CHAPTER III

ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA):

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

--- National Congress (Goa).

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

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

Here is an analysis of the causes that led to the formation of the National Congress (Goa). On the one hand, we have the dictatorial regime of Salazar and on the other hand, we have the rising tide of nationalism spreading to the Goan shores balanced with the Indian National Congress and its movement. All these
factors created a fertile ground for Lohia's direct action plan. The synchronisation
of these factors finally unfolded the birth of National Congress (Goa).

Salazarism and Goa

As has been discussed in detail in the earlier chapter, cruelty and
repression characterised Salazar's regime. He emerged as the unquestioned, sole,
authoritarian ruler of Portugal in the late 1920s. He introduced and implemented
the most repressive fascist policy not only in Portugal but in the overseas colonies
as well. Total mutilation of freedom of thought and expression created a deadly
odour in the public life of Portugal and its colonies. This was in total contrast to
the liberal atmosphere of the republican regime of the past sixteen years, which
had introduced certain benefits for the Hindus of Goa who had been discriminated
against their Catholic brethren till 1910. The Catholics as well as Hindu
uniformly experienced a political awakening as citizens of Goa. However, when
Salazar took charge of the administration in Portugal, the little efforts that the
Republican regime had undertaken to place Portugal on the path of democratic
progress, were undone.

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

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

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

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

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

Luis de Menezes Bragança lashed against the injustice of the Estado Novo, openly denouncing its humiliations. He moved a resolution on the floor of the
legislative council upholding the principle of self-determination and the right of Goans to seek freedom from Portuguese bondage. He declared that

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

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

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

By the twentieth century, under the eminent leadership of Gandhi, a new phase of satyagraha was introduced to cast off the trammels of the British talons. The intense "titanic" satyagraha struggle was brutally smothered. Yet it had disturbed the political equilibrium, leaving the British no choice but to concede to the demands of Indian nationalism. Indians got few a political liberties and an opportunity to experience some political rights. These were of course, the fruits of their long tenacious struggle.
While the rest of India was experiencing these political changes, Goa, as we have seen in the preceding paragraphs, remained resigned to its degrading conditions. By introducing the Acto Colonial, Salazar had put "the last nail in the coffin of Goan slavery." 14

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

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

This emerging consciousness among nationalist Goans is citable in an article entitled "Indian Nationalism" which appeared in Bandra Review, a magazine published by the Bandra Goan Institute in Bombay. It observed "Now with the awakening of the national sentiment, the younger generation of Catholics is developing the consciousness of their Indian origin and of the disadvantage of remaining alien to Indian thought and culture." It further stated that the first duty of the catholic community was to encourage the youth to be conscious of the Indian nationality and to create an atmosphere, which can "develop the real patriotic spirit." 15
Now with the flickering flames of nationalism the catholic youth began feel one with India and in fact in January 1926 students from Goa who were pursuing their studies at Coimbra university projected their nationalist sentiments and aspirations by establishing Hindu Nationalists Centre and launched the nationalist bulletin called *India Nova, New India*. This was done in the very heart of Portugal and its founder members included Antonio Furtado, who later became the administrator of liberated Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and Telo Mascarenhas who was later actively involved with NC (G). 16

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

**The Goa Congress Committee**

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

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

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

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

As we have seen in the foregoing paragraphs, the ferment of ideas of self-determination and united India that Cunha promulgated stormed the land of Goa
and shook the Portuguese solidity. The Portuguese did their best to sabotage Cunha's patriotic actions but were miserably unsuccessful\(^\text{19}\) in restricting his dauntless struggle.

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

This enigmatic attitude of the Congress leadership, contradicting the very principle of the unity and indivisibility of India, filled Cunha with pain and indignation\(^\text{20}\). Seriously affected by its disaffiliation from the Indian National Congress, the Goa Congress Committee was cut off from the national mainstream and it could not sustain its proposed course of action. This setback was accompanied by the renewed vigour of the colonial authorities to wrench out all its roots from Goa. This hindrance compelled the members of the Committee to pursue their fight in an underground fashion inside Goa till it decided to shift its activities to Bombay.\(^\text{21}\) From 1936 onwards the Committee commenced its laudable work of nationalising Goans. In March 1946, influenced by Gandhi's "Quit India" movement the Goa Congress Committee asked the Portuguese rulers to "Quit Goa". By organising the Goan Political Conference, the Committee appealed to fellow Goans to assist them to formulate a plan that would help them realise their objective of freeing Goa and re-integrating it with India.\(^\text{22}\)

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

"Goa cannot have any destiny of its own except that of our motherland India of which it is an integral part, it finds itself chained today by bonds of political and spiritual slavery to the bankrupt political Imperialism." It further stressed that these chains of bondage must be shunned
away if Goans wanted to achieve its "destiny in common with India "and therefore it called upon the Portuguese to "leave the shores of Goa, Daman and Diu."\textsuperscript{23}

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

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

\textbf{The Goa Seva Sangh}

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

"Our main aim was to inculcate feelings of respect towards our motherland among the members of the organisation."
Therefore in our discussions we highlighted the national struggle. Indian national movement had reached its peak at this time and we chose our topics so that more and more people became aware of the course of the struggle. We elaborately reviewed 1942 Movement as well as the path proposed by Subhash Chandra Bose.\textsuperscript{25}

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

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

\textit{Balavir Samstha}

Much before the establishment of the \textit{Goa Seva Sangh}, Laxmikant Bhembre, who later presided over the August meeting of the NC (G) at Londa, was spearheading nationalist activities in Margão. Supported by the well-known businessman, Narasimha Naik, a training class to create volunteer corps of young men and women was initiated in the 1930s. Members of the organisation were trained in drills and \textit{lezim}. Educational institutions such as \textit{Damodar Vidyalaya} and Popular High School, Margão covertly supported this organisation and held \textit{prabhat ferries} and \textit{jhenda vandan} ceremonies within their campus. Along with conduct of these activities, Bhembre was also instrumental in establishing a branch of the \textit{Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Sabha} in Goa to spread knowledge of Hindi among the Goans. This institution had performed a commendable task in raising funds for the defence of the members of the \textit{Azad Hind Fauz} who were tried by the British Government. Responding to the call of the Indian national leaders, the organisation engaged shows and dramas in Goa for collection of
funds for the trials of the Indian National Army. The people of Goa made generous contributions to fund, which were donated to the *Azad Hind* Defence Fund.\(^{26}\)

**Gomantak Vidyarthi Sangh**

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

"this organisation had spread itself in Panaji, Mapusa, Ponda and Margão and was widely received by the student community of Goa. We mainly aimed at creating nationalist consciousness among the student community and for that we continuously took up deliberations so that the students became aware of the events that were taking place across the borders and thus would get inspired to think about Goa’s role in the national struggle." He further stated, "We took efforts to discuss the various strategies adopted by the leaders such as Nehru, Gandhi, Bose as well as reviewed the different phases of the national struggle. This definitely helped us to realise the fact that it was high time for us to seriously think about launching a struggle against colonialism based on the similar pattern adopted by the Indian National Congress."\(^{27}\)
Besides these above-mentioned organisations the *Gomantakiya Tarun Sangh*, led by Shamrao Madkaikar, and the *Rashtriya Seva Dal*, opened by Vishwanath Lawande, who later founded the organisation *The Azad Gomantak Dal*, tried to break new ground in creating a sense of resolute discipline to steel the members and the public against the unbending Portuguese regime and to build up their physical skills and self-will.

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

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

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

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

"Action First an then Organistion" Lohia’s Direct Action plan and its Impact

As we have seen in the earlier paragraphs, there was a definitely heightened awareness of nationalism in Goa but somehow they could not take the giant leap into the struggle against colonialism. Lohia came to snatch the Goans from the jaws of the colonial oppression and to direct the rising storm of
nationalism. As events were to show it was in fact the disobedience of civil laws under the leadership of Lohia that acted as the main catalyst. This incident came as the final straw and led to the formation of the NC (G) that forged a consensus between different groups in Goa.

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

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

In the existing conditions, where civil liberties were so rigidly controlled, a lightening action to recover basic civil liberties was the only remedy, which Lohia placed before the Goans. Goans like Ram Hegde had raised doubts about such a political action as Goa was devoid of any strong political forum that would carry out such an action against an authoritative and arbitrary rule. Ram Hegde was of the firm opinion that the movement was started at the wrong time. According to him, Goans "had no reasonable organization, there were groups here and there. Some were working in Ponda, some elsewhere, none in a common direction..." He further states that he had told Lohia that in his opinion "it was not the proper time. We were not organized." The nationalists speculated about
who would shoulder the responsibility of furthering the direct open non-violent action. Although few social organisations existed in Goa how far these groups would respond to the open movement was the big question before the activists. Lohia’s act of “putting cart before the horse” featured in the editorial of Bharat in which Hegde Desai questioned the success of the 18th June 1946, Direct Action and called it as an endeavour to construct “Adhi Kalas Mag Paya” that is an effort to erect the dome of the temple first before even laying its foundation.

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

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

Evagrio George has pointed out that Lohia’s viewpoint was strongly supported by Purushottam Kakodkar who took the responsibility of organising 18th June 1946 action. While revealing the reason why he was convinced to take up the challenge, Purushottam Kakodkar stated that “to end the existing conditions it was necessary that the people of Goa realised the significance of
organising themselves through conscious effort. He further added that "the salvation of Goans lay in self help" and this could help them to rise above "adverse conditions." According to him this action would serve as "efficacious antidote to political obscurantism." This action would lead to political awakening that would dispel the ignorance of the people that existed to a "deplorable degree in the minds of Goans." 

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

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

The main achievement of Lohia's political move was that he was successful in generating the much-needed courage and confidence amongst Goans to fight the tyrannical exploitation. The people of Goa realised that they had the strength and capacity to resist the four centuries-old colonial rule. By bringing the people of Goa into active politics, Lohia crushed the Portuguese belief that Goans passively accepted injustice. The inculcation of fearlessness amongst Goans,
necessary for pursuance of struggle against injustice, created a fertile ground for those like-minded Goans to come together and form political organisation like the National Congress (Goa) that carried its crusade against Portugal along with other organisations until Goa's liberation by the Indian Army on 19th December 1961.

18th June, 1946 Direct Action

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

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

Causes and Aims of the 18th June Action

The aim of the movement was indeed to win civil liberties but the methods followed were those of mass awakening and action, short of violent rebellion. However the aims of the Action could not be considered so narrowly. Dr. Lohia in
his open letter to the Goans throws light on the broad nature of the 18th June Action.

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

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

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

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Preparations

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

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

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

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

After the Margão leaders were arrested, the people began to take out processions and flocked to the police station. The police chief asked Dr. Lohia to tell the people to return to their residence. Dr. Lohia came out of the police station and spoke to the people. Around twelve persons were arrested on that day. Among them was a girl named Vatsala Kirtani. She was arrested for raising the
slogan “Jai Hind” when the people commandant asked her why had she shouted the slogan, she justified her action by replying to commandant that “Jai Hind” gave her spirit to fight for her motherland’s freedom.

The Immediate Spill Out

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

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

Later, the Goans learnt that Dr. Julião Menezes had been released from the jail along with Dr. Lohia who was then taken to the Goa border and sent back to British India. However, they decided to keep the flame that Dr. Lohia lit burning
brightly in their land and the local leaders began to chalk out a programme for the following days in order to sustain this initial enthusiasm.

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

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

On this day at Lohia Maidan, Berta Menezes Bragança, a member of the Goan Youth League and the daughter of Goa's foremost political thinker and patriot of the early twentieth century, Luis de Menezes Bragança, was not allowed to speak by the police commandant and her uncle, T.B. Cunha, who had accompanied her was physically assaulted and both were forced to leave the place. In the text of her address, Berta had made fervent appeal to the Goan youth as well as the older generation not to allow the civil disobedience movement to weaken, never to hesitate to carry it on fearlessly and with fortitude till the
“hateful Acto Colonial is removed and other laws that gag and chain us, are destroyed”.50

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

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

**Nature**

Berta Menezes Bragança described the *satyagraha* action of 18th June 1946 as “Civil Dis-obedience Movement” that it was “like a whiff of fresh air blowing into a dark suffocated dungeon which is just what our country has been reduced to during all these centuries of imperialist oppression and exploitation.”52 According to her, the 18th June 1946 “Movement” was directed primarily towards the restoration of the elementary civil liberties like freedom of press, of speech, of
association, of consciousness and the right to be governed by a republican
government which would be responsible for a freely elected body upon the
realization of this objective of the “Movement” would then pave way for the
attainment of what she described as “the final goal of complete freedom from all
foreign yoke, and of a free Government in free India...”53

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

Gandhi had backed Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia’s direct action against the
Portuguese regime. He had extended his full support to the demands of the civil
liberties in Goa had said that “He [Dr. Lohia] has rendered a great service to the
cause of civil liberty and especially to Goans”54 He further stated that “in a free
India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as separate entity in opposition to the laws of
free state without a shot being fired, the people of Goa, will be able to claim and
receive the rights of the citizenship of free state”.55 He even wrote to the
Portuguese authorities to immediately declare themselves to be “wholeheartedly
for civil liberty and if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa to frame their own
Government, and invite from greater India more experienced Indians to assist the
inhabitants in framing such Government”.56
There is no doubt that in the initial stages, the action aimed at restoring civil liberties. As stated earlier on, Gandhi, had supported the *satyagraha* action launched by Lohia, for having put his finger on its black spot. He further stated that the “Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence until much greater India has regained it. But no person or a group can thus remain without civil liberties without losing self respect.” We find that later this struggle for civil liberties assured a broader perspective of independence from the Portuguese and integration with India. This is proved by the Karamali session of the National Congress (Goa), which took place in April 1947.

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

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

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

Indian leaders also supported the action and considered Goa’s struggle as a part of India’s struggle for independence from colonialism. Pandit Nehru, in his
capacity as president of the Indian National Congress, released a Statement on 27th July 1946 assuring the Goans of the support of British India to their cause, in the following words:

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

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

Formation of the National Congress (Goa)

The preceding paragraphs indicate that as anticipated by Lohia, Goans spontaneously responded to the call of direct action in large numbers. 18th June Action created a situation of debate and discussion in the political scenario. Political activists in Goa had extended their support and had been actively involved in the open demonstration of the nationalist sentiments against the colonial regime yet they were irked by some questions regarding the direct action launched by Lohia. They were worried whether the action launched by Lohia would be able to sustain itself in the repressing political conditions of Goa?
For them the struggle for civil liberties was inconceivable without a local political organisation. The possibility of establishing a local political organisation to carry on the struggle was given a serious thought. On 3rd July 1946, the political activists headed by Ram Hegde set up the Sanghatana Samiti (Organisation Committee) which issued a statement declaring that it would continue the work of achieving civil liberties and would function in a democratic manner. The other members of the committee were Laxmandrao Sardessai, Balkrishna Borkar, Narayan Prabhu Bhembre, Venketesh Vaidya and Vasant Kare. Within few days Sanghatana Samiti consolidated itself as the Gomantak Congress.63

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

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

Ravindra Kelekar, a nationalist a well-known Konkani writer, has also pointed out the lack of co-ordination between Gomantak Congress and Goa Congress. He has revealed the lack of open approach of Purushottam Kakodkar regarding the struggle. He has alleged that even Lohia's program of action was not properly revealed to the people.65 Datta Venketesh Pai ardent nationalist and editor of Hindu also made an accusation of a similar nature.66 Jagannath Sukhatankar, active nationalist and a well-known Marathi writer, also points out
the closed nature of Purushottam Kakodkar who believed in keeping his own counsel.67 According to Madhav Bir the differences between these two organisations were “not based on ideology, they were rather personal.”68 The only solution to revive the subsiding tempo of the struggle was to unite these organisations. The urgent need of the hour was to network in order to bring like-minded nationalists together.

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

Ashok Mehta successfully merged the two groups Gomantak Congress and Goa Congress into one political front in a two-day meet that was convened on 17th and 18th August 1946. Since the conditions in Goa were not conducive to such deliberations it was called at Londa, the nearest town at the outskirts of Goa and was attended by hundred people from Goa as well as from Bombay, Poona and Belgaum.72 The formation of the National Congress (Goa) and the executive committee presided over by Ram Hegde was officially announced. By
consciously adopting the name for the newly born organisation as the National Congress (Goa), Goa into brackets, the nationalists were successful in emphasising the national character of the organisation similar to the Indian National Congress.\(^\text{73}\) It indicated that Goa's struggle for freedom was a part of the struggle between the forces of Indian nationalism and alien rule.

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

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

When the NC (G) suggested its linkage with the powerful political organisation of the Indian nation, the nationalist fervour was once again revived. They adopted a similar name but instead of calling itself the National Congress of Goa, they seem to have consciously added Goa only in brackets. As the Indian
National Congress was the expression and epitome of India's struggle, the concept of nation certainly was referring to Indian nation of which Goa was only a part.

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

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

Organisational Efforts

As the struggle began to fade, NC (G) workers like P. P. Shirodkar, Narayan Bhembre, V. N. Mayenkar and others decided to give serious thought to building up NC (G) on the lines of well-knit organisation.
In the meanwhile, a branch of NC (G) was established at Bombay under the leadership of S.B. D'Silva, an advocate by profession. The main task of the Bombay branch was to kindle the flames of resistance in those Goans who were residing in Bombay.

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

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

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

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

**The Provisional Committee**

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

1. It provided for a nine member executive committee that would comprise of president, vice-president, treasurer, general secretary and five other members.

2. The annual year of the NC (G) was to commence one January and would end on 31st December.

3. Every Goan above the age of 18 who adhered to the aims and objectives of the NC (G) could become its member. The annual membership fee of the organisation was four annas per year.
4. It was decided that the organisation would conduct annual session within the territorial limits of Goa and the resolutions that were passed by majority of Goans actually residing in Goa would be binding on the NC (G).

5. It was decided to form an Advisory Committee of NC (G) comprising of members of different units of NC (G) as well as members of the executive committee.

**Formation of Committees**

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

Besides this, the Provisional Committee also took up the organisation of *taluka* committees. Accordingly Ponda, Pernem, Marmagoa and Sattari were
assigned to Suryakant Naik, Guilerme Tiklo, Venketesh Verekar and Nilakanth Karapurkar respectively.

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

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

The leaders of these centres were assigned duties that included establishment of contacts in their respective areas, ascertaining overall information of each village, briefing villagers regarding the work carried out by NC (G). Here the activists were strictly warned by the leadership “to disseminate the factual data to the people and not to mislead them by giving exaggerated accounts of events.” Distribution of pamphlets depicting the nationalists' ideology was also one of major tasks of the workers.
The workers were asked to write reports of the day-to-day activities in their assigned areas and also to prepare a statement of accounts. They were asked by the leadership to submit it before 4th October 1947, as it was necessary for the preparation of the draft of the final report that was to be produced in the next session of NC (G) scheduled for the end of October.

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

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

Aims and Objectives of NC (G)

**Restoration of Civil Liberties**

Sudhatai Joshi, an active worker of NC (G), in her presidential speech of 9th annual session held in Goa on 6th April 1955 invited people of all communities and interests to participate in creating conditions of freedom wherein the visions of progress and prosperity can be translated into a reality. While highlighting the
basic promises and conceptions on which NC (G) aimed to build up the future of the people of Goa, she declared that Goa's struggle called for an invitation to action as NC (G) stood for full civil liberties and freedom of press. She further stated that her organisation had promised the people of Goa freedom from Portugal and integration with India so that the people of Goa would be able to participate in a democratic and representative government. 85

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

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

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

Highly critical of many existing anomalies in Portuguese India, the NC (G) blamed the colonialists for having created a conscious demarcation of the Goan society to suit their imperialist ends. It claimed that Portuguese rule over
Goa for nearly 400 years was responsible for the near-total extinction of their time honoured Indian as well as local traditions thereby fostering a systematic moral anaemia in Goa.

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

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

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

Therefore, in his open letter to the Goans, in order to create awareness among the Goans about the broad vision, which national leaders had envisaged for India, he had stressed on the creation of a "new Goa" where an every common person would be able to reap the benefits of democratic set-up. Gandhi, who had strongly backed Lohia's action in Goa, firmly believed that achievement of civil
liberties by following the non-violent methodology was the "first step towards swaraj." According to him existence of civil rights was the breath of the political and social life of the people. He stressed that it was the water of life that could not be diluted. Lohia, like Gandhi who was aware of the significance of civil rights, had advised Goans to achieve civil liberties first as he rightly felt that this would in turn open the new vistas for the liberation of Goa and its reintegration with India. Thus demand for civil liberties not only implied freedom of expression and the right to assembly, but also included the right of complete transformation of Goa's socio-economic and political infrastructure. Their clamour illustrated the basic nature of the NC (G) that it was going to be a national political organisation.

**Political Freedom: The unequivocal right of the Goans**

The long cherished dream of India's independence was fulfilled on 15th August 1947. Inspired by this momentous event, the National Congress (Goa) met at Karmali and adopted a resolution for complete independence of Goa from the Portuguese rule and its subsequent union with India. Thus, struggle for civil liberties had finally culminated into a struggle for the independence of Goa. India's independence on 15th August 1947 prompted them to assume a broad perspective of the struggle and to resolve that Goans wished to become Indian citizens. P.P. Shirodkar lamenting on their demand for total independence said "Since India had emerged as a independent and sovereign nation the demand for civil liberties on the part of Goans had totally become impractical." Moreover he stressed on the fact that most of them were not in favour of restricting their aim to attainment of civil liberties right from the initial time. They had always seen Goa as an integral part of India and therefore once India became independent they made a quick move to take up the matter in the October session and adopt the resolution of total independence and its integration with India. Cunha had always projected Goa's affinity with India and therefore India's struggle for freedom was thus incomplete with Goa still under foreign rule. The constitution of the NC (G),
which was adopted in 1949 declared "the attainment through peaceful means of freedom from foreign rule and the entry of Goa in the Indian union on the basis of self-determination."

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

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

**Territorial integration with India**

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

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

The territorial integrity that was imbibed by the NC (G) is very well reflected in the presidential speech of S.B.D'Silva, which was delivered at the plenary session in 1949. Silva had on this occasion proclaimed, "In spite of the infiltration of western ideals and way of life, the core of our culture has still preserved the essentials of the ancient culture of India. This is to be seen in our customs and manners, our literature, our folk tales and folksongs, our music and art. We have achieved in a great measure the true synthesis of much that is good in the West and the East. We shall need to change the false emphasis upon the ways and ideals of the West in order to bring out the best that is in us of the splendour of the East."\(^9\)

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

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

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

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

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

The right of the people of Goa was duly recognised by the Indian National Congress when it resolved in 1946 stating that "What Goa's future position and status will be in a free India can only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority." This right of self-determination of Goans was confirmed by Gandhi who had declared "while Goa shall be an integral part of the Republic of India, the people of Goa shall on the basis of self-determination determine their status."
Therefore, at its plenary session itself, by anticipating total freedom, the NC (G) took a step forward to put before the people of Goa three possible alternatives for a future within the Indian Union, namely, a) Whether Goa shall merge forth with India and be administered directly as a district of the Indian Union, b) Whether Goa shall form one or other of the projected linguistic groups, (c) Whether Goa will remain aloof from all these as an autonomous unit integrated in the framework of the Indian Union.

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

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

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

**Economic aims**

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

S. B. D' Silva as the President of the NC (G) had addressed a letter to Salazar in which he had exposed the fallacious and unbalanced economic situation in Goa that had been brought about by the colonial regime. While criticising the prevailing obsolete Portuguese system that was nothing but a hindrance to the socio-economic advancement of Portuguese India, he had accused the colonial regime of “neglect of the natural resources” of Goa. He had further stated that “the general ineptitude” of Portuguese administration had sapped the vitals of economic life and had allowed the ancient prosperity of Goa to dwindle and decay. He had pointed out that the towns in Goa were in ruins, villages were deserted, fields were left fallow and “thousands of our people have been constrained to emigrate to other lands in search of a livelihood, they cannot find at home.” Simultaneously he had also expressed their ardent desire towards freedom with a view to rebuild the shattered economy, to regain self-respect, to re-shape the destiny of Goa.
The major thrust of the NC (G) was to mould Goa's backward parasitic economy into a self-sufficient, progressive welfare state. For them freedom meant necessarily the social, cultural and economic regeneration of the Goan people. Political freedom from Portugal would provide an opportunity to rebuild the Goan economic structure on the basis of the Indian economic policies. The post liberation popular Government that was yet to be established was thus assigned the enormous responsibility of executing a development plan for Goa that would raise the standard of living of the local population.

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

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

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

NC (G) wanted to transform the immobile economic ambit into a prosperous domain with making provision for local employment by the establishment of industries, development of local and natural resources and the fostering of cottage industries. They also harped on providing opportunities for Goan entrepreneurs and the facilities of open markets in India for the produce of Goa at favourable prices. They also declared advancement of commerce by developing the harbour of Marmagoa. NC (G) also assured that care would be taken to see to it that the goods of India would be sold in Goa at the same market
price obtained in the Indian market and not at a of higher price as was the case during the Portuguese rule due to double custom duty.

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

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

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

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

Therefore they urged to have branches of the Reserve Bank of India that would cater to the needs of the people by providing rural credit system. Improved
means of transport and communication system that aimed to modernise the Marmagoa port that could become the chief outlet for the vast produce of the Deccan was also present on their agenda.

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

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

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

1. “The masses of the Goan people may be united with their Indian brethren in political, economic and social union.

2. The peasants may be released from economic exploitation, and that they may enjoy the fruits of their labour by producing the rent to one-sixth of the produce, as in India.

3. The rich produce of Goa—Coconuts, betel nut, cashew nuts, mangoes and dry fish etc. may be
profitably marketed in India, and Goa's economy may be placed on a secure foundation, and the people who produce be enabled to live economic security.

4. The people of Goa may avail themselves of the cheap and plentiful produce of India so as to be enabled to live within their purchasing power.

5. The small traders, businessmen and professional men may pursue their professions without the crushing burden of the present government's taxation (Industrial Tax.)

6. The business community, deprived of artificial income of smuggling, may henceforth develop in the larger context of wider fields of commercial and industrial opportunities in Goa and in India.

7. The village communities (comunidades) may be reorganized on the basis of genuine co-operative efforts thereby elimination; the middlemen and the pernicious system of giving out its land by auction.

8. The personnel, of the services may serve a free government rather than a foreign ruler, and in conditions approximation to those in India.

9. The people of Goa may find easy and fruitful employment so that the splitting up of the family units may be avoided, and employment may be offered to them where their families can reside.
10. The people of Goa may avail themselves of the cheap and plentiful produce of India so as to be enabled to live within their purchasing power.

11. The backward masses should find such employment as will help them to be released from traditional employment that binds them to a inferior position in society, thus helping them to achieve a social status.

12. The isolated communities that have been ostracised by social cum historical process may find in the participation of freedom economic opportunities that help them to discard their traditional professions and take their place on an equal footing with other sections of society.

13. The youth may grow up in an atmosphere of Freedom where opportunities are plentiful.

14. The people of all religious persuasions may follow the observance and practice of their religion secured from interference of prejudices and racialism, and that their religion may grow in an atmosphere of cordiality and security.\(^\text{105}\)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Evagrio George, an active member of NC (G) who offered satyagraha in 1946, in his book Salazar's Rule in Portugal and the Goa Case has expressed that "Goans will to become free and united with their ancestral motherland speaks eloquently of the sacrifices of the thousands of Goans who voluntarily courted arrests or indulged in other acts of resistance to foreign rule risking thereby their precious lives."  

As stated earlier, Salazar had entered in to an alliance with the Vatican in 1940. The Concordat that was signed between them declared Christianity as a state religion. This gave a fatal blow to secularism that was present during the liberal Republican phase. Salazar and his supporters by introducing discriminatory policies in the area of religion tried to create barriers between the two major communities of Goa, the Hindus as well as the Catholics, thereby maintaining their hold on the colonial administration.
"The Portuguese Catholic Missions Overseas and the institutions for preparing the personnel for their services and those of the Padroado shall enjoy judicial personality and shall be protected and assisted by the states institution of teaching and assistance and instrument of civilisation under the terms of the concordats and other agreement signed by the Holy See." 113

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

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

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

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

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

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

The NC (G) that stood for a united non-sectarian and secular India advocated the establishment of the principles of secularism in Goa that the Indian constitution had laid down. The Indian Constitution had adopted the principle of
secularism and had introduced the principle of equality before the state, irrespective of any religious status. The NC (G) by declaring its strong faith in the principle of secularism pledged to "build up the great human society in which two great communities would find everything in common and nothing at cross purpose."\textsuperscript{116}

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

\textbf{What is Satyagraha?}

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

It was after the introduction of the Gandhian technique of \textit{satyagraha} in 1920, through the non-cooperation movement, that the foundation of the British \textit{Raj} was shaken. It was during the \textit{satyagraha} phase that the Indian national movement actually became a mass movement. The country folk of India came closer to the principle of nationalism. Through this new technique, Gandhi infused a fresh life into the inert masses of India. The non-violent technique of Gandhi threw a real challenge to the British. According to Professor Coupland,
Gandhi not only revolutionised the nationalist movement but also made it reach the masses.\textsuperscript{116}

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

\textbf{Meaning of Satyagraha}

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

The word \textit{satyagraha} in a real sense means "holding on to truth"\textsuperscript{118} or "persistence on Truth"\textsuperscript{119} (\textit{satya} = truth, \textit{Agraha} = firmness) \textit{Satyagraha} is nothing but the determination to reach the truth. The ultimate truth is the spiritual unity and the only way to realise it is to practise non-violence, that is love for all living beings and suffer for their betterment. In this way Gandhi identified \textit{satyagraha} to be a “love force” or “soul force” which employed love to win over the enemy and appealed to his or her conscience. How could one realise the truth? The only means, which leads the seeker to his goal, is the adoption of a non-violent path. Here the truth is the end and non-violence is its means. “Ahimsa is the means, Truth is the End... Ahimsa is our supreme duty. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later”.\textsuperscript{120}
Satyagraha as a method can be used to meet aggressions, to settle conflicts and bring about social and political change through non-violence. It does not permit violence in any circumstances. One can make use of satyagraha to weed out the evil from the social as well as the political life of a nation. Satyagraha as technique of change can be utilised in domestic affairs also. It appeals to the heart of the opponent. It is a moral technique in which the satyagrahi evokes the conscience of the opponent through sympathy, patience, truth, not by the infliction of suffering on to the opponent but on one's own self.\textsuperscript{121}

It's Means

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

Civil disobedience

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

By this method, the satyagrahi tries to disobey the laws, which according to him are unjust. The satyagrahi defies the law of the state in a non-violent manner. Thus resistance required here is the civil resistance. According to Gandhi the disobedience can be applied to the civil laws and not to the criminal laws. Moreover, the defiance of an unjust law should have a broader outlook. Gandhi denounced violation of any laws for personal gains, According to Gandhi; "A complete civil disobedience is a rebellion without any element of violence in it."\textsuperscript{122} Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement to violate directly the laws of
the British Government. In 1930 he violated the salt tax law, which was considered to be unjust tax by the Indian masses. This tax was nothing but the symbol of injustice and oppression that was inflicted upon local people. India having such a wide sea-coast, was not allowed to manufacture salt which was mostly imported from Britain. Gandhi’s defiance led to the Civil Disobedience Movement.

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

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

Non co-operation

Like civil disobedience, non-cooperation is a tool that a satyagrahi can use to remove injustice from the socio-economic and political fields. It chiefly implies the withdrawal of co-operation from the state that is in the non co-operators view has become corrupt. According to Gandhi, co-operation with the just government is the prime duty of the citizens of the state but at the same time he stressed that
non-cooperation with an unjust government is also an equal duty of the citizens of
the state. As we are aware, the prime function of the state is to further the progress
of its citizens and also to look after the well being of its people. However, when
the state passes orders and frames laws that were harmful to its citizens, then it
became an equally important duty of the people to withdraw their cooperation to
the state. Gandhi strongly believed that the existence of the Government mainly
depended upon the cooperation of the people, either compulsory or voluntary and
if people decided to withdraw their cooperation it would be extremely difficult for
the government to function.

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

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

Fasting and Picketing

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

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

Gandhi did not advocate the general use of fasting to remove injustice but advised its use as a last resort that a satyagraha could opt for only after exhausting all other methods of satyagraha such as civil disobedience and non-cooperation.
Gandhi himself offered many fasts during his lifetime. But in the context of the Indian freedom struggle, his fast against the Communal Award of 1932; the fast which he undertook in 1943 against the British government's policy regarding Indian National Congress; and 1948 which he offered against horrifying communal riots were the most significant ones.

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

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

**Its aim, features and nature**

The satyagrahi aims at converting the opponent to his or her point of view. It is not to crush, defeat or punish the oppressor but to convert the wrongdoer to the right path by an appeal to the best in him or her. Co-existence of the opponent is accepted by the satyagrahi. A Satyagrahi tries to make the evil-doer realise his or her mistake, faults and tries to remove them. Here, the enemy of the Satyagrahi is the evil that is present in the opponent. The satyagrahi has nothing to do against the opponent, as he has nothing against the opponent. He does not try to finish the opponent but tries to eliminate the elements of evil from the opponent. Once the opponent realises his or her mistakes and repents over, them then the satyagrahi welcomes the opponent. Thus, "the essence of the non
violent technique is that it seeks to liquidate antagonism but not the antagonist. In a non-violent struggle, a satyagrahi and the opponent are placed on an equal footing. The only solution reached after the pursuance of the truth, is an agreement between both the parties. A mutual understanding is an agreement between both the parties. A mutual understanding is sought which totally rejects any a forceful dictation on the opponent. Hence, unlike war agreements, the non-violent technique involves much less chances of humiliation of the opponent and thus gives no room to the idea of revenge.

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

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

**It’s Relevance to the Indian National Movement**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lohia regarded *satyagraha* as the third alternative which Gandhi had introduced to complement the already known methods of resistance such as constitutional means and revolts and rebellions. According to Lohia, the technique of non-violence was a powerful weapon in the hands of the people to force governments to redress their grievances.\(^\text{129}\) He pointed out that when constitutional methods failed to have the desired results, civil disobedience could be openly adopted by the people to set things right, thereby leading to the establishment of a new social order based on justice. Lohia very strongly believed that civil disobedience could be effectively used in a parliamentary democratic system whenever democratic governments ignored the demands and aspirations of the people. This was another point on which Lohia differed from Gandhi. Although Gandhi believed in the implementation of civil resistance in parliamentary systems, he did not advocate it to be applied in independent India.\(^\text{130}\)
According to Lohia satyagraha as a means to challenge injustice, would prevail as long as injustice and oppression existed in this world. According to him, the existence of non-violent resistance was the only solution to the threat of a gun or bullet. Lohia successfully practised non-violent satyagraha technique after India’s liberation to develop the new born Indian nation on the socialist line.

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

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

1 A statement issued by NC (G), Guilhermo Ticklo, P. P. Shirodkar and others, Territorial Military Court Files (Estado da India), case no: 736, Department of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, p. 47.

2 Constitution of the National Congress (Goa), Belgaum: 5th June 1949, p. 1.

3 Appendix IV

4 On 28th May 1926, General Gomes da Costa led a coup d’etat and captured power and invited Salazar, a professor of economics at the University of Coimbra, to head the finance ministry in 1928.

4 Although during Constitutional period in Portugal certain amount of liberal policies were extended to its colonies, its benefits were largely confined to the Catholic Community.


6 T. B. Cunha, Goa’s Freedom Struggle, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961, p. 59.

7 Ibid., p. 101.


9 Presidential speech of S.B. D’Silva delivered at the open session of the NC (G), Belgaum: 1949, p. 2.


13 Ibid.

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

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

16 Personal Communication with Flaviano Dias.

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

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

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

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

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


23 Ibid.

24 Personal Communication with Purushottam Kakodkar.

25 Personal Communication with V.N. Mayekar.

27 Personal Communication with Laxmidas Borkar.


29 Personal Communication with V.N. Lawande.


31 Ibid., p.10.


33 Ibid.

34 Bharat 6th November 1947, p. 2.

35 Ram Manohar Lohia Loc. cit., p.10.

36 Ibid., pp.63-64.


38 Ibid.

39 Personal Communication with Purshottam Kakodkar.

40 Poem by B.B. Borker entitled “Swanthanthriachi Sinhma Garjana”, dated 23rd June 1946.

41 Ram Manohar Lohia, Loc. cit.p.48

43 Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.

44 Ibid.

45 Personal Communication with Purushottam Kakodkar.

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

47 See Appendix III for further details.

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

49 Personal Communication with V.N.Lawande.

50 Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.

51 Ram Manohar Lohia, Loc.cit. p. 27.

52 Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.

53 Ibid.


56 Ibid.

57 Ibid.

58 Personal Communication with Berta Menezes Bragança.


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


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

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81 Personal Communication with P.P. Shirodkar.

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

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89 Ibid., p. 48.

90 Personal Communication with P.P. Shirodkar.

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


94 Ibid.
95 Policy Statement of NC (G) 1951, pp. 12-13. Also see Appendix V.

96 Ibid., pp 12-13.


99 Bharat 18th November 1948 p.2.

100 Presidential Speech of Sudha Joshi, 9th Annual Session held at Mapusa 1955, Loc. cit., p. 4.

101 Goan Affairs, Bombay, 2nd October 1951, p.8


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115 Ibid. p.6.


119 Ibid.


121 Ibid.


123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.


126 Ibid.


130 Ibid.

131 Madhu Limaye Politics after freedom, New Delhi, Atmaram and Sons, 1982, p. 367.
Residence of Julião Menezes and
Meeting Hall where 18th June Direct Action was planned.
A Rare Scene of 18th June 1946, Direct Action

Lohia's call to Goans .... "What are we fighting for?"
Second Entry of Lohia

NC (G) Khanapur Training Camp
Territorial Military Tribunal Court where Trials of Nationalist where conducted.

“Mundan” Severe Punishments Inflicted on Nationalists.
Presidents of NC (G)

Ram Hegde
V. N. Mayekar
John Curtal

P. P. Shindekar
Naiger Bhave
Kashinath Sanzgiri

Pher Alvees
Budha Joshi