CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The thesis, 'Voices In The Liberation struggle- The Case Of Goa- 1947-61, focusses on the last phase of the liberation struggle. It was, in fact, this period of Portuguese rule in Goa which saw the most hectic nationalist activities under the fascist rule of Dr. Salazar. This last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa can be argued to have started on 18th June 1946 with the launch of the civil disobedience movement under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia at Margao. The ideological inspiration and political impetus for the liberation struggle came largely from the Indian National Movement that was going on in India at that time.¹

This is the background within which I have organized my study. As the Indian National Movement was gaining strength in British India through its satyagraha activities, demonstrations, bandhs, etc. adopting a strategy of non-violence and also, in some areas adopting violent methods, its impact began to be felt in Goa. Although the colonial power in Goa differed from that of India, the three ideological currents that were prominent in the INM had their impact on the Goan nationalist forces which were also divided on the lines of three ideologies; (i) Gandhian, (Socialism), (ii) Communism and (iii) Militant Nationalism². These ideological currents of INM had inspired and influenced a whole generation of people not only within India but also from outside. This inspiration took a global shape and anti-colonial movements also took deep roots in Portugal itself. Thus the Goan nationalists who were influenced by INM and its ideology of Satyagraha and non-violence raised their voice of protest against the then existing Portuguese colonialism not only in India but also in Portugal itself.³ They referred to India as 'Patria Hindu' and even changed their Catholic names to Hindu names. The motive behind this was to identify

¹ Refer to Chapter II.
² Refer to Chapter III.
³ Refer to Chapter III. The organization that was formed in Portugal was Centru Nacionalist Indianu.
with India than Portugal. There was a wider understanding of the concept of nationalism, freedom and self-determination that had crossed the boundaries. The cry that ‘Goa is a part of India’ was heard in Portugal itself. This belief dominated the minds of the nationalist Goans in Portugal and was expressed in the form of an organization named Centru Nacionalist Indianu. It is believed that Goa Seva Sangh, an organization formed in 1943 at Margao under the leadership of a Gandhian, Shri. Purushottam Kakodkar was planning to organize satyagrahasas in October 1946, as a means of awakening the people, against Portuguese rule in Goa. However, the credit of putting the ideology of Gandhian satyagraha and non-violence in actual practice in Goa goes to Dr. R. M. Lohia. The fact is that the liberation struggle of Goa needed an outsider to guide and lead the movement. It was he who demonstrated to the Goans, how to fight against the colonial power by non-violent means. His role in the liberation struggle has a special prominence in the sense that an Indian socialist leader encouraged Goans to fight against the Portuguese colonialism and it was later on that socialists from India, with the ideology of satyagraha and non-violence, directed the entire Goan movement. It was 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, organized under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia saw the Goan movement as a part of Indian National Movement. The Gandhian ideology left a long-lasting impact on Goans. The study has shown that the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule was influenced by different ideological currents that dominated the Indian National Movement. It is a study that recognizes the broader concept of nationalism, that India is a nation and Goa, its integral part that cannot be separated just because two different colonial powers ruled on India and Goa. It is very interesting to understand that this concept of solidarity with Indians was so strong that Goan nationalists at no point of time in the liberation struggle of Goa were left alone by Indians in their efforts of liberating Goa from Portuguese rule. The formation of Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (GVSS), an organization of mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955, shows the impact of this solidarity between Indians and Goans. Indians considered that Indian National Movement would not come to an end if Goa was not

Interview with Dr. Vinayak Mayekar.
liberated from Portuguese rule and Goans desired that after liberation Goa would be integrated into the Indian Union. This solidarity was noticed when a large number of Indian satyagrahis assembled at India-Goa border to challenge the Portuguese rule in Goa. ‘Bharat-Goa alag nahin’ (Goa and Bharat are not separate) was their slogan.

In this context when we look at the position of the liberation struggle of Goa, especially its last phase, one finds that the spirit of the age was the defiance to the colonial power. As I have mentioned earlier, that this work involved the collection of primary data through interviews. These exclusive interview of nearly sixty-to-sixty five freedom fighters shows the idealism that drove these people. The belief that ‘Goa is a part of India and after its liberation it would be merged with India’, inspired Goans to fight against the Portuguese colonialism. Thus the entire movement for Goa’s liberation right from 18th June 1946 came to be popularly and officially known as ‘Jai-Hind’ movement and its activists as ‘Jai-Hind Wallas’. This is best depicted from the example of young girls participating in this movement. Miss Vatsala Kirtani, who was the first girl to be arrested during civil disobedience movement for shouting ‘Jai-Hind’ bravely, told the European commandant that ‘just as you Portuguese say Viva Portugal, Viva Salazar, we Indians say ‘Jai Hind, Mahatma Gandhi Ki. Jai’’. The young students in the schools were taught that Goa is a part of larger territory that is India. India is Bharat- Mata and this idealism was dominant in the entire movement for Goa’s liberation. ‘Jai- Hind’ became a political slogan, occupied an important symbolic place in the liberation struggle of Goa and hence attained the status of a ‘mantra’. Saying of ‘Jai- Hind’ became important and a lot of protest activities involved the chanting of ‘Jai- Hind’. Small children who did not even know the meaning of ‘Jai-Hind’ and its importance, when heard about the arrests of their parents or elder brothers for Jai- Hind activities felt proud because they had heard about Tilak, Agarkar, etc. going to jails for the similar ‘Jai-Hind’ activities of which people and especially discussions in the house spoke highly about it with great spirit. This brings us to the other point that

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5 Refer to Chapter IV.
6 Interview with Smt. Jyoti Deshpande.
participation of young girls and women in the liberation struggle of Goa should be seen through the lens of Gender. On the one hand the spirit of this idealism enabled these women, who were mostly Gaud Saraswat Brahmins and Charados, to breach the patriarchy, which was dominant in the Indian society, and come out to challenge the Portuguese rule. They were even applauded for doing this. The spirit was so strong that some of these young girls even escaped from home so that they can be part of the larger aspect of Goa’s liberation struggle and that is to complete India’s Independence by liberating Goa from colonial domination. On the other hand, once the job of liberation was complete, patriarchal society closed the breaching and some of these women were again confined to private domain and men reasserted their place in public. As can be shown from the facts, women were less among the honours, in fact they may even had to pay some price as far as the traditional institution of marriage is concerned. Though under the strong influence of nationalism and patriotism they crossed the threshold of their houses, and became a part of this nationalist struggle, men nationalist tried to dominate their activities by telling them what they were supposed to do and what they were not supposed to do. Sometimes these women, who acted as carriers, even carried bombs out of ignorance as these men nationalist kept them in dark as to what they had to carry. Thus we find that patriarchy had returned back, not only after the liberation but its influence was also found in the liberation struggle. After Goa’s liberation the lives of these women were so much under the control of this patriarchy that it became very difficult for them to come out it. Further the whole strategy of challenging the Portuguese rule, by these women was located within the philosophy of satyagraha and non-violence. There is hardly any instance in the liberation struggle of Goa that they were directly involved in violent revolutionary activities. They proved Gandhiji to be right, as Gandhiji had called the women to be the incarnation of Ahimsa. Thus to them a fight was only by open means, by non-violence and satyagraha activities. To them satyagraha meant shouting of slogans like “Bharat Mata Ki Jai, Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai, Jai- Hind”, distributing pamphlets and reading speeches that were already prepared.
Further the sense of idealism that had influenced the people of Goa also led to the formation of various organizations on the basis of ideologies, within Goa, in India and also in Portugal. These organizations also had a very special feature in the sense that they sometimes encompassed, within its fold, different ideologies at a time. Different people with varying ideologies were also a part of a single organization. However, this might have led to a split in the parent organization, this merger of ideologies seems to be peculiar in the liberation struggle of Goa. Further the desire for the liberation of Goa was so strong that some of the Goan nationalists were the members of not just one organization but a number of them with different ideologies at the same time. It is also curious to understand how these organizations, at different points of time faced splits and even merged together to create a necessary impact on the liberation struggle of Goa. Thus these organizations supported diverse ideologies. However, there seems to be a paradox. Most of these organizations were individual led organizations, did not enjoy the vast social base.

One of the important reasons for not getting the support of the masses also lies in the fact that at times some of them could transcend the community but not the caste. The Indian society is so much dominated by the superstructure of caste that even it became difficult for Goan nationalists to cross the caste barriers that were imposed on them by society, in the initial phase of the liberation struggle. Thus initially the nationalist activities were limited to the upper caste only and lower caste people were not encompassed in it. Some of these organizations had only the membership of upper caste people especially GS\(\text{S}\)s and Charados. For example, Pragatik Sangh had the membership of only GS\(\text{S}\)s and GCC had the membership of GS\(\text{S}\)s and Charados, both the upper castes from both the communities. NC(G) which had formed in 1946, had till mid 50s membership of mostly GS\(\text{S}\)s and Charados. It was only after 1954, it became an umbrella organization and encompassed all the communities and caste within its fold. Thus there was transcendence from primordial identity to a secular identity. But this was found to be very temporary, found only during the struggle and once the liberation of Goa was over, this primordial

\footnote{Refer to Chapter III.}
identity again returned back in the form of political parties in the first assembly elections and even in the social life of these nationalists after the liberation. But one thing should be admitted here is that there was more a transcendence of community identity and bonds and less a transcendence of caste in the Goan society. Thus the study shows that though Indian identities are constituted in caste and community terms in normal times, in extra ordinary times such as a liberation movement people are more easily able to transcend community and create a solidarity based on the ideology of decolonization but are less able to successfully transcend caste.\(^8\) This hold of caste is graphically illustrated by the following reflection of Mohan Ranade. It points to one of the least probed aspect of the liberation struggle. This episode took place when Mohan Ranade was hospitalized for having hurt during the liberation struggle.

\[\text{She (the nurse) took me as a Desai, a Kshatriya. If she had known that I belonged to Brahmin caste she might have scolded the servant (who was taking care of Ranade) even more harshly. But if I had been Gavda or rather I had been on the lowest rung of the caste ladder...? The words of nurse, although full of sympathy, made me pensive. Would I have got opportunity of serving the country if I had been born, nursed, brought up in a Bhangi (scavenger) caste? Even if by chance a seed of patriotism had been sown in my mind had the caste society to grow? I might have to wage a liberation struggle against my countrymen first and than against the foreign domination'}^{9}

This issue of transcendence and solidarity can be explained as follows. The Portuguese in Goa were responsible to convert native Hindu Goans to Catholicism, in the beginning of its rule. Thus they had created a community that, they thought, would always support their rule in the future. For Portuguese it was a blind belief that the talk of freedom, nationalism, etc. was the talk of the Hindus and that Catholics were not a part of it. Catholics, on the other hand, were considered to be pro-Portuguese. But it is interesting to note here that the first voice in terms of nationalism and freedom came from the Catholic community whom Portuguese had considered as their allies. Thus, Shri Francisco Luis Gomes, Shri. Luis de Menezes Braganza, Dr. T. B. Cunha,

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\(^8\) Refer to Chapter- V.

Shri. Juliao Menezes, Shri. Peter Alvares, Shri. Lambert Mascarenhas, Smt. Libia Lobo Sardesai and others who had liberal education, and were influenced by the liberal thought, raised their voice against the Portuguese colonialism in Goa and demanded the right to self-determination for Goans. They were proud in expressing their nationalist feelings openly through the speeches and in their writings that presented a great vision of a free Goa in a free India. Thus the idealism that Goa is an integral part of India, led to the affiliation of the GCC with the Indian National Congress, thus considering the Goa problem as an All-India problem. Further, it is also important to note that these Catholics were more liberal-minded nationalists than were Hindu nationalists. They always sought to take the help of Hindus in their efforts of fighting against the Portuguese rule. Take for example, the formation of Centru Nacionalist Indianu (1925, Portugal) by Catholics which sought the help of the members of Pragatik Sangh, who were Hindus, GCC included the members of Pragatik Sangh as its founding members. It was this community that was in the forefront of challenging Portuguese rule in Goa. Only they had a vision of integrating Hindus and Catholics in their common cause that is the liberation of Goa. It would rather not be wrong to say that factually it was this community, through the spirit if idealism, took the first step to transcend the identity of community for the common cause of Goa’s liberation.

This idealism that was dominant in the liberation struggle of Goa, which transcended community, can best be seen in the lives of the team of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa. This team initially consisted of two Catholics and one Hindu, living in forest areas on the India-Goa border to voice Goa’s liberation struggle through an underground radio. The membership of the Voice Of Freedom Of Goa team was soon reduced to two, with a young 25 years-old Brahmin Catholic girl and a Hindu GSB, who spent five years of their life in running and manning the radio station. Both were from the upper caste but of different communities. Both these nationalists, through Voice Of Freedom

10 Refer to Chapter- III.
11 Refer to Chapter- VI.
Of Goa, were trying to link Goa and its liberation struggle to the struggle against colonialism around the world, thus building up within Goa a global imagination. The liberation struggle of Goa was not considered as a separate and independent struggle, limited only to India, since these nationalists, through their own ideological perceptive had a broader anti-colonial imagination. They considered the liberation struggle as a part of decolonization process that was taking place across the world. The people who had the privilege of listening to these broadcasts of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa were impressed to such an extent, that the Goan people especially women were influenced by the work of that young girl whose voice was heard all the time, in the absence of civil liberties inside Goa. They were even proud of her as being a Catholic girl. She spoke effectively against the Portuguese. However there is again a similar paradox found in this case. Though Goans were getting influenced by the news broadcasts of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa, we do not find a single instance of them, challenging the Portuguese rule on the basis of the revolts that rocked in some of the African colonies of Portugal. The people were just happy to listen to news, but not to translate that into action against Portuguese rule in Goa.

In this context, however, when we look at the position of the liberation struggle of Goa, especially the last phase of it, one finds a great paradox. It is true that INM had influenced Goan nationalists a lot. But rather, its impact was found more on their minds and hearts than that on their activities. The movement for liberation of Goa was not a continuous movement, but just ‘a burst of activities’. Look at the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, itself. Though this movement can be considered as the beginning of the practice of satyagraha and non-violence in Goa, which was led and guided by Indian socialist leader Dr. R. M. Lohia, it subsided just after six months from its beginning. Similar was the case with the movement for liberation (15th August 1954 to 15th August 1955). Though this was a continuous movement for about a period of one year, one finds a lot of ups and downs within the movement itself. For example, 15th

12 Refer to Chapter- II.
August 1954 mass satyagraha which was converted to group satyagraha, led to the frustration of Goan nationalists. The 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha was a great setback to the entire movement due to its abrupt termination. Besides, this the movement had no background of constructive work that was carried out by the Indian leaders during INM, like spinning and weaving of Khadi, preaching of the importance of satyagraha and non-violence, working for the unity of different sections of people, etc. the gaps in the liberation struggle of Goa should have been used by the nationalist to carry out the constructive work, only then it could be called as a continuous movement as had happened in India during INM. Due to the absence of this constructive work, the movement for liberation did not sustain for a long period of time, but only led to the burst of activities, which had its impact for a brief period of time.

The role of the Indian government in the liberation struggle of Goa, was also a paradox. Especially Pandit Nehru considered Goan issue a simple affair, but did nothing serious to solve this problem from the viewpoint of the larger aspect of the INM. At times he even placed obstacles to Indians practicing satyagraha in the cause of Goa's liberation by putting ban on the Indian satyagrahis to enter into the Goan territory. This policy of Pandit Nehru had strengthened the hands of the Portuguese government who for about thirteen years cling on to the territory of Goa after India's Independence. Goa was first to be colonized in India and last to be decolonised.

As I have mentioned earlier that a lot of material to this work came from the interviews of the freedom fighters. I must admit here that I wanted to look at this movement in the beginning through the subaltern point of view. But due to the lack of material on this perceptive in the liberation struggle, it was not possible for me to call it as a subaltern movement.

The preceding has shown that liberation of Goa belongs to the larger aspect of decolonization. It also shows that liberation struggle was linked in an organic sense to Indian National Movement which provided ideological inspiration for the struggle for

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the liberation movement. While the history of this period shows that some heroic activities were undertaken by Goan nationalists to bring about the end of Portuguese colonialism such as women's and **Voice Of Freedom of Goa**. It also shows that the social structure of Goan society of community and caste refracted the idealism of these freedom fighters. The study shows that the fascist nature of Portuguese colonialism place considerable constraints on movement, which were not there in the Indian National Movement, but this did not deter the Goan nationalists from working towards their belief of free Goa in free India.