fact, it was a great opportunity for the Goan nationalists who were waiting eagerly at this time to express their common feelings. Fortunately, they got the said opportunity, when Dr Ram Manohar Lohia landed in Goa. After learning of his arrival in Goa, large number of Goan leaders flocked to Assolna to the house of Dr Menezes to meet him and also to apprise him of the situation in Goa. They related to him as to how the dictatorial rule of Dr Salazar had suppressed the Goan people with the denial of freedom of Press, assembly and speech. The nationalistic and patriotic Goans were suffocating owing to the repressive regime of Dr Salazar and their cloud of anger was ready to burst forth at any moment. Hence the whole situation demanded leadership of a person of a national stature and repute to guide the people in a proper way and to streamline and canalize their anger in proper direction.

Dr Lohia understood the feelings of the visitors and after a prolonged discussion with nationalists in Goa and upon finding the ground propitious, decided to challenge the unjustified laws and restrictions on Civil Liberties imposed by the Portuguese Government, in a public meeting to be organised in Madgaon and to give a stimulus to the movement for Civil Liberties in Goa.

Dr Lohia, then held meetings at Madgaon, Mormugaon and Panaji to finalise his plan for the 18th June. Prominent Goan activists like Purushottam Kakodkar, Nilkant Karapurkar, Dr Vinayak Mayekar, Dr J.Carvalho, Jaivant Manjrekar and Vasant Kare
decided to offer Satyagraha along with Lohia during the meeting to be held in Madgaon on 18th June.\textsuperscript{26}

It is pertinent to note here that although T.B. Cunha was in Goa at his native place in Cuelim, it appeared that he was unaware of the happenings of these days. Although, Purushottam Kakodkar, who according to Evagrio George, was assigned the work of posting letters to Goan leaders, inviting them to join the proposed movement on 18th June, it seems surprising that T.B. Cunha did not receive any intimation in this regard. He finally learnt about the happenings of the day on 18th June night and consequently, came to Madgaon early next morning to meet Purushottam Kakodkar and Evagio George\textsuperscript{27}. Later, of course, he volunteered wholeheartedly to be in the movement which was the evidence of his benevolent nature.

It is also important to note here that the Goan Congress Committee had envisaged elaborate plans for holding a conference in Bombay in December 1946 to publicise its activities and to highlight their earlier approved Quit Goa Resolution and at the same time to stimulate the Goan people to start an organised movement for Civil Liberties in Goa. Accordingly, the task of preparing a manifesto for the conference was assigned to T.B. Cunha and Armando Meñezes and a Working Committee consisting of L.J. de Souza (President) Massilon Almeida, J.S. Sukhthankar (Joint Secretaries) and Vaikunth V. Nevrekar (Treasurer) had been formed. Thus when the organisational work of the proposed conference was in full swing, the sudden declaration of the movement for Civil Liberties on 18th June 1946, jeopardized the plans of holding the said conference in Bombay\textsuperscript{28}. 
At last, dawned the 18th of June, which was to open a new chapter in the political history of the tiny land of Goa. Dr Lohia and Dr Menezes were lodged at the Hotel Republica, situated alongside the street leading to the Madgaon Railway Station. The public meeting was scheduled at 4 p.m. A little before the scheduled meeting, Jose Inacio de Loyola, editor of the newspaper *A India Portuguesa*, came to request Dr Lohia to defer his plan of action including the proposed *Satyagraha* by 2 to 3 months during which, he was sure that the Portuguese Government would consider the wishes of the Goans, if properly requested. However, determined Dr Lohia replied in the negative.

Following this, Dr Lohia and Dr Menezes made preparations to proceed towards the venue of the meeting. The taxi hired for the said purpose, could not be used as they had been pre-instructed to escort their respective passengers to the city Police Station before reaching them to their respective destination. As a result, Dr Lohia and Dr Menezes reached the meeting venue by a horse carriage.

By this time, the town of Madgaon was full of people, in real sense, a sea of humanity derived from every nook and corner of Goa, despite the heavy showers, which lashed the city that day. The crowd was estimated to be over 5000, which was the largest, that had ever assembled in a place, in that small town up to that time. On reaching the venue, when Dr Lohia alighted from the carriage, people rushed towards him to greet and garland him. The entire place resounded with shouting of slogans like *Jai Hind, Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai, Dr Lohia Ki Jai, Dr Julião Menezes*
In the meantime, the Administrator Captain Jose F de Miranda pointed his loaded pistol, threatening one of those garlanding the leaders. Immediately, Dr Lohia responded by catching hold of Captain's hand and turning the pointed pistol towards himself shouted *shoot me*. The said spontaneous action of Dr Lohia thrilled the crowd and made them to feel brave too. Later, when Dr Lohia was addressing the people, the Administrator Captain Miranda would not allow him to proceed, sometimes interrupting him by placing his palm on the top of the mike. Finally, annoyed Dr Lohia told him, *either you arrest me or I speak to the people*. Captain Miranda then put the two leaders under arrest and drove them away in a Police van.

The assembled crowd undaunted continued to raise political slogans. In the middle of this huge crowd, someone hoisted the national Tricolour and the people began to sing *Zenda Ooncha Rahe Hamara*. The Police swooped into action and promptly arrested all those who participated in the flag hoisting and subsequent singing of the patriotic song. By this time, some of those who were supposed to offer Satyagraha on the occasion, started addressing the gathering one after another. The determined Police arrested all of them and tried their level best to disperse the crowd by various inhuman means but without any success. On that day, the Police arrested in all around 150 activists including Evagrio George, Laxmidas Borkar, Dr vinayak Mayekar, venkatesh Verekar, Trivikram Vaidya, Nilkanth Karapurkar and Kum.Vatsala Kirtani. Having seen that their leaders were arrested, the assembled crowd surged towards Madgaon Police
Station while the Madgaon market came to be closed in protest. When the news regarding the arrest of Kum.Vatsala Kirtani by the Police spread around the city, there came a procession of nearly 60 women and girls arranged in two rows and stopped in front of the Police Station. When the Police demanded to know the reason for their presence in front of the Police Station, they replied in chorus that they had come to keep company to Kum.Vatsala Kirtani, who was in Police lock-up. Hearing the said reply, the Commandant of the Police Lt.Julio Figueiredo maintained that Vatsala was not arrested but had simply been picked up for having shouted political slogans, an act banned by the Portuguese Government. He further declared that she was free to leave the Police Station and proceed to her home along with her friends. However, Kum.Vatsala refused to leave the place and instead insisted that she should be booked and her statement be recorded. Lt.Figueiredo did not pay heed to the repeated forceful demand of Vatsala Kirtani and finally annoyed over her adamant posture, bodily threw her out of the Police Station, an act which was against the normal conduct and decorum of law enforcement authority. Stunned by this uncivilized act on the part of the Police Officer, the women protested against the ill-treatment meted out to Kum.Vatsala. In retaliation, they moved from one place to another, in front of the Police Station and demonstrated peacefully till late evening and dispersed from there only on the request of Dr Rama Hegde, a prominent Goan nationalist. Some of these brave women later played a very prominent and glorious role in the Goan freedom struggle.

On the other hand, thousands of Goan men, women and
children who had rushed to Madgaon to hear Dr Lohia, remained at the meeting venue even after his arrest by the Police and later crowded the street in front of the Police Station. Having failed to drive them away, the helpless Police finally requested Dr Lohia himself to help them to sort out the matter. Dr Lohia requested the people to go home peacefully and further advised them not to abandon the plan of executing the programs chalked out by him, in association with the Goan leaders to gain back the lost civil rights. Early next morning, except Dr Lohia and Dr Menezes all other arrested people were released by the Police.

Aftermath of 18th June

The 18th June Movement was not limited to any organised groups. Goan people who did not even belong to any organisation but of all shades of opinion participated in it. It was the massive popular support that made the movement what it was.

However, there were several groups in Goa, which contributed towards the building up of much needed tempo for the movement. The Goa Congress Committee had already created the political consciousness among the people and had grouped up the activists. The other group of Purushottam Kakodkar played a leading role and is credited for establishing the contact with the activists of the diverse ideological groups, co-ordinating and organising them together after Dr Lohia's arrival in Goa, which made the launching of the movement on 18th June possible.

The campaign which was initiated on 18th June did not subside after few days of demonstrations. The unprovoked attacks and the humiliating treatment received from the Police made the demonstrators to realise amply that the Portuguese Government had
withdrawn the right of even expressing their genuine and legitimate views in a peaceful manner. This fact undoubtedly aroused the passions of the dormant nationalist Goans and eventually led to the chalking out of a plan for the fullfledged movement for Civil Liberties. It is critically important to understand the sequential events that followed the 18th of June and their effects on the people.

On the subsequent day i.e. 19th June, there was a wild speculation in the whole of Goa over the probable destination, where the arrested leaders could have been kept in custody by the Police. Spontaneously, a hartal was observed in all principal towns in Goa including some of the villages, where most of the shops and establishments remained closed. In Panaji, when people learnt that the arrested leaders had been brought to the capital, a huge crowd gathered in front of the Police Commissioner's Office at the City's Police Headquarters, shouting political slogans and waving of the Indian National Congress flags. In addition, biggest ever Morcha was taken out in Panaji on the same day. Inspired by the happenings at Madgaon, the ladies too held a separate Morcha under the leadership of Mrs Shah, wife of the activist J.M. Shah. However, both the Morchas were attacked by the Police. Even the young girls and children were mercilessly beaten up for shouting Jai Hind. Students who, for the first time had participated in large numbers, also tasted the Police excesses. Several leaders were arrested all over Goa including S.A. Manpat, J.M. Shah, Laxmikant Bhembre, Vinayak Mayekar on this day.
In the evening of 19th June, Dr Lohia and Dr Juliao Menezes were released from the Police captivity. However, Dr Lohia was forcibly put on a Bombay bound train at Castlerock on 20th June. He however, warned the Portuguese authorities that if they failed to grant full Civil Liberties to the people of Goa within three months, he would come back to lead the people again.

On 19th June, a Goan delegation comprised of Advocate Gomes Pereira along with two other members from the Governing Council namely Advocate Pinto Menezes and Vicent Joao Figueiredo met Governor-General Dr. Jose Bossa and discussed with him the happenings of the previous day and tried to impress upon him the need to adopt a mild policy and little relaxation of the civil law in order to gain confidence of the Goan people. The Governor-General promised the delegation that he would not come in the way of restricting the natural rights of the Goans but at the same time wished to know the demands of the people. However, when Governor-General's views were made known to Purushottam Kakodkar through Janardan kamat and Gopinath Kurade, he flatly refused to have any dialogue with the Government on this matter at that particular point of time. Hence, the whole question of holding negotiations with the Government collapsed.

At Madgaon, where the movement for Civil Liberties first got sparked off at the instance of Dr Lohia, people gathered on the 19th evening again in front of the Municipal building. The troops which were stationed there, tried to disperse the crowd by hitting them with butt ends of the muskets together with pointing big guns at them as if they were ready to
fire. However, the people who had assembled there, did not show any sign of being uneasy or threatened. It appeared as if all fear of the Portuguese Fascist dictatorship had suddenly vanished from their hearts. The main speaker on the occasion namely Venkatesh Vaidya from Cuncolim was brutally assaulted with lathis and stopped from addressing further. It was at this time that Dr Juliao Menezes reached the place after he was released from the Police custody in Panjim. The Madgaon Police personnel on duty at the venue of the meeting tried to arrest him once again, without realising that he had been honourably released by the Panaji Police Commissioner earlier. When the people of Madgaon learnt about the release of their leaders, there was a sense of jubilation among them.

On the next day i.e. 20th June, the people in Madgaon took out a Probhat Feri (Morning March past) followed by a public meeting in the evening, which was addressed among others by T.B.Cunha, Purushottam Kakodkar and others. The hero of 18th June, Dr Julião Menezes read out the message that was left behind by Dr.Lohia before he was on his way back to Bombay. The message was concluded with an inference that since both of them were released unconditionally alongwith several others who had participated in the 18th June Movement, it automatically implied that the Portuguese Government had accepted the legitimate demand of Goan's right for Civil Liberties. He exhorted them to carry forward the movement in the same spirit.

However, he also cautioned the Goans that no selfish leaders should be allowed to supersede those who had made real
sacrifices for the sake of the nation and further added that such selfless persons should be accepted as leaders to lead the movement.  

On 21st June, another meeting was held for which had gathered even the larger number of people. Upendra Talaulikar, Dionisio Ribeiro, Umabai Shirali among others spoke on the occasion and made it known to the gathered people that the Governor-General had given the permission to hold public meetings or to deliver speeches without having to obtain special prior permission. Instead, only the respective administrative offices had to be informed about the holding of such public meeting if any. In fact, the said decision of the Governor-General was published on the same day in the newspapers published in Portuguese.

Besides Madgaon and Panaji, the 18th June movement started influencing the people from other towns and cities in Goa. It slowly began to spread among the Goan people, even in the remote areas, who came out openly and defied the Portuguese colonial regime. On 22nd June, a meeting was arranged in Ponda town and accordingly, one of the organisers namely Dr B. Sukhthankar visited the office of the Administrator of Ponda to apprise him of the proposed meeting. However, the said Administrator refused to meet Dr Sukhthankar upon which he informed the Police Commandant and further, sent a telegraphic message to the Governor-General informing him about the said meeting. It was at this meeting that the famous Goan poet B.B. Borkar sang his poem dedicated to Goa's struggle for Civil Liberties in front of a large gathering.
Subsequently, on 30th June, a public meeting was arranged at Madgaon, where Ms Bertha Menezes Braganca was to address the gathering. Since this was announced well in advance, a huge crowd had assembled at the same place, where Dr Lohia had addressed the Goans on 18th June. However, the Police Commandant of Madgaon had no intention of allowing any public meeting to take place on the same day. The situation in the city had been quiet for about a week and everyone had thought that the 18th June agitation had died out. However, this sudden disruption of peace in the city made the Police very furious. As Bertha Menezes Braganca started walking towards the place of the meeting accompanied by her uncle T.B.Cunha, the lathi wielding policemen charged at them and arrested both. The crowd too was chased to disperse. However, the arrested leaders were soon released by the Police.

From the point of view of the Goan public, the response on 30th June was not very heartening. Those who had shown enthusiasm on earlier occasions had quietly preferred to back out or their interests had been divided over several issues pertaining to the movement. The attitude of the Portuguese Government towards the movement remained the same, though it appeared somewhat liberal after 20th June incident. But subsequently, the softened approach shown earlier came to an abrupt end during the 30th June meeting.

The next venue for the meeting was at Cansaulim, where around 1300 people gathered on 1st July to listen to the fiery speech of T.B.Cunha and Ms Bertha Menezes. It is interesting to
note that among the assembled people, there were around 130 Kunbi Gawdas from Cuelim, the native village of T.B.Cunha.

Although Goa was a tiny territory in the whole of India, the 18th June Movement and the subsequent Police atrocities on the innocent unarmed people had attracted attention of the people in India far and wide. On 2nd July, Mahatma Gandhi's support to the Goan struggle for Civil Liberties and his appreciation for Dr. Lohia's work came as a great boost to the freedom loving Goans. In his newspaper Harijan on 30th June, Gandhiji wrote: According to Dr. Lohia's statement, for 18 years from now, the people of Goa have been robbed of the right to hold meetings and to form Associations. Naturally, he defied the unjust laws of the Portuguese Government. He has thereby rendered a service to the cause of Civil Liberties and specifically to the Goans. In free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the law of the State. I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government and assert their fundamental rights to Civil Liberty and all its means.

What is extraordinary is that the 18th June movement had its wide ramifications in the whole of Goa. This time on 7th July, some local workers organised a public meeting in the historic village of Cuncolim. In a determined bid to prevent the meeting from taking place, the Government deputed a strong posse of armed soldiers to the venue. However, despite the intimidating tactics, the people of Cuncolim gathered for the meeting. The brutal attacks spearheaded by the soldiers to disperse the assembled crowd that day knew no limits. The villagers gathered
there were mercilessly assaulted. Being perplexed by the frequent occurrences of these public meetings all over the places in Goa, the Government was demurring to take even slightest possible risk. As a consequence, the Police with bayonets swooped upon a group of people who assembled at Chandor on 10th July to condole the death of the great Goan nationalist and leader Louis de Menezes Braganca and dispersed them.

But having failed to control the situation, by creating a sense of terror among the common people, the Government now tried to suppress the spread of 18th June effect by turning their vengeance towards the Goan leaders. As a result, on 12th July Dr. Tristão Bragança Cunha was arrested at Madgaon by the colonial administration and taken to the military fort at Aguada where he was kept in detention. Subsequently, he was tried by the Territorial Military Court and was sentenced to 8 Years in exile. Following the arrest of T.B. Cunha, the Goan authorities effected several more detentions. On July 18, Bhasker Bhandare, a school teacher, who had tried to protest against the detention of T.B. Cunha, was arrested and detained in Panaji. Subsequently, he was transferred to Aguada fort and tried for sedition by the Military Court on 7th August under a different category and sentenced to pay a fine of less than Rs 1000/-.

Among others, who had been arrested, was a boy of 15 years, who was detained when he refused to surrender to the Police, the Tricolour, which he was carrying.

Then followed the monthly anniversary day celebration of the 18th June Movement. On 18th July, celebrations were held
to mark the completion of one month after the beginning of the movement for Civil Liberties. The day was observed amidst defiance of the Police atrocities at various places like Madgaon, Mapusa, Mardol, Assolna, Cuncolim, Canacona etc. In Madgaon, the Portuguese administration together with Police and African Black troops swung into action to deter the people from participating by resorting to violence and physical torture. Even the women and girls were not spared. Ms Lalita Kantak who was leading the women activists, got severely hurt. At other places too where people came forward to celebrate the day, similar scenes of Police repressions and atrocities were observed.

In Mapusa on the evening of 18th July a large procession started from the market place. Shantaram Dhond was carrying the Tricolour flag in the forefront. When the procession reached the Government Primary School, the armed Police forcibly tried to disperse the people with a mild lathi-charge and snatched the Tricolour from the hand of Mr Dhond, who was arrested and taken to Police Station. A large crowd gathered outside the Police Station and shouted national slogans. The Police enraged by now, resorted to a violent lathi-charge. Many were severely hurt. Several others were arrested among whom were Prabhaker K.Dalal, Manohar D. Savkar and Mukund K.Ghanekar.

On the following day, all those who had been arrested were removed to Panaji jail. A total hartal was observed on that day in Mapusa and all other Villages of Bardez. People attempted to hold a meeting in order to condemn the Police atrocities but they were dispersed by the Police. Similar meetings also took place at Ponda and Mardol where, several arrests were made. Among
those arrested were Upendra Talaulikar, Vasant Velingkar, Upendra Kerkar, who were sent to Panaji jail. Meanwhile, the authorities issued warrants of arrests against 11 activists connected with the 18th June Movement. Amongst them were Ms Vatsala Kirtani, Sanches de Souza, Dr B. Sukhthankar, Laxmanrao Sardessai and Balkrishna Borkar. As a retaliatory action against those taking part in the movement, all the Heads of the Educational Institutions in Goa were ordered by the Portuguese Government to rusticate for one year, any student, who took part in the political movement.

In a bid to grapple with an overwhelming and unusual situation, on 18th July 1946, the Governor-General of Portuguese India Dr Jose Ferreira Bossa sent a long letter to Gandhiji, in response to his remarks made earlier in the newspaper Harijan. Dr Bossa in his letter expressed surprise at Gandhiji's apparent support for the anarchical agitation going on in Portuguese India and further claimed that foreign intervention in the political affairs of Goa, which was a Portuguese colony could be considered anti-Juridical.

The Governor-General wrote, that the Portuguese had not come to Goa with the object of subjugation or economic exploitation, but were guided by the high ideals of fraternity and brotherhood. Honest Goans had recognised the benefits of Portugal's policy and that only a few anarchists reveal ignorance, he further added. In conclusion, the Governor-General expressed opinion that absolute freedom was an unworkable utopia and assured Gandhiji that Civil Liberties of the Goan people were not threatened except by those people who wished to divert poor
class people from their respectful and peaceful aavocations.

The above mentioned latter of the Governor-General did not remain un-answer. Gandhiji replied to this letter on 2nd August 1946. Thanking Dr Bossa for taking note of his writings on Goa’s affairs, Gandhiji replied wrote that he had seen Mosambique, Delagoa and Inhambane but had not seen there any kind of benevolent rule of the Portuguese. He was rather surprised to find that the Portuguese Government had made distinction between the Indians and the Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves. In the same manner, after witnessing the imperialistic style of functioning in the Portuguese settlements in India, Dr Bossa’s present claim could not be justified. If the Goans were keeping quiet, the said fact did not give proof of the selfless and innocent rule of the Portuguese but to their autocratic, repressive rule of terror. In the same way, Gandhiji made it clear that he did not subscribe to the Governor-General’s statement that there was full liberty in Goa and that the agitation was confined only to a few disgruntled elements. Gandhiji categorically stated that every account received by him personally and those he saw in newspapers, confirmed the contrary view. By citing the example of T.B.Cunha, who was sentenced to 8 years’ imprisonment in exile, Gandhiji posed a pertinent question that why should a law abiding citizen like him should be considered so dangerous enough as to be singled out for exile. Before concluding, Gandhiji made it clear that no person or group could remain without losing self-respect and Civil Liberties. After appreciating and justifying the role played by Dr Lohia in the Goan movement, Gandhiji finally advised the Governor-General
to revise his views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinction and also to withdraw all African Police from the Goan soil, to declare himself wholeheartedly for Civil Liberties and if possible to allow the inhabitants of Goa to form their own Government and extend invitation to more experienced Indians from greater India to assist the Goans and even the Governor-General himself in forming such a Government.

After the 18th June incident, Gandhiji was quite seized with the Goa problem. After meeting Dr A.G. Tendulkar he released a statement on 24th July 1946, setting out clear guidelines for political action in Goa. He called upon the Goans to overcome confusion which had reigned supreme in their minds. He further said that Swaraj could not be attained by any direct action of the citizens, whether violent or non-violent. In non-violent action, the success is assured. He directed the Goans to fight first for Civil Liberties and Swaraj would be the next step. The second condition of success, he said was that the fight must be through non-violent means and therefore also entirely by open means. Thirdly, he advised that no party should struggle for attaining power and position. And before concluding, Gandhiji suggested that all parties should become one when the goal and means are common.

The most alarming aspect of the problem was that in July 1946, after consulting the Government in Portugal, the Government of Goa had formulated a new policy and chalked out a strategy to put down with an iron hand the movement which started on 18th June. Accordingly, T.B.Cunha become the first victim of the Government's repressive policy followed by the
arrests of others. During his trial, T.B. Cunha told the Military Court in Panaji that he was accused of having directed the Civil Disobedience Movement but he could not take such credit nor anyone else. The movement was not yet organised and was a movement of the masses. From the beginning, it was a spontaneous movement. If anybody was the cause of the movement, it was the Portuguese administration, he added further. However, his words fell on deaf years and he was sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment in exile. Purushottam Kakodkar who was arrested on 9th August was sentenced to 9 years of imprisonment in exile.

Now, with the involvement of national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and Jawaharlal Nehru with the Goan struggle for Civil Liberties, the 18th June movement received national recognition. On 20th July 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru, then the President of the Indian National Congress issued a lengthy statement stating that the people of Goa had woken up from their long slumber on 18th June. He further added that for Indians, Goa was as much a part of India as any other part and freedom of India inevitably included the freedom of the people of Goa. Nehru made it clear that Goa could not be separated from India and freedom struggle there would become a part of their own struggle for freedom.

On 12th August 1946, the Indian National Congress in its Working Committee meeting deliberated in its resolution that Goa had always been and must share in the freedom of the Indian people. What its future position and status would be in a free India, could only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority.
Attempts to form an Organisation

So far, the Goa Congress Committee based in Bombay was the only organisation which consistently exposed the Portuguese misrule in Goa. Another group called the Goa Youth League, which too had joined this campaign a little later, became dormant within a few years of its existence. Drawing inspiration from Dr Lohia, the people in Goa formed an organisational committee with an aim to hold aloft the banner of the resistance movement. Some Goans held the view that the Goa Congress Committee itself should lead the struggle in Goa. Though the Goa Congress Committee had shown its willingness, it was Dr Lohia, who discouraged such an idea as he desired that the organisation should be born in Goa itself from the political movement, initiated by him. Surprisingly, the Goan political activists who had come forward enthusiastically earlier in large numbers to extend a helping hand to Dr Lohia, seemed now to have second thoughts. The reason was that, they were not pleased with the way the group led by Purushottam Kakodkar functioned. As a result, the group which was in close touch with Dr Lohia formed the Goa National Congress and the organisational committee baptised itself as Gomantak Congress.

The support of Mahatma Gandhi further boosted the morale of the Goan nationalists and political workers although the struggle was suffering from the rivalry of the two groups, functioning separately with total lack of co-operation and co-ordination to achieve the set goal. In a bid to realise unity among the two diverse groups, efforts were made to bring them
together for the smooth and efficient functioning and also to carry further the movement to its logical conclusion. Thus, the birth of the National Congress (Goa) at the Londa conference, which brought about the amalgamation of the two groups, was an important milestone in the history of Goa's struggle for freedom. Jai Hind Chalvall

On 17th–18th August 1946, a conference of all the Goan political activists and workers was held at Londa with a view to organise the movement by forming a broad-based front and to chalk out future plan of action. The said conference was attended by nearly 125 Goan political and social workers coming from Goa, Belgaum and Bombay. The conference which was to be presided over by Ashok Mehta, Socialist leader, was chaired by Laxmikant Bhembre in his absence. A 8-member committee consisting of Dr. Rama Hegde, Laxmikant Bhembre, Pandurang P. Shirodkar, Dr Vinayak Mayekar, Dr Narayan Bhembre, Nirkant Karapurkar, Madhav Bir and Evagrio George were elected as the first Executive Committee of the National Congress (Goa), with Dr Rama Hegde as the President and Dr Narayan Bhembre together with Evagrio George as the Joint secretaries. The new party decided to maintain its headquarters in Belgaum and in Goa.

The political events that had taken place in New Delhi (forming of the Interim Government), with the induction of Jawaharlal Nehru as the Prime-Minister to lead the Provisional Government on 2nd September 1946 evoked more courage and determination among the Goan political workers. The President of the newly formed National Congress (Goa), following the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi, wrote a letter to the Governor-General
informing him about the formation of the new organisation aimed at earning back the lost Civil Liberties for the Goan people.

Enthused by the chain of events at the organisational level, on 18th September 1946, to commemorate the completion of three months of the 18th June Movement, a public meeting was organised at Madgaon which was attended by nearly 4000 people. It was addressed by Laxmikant Bhembre who had also planned to offer Satyagraha on the occasion. However, as Bhembre began to deliver his speech, he was put under arrest, and the meeting was dispersed by the Police by resorting to a lathi-charge. Bhembre was lodged at Aguade jail and subsequently was tried in Territorial Military Court, which sentenced him to four years' imprisonment in exile.

It was soon after this event that Pandurang P. Shirodkar, then a correspondent of the Free Press Journal, who had come down to Goa from Bombay, where he had been working earlier, to cover the news regarding 18th June movement came to be arrested and detained in the fort of Aguada. The Portuguese Government accused him of publishing a false report in the Free Press Journal dated 22nd September 1946 about the massive meeting in Madgaon held on 18th September and the Police atrocities which dispersed it. The report, the authorities alleged, endangered the credibility of the Portuguese Government in foreign countries and disturbed public peace and order in Goa. Shirodkar however latter on resorted to hunger strike in Madgaon jail on 2nd January 1947, which compelled the Portuguese authorities to release him on January 15, 1947 after 14 days' of fasting.
As declared earlier by Dr Lohia that if the Portuguese Government failed to grant Civil Liberties to Goans within 3 months, then his return to Goa would be imminent. Accordingly, three months after his initial deportation, Dr Lohia reached the Goa border on 29th September 1946 with the avowed aim of activating the movement for Civil Liberties. However, when he arrived at Colem, he was arrested and sent to the Aguada jail. Subsequently, he was released but banned from entering Goa for the next five years.

On account of the popular support to him and the concern shown by him towards the Goan Movement for Civil Liberties, Mahatma Gandhi had earned admiration of the Goans. His overwhelming support had come at a critical time, when it was the need of the hour. The Goan patriots therefore decided to celebrate publicly Gandhiji's birthday on 2nd October 1946. Accordingly, Venkatesh V. Vaidya, a Marathi writer from Cuncolim, while addressing a crowded meeting on the day at Quepem to mark the occasion, was assaulted and beaten up and later arrested. The processions and meetings held on that day at various places including Madgaon were attacked and brutally dispersed by the Police.

Consequently, it was decided to co-ordinate the movement from Belgaum. Accordingly, Dr Lohia, constituted several committees, each consisting of 10 people to offer Satyagraha, i.e., non-violent resistance, one after another at regular intervals. As decided, the first batch offered Satyagraha on 18th October 1946.
On the same day, the 4th monthly birthday of 18 June Movement was also celebrated all over Goa. The Satyagrahis took out Morcha with the Tricolour at Madgaon under the leadership of Dr Rama Hegde. The Satyagrahis were led by Laxmanrao Sardessai in Panaji, Madhuker Mordekar in Mapusa, Dr Vinayak Mayekar in Bicholim, Venkatesh Verekar in Carmona and Dr Narayan Bhembre in Quepem. The Portuguese Government arrested all the participants. This was followed by consecutive Satyagrahas by the next 8 committees as many times up to December 28, 1946. All of these were arrested and sentenced to varying periods for the same crime. Shri Jose Inacio alias Fanchu Loyola was arrested for having written in *Free Press Journal* in support of the movement and was sentenced to four-year imprisonment in exile. Dr Rama Hegde was sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment in exile and deported to Portugal along with Laxmikant Bhembre, Purushottam Kakodkar and Fanchu Loyola. In all cases, their civil rights were suspended for a period of 15 years.

Thus, to recapitulate, the National Congress (Goa) had developed the campaign for Civil Liberties on Gandhian lines. Goan men, women and children participated in the mass Civil Disobedience programme held at fixed intervals at various places all over Goa, defying prohibitory orders. Although the movement was peaceful, the Portuguese tried to suppress it by force. There were mass arrests and trials by special Territorial Military Court, suspension of civil rights for prolonged periods of 15 years and deportation to Peniche, an island prison off the coast of Portugal. Even the simple Satyagrahis were punished with imprisonments for not less than six months in most of the cases.
This campaign was better known as the *Jai Hind Movement* or *Challvall* and continued unabated till November 1946\(^7_3\).

Secondly, till July 1946, the Government of Goa had never felt the necessity of having an administrative department to look after the work of information and publicity. However, the Goans had always felt the need for such a Government department to take better advantages of limited welfare schemes and to know the frequently changing Government policies announced from time to time, in their proper perspective. In fact, the Portuguese Government never cared to make the Goans aware of its various policies in detail. However, suddenly in July 1946, in the midst of the politically turbulent atmosphere, which rendered the Portuguese Government rather speechless, on account of the new attitude of the Goan people, it felt the need for such a department, of course for their own purpose of defending their regime. Accordingly, the Government brought an expert in the said field from Portugal and established the *Government Information Bureau* under his direction\(^7_4\).

As it was abundantly clear that the main purpose of opening such a full-fledged department was to counter act and neutralise the nationalistic propaganda that was going on after the 18th June Movement. As a first task, on 31 July 1946, the said Information Bureau printed pamphlets in large number for free distribution among the people. The pamphlets carried clarifications from the Government in Lisbon on the *misdeeds* of the nationalists and heavy criticism of the Indian National Congress and the newspapers published from British India for their support to the Goan Movement for Civil Liberties. The
pamphlets contained a lengthy narration but it was chiefly intended to impress upon everyone that Portuguese India was very much a part of Portugal. Further, it tried to differentiate Portuguese India from British India by harping on the point that there was a wide socio-cultural gap between them and further declared that the Portuguese citizens of Goa would never be ready to tie their future with British India. Lastly, the pamphlets accused the newspapers from British India that they were merely spreading false news about the happenings in Goa.

The Government however did not stop there. It even pressurised its own officials to join the anti-movement campaign. A statement signed by nearly 30 officials was dispatched to Gandhiji mentioning that the things were absolutely normal in Goa and that they desired to continue to stay under Portuguese subjugation.

Curiously, being not satisfied with these hypocracies, the Government played another trick. In order to exploit the sentiments of the minority Goan Muslim population, the Governor-General on 12th October 1946 visited Sattari to patronise a huge meeting of Muslims held in the Masjid there. It is needless to mention that the arrangement of the said meeting was a handiwork of the Portuguese authorities themselves. When the Muslims made a request to provide for a Urdu school, the Governor-General wholeheartedly supported the proposal. Further, he tried to win them over by assuring them of providing a better opportunity to participate actively in the State administration and further justified it by saying that it was their legitimate right by virtue of Goa having been a Muslim ruled territory prior to
Portuguese take-over in 1510. In fact, the Governor-General was planning a strategy to unite the Catholic Brahmans and the Muslims under the Government patronage against the nationalist minded Hindus and Catholic Chardos by pursuing the policy of divide and rule.

Thus, the malicious attempts of the Portuguese Government to clear the prevailing discontent against its oppressive rule did not stop here. This time in their fresh attempt, the Catholic religious head came to its rescue. On 10th November 1946, the Patriarch of Goa, who had preferred to maintain silence so far, expressed himself for the first time by issuing an order which stated that it was his duty since Goa was a part of Portugal, to respect the Portuguese flag and also to teach all the Catholics in Goa to love Portugal and oppose the idea of integrating Goa with the Indian Union. He made it clear further that he had even received instructions to that effect from the Pope.

Thus, besides the brutal use of military force, the Portuguese tried to use every kind of weapon, taking even the help of the Pope, in order to control the fast deteriorating political atmosphere in Goa during the 18 June Movement.

When Portugal's request for permitting its entry into the United Nations Organisation came up for discussion before the Political Committee of the General Assembly, India's representative there Smt Vijayalaxmi Pandit foiled their attempt. On 8th November 1946, she strongly criticised the Portuguese regime in its metropolis as totalitarian and Fascist whereas it was autocratic and repressive in its overseas colonies of which
Goa was a glaring example. India’s attitude, strategy and approach in exposing the dictatorial regime of Dr Salazar yielded good result in the sense that Portugal’s request for membership of the UNO was rejected.\textsuperscript{79}

Needless to say that the Portuguese Government did retaliate, but at the same time it tried to save its face by declaring that Goa was the Overseas Province of Portugal and not a mere colony and it was treated by them so since long. In December 1946, at the meeting of the Governing Council, the Governor-General of Goa announced that the Government of Portugal had granted now a political status for Goa. Further, he also revealed that an economic conference would be held in Lisbon in 1947, to which representative from Goa would be deputed.\textsuperscript{80} The above declaration however, brought no enthusiasm to the Goans as they had no faith in the sincerity of the Portuguese. Subsequently, their fears were proved genuine, when Portugal postponed the declaration of the terms of the said Statute, several times. Finally, they were published nine years later only on 1st July 1955.\textsuperscript{81}

Alarmed by the new situation, the Government of Portugal went one step further when the Governor-General of Goa made another important announcement during the special session of his Governing Council. Under orders from the Metropolitan Government, the Governor-General declared a Constituent Assembly for Goa and nominated Sr. G. Melo, Sr. Castilha, Sr. A.B.de Costa, Sr. Pinto Menezes and Adv. Vinayak Kaisare to form a Committee for drafting a new Constitution for Goa.\textsuperscript{82} However, the Governor-General had not invited people’s representatives on the
Constitution framing body and resultanty, the people of Goa were not much hopeful about the favourable outcome from the said Committee.

Thus so far, the movement for Civil Liberties launched on 18th June 1946 was carried forward all alone by the Goan nationalists, unaided and unarmed and for about six months they put the Portuguese administration in a very tight position leading to serious embarrassment. In reality, the foundation of this movement was laid long before in 1928 by Tristão Bragança Cunha, when he founded the Goa Congress Committee. The movement got its concrete manifesto in the Quit Goa Resolution, adopted in March 1946, signed by 38 representatives and distinguished Goan leaders. The inauguration of the movement was done by Dr Ram Manohar Lohia, who instilled courage and boldness among the Goans to carry forward the movement, which they did quite seriously and enthusiastically at the initial stage. Although, the movement was peaceful, the Portuguese Government tried to suppress it by force, detentions and trials by special Military Court resulting into long imprisonments in exile. Undoubtedly, when most of the leaders had either been imprisoned or deported, the reactionary elements with no sound ideology to sustain the pressure of the movement, had a upper hand and the movement lost its tempo and subsided\textsuperscript{83}. But it did not die down. Subsequently, it was gradually resuscitated and grew into a full-fledged movement for freedom from the Portuguese domination and re-integration with India, which came to its triumphant culmination on 19th December 1961\textsuperscript{84}. 
