CHAPTER IV

ESTABLISHMENT OF *AZAD GOMANTAK DAL*:

ITS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES
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"Terrorism instills fear in the heart of the oppressor, brings hopes of revenge and redemption to the oppressed masses it gives courage and self-confidence to the wavering it shatters the spell of superiority of the ruling class and raises the status of the world, because it is the most convincing proof of a nations hunger for freedom."

--- Manifesto of Hindustan Socialist Republican Army.

Oppressed people of the world from time immemorial very distinctly have often resorted to violent means in order to accomplish their political goals. To rise and revolt against injustice and oppression is the primal instinct of every human being. Therefore, it can be safely said that the achievement of political and socio-economic emancipation throughout the world was also based on gunpowder nationalism.

The history of Indian Freedom Struggle is by no means dissimilar. The revolutionary spirit that had manifested itself through the Revolt of 1857 never died out. It kept smouldering till India emerged as a free and sovereign nation in 1947. Along with Gandhian non-violent satyagraha, it is an undeniable fact that India definitely witnessed strong currents of militant nationalism. Even Gandhian Quit India Movement could not shy away from the influence of militant forces. When the movement reached the masses it was nothing but a manifestation of revolutionary activities. The revolutionary movements of Bengal, Northern India, the heroic fight of Subhash Chandra Bose and his valiant Azad Hind Fauz fully supplemented Gandhi's twin weapons of non-violence and civil disobedience.

Goa, though separated from mainstream India for more than 400 years, had the opportunity to come face to face with both these political currents of Indian nationalism. The story of Goa's struggle for independence like that of the
rest of India, is nothing but the saga of innumerable armed resistance activities which Goans undertook to challenge the colonial establishment, sometimes openly and sometimes with the help of guerrilla warfare, as a measure of expediency.

The torch of resistance to Portuguese rule was lighted right from the initial conquest of Goa in 1510. The ceaseless reactions in the form of revolts and uprisings, though brutally suppressed, could not quench the passion of the Goans for freedom from injustice.

The spirit of freedom, which, under the able guidance of Gandhi, had reached its watermark in the rest of India, was transplanted into Goa in 1946 when Lohia launched a non-violent civil resistance struggle.

With the appearance of Lohia, the age-old discontent against foreign imperialist rule was manifested in the form of a non-violent protest that the National Congress (Goa) launched under its banner. However, soon the clouds of terror unleashed by the colonial masters started hovering on the Goan political scenario. At this juncture when Goa was facing violent repression, the ultimate hope of liberation of Goa and its re-union with the Indian Union gave way to new ideas and perceptions, and within a year, led to the formation of an underground militant group. On 18th June 1947, on the first anniversary of the historic non-violent agitation, the Azad Gomantak Dal was born.

Events Leading to the Formation of the AGD

The establishment of an organisation with a militant revolutionary ideology to achieve Goa’s liberation was not a spontaneous occurrence. It had a significant background. This idea had dominated a certain section of the nationalists even during the launch of the non-violent struggle. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to analyse the various factors that were responsible in motivating activists to establish the AGD.
Militant Nationalism in India and its Impact

The underground struggle under the banner of the Azad Gomantak Dal drew considerable inspiration from the history of revolutionary movement in India. Goans got acquainted with revolutionary activities in the rest of India through the media as well through personal contacts with revolutionary workers.

Newspapers like Kesari, Maratha and Kal were well known for their powerful advocacy of the cause of militant nationalism. Kesari, founded by Lokmanya Tilak, was widely circulated in Goa. Tilak had taken a strong line in support of the revolutionary cult and ideology of the bomb. He ceaselessly carried out his campaigns by educating the Indian youth in revolutionary ideology.

His editorials, entitled “Guerrilla Warfare,” in which he had compared the revolutionary tactics used by the Boers in their war against the British with those of the Maratha army under the leadership of Shivaji to fight the Mughals, had created a sensation among the youth. Inspired by these articles, Azad Gomantak Dal had also carried out a series of articles on the techniques and strategies of guerrilla warfare in their fortnightly, Navajeevan. These articles were published just before they had heightened their revolutionary activities.

Prabhakar Sinari, who had actively participated in the non-violent satyagraha action and later worked towards the establishment of the AGD, while commenting on the influence of Kesari on the Goans, said,

“Since most of us were well conversant with Marathi language, Kesari was widely read in Goa. We all know that it had a mission to propagate revolutionary ideology among common masses. It was through Kesari that we became aware of the boiling patriotic fervour present in neighbouring Maharashtra and rest of India.”

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Similar view is expressed by Flaviano Dias, an active participants in Goa’s anti-colonial struggle. According to him, Kesari played a very important role in spreading the patriotic spirit in Goa. He said

"prior to 1946 newspaper from India could come to Goa as there was some Laxity in law. Although each village had a handful of literates these people in their own way contributed to the struggle by reading newspapers to a collective of illiterates in the villages when they gathered at a public place. These discussions that were carried on at chawadi included Goan Catholics too. Therefore, those who did not know the Marathi language also could grasp the revolutionary spirit of the time."  

Mohan Ranade, an active AGD worker who joined the organisation in 1953, while discussing the influences on him of the Indian militant nationalism, commented that

"the militant ideology of great revolutionaries like Vinayak Damodar Savarkar had remarkably influenced me. His poem entitled, “My will and Testament,” that he composed in 1910 in England, when his elder brother Baba Sawarkar was undergoing life imprisonment at Andaman, provoked nationalist sentiments in our generation. Savarkar family’s sacrifices for the nation created in me a strong will to be like one of the dutiful son of the Indian nation and to plunge into national struggle."

One finds that courageous acts of great martyrs like Madanlal Dhingra, Bhagat Singh, the Chafekar brothers and other revolutionaries served as a great source of inspiration to those nationalists who decided to take up arms to challenge the Portuguese.
Impact of the 1942 Struggle and Patri Sarkar

As we are aware the core of the 1942 “Quit India” movement was non-violent but when it reached the masses, it became very difficult to differentiate the two forces, non-violent agitators and violent activists. As the top leaders of the Congress including Gandhi were arrested, the task of directing the struggle was left to leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia, Achut Patwardhan, Jayaprakash Narayan and others. Although the principle of non-killing and non-injury was maintained, yet these leaders revived the old revolutionary technique of underground struggle. The 1942 Movement took a different turn and the agitators carried out sabotage activities on a large scale. These activities included disruption of communications and attacks on police stations that were the nerve centres of the British Raj. The British Government was paralysed in several districts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madinapur in Bengal and Satara in Maharashtra.

In Satara, Patri Sarkar was established under the leadership of Nana Patil. Vishwanath Lawande, founder member and the leader of the AGID, confirmed,

"the Dal activities were tremendously influenced by the Patri Sarkar which ran a parallel Government in Satara for four months. During this period Janata courts were established, several social reforms were taken up. This was a sort of liberation from British had tremendous influence on us."

Moreover, the Indian revolutionaries, who had taken shelter under Goa’s canopy to escape the British terror, provided an opportunity to Goans to be in contact with them and learn about the revolutionary cult.

As we are aware, Lawande, who had participated in the 1942 Quit India movement, had started a branch of the Rashtra Seva Dal at Bhom. This organisation aimed at instilling a sense of discipline in the villagers. Regular drills
and parades, training of the youth in martial arts such as Lathi play, Dandpatta, was taught at this centre.

The Rashtriya Seva Dal also had its branches at Karmali and Ekoshi. Vyayamshalas and Akhadas were also started in Panaji in which wrestling and gymnastics were taught. Narayan Naik, one of the founder-members of the AGD, was a well-known wrestler. Some political designs were definitely underlying the establishment of such institutions and it is very clear that the idea of establishing a group, well trained in wrestling and martial arts, surely lingering in the minds of these activists.

**Subhash Chandra Bose and Azad Hind Fauz**

The founders of the AGD were tremendously influenced by the charismatic personality of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and his revolutionary ideology, which advocated use of force to topple the British. He was convinced that satyagraha as a political weapon had very restricted use and was certain that the only effective method to drive away the British imperialists was an armed struggle with foreign assistance. It was his firm conviction that the desired Indian freedom would be achieved only if Indians were “prepared to wade through blood.” Therefore, he had given a clarion call, “Give your blood! I give you freedom.” According to Netaji, shedding of blood was the price that one had to pay to achieve liberty. In order to fulfil the aim of liberating India, Subhash Chandra Bose made a daring escape to Germany to form the Free India Army. It was this daring escape from the country and the organisation of Azad Hind Fauz that endeared him to the millions, specially the younger generation.

Vishwanath Lawande, while talking about the influence of Subhash Chandra Bose and his ideology on Goans said,

“Netaji was our ideal leader and it was under his ideology that we conducted our struggle. The mental blue print of
the Azad Hind Fauz to liberate India, although was unfortunately unsuccessful, had captured our young minds and hearts. The spirit and inspiration to organise the AGD was derived from the Azad Hind Fauz. In fact, we had decided to name our organisation Azad Gomantak Fauz on the lines of Azad Hind Fauz.”

Prabhakar Saini, reminiscing about Subhash Chandra Bose and Azad Hind Fauz. said,

“the sacrifice that Subhash Chandra Bose made by resigning from I.C.S. cadre and the whole episode of Subhash’s daring escape to Germany and forming of Free India Army had tremendously influenced our minds. The famous trials of Major General Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon, had created sensation among the youngsters. ‘Jai Hind’, the slogan of the Fauz, became our protest word. It was the main slogan that we raised on the historic day at Margão and the Portuguese authorities called the nationalists who participated in 18th June struggle as “Jai Hindistis” and not satyagrahis. In fact, the idea to launch some kind of armed struggle was going on our minds but when Lohia launched the civil disobedience struggle most of us decided to plunge into it.”

The 18th June Action and the Subsequent Formation of NC (G)

Lohia’s 18th June Action was a public revelation of the people’s discontent against the Portuguese. It was not only an averment of the people’s right to be consulted but it also marked the departure of Goans from an inactive political life only to make the Portuguese realise that the people aspired to regain their fundamental rights.
The founder members of the AGD, which was an offshoot of the NC (G), namely V. N. Lawande, Narayan Naik, and Prabhakar Sinari, were active participants in the non-violent action. Although V. N. Lawande had participated in such non-violent protests in the past, Narayan Naik and Prabhakar Sinari were novices in active politics. This action provided them with an exposure to nationalist activities and enabled them to select appropriate methods for a successful struggle in the future.

18th June not only fostered a nationalist spirit among the Goan youth but it also generated awareness on the Goa issue in the rest of India. It influenced youngsters in the rest of India to challenge Portuguese colonialism in India. Hence, youngsters like Mohan Ranade and Hemant Soman, crossed the Indian border and joined the national agitation to liberate Goa.

The spark that was kindled in the hearts of the Goans on 18th June was set ablaze and led to the subsequent formation of the NC (G) as has been elaborated in the earlier chapter. Its formation provided Goans with a political platform to express their wishes and give vent to their anger against the colonial establishment in a non-violent manner. However, within one year of its formation, a group led by Lawande drifted away to form a revolutionary group who believed in the militant ideology. What prompted them to change their course of action and adopt a militant revolutionary ideology is discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs.

Policy of “Sticks and Carrot”

As the non-violent struggle began, Governor Jose Bossa allowed nationalist to organise meetings and marchas for nearly five days. Soon, the Government issued an order by which it was declared that to organise and address meetings without prior permission was a crime and to shout “Jai Hind” and to unfurl any other flag than Portugal’s were acts of “national treachery,” punishable with imprisonment. By a special ordinance, Portuguese India was practically placed
under martial law by increasing military troops, which were brought from Portugal as well as from Africa. This created an atmosphere of intimidation and terror in Goa. And the territory was turned into an arsenal of the Portuguese might.

While narrating the incidents of Portuguese repression Sinari recalled, “They caught us, assaulted us mentally as well as physically. They whipped us with the “cavalari”, humiliated us by shaving our heads.” Portuguese police shaved the heads of the nationalists mainly to identify them. However, these acts definitely played on the minds of the nationalists as the act of shaving off one’s head (mundan) is performed twice, once on the occasion of thread ceremony and on the death of a close member of the family. These tortures could not be easily forgotten which instilled hatred against the Portuguese regime.

On the one hand, the prisons in Goa were turned into concentration camps and on the other hand, Portugal announced a new political statute, which ‘elevated’ the administrative status of Goa from a colony to a province of Portugal. The Government also announced the formation of a committee to draft a suitable constitution for Goa. However, the NC (G), which represented the will of the people, was not taken into confidence. The panel of the Committee that was formed to draft the constitution consisted of ‘yes men’ of the regime. Thus, it was evident that the despotic regime was not ready to consider the wishes of the people. They did not pay much attention to what the people of Goa were demanding and tried to impose their “will” by declaring Goa as a province of Portugal.

This action of the Government was motivated to pacify the Goans who were clamouring for a change in the political set-up. A selfish political end had prompted the declaration of Goa as a province of Portugal. Portugal was trying its best to get admission in the United Nations Organisation, formed after the World
War II, to avert further tensions among nations and thereby to maintain peace in
the world.

One of the major qualifications needed for the membership of the UNO was
the declaration of the interested country that it did not have colonial possessions
in any part of the world. Portugal’s desperate attempt to seek admission to the
UNO was foiled by India who complained to UNO exposing the rule of terror that
existed in Portuguese India. To throw dust in the eyes of the world Portugal
declared that it did not possess colonies but only overseas provinces in Asia and
Africa. This change in nomenclature did not in any way alter the ground realities
in Goa where political repression of the nationalists continued with a vigorous
tone. The non-violent participants of the struggle like T. B. Cunha, Ram Hegde,
Purushottam Kakodkar, J. I. Loyola, L. k. Bhembre and others were tried by the
Military Tribunal and were sentenced to Rigorous Imprisonment and were
deported to Portugal. This was done to create fear in the minds of the people to
discourage them from participating in the struggle. T. B. Cunha’s case was the
first case expedited by the tribunal. He was sentenced to eight years of Rigorous
Imprisonment and exiled from the country. This was a note of warning to the
people that those who would dare to challenge the despotic rule would suffer.
Thus granting of political statute was just a pretence, a mere farce to fool the
world and no political reforms whatsoever were introduced in Goa.14

Dattatreya Deshpande, founder-member of the AGD, who along with his
colleagues was detained in the case of Mapusa Fazenda in which the AGD
members made an unsuccessful attempt to raid the revenue office of Mapusa,
while in jail, defended his violent action by accusing the colonial rulers of being
responsible for forcing Goans to adopt the path of violence “against the
Government with the object of altering it into a good one.”15 According to him,
“the inhuman sentences and barbarous treatment” that were unleashed on the non-
violent satyagrahis during the 1946 struggle signified that, “The Government
wanted to control the thoughts of the people.” He and like-minded activists, who
did not "welcome such a control" and were determined to prevent the "degeneration and denationalisation" of Goan social life at all cost, were driven to opt for violent means. He further argued that the non-existence of civil liberties and non-availability of other form of protest, that would vent the discontent and frustration of the masses against the Government, compelled them to adopt the path of violence. Therefore, the Portuguese Government who curtailed democratic means of protest and denied the right of freedom should take on the responsibility for turning non-violent protestors into militant revolutionaries.

An Alternative to Satyagraha

Gandhi, a strong believer in the application of satyagraha to weed out political injustice had claimed that the use of satyagraha could be successful in any pattern of the Government irrespective of its forms. According to him, all kinds of injustice and oppression could be challenged by non-violent means. He also suggested that Jews should have adopted the method of non-violence to resist Hitler's oppression. 16

Although Lawande and his group accepted the efficacy to satyagraha yet they had doubts regarding its universal applicability. They wondered whether it could be used in typical conditions of Goa and were uncertain about its success. They found the practice of satyagraha impractical in despotic conditions. Lawande, while commenting on the technique of satyagraha, said that "it was a specific response to the British rule which though imperialistic in nature had some kind of democratic traditions. His (Gandhi’s) non-violence could not withstand the violent onslaught of the Portuguese rule." 17

Bipan Chandra, while analysing the success of the satyagraha struggle in India, had expressed a similar view. According to him, the British colonial state in India was not authoritative or fascist like the other European nations such as Germany under Hitler or Russia under the rule of the Tsars. It did not represent the characteristics displayed by the Portuguese colonial rule in Moçambique that
was authoritarian and totalitarian in character. Although the British Indian state was established on the principle of force, “it was not based just on force.” It was also based on the creation of civil institutions and on the rule of law, a certain amount of civil liberties and even while suppressing the anti-colonial struggle “observed certain rules of law and codes of administration.”

Bipin Chandra had cited the example of Bardoli satyagraha, 1928, and Kheda in 1930 in which the police followed certain rules: they would not enter the houses of people after dark and if people refused to sell the products they did not forcibly seize them.

This was because Great Britain itself was a democratic country and since it had a very long tradition of democracy, it extended democratic principles to the Indians. Due to this democratic behaviour of the British, the people in India came forward in large numbers to participate in the satyagraha. Several women freedom-fighters from Andhra and Gujarat, when interviewed by Bipan Chandra, told him “what enabled them to go to jails or persuade their families to let them do so was the knowledge and feeling that the police would not misbehave towards them.”

On the contrary, the Portuguese state in dealing with non-violent satyagrahis took recourse to naked force and repression. Non-violent resistance was considered to be an act of revolt against the sovereignty of Portugal. Even wearing Gandhi topi or shouting “Jai Hind” was considered to be a crime against the state. These actions were regarded as an attempt to jeopardise the safety of the Portuguese nation. The Portuguese secret police was similar in infrastructure and in style of functioning to the Gestapo in Nazi Germany.

Madhav Bir, an ardent protagonist of the non-violent agitation, admitted that matters were quite different and difficult in Goa as compared to British India. He said, “In India suppose we were to break a particular clause of the Indian Penal Code we would be sentenced to a particular period. But that was not the
case in Goa. Here it was difficult to predict as to what would be the period of imprisonment. In a number of cases, the Portuguese sentences amounted to even 28 years of imprisonment." This uncertainty had definitely fostered fear in the minds of the people. Moreover, by shifting these so-called troublemakers to distant lands the people were "left leaderless." 22

While narrating the savage behaviour of the colonial administration, Narayan Naik, who offered satyagraha in 1946, recalled,

"Once I was caught, I was subjected to water torture. My head was kept under water till I could no longer breath. When I lifted it up to gasp for air, it was dipped again in water. Later the police lathi charged me. I was detained in the jail. They released me in the evening, robbed of all my essentials, all my money was taken and I was left penniless. Two young wayfarers, aged fifteen, who had offered to help me were beaten to death. Such were the tortures imposed by the Portuguese rule on any one who dared to help the nationalists." 23

Though Lawande and his group accepted the efficacy of satyagraha yet they had doubt regarding its practical universal applicability. They wondered whether it could be used in the typical conditions of Goa, as they were uncertain about its success. According to V. N. Lawande, satyagraha movement faded out within five to six months because the satyagrahis were subjected to corporal punishments. In order to suppress the satyagraha struggle the Portuguese authorities made use of tortures such as whipping with the cavalmarino and palmatorio. This torture instrument, the cavalmarino, a whip like instrument made out of hide of the African water hippo with sharp serrated sides, was a medieval weapon used to torture slaves by slave traders. A single stroke of it would de-skin the person and would crush the soul out of the body. "These
corporal punishments used by the authorities in order to suppress the struggle, were enough to dissuade him from participating in the struggle. It was the fear of these two instruments that prevented the people from participating in the satyagraha movement.\textsuperscript{24} Although tormented with brutal repression, the hope of freedom kept the spark of revolution aglow within the nationalists, which finally culminated into the formation of the underground resistance struggle.

T.B. Cunha, after his release from Portugal, had addressed a mammoth gathering in Bombay. In his speech, while lamenting on the fascist nature of the Portuguese rule, he had asked Goans to give up the path of platonic protests and condemnations since their experiences in the past showed that these methods did not yield any positive response from the fascist colonial rule and it was high time now that the Goans dealt with them in a different way and used the language of power and force that they understood.\textsuperscript{25}

\textbf{Disunity and Dissentions in the Congress}

As stated in the earlier chapter, the non-violent action launched by Lohia suffered from basic disunity among its followers right from its inception. As we have already seen there emerged two groups, one headed by Kakodkar and the other headed by Hegde. Although Ashok Mehta's leadership brought these groups together under the banner of the NC (G), this concord was "superficial and was not from the heart."\textsuperscript{26} Moreover, it had not taken place in the presence of Lohia, Julião Menezes and Purusottam Kakodkar. Madhav Bir, while talking about this issue, indicated that Kakodkar's arrest was a blessing in disguise to consolidate the Congress, as he was reluctant to come to terms with the group led by Hegde. He has admitted the above fact in these words "I must confess that had it not been for Kakodkar's courting arrest on 9th August, 1946, it would have been perhaps difficult for us to sink our differences and merge into one organisation."\textsuperscript{27} In addition to this personal animosity and prejudices, there was a wide chasm of opinion about party strategies regarding a need for an organisational infrastructure
for the freedom struggle. This issue later became more volatile and resulted in petty factions among nationalists adhering to their division of opinion. Ram Hedge dislodged that his group did not accept the leadership of Purushottam Kakodkar, though he was chosen to lead the struggle by Lohia. Therefore he had decided to go ahead with his own viewpoint after Lohia's departure from Goa. In his words "I was of the opinion that let Lohia start the movement and go out of Goa then we would see what we could do... there were already two groups, one harming the other. When we were organising a silent morcha they used to disturb us, calling the attention of the police." 28

Lohia's suggestion of organising *Dashdainik Satyagrahas* had not appealed to Hegde and his associates. They felt that such actions would not be successful within the Portuguese set-up. Therefore they had stressed on building up an organisation before taking recourse to such action. The Bombay branch of the NC (G) had attempted to frame its constitution to make it a full-fledged organisation with definite aims and objectives and infrastructural necessities. However, Lohia outrightly rejected this proposal. 29 Moreover, their plan of having a shadow committee of the NC (G) to direct the struggle without actively participating in it was also turned down by Lohia and his followers. 30 The differences within the NC (G) became visible when Julião Menezes established a parallel organisation in Bombay and claimed that it was the official organisation that enjoyed the backing of Lohia. 31

These controversies regarding the legality of the NC (G) resulted in creating confusion in the minds of the public. They stared losing interest in the struggle. 32 Ravindra Kelekar, who has an entire chapter in his book *Panthsta*, that deals with the freedom struggle has accused the nationalists of persisting with internal strife even in jails and held them responsible for not providing Goans an idealistic leadership to fall back on. 33 According to him, nationalists who projected the Goan issue to the world remained in a cocoon with a prejudicial attitude and suffered from narrow-mindedness. 34
V. N. Lawande, while criticising the NC (G) leaders remarked, “instead of coming together they started fighting among themselves. Individual egos and group factions dominated the non-violent struggle. Gandhian philosophy was turned into duplicity, it became a fashion to wear *khadi* clothes and pose as patriots.”

Due to this controversy, P.P. Shirodkar, during his presidency had to issue a declaration stating that the NC (G) branch led by Vasant Borkar in Bombay was the only official branch and it had no other branches in Bombay. This statement naturally brought the differences between various groups to the fore.

All this had a very negative impact on the struggle. These mutual bickerings within the organisation accompanied by the infliction of harsh measures to stamp out the struggle by the establishment, broke the backbone of the party, leading to the weakening of the movement. There was a void created in the political scenario and it was at this stage that the idea of an armed struggle started gathering response from like-minded nationalists.

The young leaders began to voice their dissatisfaction with the established methods of NC (G) within a year after its foundation and started thinking of establishing a revolutionary group that was committed to the violent overthrow of the alien rule.

The Cult of the Bomb (*Shatham Prati Shathyam*): The Retaliatory Answer to the Portuguese Rule

The *AGD* very strongly subscribed to the doctrine of *shatham prati shathyam*, that is, tit for tat or “responsive cooperation” as promoted by Bal Gangadhar Tilak who belonged to the radical group of the Indian National Congress, and not *shatam pratyapi sayam*, that is, the doctrine of facing wickedness with soul force as advocate by Gandhi. Lala Lajpatrai of Punjab, and Surendranath Pal of Bengal were the other two leaders of the Indian National Congress who supported Tilak's view. The trio, popularly known as 'Lal, Bal and
Pal’, opposed tooth and nail the policy of mendicancy adopted by the early leaders of the moderate wing. Instead they had advocated firm methods to deal with the British imperialists. Subsequently, Tilak was not in favour of the ideology of satyagraha as advocated by Gandhi in the field of politics. He expressed a difference of opinion in a letter that he addressed to Gandhi, in which he clearly stated that “politics is a game of worldly people and not of sadhus.” And in the game of politics as an alternative to the maxim, “conquer anger by non-anger” as preached by Gautam Buddha, he preferred Lord Krishna’s maxim of “reciprocity”. According to him both the methods were equally sincere and virtuous techniques but “responsive co-operation” was “more suited to this world than the other” This recurring theme of reciprocity, that is, tit for tat, jashas tase, or thoshas thosa, was the central theme of Tilak’s political ideology. In his famous treatise on Bhagvat Geeta namely, Geeta Rahasya, Tilak has emphasised the famous verse of saint poet of Maharashtra Sant Ramdas, the political Guru of Shivaji, in which he has approved villainy-by-villainy “Khatanotasi Khatanata”.

The AGD very strongly adopted the above-mentioned theory in dealing with the Portuguese regime, and advocated “Shatam prati Lathyam”, that is, not only tit for tat but a step forward, the use of force to wipe out the unjust colonial rule as we will see in the following paragraphs. Moreover, L. B. Bhoptakar, a staunch follower of Tilak while responding to the ruthless act of the British authorities at Jalianwala Bagh in Punjab where innocent men women and children were slaughtered, had voiced his indignation and had advocated Shatam Prati Lathyam, that is, not only tit for tat but the use of force to wipe out the unjust rule.

Right from its initial conquests, the very genesis of the Portuguese rule in Goa implied the use of terror. As it was basically based on terror, counter-terrorism was the only answer to the unchecked perennial rampant oppression. The Portuguese had an upper hand in crushing the non-violent satyagraha of the NC (G) by terrorising the Goan populace. In order to suppress the struggle the regime carried out extensive search operations and arrested the suspects who they
felt collaborated with the nationalists. They were subjected to intensive interrogation. This had led to an atmosphere of utter helplessness in Goa.

Lawande and his associates had perceived this precarious condition. It appears that right from the beginning of the struggle there was some kind of inclination developing in Lawande and group towards violent activities and they were strongly advocating the use of violent means in accordance with the universal principle that violence begets violence or terror begets terror.

Deshpande explains the reason behind this change in their perception, which led them to discontinue with the peaceful form of struggle, and forced them to take to the aggressive method. According to him, the response of the Portuguese authorities to the non-violent movement was responsible for the rise of the violent struggle. He has pointed out that initially the struggle under the banner of NC (G) was conducted “according to the rules of the Indian National Congress”. The NC (G) was based on similar principles of the Indian National Congress; therefore they had accepted democratic methods of popular awakening. However, as the policy of the Government became clear they found that it was impossible for them to adopt democratic methods. He further says, “It was not our fault that we became violent. All the responsibility is on the Government.” The Portuguese police force had choked their voices with brutality and the result was that the young nationalists decided to take guns in their hands.

Those who had experienced the wrath of the Portuguese were filled with hatred and anger and now rallied around the concept of violent agitation. They had expressed their point of view to Lohia that the method of non-violent struggle would prove to be futile due to the nature of the Portuguese rule. They had shown their interest to launch a violent struggle. However, Lohia thoroughly discouraged it and turned this down. Lohia wanted Goa’s struggle for civil liberties to be an open movement where the people would not only be mere spectators but active participants.
Therefore, according to him, sabotage had no meaning in Goa as these acts would limit the movement to only a section of the people and "turn the mass of people into silent if sympathetic spectators." He had declared that these yearnings for sabotage and violence were motivated by the desire to avoid custodial tortures and imprisonment. Ravindra Kelekar, who had spoken on this issue to Lohia in one of the meetings at Belguam, was totally discouraged by the latter who cautioned "You would alienate yourself from the general public and then the fear of arrest will haunt you and you will be deprived of facing the Portuguese boldly." While outrightly rejecting the adoption of violence he had warned "anybody wanting to do sabotage should desist from such an attempt for that they would surely kill the movement or at least limit it to a small number."

As the struggle began to dwindle, the limitations of civil disobedience in the specific framework of the Portuguese rule became more and more evident. Lawande and his associates began to lose faith in non-violence as a strategy to challenge the Portuguese rule. They were convinced that the foreign rule was unable to comprehend the technique of satyagraha. And such a regime had to be paid back in the same coin. In the words of Lawande, "The Portuguese Government did not understand the language of peaceful means that was our firm conviction. Therefore we took a decision that we must go the way which was understood by them, that is, the adoption of violent means and armed resistance."

Their decision to refrain from the use of non-violence in their fight and their redefined perception was conveyed to other members of NC (G) that met in April 1947 to discuss the future course of action. As seen earlier, the executive committee that was formed under Shirodkar was trying its best to inject some life in the struggle. It was at this point that Lawande and his group "suggested to the Congress workers to change their stand on the technique of non-violent method and to adopt violent means as they expected some bold action against the Portuguese regime."
According to Lawande, "what was worrying them at this stage was how to continue the struggle against the Portuguese by following non-violent techniques?" The leading workers of the NC (G) were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and other ordinary workers who could not reach the people did not know now to continue the struggle and therefore total frustration ran in the movement. Hence Lawande speculated on the use of non-violent technique. Moreover, the Government, which was not ready to give civil rights to the people, would never bow down to the demand for freedom that the Goans clamoured to achieve through non-violent means. Therefore

"the mere toning down of the satyagraha movement was not a matter of concern but the matter of concern was that a wave of frustration had started overtaking the Goan activists. The only solution was that of the adoption of a different line, as peaceful means did not find its place in Goa."  

When they presented their point of view to the NC (G) workers at the Karmali session a heated argument took place between Vinayak Mayekar and Lawande on this issue. Mayekar outrightly rejected this proposal and had strictly told Lawande that if they were particular abut the adoption of violent techniques they should do it from a "separate platform" and not under the banner of NC (G). As we are aware, the NC (G) had resolved to adopt peaceful non-violent techniques as the means to achieve the liberation of Goa and its integration with India.

Lawande's inclination towards the use of violence was one of the major issues that struck the NC (G) in 1947. NC (G) workers considered this strategy of Lawande as being harmful to the future prospects of the organisation as it only served to intensify the Portuguese wrath. Mayekar who strongly believed that Lawande's action would be detrimental to the NC (G) had clearly warned them
“if you do violent activities, then all our non-violent satyagrahis would have to face the reprisal.”

While justifying the NC (G) stand to stick to the non-violent strategy, Madhav Bir lamented that the objective of the liberation of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union was not possible without the full support of the Indian Government and Congress workers were aware of Nehru’s views on the use of violence. India was on the threshold of independence and Indian Government would not have harboured sympathy for those who were indulging in violent activities: “We knew that Panditji would be the last man to give assistance to carry on such a struggle.”

Violence of World War II and the communal rage that broke out on the eve of India’s independence had appalled Nehru and he felt repulsed by the idea of achieving anything through violent techniques. Nehru very strongly believed that there was no lasting solution to the problems of the people through recourse to arms. He was of the opinion that with the use of violent methods there would be no lasting peace in the world. This was one of the major reasons why the Indian Government did not back the Azad Gomantak Dal in the course of their action.

One can argue that it was for this reason that Lohia also was not in favour of violent struggle though he was the main brain behind the disruptive activities that took place during the 1942 movement. Lohia, who had watched Nehru very closely, was convinced that the Government of India, under the leadership of Nehru, would not support such actions. At the same time he was also aware that Goa could not be liberated without the help of the Indian Government. He was sure that if Goans made use of violent activities then the Indian Government would not come forward to extend support to such a struggle. Therefore he had discouraged Goans from undertaking violent activities right from the initial stage of the struggle. As rightly anticipated by him the Indian Government did not come forward to support the AGID throughout the struggle. According to Anthony
D'Souza, an active member of the NC (G), “there was always a trend in the freedom struggle circles whether we should have adopted violent or non-violent activities.”

When Laxmidas Borkar, an active worker of the NC (G) who later became the editor of the English daily The Navhind Times, had met Gandhi at New Delhi to seek his advise on the Goa issue. He had conveyed to Gandhi the trend of violence in the minds of some Goan activities and had asked him what policy the NC (G) should adopt towards such advocates of violence. To this question Gandhi had clearly advised the NC (G) workers not to interfere or even criticise the activists who were advocating violence who should be “allowed to follow their line of action unmolested.”

As per their conviction, Lawande and his group severed connection with the parent body and headed towards the establishment of a militant organisation. They believed, in the words of Mohan Ranade that their “goal was just and noble” and they aimed at “driving the last shred of imperialist rule from the Indian soil.”

Lawande appeared to subscribe to the ideology of the Hindustan Republican Army that “Force when used for aggression turns out to be violent. It is considered immoral when it is used as such, but for the attainment of good, its use is always morally justified.” While defending their decision to take recourse to violent means Lawande had offered justification in these words: “Our resort to violence was the need of the hour”. They considered the liberation of their motherland as the noblest cause; therefore they sanctified pursuance of this goal through violent means in addition to the methods of non-violence. They were adopting violent means to achieve the righteous purpose of the liberation of Goa and its re-integration with India. According to him, violence that was used for saving one’s self-respect and for saving one’s own motherland from foreign dacoits was not only a justifiable act but was inevitable in given circumstances.
Since the utopian means of non-violence was tried against the Portuguese but had failed miserably, adoption of militant means was the only way out. The Portuguese regime had already tightened its grip and in such circumstances the just and noble principle of satyagraha would not work. On the contrary, "toleration of forceful domination of tyranny and oppression was nothing but encouraging and strengthening their hold on us and therefore to teach them a lesson by answering them in their own language was an effective counter-measure."58

Incidence of Violent Acts: Prelude to the Formation of the AGD

As we have seen in the preceding paragraphs, the idea of taking recourse to violent methods was floating in the air when the non-violent struggle was in progress. This idea soon captured the minds of the youngsters before the Portuguese rulers became aware of the forthcoming danger.

On the one hand, Goans were desperately struggling to continue their agitation and on the other, those who were inclined towards the use of violence engaged themselves in such incidents, which revealed the changed trend of the struggle.

These individual and group acts of sabotage finally paved the way for the formation of the Azad Gomantak Dal. It was under this banner that the Goans renewed their attack on the Portuguese colonialists in a more organised, vigorous fashion.

Attack on the Office of the Administrator of Vasco da Gama:

Display of violence against the Portuguese rulers by the residents of Vasco da Gama was evident on 25th October 1946. Dattatreya Deshpande, who was a teacher in this town, had participated in a protest march as a part of the satyagraha struggle. He was arrested and was released on parole.
He and his associates were seething with anger against the administrator who abused his position to harass Goans. They stormed the office of the administrator at Vasco, brought down the portraits of Salazar and General Carmona and virtually destroyed the office. Even some important files and papers were burned. This incident was a clear indication that youngsters were deviating from the path of non-violence. 

**Attack on a Police Station**

As a strong reaction against the repression, cruelty and humiliation that the Goans had faced for organising the non-violent agitation, a group of Goans committed an act of arson. The police station at Canacona and Quepem court building fell prey to the anguish of the agitators. Although the authorities were successful in extinguishing the fire, they could not cool the fire that kept burning in the hearts of Goan nationalists and the incident that occurred at Marcel was a proof of violently patriotic tendencies.

**Marcel Primary School set on fire**

The nationalists set on fire the Portuguese primary school at Marcel that was the symbol of cultural slavery. In the dead of the night the revolutionaries managed to set it aflame amidst slogans of “Jai Hind” and the tricolour, which fluttered on a nearby tree, warned the Portuguese of the impending storm that would shake their empire.

Although these incidents were sporadic and spontaneous, they focussed on the mindset of the nationalists which was becoming revolutionary. These acts served as rudiments of aggressive nationalism in Goa.

**Formation of the Azad Gomantak Dal**

When persecution and repression reared their ugly heads, the idea of terror begets terror began to take shape. Since NC (G) had out-rightly rejected the path
of violent means, Lawande along with his associates moved away from the NC (G) and decided to go ahead with the new venture.

Nationalists like Dattatreya Deshpande, Narayan Naik, Prabhakar Sinari, Suryakant Naik and others supported him. A formal meeting was organised on 23rd April 1947 at Goa Velha, at the shop of Janardhan Kane, to discuss the possibility of the establishment of an organised group and also to discuss the pros and cons of such a move.

At this meeting all crucial issues, like procurement of arms and funds, danger posed by superior police force of the authorities, the need to learn guerrilla warfare, were discussed.

The meet ended on a positive note that the establishment of a revolutionary organisation with trained and disciplined soldiers was the ultimate solution in such a despairing situation. The next meeting took place on 10th May 1947 at the Shantadurga temple at Bhom, Cuncholim, in the Ponda taluka and finally it was resolved to establish a revolutionary organisation on the first anniversary of Goa’s non-violent agitation, that is, on 18th June 1947. This date is of crucial significance in the history of Goa’s struggle for freedom and the formation of the AGD on this day was an act of homage to all those participants who had sacrificed their lives for the noble cause.

On this day, at 10.30 p.m., the revolutionaries gathered at the Shantadurga temple at Bhom and took a solemn vow in front of the deity. With a pistol in his hand, Lawande administered the oath to his associates. The form and language of this oath had denominational touch based essentially on the Hindu belief and it was administered in the name of the goddess Shantadurga.

The contents of the pledge were as follows:
"I, one with the invocations to God and with salute to the weapon in hand, do hereby take oath and solemnly declare that I fully accept the primary objective of speedy deliverance of the Indian land from the Portuguese and to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu from foreign domination.

As long as I happen to be a devout soldier of the organisation I shall observe the conduct of a soldier. I will honestly and steadfastly discharge the responsibilities and sacred task as a brave soldier of the Dal and I shall be ready for whatever sacrifices that are demanded from me. I shall try to the best of my abilities to promote unity and fraternity among all castes. I am aware of the perils and obstacles in the path towards Goa’s freedom and I shall extend myself to the utmost, unwaveringly, to achieve my ultimate aim. I shall recognise the utmost importance of the need of secrecy and discipline and I shall observe the same strictly. I shall execute, to the fullest, the orders of my superiors. I shall gladly subject myself to any punishment, in case I happen to commit myself to any deal in jeopardising the interest of Goa and of the Dal."  

The revolutionaries who took this oath were V. N. Lawande, who was unanimously declared as the leader of the AGD, Dattatreya Deshpande, Narayan Naik, Bhikaro Naik, Rana Bhagat Marshelkar, Suryakant Naik, Chandrakant Verekar, Janardhan Karpe, Nanda Verekar, Betu Naik Goankar and others.  

After the conclusion of the oath ceremony, the blessings of the Goddess to the newly-born organisation were sought, Vibhuti or sacred ash was applied to the
forehead of the members and prasad was distributed invoking divine blessings for their chosen goal.

The oath-taking ceremony had a traditional Indian cultural touch reminiscent of Chatrapati Shivaji and his associates who in the past had taken a vow by invoking Goddess Bhavani to establish Swaraj. Administration of the oath was a very sacred and significant feature of African revolutionary struggle also. The Mau Mau revolutionary organisation of Kenya also followed the practise of initiation ritual and oath-taking ceremony. They administered oath to those who joined their struggle against their European enemy.66

The formation of Azad Gomantak Dal thus exposed certain features that were common to most of the revolutionary organisations. However they represented certain traits that were basic characteristics of the Indian revolutionary movement. In the following lines an attempt is made to draw a parallel between AGD and the revolutionary movement in India.

The Concept of Bharat Mata

This action also speaks of the acceptance by the AGD of the concept of “Mother Nation”. This was popularised by revolutionary movements in Bengal. Bankim Chandra Chatterjii, Swami Vivekananda as well as Aurobindo Ghose were strong propagators of the idea that the country is like a mother, Bharat Mata who nurses and looks after the well-being of her children, that is, the people. Therefore, it is the sacred duty of the children to rise in arms in order to protect her from being threatened by the enemies. This concept of reverence of the great mother was poetically expressed by Bankimchandra Chatterjii through the national song “Vande Mataram”. He wrote it on 20th December 1876 and later incorporated in his famous novel entitled Anand Math. It was set to tune by Ravindranath Tagore and was sung for the first time at the 12th annual session of the Indian National Congress in 1896. This song was rightly termed by Aurobindo Ghose as a “Mantra of Patriotism”. It became the Geeta of the Indian
revolutionaries and the invocation of “Vande Mataram” stirred the nation and inspired countless Indian nationalists to lay down their lives for the nationalist cause.

This concept of Bharat Mata has its roots in the traditional concepts of Jagatdhatri, Mother goddess or Mother Earth which is iconised female form of the infinite energy, Shakti, or the power of creation of the universe that is very much popular in India. The traditional worship of Adishakti in different female forms, such as Goddess Parvati, Bhavani, Durga, Kali, Lakshmi and others, was apparent in the concept of Mother Nation. Aurobindo’s Bhavani Mandir and Sister Nivedita’s Kali the Mother, published in 1905, too espoused the cult of the motherland and militant nationalism.

In Bengal worship of Kali was popularised by nationalists like Bipan Chandra Pal. In fact Goddess Kali represented Mother India who was under British imperialism. Thus iconographic features of goddess Kali speaks of the wretched conditions of the Indian people under the imperial rule of the British. Kali is dark because she is ignorant. The heads with dripping blood are those of her children destroyed by famine and pestilence. How to save her from this miserable condition? The answer may be located in the ideology of Aurobindo Ghose who had asked for blood sacrifices by the Indians to liberate the country from the westerners in these words:

"I know my country as Mother. I offer her my devotions, my worship. If a monster sits upon her breast and prepares to suck her blood, what does her child do? Does he quietly sit down to his meal…. or rush to her rescue?"

AGD, like the other militant revolutionaries in the rest of India, had imbibed the mythography and revered the Indian nation as the mother who was being oppressed by the western colonialist. The very presence of the Portuguese on 186
Indian soil was a torture for 'Mother India' and therefore it was the duty of the AGD activists to drive them away through blood sacrifices.

Mohan Ranade, while discussing with me the concept of mother India, recited a prayer that was regularly sung at a Vyayamshala in Sangli where he took lessons in physical exercises. “Even if the enemy strikes severest blows on my head, even if I have to undergo extreme poverty, sorrows, insults, imprisonment for life or even if I have to face death at the hands of the enemy, I will worship my motherland without fear.” Such poetry definitely inculcated in the youngsters a strong sense of duty and an urge to offer sacrifices towards the welfare of the nation.

He further commented that another work that inspired the revolutionaries was Bhagavad-Gita in which Lord Krishna asked Arjuna to “fight and overthrow thy opponents.” This insistence of Lord Krishna on the value of karma, that is sense, of duty, stimulated us to take up arms against the Portuguese.

The AGD members took the oath in the Durga temple. They consciously chose this venue as it coincided with their ideology of the mother nation as Shantadurga, one of forms of the Adishakti worshipped in Goa. Moreover the contents of the oath that they took ornately expressed the above-mentioned ideology.

**Revival of Ksatratez**

Administration of pledge by Lawande by taking a pistol in his hand revealed that the AGD very strongly believed in the revival of ksatratez or martial valour of the Goans. They wished to breathe life into the martial potency of the land that was threatened by the colonialists. “The revolutionaries sought to redeem the Indian muscularity by defeating the British, often fighting against hopeless odds, to force the former once and for all from the historical memory of their own humiliating defeat in violent power play and tough politics,
Traits of “Purushartha” (Manliness)

The establishment of AGD mirrored the inner urge of the Goans to show their “manliness”. The traits of maleness were valour and aggression and therefore they refused to accept the ideology of satyagraha that asked them to accept the oppression of the Portuguese without any retaliation. For them such meek action would mean nothing but the want of masculinity in them. Therefore, adoption of an aggressive path would display machoism, display of physical valour that they possessed. They appeared to subscribe to views of Swami Vivekananda enshrined in his writings, such as “Wouldst thou attain, by means of thy disgraceful cowardice, that freedom deserved fully by the brave and heroic?... Oh, though Mother of strength, take away my weakness, take away my unmanliness, and make me a man.” 72 They also seemed to subscribe to Frantz Fanon’s views that believed that the local population recreates itself through the use of violence against colonial regime. According to him by using violence one can regain his sense of manhood, his dignity and his identity, and this helps him in purging the humiliation and injustice meted out to him and his forefathers by the colonial oppressors. 73

Although it is popularly believed that the revolutionary group formed by Lawande and his associates came to be known as Azad Gomantak Dal right from its inception, it is not so. The fact is that in the initial stages they had not coined the name AGD but preferred to call it Valmiki (Balmiki). “Balmiki was the name of the Azad Gomantak Dal which was not known beyond certain circles.” 74

As we are aware, Valmiki’s hibernation in the anthill had led to his transformation from evil to good, that is, from a robber to a biographer. His use of violence was directed towards self-aggrandisement, for a negative purpose, that is, exploitation where as in the case of AGD the means of violence was in order to achieve the nobler goal of liberation of Goa. Therefore, the symbol of an anthill was used to convey the underground character of the struggle.
Although they were carrying out actions in Goa, their activities were very secretly organised. Therefore nobody was aware of the existence of such a group except for a few nationalists. Even the Portuguese authorities were unaware of it and when Mapusa Fazenda was raided and the van carrying the cash of the Banco Ultramarinho was attacked at Porvorim, there were rumours in Government circles that a group led by Nana Patil, the revolutionary of the 1942 Quit India Movement who had organised a parallel Government called Patri Sarkar in Satara, was behind these attacks. The Portuguese authorities were quite sure that Goans who had commenced the movement on the non-violent principle would not take up arms. It was only later that Portuguese authorities became suspicious of the existence of a revolutionary group and tracked the AGD workers.

It is likely that the revolutionary group that was formed on 18th June 1947 started using name the Azad Gomantak Dal openly only after 1954. The leading members of the AGD like Prabhakar Sinari, Narayan Naik, Dattatryeya Deshpande and others were arrested soon after their initial actions and the leader of the AGD, V.N. Lawande, went underground and into hiding in the jungles of Amboli region on the border.

Later he joined NC (G) again and wielded the important position of General Secretary of the NC (G) from 1950-1951. Therefore during this period AGD had become almost extinct as an independent organisation. It was only after his departure from the NC (G) in 1954 that the AGD as an independent organisation was revived and reorganised.

In 1949 at its plenary session NC (G) passed a resolution asserting that though it was "bound by the creed and policy of Ahimsa" and was opposed to the adoption of violent means to achieve political aims, it did support the revolutionary acts of Lawande and his group as they felt that they might have conducted these acts "under the stress of ardent patriotism" and therefore they demanded that the activists should be treated and dealt as political prisoners and
not as mere criminals. Even in their resolution there is no mention of *Azad Gomantak Dal*. Newspaper reports published in *Bombay Chronicle* dated 27th June 1949 as well as *The Sunday Standard* dated 1st January 1950 as well as the *Times of India* carrying news of Goa’s struggle, mention those accused in the Mapusa raid case but do not refer to them ADG workers. Therefore, it is quite evident that the name of the revolutionary group, *AGD*, became popular only after 1954.

Prabhakar Sinari as well as Mohan Ranade’s statements on this issue supports this view that it was only after Lawande was expelled from the NC (G) in 1954 they began to use *Azad Gomantak Dal* very prominently and openly. I quote Prabhakar Sinari’s words:

"Till this time our organisation had no name. So it was only in 1954 we decided to give it a proper name. Myself, Lawande, Atmaram Mayekar organised a training camp at Amboli, One of the matters that came up here was what should be the nomenclature of the underground organisation that we were planning to organise." 

Mohan Ranade, who had been a trainee in the Amboli camp, has also stated that it was here that he for the first time had heard the name of *Azad Gomantak Dal*. Mohan Ranade had come to Goa somewhere in 1948 and was carrying out nationalist activities purely on an individual basis. It was later in 1953 that he attended the Amboli camp and decided to join the *AGD*. While discussing this issue he said, "although I had been staying in Goa for nearly three years, I first learnt of the existence of this organisation only in 1953."
In the initial stages, Lawande did not want AGD to function independently of NC (G) but wanted to carry out its activities within the NC (G). “We wanted to organise a militant group that would be somewhat like Rashtra Seva Dal, a youth wing of Indian National Congress.”79 However there was a strong opposition to this as we have seen in earlier paragraphs. Although the aim of both the organisations was common they were opposite in respect of their means. Therefore, those who believed in pursuing violent means drifted away.

As pointed out earlier, Lawande had once again joined NC (G) after 1948. When he was questioned regarding the reasons that persuaded him to join NC (G), inspite of his divergent views, he justified his return to NC (G) by stating that everything is just and fair in politics. He said that AGD wanted to camouflage its activities under the cover of NC (G). After he escaped in the border region at Amboli, the Indian police who wanted to hand him over to the Portuguese authorities arrested him. However, there was a big protest, staged by political groups active in the rest of India, against his arrest. And later, due to pressure from nationalist circles, he was released. According to Lawande, this event popularised the AGD ideology among the youths who were anxious to join it. Fifty young boys joined it and were eager to take action against the colonialists. But at this stage need was felt to impart some training to these activists and carry out organisational activities. So while they were getting ready for a final encounter, simultaneously, they worked for NC (G). “We wanted to prepare for a showdown. Until that time we had to do some activity in the public. For carrying out this activity openly, we joined NC (G).”80

During this time NC (G) had also dropped the idea of conducting satyagraha and was carrying propaganda activities from Bombay and other regions like Belgaum. Moreover, they were concentrating on building the NC (G). Therefore, they re-admitted Lawande into the organisation. But later in 1954 when Peter Alvares decided to organise mass satyagraha action, the All Goa Congress Committee passed a resolution expelling Lawande from the NC (G).
AGD leaders consciously decided the name of their organisation as Azad Gomantak Dal. As we have seen in the earlier paragraphs that the AGD was very much influenced by Subhash Chandra Bose and his Azad Hind Fauz. In fact, there was a suggestion from Lawande to name their militant organisation as Azad Gomantak Fauz. However, leaders like Sinari felt that Azad Gomantak Fauz would not suit their organisation, as they were not an

"army like the Azad Hind Fauz. Ours was an underground revolutionary organisation that had a more broad outlook and scope. We did not restrict our activities to military attacks only but also took up other activities. Our propaganda activity was quite prominent therefore, according to me, Azad Gomantak Dal sounded more proper to suit the nature of the organisation."81

Mohan Ranade offered different explanation as to why Azad Gomantak Fauz was dropped by the underground workers, According to him, the name Azad Gomantak Fauz openly denoted adoption of violent means and this would have provoked opposition from certain political circles in India who were against adoption of violence to achieve political aims. "In those days there was a trend in India to claim that Indian independence was achieved only through the non-violent technique. These forces would definitely not extend any support to such organisation that based its struggle on the militant revolutionary ideology."82

Taking all the above-mentioned factors into consideration, the activists decided to name their organisation as Azad Gomantak Dal. And, with its headquarters established at Ekoshi, began the saga of two parallel organisations, AGD and NC (G), unique in their formation, simultaneously fighting for the liberation of Goa sometimes complementing one another, inspite of the differences in the means adopted by them to achieve the same goal.

Aims and Objectives of the AGD
The AGD had taken a solemn pledge to overthrow Portuguese domination on the very day of its formation. It reiterated this objective when its constitution was adopted in 1957. Article II of the constitution of the AGD declared, "The objective of this organisation shall be the attainment of independence of the Portuguese occupied parts of India by legitimate means and their reintegration into the Indian Union." However only independence of Goa was not the sole objective of the AGD but it went beyond and aimed at establishing a new social order. An analysis of their constitution as well as their manifesto entitled, "What We Mean by Freedom", lucidly argues that to them freedom meant a lot more. Their struggle was not limited to an armed struggle between colonial rule and the people of Goa for the achievement of liberation, but they had pronounced faith in dual freedom, political as well as socio-economic. Therefore, one can say that they had gone further than emotional sentimental patriotism and individual terrorism.

The AGD considered the use of violence in the form of an armed resistance as the "legitimate" way of attaining freedom. As the Portuguese rule was based on tyranny, violent rebellion against such a form of Government was not only the necessary means to secure the political end, but was also justified.

The AGD activists believed that the Portuguese Government existed solely because they were successful in inflicting measures to terrorise the Goans and as such no other form of protest could be successful in case of such an oppressive system. According to them militant nationalism was necessary to instil revolutionary consciousness among the masses.

They had already lost faith in non-violence and peaceful agitation and the only way left to them was adoption of violent means to solve the political problem. The Goan Political Conference that was held on 8th January 1950 defended this inclination of the Goan nationalists to take up the path of an armed struggle. Laxamnrao Sardessai, in his address, as the chairperson of the Reception
Committee of the conference, while, suggesting the use of arms in combating the Portuguese said that since,

"The Portuguese do not live in the future, they live in the past, and their objective is not economical but historical. Their temperament is not realistic but quixotic. Their approach is not democratic but fascist. Therefore they understand only one language that of armed might". 85

The use of violence to attain political gains has been extolled by those who regard this means as being psychologically liberating that promotes courage amongst its users and also inspires others to rebel. According to them, violent revolt is the only form of just answer to the violence perpetuated by the colonialists. Frantz Fanon, who authored The Wretched Earth, in which he justified the violent struggle of the Algerians against their French imperialists in the 1960s, pronounced this logic. 86

Although they believed in the use of violence to strike terror in the hearts of Portuguese authorities, they never aimed at spreading anarchy in Goa. It is not fair to call them anarchists but the word nationalists for them could be justified as they not only aimed at the freedom of Goa but also strove for the integration of this territory with India.

According to AGD, freedom meant emancipation of Goans from an environment that had repressed growth and hampered the progress of Goa in the socio-political, economic and cultural fields. At the same time it also meant the creation of another set of congenial conditions that would be favourable for the development and advancement of the people. This aim could be achieved only when each and every part of India was liberated by overthrowing foreign domination and was reunited with the newly-born Indian nation.
As staunch nationalists, they advocated Pan-Indianism and considered the domination of the Portuguese over Goans, who were culturally and ethnically Indians, not only as a "national insult" to free and democratic India but a threat to the national integrity of the country. Dattatreya Deshpande, one of the founder members of the AGD, imprisoned at Reis Magos jail following the Mapuça Fazenda raid, in his appeal to the judge, confessed their intense desire to end the Portuguese rule, which was detrimental to the newly born India. He stated that the AGD workers could "never afford to let these pockets of Portuguese imperialism to remain as a dynamite under the foundation of our newly acquired freedom." To them, independence of Goa and its re-integration with India meant strengthening India’s unity and integrity. Therefore, they wanted to "clear the breeding places of parasites, which would have proved a menace to our national health".

Moreover, the end of Portuguese rule would also bring into Goa liberal democratic ideas that the rest of India had already adopted. Thus, Goans could enjoy basic fundamental rights and experience democratic life which they could never dream of attaining during the reactionary Portuguese rule. For that reason they ventured to introduce radical changes in the political, social and economic life, which would emancipate Goans in these fields. The nationalists considered the colonial policy adopted by Salazar’s Government as "iniquitous and reactionary" and patriots like Deshpande regarded it as "unjust both economically and ethnically." Hence, they not only stood for political independence of Goa but for its economic emancipation. The attainment of freedom of Goa and its re-integration with India was not an end for the AGD but it was a step forward towards the realisation of the broad-based overall progress of Goans. The manifesto of the AGD, which was adopted at a meeting of the working committee of the AGD on 26th February 1961, claimed that to the AGD, "Freedom from Portuguese rule is but a stepping stone, a basis for the all round progress of our people."
In order to convey their ideas to the people of Goa they published their manifesto in which they addressed their goal to take effective steps for the economic and material upliftment of the common man. As early as in 1948 Deshpande had declared their objective to establish a peoples Government. Right from its inception, they had a fair idea of the nature of the Government they envisaged after the liberation of Goa. "What we look forward to was not a mere transfer of power or change of Government, but a complete transformation of our country."91 And this aim of the AGD could be realised only after the establishment of democratic power in Goa. Therefore, the end of Portuguese rule was on an evitable fact.

The manifesto of the AGD declared,

"Freedom and integration would mean not a change of masters but an unqualified and full right to shape our common destiny, jointly with our Indian brethren and to participate in the great task of development and build up the Indian nation as a whole on the basis of equality, liberty and brotherhood."92

It had realised that only political independence of Goa would give Goans the much desired opportunity to uplift their precarious condition in all spheres of life. Soon after India’s liberation one of the major tasks before the Indian Government was to strengthen India’s economy. This task was possible only by the adoption of a suitable economic policy, which would lead the infant country on the road of overall development.

To achieve this aim, Nehru, while reflecting on a policy of laissez-faire, implemented a socialist policy with a stress on economic planning. In order to establish a socialistic pattern of society in India, the Government pursued an anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal policy. The election manifesto of the Congress for the second general elections held in 1957 spoke of the establishment of a socialist
pattern of society, which would mean setting up a socialist co-operative commonwealth.\textsuperscript{93} This could be done by removing all the intermediary interests in land and by making the actual cultivator the owner of the land. The Indian National Congress stressed this goal to remove the landlord system that was the root cause of the miserable condition of peasants in the country.

Influenced tremendously by the policy of the Indian Government, the AGD expressed its wish to be a part of this transformation based on socialistic principles and visualised a joint effort in shaping a common destiny with the rest of India. This was the only way in which Goa could enjoy full citizenship rights and have a socialistic pattern of society as declared by the Indian National Congress.

By declaring their full faith in the economic system endeavoured to be introduced in India, the AGD said, "we stand to become a part of the broad stream pledged to the same cause in the whole of the Indian sub-continent."\textsuperscript{94} The AGD, which was an offshoot of the NC (G), was very much influenced by socialism. As socialist leadership at various levels continuously guided Goa’s freedom movement right from its inception, it was but natural that the AGD workers like the NC (G) activists had the spirit of socialism in them. In 1958, at its bi-annual session that was held at Bombay, a committee was set up to draw the AGD’s manifesto highlighting its in heralding the progress of Goa. In the historic meeting held on 26\textsuperscript{th} February 1961, the manifesto was adopted by the AGD’s Working Committee. The manifesto of the AGD, a revelation of the socialist thinking of the AGD leaders, stood for:

1. establishment of democracy based on socialism and secularism,
2. fundamental human rights,
3. equality in all fields and equal opportunity to all, irrespective of caste, creed and religion,
4. abolition of landlordism and socialisation of means of production,
5. free and compulsory education and
6. right of freedom against exploitation.\textsuperscript{95}

**Political objective: Status of an autonomous state of Goa within the Indian Union**

After India's independence, the Government of India undertook the task of setting up Indian states on the principle of linguistic reorganisation. The establishment of the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1953 inaugurated an era in which a number of Indian states like Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnataka were formed. This re-organisation of states led to the emergence of conflicting situations in these regions. Goa too was affected by this problem.

The nationalists had a divided opinion on the issue of whether Goa should join linguistic groups such as Maharashtra or Karnataka or should remain as a separate entity in the Indian Union. The NC (G) had already declared its views on this issue in 1951, as mentioned in Chapter III. The AGD had also grasped the depth of this issue that had created factions among the nationalists and had hampered the freedom struggle. Therefore the AGD, while declaring its policy on this issue, recommended an autonomous status to Goa within the constitutional framework of the Indian Union.\textsuperscript{96}

The AGD was not for the immediate merger of the Portuguese dominated territories with the surrounding border states. It felt that such an arrangement would not be suitable in the given conditions and would be unfavourable for the future development of Goa.

It was conscious of the fact that long political separation of Goa from the rest of India had created disparities in the fabric of Goan society as compared to the rest of India. While the rest of Indian states had already experienced democratic traditions, Goa, under Salazar, was deprived of all progressive experiments. This had created a situation as compared to the rest of India.
Therefore, the AGD asked for an autonomous status for Goa. According to the AGD, Goa needed some time to be on par with the rest of India and this was possible only after the introduction of special policies to uplift the Goans in accordance with the local needs. Moreover “the process of hybridisation and denationalisation” claimed by the Portuguese as assimilation had created unique situation in cultural aspect also. Therefore, a clear understanding of the Goan situation was an urgent need. The AGD recommended a special administrative set-up in Goa which should “inspire confidence among the people of Goa as they would have access to full opportunities for overcoming their backwardness and to go along the road of advancement.”

AGD was a firm believer in people’s rights and it strongly felt that the final decision regarding this issue should rest with the people of Goa. Prime Minister Nehru had assured Goans that this innate right of the Goans would be guaranteed and Goa would remain a separate state until Goans decide their future. While addressing a Goan rally in 1956 at Bombay he asserted:

“The People will maintain their separate identity so long as they wish and I have no desire to hurry the process... we feel that Goa’s individuality should remain and that whenever the time comes for any changes, internal or other, it will be for the people of Goa acting freely to decide upon them.”

Economic Goals

As has been discussed in the second chapter, the economic setting of Goa presented a very ominous picture. The state of affairs pertaining to agriculture, industry and other sectors was highly depressing, as the Portuguese rule had failed miserably to provide any hope for Goans on the economic front. Therefore, speedy economic development of Goa was the spirited cry of the AGD. Although Goa was blessed with vast natural resources it had remained a backward territory
due to the Portuguese colonial policy, which did not care to bring about any agricultural or industrial development. Lack of economic opportunities and scarcity of means of livelihood had forced Goans to migrate to the neighbouring states of India and also to foreign lands. Therefore, the primal aim of the AGD was to place the deteriorated economy of Goa on a sound footing by introducing progressive methods in the agricultural sector and encouraging industrial development in the territory. Introduction of a socialistic pattern of economic development in tune with the rest of India was the only solution to this grave economic problem.

Agrarian reforms proposed by the AGD basically aimed at socialisation of the land that would make Goa self-sufficient in agricultural production. The Goan economy, primarily based on agriculture, remained in a stagnated condition due to the disregard shown by the rulers to improve it. The rural population, which was 60%, had fallen prey to the bhaikar system due to lack of security of land tenure in this sector. The bhaikars inflicted injustice on the mundkars who lived and worked on their lands and cheated the tillers of the soil. This is evident from the following statistics, which shows the percentage of private landowners to be 54% as compared to Government land that was 32% and comunidade land that was 11% only. Due to their superior position in the Goan social fabric, the landlords who were often agents of Portuguese colonialism, kept Goa under the control of Portugal and in a state of economic dependency.

The historic Mayem conflict between the landlord and tenants under the leadership of Atmaram Mayekar who became an active member of the AGD had provided a clear understanding of the agrarian problem faced by the rural populace. They had become familiar with the agrarian set-up in Goa. Therefore, they came out with concrete policies, which would benefit the peasant community. The AGD demanded radical changes in the feudal pattern of the Goan society, like the abolition of landlordism and imposition of a ceiling on private ownership of land. It also aimed to protect the tenant community against forceful
eviction. Merciless eviction of the tenants, who were the tillers of the land, by unscrupulous landlords was a pressing problem that left tillers in a pitiable condition without any source of daily livelihood. Agrarian reforms with the objective of providing protection and security to the tillers was the utmost need to the hour.

Simultaneously, the AGD also took up the question of fair rent on the productivity and fertility of land. Both neighbouring states of Maharashtra and Karnataka had already fixed the rent at $\frac{1}{6}$ of the produce. This was done to provide an incentive and security to the farmers. The AGD also recommended $\frac{1}{6}$ as the land rent as it relieved the peasant community from the burden of taxation. Introduction of modern methods of production to increase agricultural productivity, debt relief, fixation of minimum wages, abolition of forced labour and of absentee-landlordism as also of the medieval system of mokaso, still prevailing in remote areas of North Goa, were some of the important demands of the AGD which they planned to introduce in order to boost agricultural production in Goa.¹²

**Revitalisation of Village Communities and Introduction of Panchayat Raj**

One of the main aims on the agenda of the AGD was the reorganisation of village communities on the basis of Panchayati Raj. According to AGD, the introduction of cooperative farming and reinforcement of the village community system was an appropriate solution for the problems of the agriculturists.

The village community had been an important feature of the Indian society from time immemorial. The villagers had successfully practiced the system of functioning on a co-operative basis. This system had made villages self-sufficient. Like the rest of India these self-governing institutions had suffered during colonial rule. Although the Portuguese Government had retained the village community system they had made considerable changes in the set-up of comunidades.
According to the AGD, the Portuguese rule was responsible for the decay of this traditional institution. Therefore, they aimed to transfer the village communities into "dynamic community welfare centres retaining the best that is in them and enlarging their scope after taking into consideration the needs of the modern times." The Panchayat system formed the bedrock of democratic, social and political set up in India since ancient times. It was this democratic institution that absorbed the shock of invasions and had protected the integrity of Indian life. During the Indian national movement the revival of Panchayati Raj and the political and economic decentralisation in building up independent India had gained importance.

Leaders like Gandhi and Jaiprakash Narayan advocated the revival of the old self-sufficient village communities and the establishment of a Panchayati Raj replacing the colonial rule of the West. After India's independence, the Indian Government began the revival of Panchayati Raj. The Indian Constitution referred to village panchayats as units of self-government. The Five Years Plans that were introduced in India had made a provision for the development of these local institutions. In 1957 the Indian Government set up a committee headed by Balwantrai Mehta that made radical suggestions for replacing the old autocratic system by Panchayat Raj. This report gave further spirit to the idea of establishment of local self Government in the form of Panchayat Raj.

The AGD was watching these developments carefully. It hoped that once Goa was liberated and integrated with the rest of India, the revitalisation of the popular bodies would be possible. Once the democratic form of Government was established in Goa it could immediately take up the task of reviving these village bodies to suit the modern challenges of the Goan society. This would enable them to shoulder the requisite socio-economic responsibilities. All these reforms that the AGD envisaged were possible only after a thorough study of the existing institutions in the context of the modern times. This methodical study could be conducted only after a popular Government came to power in Goa. Therefore, the
 AGD felt an adequate time must be allotted to introduce such reforms. As this would consume a considerable amount of time, the AGD had recommended immediate agrarian reforms and relief measures that would help the farmers to come out of their wretched condition and also uplift the Goan economy.

**Industrial Policy**

The Portuguese rulers had not only neglected the agricultural sector but they had completely ignored the development of industries. In fact, even as late as the 1940s, there was not a single industry in the modern sense of the term. This lack of industrial activity had put the Goan economy on the verge of bankruptcy. As has been mentioned in the earlier chapter it was only the mining industry, that had developed on the eve of Goa's liberation, that gave some relief to the population as it provided some kind of employment opportunities. Therefore the AGD very strongly recommended the establishment of small-scale industrial units as well as cottage industries along with heavy industries. According to them, introduction of industrial development in Goa would place the Goan economy on a sound footing and solve the enormous problem of unemployment and under-employment and stop mass migration of the Goan youth.

One of the major reasons for the lack of industrial growth was lack of power supply in the territory. Unfortunately Goa did not have its power source that is an essential factor for industrial development. The AGD was aware of this basic drawback and had proposed to generate electricity from the waterfalls of Dudhsagar and Harvale. Once Goa could generate power supply, the development of an industrial sector that included heavy industries and units that were based on natural resources such as fisheries, canning, cashew nut, coir industry could be established. The AGD had envisaged the development of an industrial sector by taking into consideration the vast natural resources that were untapped by colonial masters.
Besides these recommendations, the AGD was in favour of Marmagão harbour and the development of communication lines by sea, air and by land. According to them this would create more employment avenues for Goans. Their agenda also included setting up of a naval base as well as an air base in the vicinity of Marmagão as this would tap the talents and skills of the Goan youth.

Industrially backward Goa did not have any major labour problems but mine workers and agricultural labourers were denied basic rights. Therefore the AGD, in its manifesto, pledged to restore basic rights to the labourers such as the right to form unions, right to collective bargaining, right to protection against exploitation and right to compensation for death and injury through accidents.

In order to protect the working community, the AGD also recommended nationalisation of industries, granting full provisions of the socialist pattern of law that took care to improve their working condition and granted them security against capitalist exploitation.

Socio-Cultural Aims

At the four-day seminar organised by the Indian Council for Africa on “Portuguese Colonialism” held at New Delhi on 20th October 1961, the leader of the AGD, V.N. Lawande, in his speech, referred to the three major features of Portuguese colonialism: The imposition of the Lusitanian culture on the local people, widespread illiteracy and castration of nationalist sentiments. According to him, these characteristics were responsible for distempering the socio-cultural life of the local Goans.

The artificial political boundaries as well as the deliberate attempt of the rulers to cleave Goa from the mainstream Indian way of life had resulted in a general decay of the Goan society. Goans were forced by the regime to ape the western culture by sacrificing their genuine Indian lifestyle at the altar of lusitanisation.

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As mentioned earlier, the systematic alienation of the Goans from their indigenous culture was done through the introduction of Portuguese language and history in the school curriculum. This had resulted in the “denationalisation” of Goans. The 20th century the educational institutions took up the task of de-Indianising the Goan community. Prabhakar Sinari, commenting on the official policy of the Portuguese, stated, “In fact it was through the system of education that the Portuguese systematically alienated us and oriented us to be Portuguese subjects. The student community was so thoroughly indoctrinated by them that many of us were not aware of the Indian subcontinent to which we belonged to. We did not know Indian history but what we knew was only Portuguese history and all that was good in Portugal and ill in India. It was through Mocidade Portuguesa, the Portuguese youth organisation, that we were forced to believe that for all purposes we were Portuguese nationals. We were taught Portuguese nationalist songs and we were told to hail Portuguese heroes.”

The Azad Gomantak Dal was aware that this pernicious educational policy, deliberately perpetuated by the rulers, had threatened nationalist aspirations and was a stumbling block in the path of the cultural emancipation of Goans. Therefore, in its manifesto the AGD pledged to wipe out this “most unnatural system of education which had been in force for centuries” and had deprived Goans of “all their talents, creative faculties, self-respect and vitality,” and had produced puppets who danced to the tune of Portugal. After the liberation of Goa, the AGD proposed an immediate discontinuation of the Portuguese educational system and recommended the introduction of a vigorous nationalist pattern of education. The success of democracy depended on the spread of proper education at the grass root level and this could be achieved by promoting the use of local languages at the primary level. Imparting basic education in the mother tongue of the Goans, that was suppressed for ages, was the need of the hour. This would
raise young Goans who would take up the stupendous task of putting Goa on the road of progress.

The faulty educational system of the colonial regime was responsible for the exodus of young Goans to Bombay and Belgaum and nearby territories. Goans who emigrated to educate themselves later took up employment in these territories. Putting an end to the large scale emigration of Goans, in search of education facilities as well job opportunities, was the major issue that featured prominently in the manifesto of the AGD. Therefore, the AGD's post-liberation programmes included establishment of educational institutions such as colleges and technical institutions that would lead Goans to have their own university in Goa.

The social aims of the AGD included abolition of untouchability in all forms, creation of ideal conditions for all communities to forge social links with one another, removal of disabilities suffered by women of Goa and the uplift of the backward classes. The popular Government would tackle all these problems after studying them in detail and later by introducing proper legislation it would put end to the evils in the Goan society, the AGD opined.

**Public Health**

Extension of health services in urban as well as rural areas was one of the main social objectives of the AGD. They wanted to ensure sound health by introducing proper medical facilities in Goa. They had proposed a scheme by which public health could be taken care of at the village level by compelling the comunidade to take responsibility of maintaining primary health centres, rural medical dispensaries and maternity homes according to the population of the villages.

These health centres would provide free medical facilities to the villagers and would carry effective health awareness programmes in order to establish a
healthy environment, free of infectious diseases. According to the AGD, one of the most important duties of the state was to take care of the health of the children who were future citizens of this territory. Therefore, they had proposed that the state should provide supplementary diet and preventive health treatment to the children until they completed their secondary education.

The provision of health and medical facilities, particularly in rural areas, was a desperate need of the people of Goa. The extension of these essential amenities, which were primarily lacking, was the basic duty of the democratic state. All these reforms that the AGD envisaged could be fulfilled only if Goans had achieved liberation from the despotic regime. The dictatorial regime that had suppressed the Goan populace would not in any case grant these radical changes. The dictatorial regime did not allow even the most innocent activity of social or humanitarian nature and branded it as a revolt against the state. According to AGD, to expect social upliftment programmes from such a regime would be an act of utter foolishness. Therefore, there was no other alternative than to topple the existing regime. Only if Goa were liberated and integrated with India then would there be a hope to experience these changes. In order to concentrate on the liberation struggle, the AGD decided to give it top priority and devoted its energies to achieve this goal.

While commenting on why nationalists did not take up the issue of development of Goa in socio-economic and cultural fields but instead laid emphasis on the political aim, that is, liberation of Goa and its integration with India, Lawande said,

"When we were politically carrying on our struggle for political emancipation, the question of development and the other aspects of society were not taken up by us because Salazar's regime was not open to such reforms. We lacked
basic civil liberties; our struggle was looked upon as a criminal activity by the Portuguese state.\textsuperscript{112}

In 1953 when Peter Alvares became president of NC (G), he had organised a meeting in Belgaum to plan the strategy to restart the struggle in Goa. In this meeting he had urged the activists to launch a constructive programme and educate the peasant community in the Japanese technique of cultivation.\textsuperscript{113} Lawande and his associates had opposed this move and brought to his notice that the dictatorial regime would not allow such kinds of constructive programme and had stressed the need of immediate action that would force the Portuguese colonialists to leave the shores of Goa.\textsuperscript{114}

"We did not expect any major changes during their regime. For us liberation of Goa and its integration was the only solution. We felt very strongly that as soon as we were freed the development that was in India would naturally percolate into Goa. We were sure that after liberation our societies would merge and whatever development was taking place in the rest of India would be adopted by us. Therefore, we stressed more on the freedom of Goa."\textsuperscript{115}

Soon after Goa's liberation the Indian Government under the leadership of Nehru introduced a democratic process. After 451 years of colonial regime Goans finally got an opportunity to experience democracy.

Since the historic task of the AGD to liberate Goa was fulfilled, the AGD was all set to shoulder further responsibilities, that is, the development of Goa on democratic lines with renowned vigour. It accepted this challenge by transforming itself into a full-fledged political party dedicated for the upliftment of Goa.

On 23\textsuperscript{rd} January 1962, on the 27\textsuperscript{th} birth anniversary of Subhash Chandra Bose, a special session of the AGD was convened at Karmali. Here a major
decision to dissolve the AGD and to form the Goan Democratic Party was taken. The Goan Democratic Party, under the presidency of Dr. Ganaba Dubhashi, with definite socio-economic aims chalked out by the AGD, took a step forward and pledged to work in accordance with these aims to join the democratic process in Goa.
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What is the goal of Bhoomi Dal
Founder Members of the AGD

Prabhakar Sitke

DaHatacy Deshpande

V.N. Lawande

Jayant Kunte

Suryakant Naik
V. N. Lawande, the Leader of AGD.

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