CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

'Goa Is India, and therefore every Indian must of right claim it as a part of his country and work for its liberation from foreign rule and to unite with India'.

- Dr. T. B. Cunha.

Historical Background of Portuguese Colonialism.

The Portuguese arrived by sea on the Indian land on 20th May 1498 near Calicut to establish trade relations between Europe and the East. However, it took them just twelve years to invade Goa and to settle down on this land of India for about a period of 450 years. It was the longest rule by any foreign country on the land of Hindustan. The Dutch, the British and then the French followed them. Although historians have generally tended to record the establishment of Cochin fort by Albuquerque as the beginning of the Portuguese rule in India, the establishment of an independent fort in Anjedive island, built by first Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida, should be regarded as the beginning of the colonization process. It was on this island that he made acquaintance of Timmaya (Timoja), a disgruntled subedar in Adil Shah's army. Timoja suggested that Albuquerque make an attempt on the garrison of Adil Shah located on the island of Goa and gave elaborate inside information about the general disposition of the local Hindus towards the Muslim ruler and his governor in Goa.¹

Albuquerque, then took the help of Timoja's forces and captured the territory. Albuquerque knew that Goa was a great emporium of Asiatic Commerce and trade and ideally situated between Malabar and Gujarat. It had better facilities for larger ships which could sail eight to ten miles inside from the mouth of the Mandovi river and formed a good line of defence. Goa dominated the whole shoreline of Western India. Hence Albuquerque

was determined to keep Goa for the Portuguese. Thus it was in February 1510 that the mainland of Goa-Ilhas and the coastal districts of Bardez in the north and Salcete in the south came under the Portuguese rule for the first time. Though driven off by Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur, on 25th November Portuguese reconquered the town. It was in 1543, Portuguese defeated Ibrahim Adil Shah and brought Salcete and Bardez under its rule.

It was centuries later, in the beginning of the 18th century, that Portuguese started expanding their hold over the other parts of Goa. New areas were added to the ‘old conquistas’ by the Portuguese one after another. Thus in 1759 Portuguese started annexing new lands to which Ponda and Canacona were added in 1763 and Pernem was acquired in 1788 from the Bhonsle. With this the Portuguese settlements on the land of Goa was over.

Portuguese Colonial Period.

If we look at the colonial period of Portuguese rule right from 1510-1961, we come across three major periods. (i) the Monarchical rule from 1510 to 1910, (ii) the period of Republic between 1910-1926 and (iii) then the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar from 1926 till 1961.

Monarchical regime of Portuguese colonialism

Under the Monarchical regime of Portuguese colonialism, Goa witnessed three major events; (a) conversion of natives to Christianity, (b) Inquisition in 1560 and (c) the establishment of constitutionalism in Portugal in 1820.

Conversions of the Natives to Christianity.

Although Portuguese were at peace with the Hindus in Goa for about a period of thirty years, it was on 24th April 1541 a seminar named ‘Holy Faith’ was established in Tiswadi. And during this time all the Hindu temples of Tiswadi were demolished by the Portuguese government.

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3 Cunha, T. B. (1961), Goa Freedom Struggle, Bombay; Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, The New age Printing Press, p. 9
The King of Portugal had enjoined from time to time that proselytisation should be based on free consent and persuasion and should not be effected by compulsion and force. The main instruments which were responsible for the conversion were the lure of material rewards and threat of violence and force. Religious conviction played a comparatively minor role in effecting such conversions. Since this conversion to Christianity started taking place just after thirty years of Portuguese occupation of Goa it was limited only to the Old Conquest areas which formed a part of Portuguese colonialism for 450 years. The New Conquests areas which they had been occupied in the 18th century, did not come under its influence. Since the converts were converted to Christianity by force, and not consent and persuasion, they continued to adhere in secret to their old faiths and tended to indulge in beliefs and practices that were heretical from the Christian point of view. The Catholic community of Goa thus came into being soon after the Portuguese arrived in the early sixteenth century to trade and preach the gospel.

Inquisition in 1560.

The mass Christianization which was used by the Portuguese to maintain their political domination in Goa, was followed by the ‘Inquisition’ in 1560. It is described as an ecclesiastical tribunal for the suppression of heresy and punishment of heretics, officially styled ‘the holy office’. The first demand for the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa was made by St. Francis Xavier. It ceased functioning for a while in 1774 due to the liberal minister of Portugal, Marquez de Pombal. However it was again revived just after five years later in 1778 during the reign of D. Maria, Queen of Portugal. The Inquisition played a prominent role, both in bringing pressure on the secular authorities to pass discriminating legislation and in enforcing the measures with characteristic sternness and severity. This was however the worst period of Portuguese rule that Goa had witnessed in its life. This Inquisition was finally abolished in the year 1812.

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2 Ibid. p. 3.
3 Ibid. p. 23
4 Ibid. p. 3
The impact of this conversion and inquisition remained permanently in the life of the natives. Prof. D. Rebeiro thus notes its influence on the minds and lives of Goans in the following words,

‘Alienated from the native environment, made strangers in their own soil, identifying the Christian religion and the salvation it offered with loyalty to the Portuguese, the Goans were made Portuguese on a cultural and traditional milieu that was Indian, in an environment which was not in tune with their newly acquired customs, habits and attitudes. Alienated from India- their motherland- they became strangers in their own land’.

The establishment of constitutionalism in Portugal in 1820.

The French revolution brought about the idea of democratic form of government, the winds of change that this produced blew over almost the whole continent and Portugal in the corner of Europe was not left untouched. The impact of this on Portugal and in Goa is explained in the following words

‘The war of independence of 1857 nicknamed as the sepoy mutiny and the French revolution around that time had brought the themes of democratic behaviour of democratic thinking in terms of equality and fraternity. The Portuguese nation though was far behind as far as free thinking and democratic behaviour of the bureaucracy was concerned. Nevertheless Portugal was not totally indifferent. The end of the 19th century saw that these winds though not completely sweeping Portugal yet brought a kind of a breeze of free thinking. Goa in turn coming out of slumber after the mortal blows of the inquisition was also veering round the liberal thinking’.

Thus on 26th February 1820 parliamentary system of government was established in Portugal and as Goa was ruled from Lisbon, Goans too were entitled to elect their representatives to the Portuguese Parliament (Cortes). By a decree of 18th April 1821, Goa was authorized to elect six members to the Portuguese Legislative Assembly amidst jubilations and scenes of popular enthusiasm for the first time in the history of Goa. During the liberal constitutional regime in Goa the pattern of parties and Juntas was more or less

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9 Prof. D. Rebeiro, ‘Denationalization And Political Life In Goa During The Colonial Period’, a paper presented at a seminar on Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis Of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.

10 Vaidya, P. T. ‘Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa’s Struggle For Freedom (A Summarisation)’, a paper presented at a seminar on Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.
on the same lines as in Portugal. The two parties, the Liberals and Absolutists, fought the elections with much violence and bitterness, coups and countercoups. In Goa, the natives were predominant in the Liberal party and the Europeans in the Absolutists.11

However, this liberal attitude could not continue for a long period of time and twice the Parliament was dissolved first by King Dom Juan and secondly by King Don Minguel in 1823 and 1827 respectively. By then the number of the elected members to Parliament from Goa had decreased to one. It should be also noted that Hindus and Muslims from Old Conquests and the people of New Conquests were denied the right to vote12. Whatever may be the case, Goa was represented in the Portuguese Parliament.

The period Of Republic between 1910-1926.

The revolution that took place in the Portugal in the year 1910 replaced constitutional Monarchy by that of Republicanism. In 1908 an agent of Carbonaria (the militant organization in Portugal) murdered King Carlos, Manoel II, left Portugal for London and on 5 October 1910 the Portuguese Republic was proclaimed.13 The establishment of Republic in Portugal directly influenced the functioning of the Portuguese government in Goa. The period of 1910-1926, though a small period in the life of Goa, is described as a golden period14 where the differentiation between Portuguese and Goans was wiped out. The caste difference and religious difference, at least in the eyes of Portuguese government, was eliminated. Goan natives- especially Hindus started enjoying this period by forming various organizations, arranging conferences, meetings, opening schools, libraries, etc.15 It was during this time the important organizations such as Pragatik Sangh and Centru Nacionalist Indianu were formed in Goa and Portugal respectively.

11 Prof. D. Rebeiro, op. cit.,
12 Sardesai, M. H. op.cit,. p. 158.
14 Interview with Shri. Narendra Hegde Desai. (June 1996)
The dictatorship of Dr. Salazar from 1926 till 1961.

Within the period of sixteen years, after the establishment of the Republic in Portugal, Dr. Salazar established his dictatorship, following another revolution on 28\textsuperscript{th} May 1926. It began on 28\textsuperscript{th} May 1926 when a military coup headed by General Gomes da Costa who in early June, with General Carmona and Admiral Mendes Cabecadas, formed an all-powerful triumvirate.\textsuperscript{16} However things in Portugal were not working in the directions, as these leaders wanted them to. The Republican period in Portugal saw a record of nine Presidents, forty-four governments, twenty-five uprisings, three counter-revolutionary dictatorships, and finally about 325 bomb incidents\textsuperscript{17}. All these problems within Portugal ended when Dr. Salazar assumed the supremacy of Portugal in his hands, thus becoming the dictator. Firmly established in 1930 Dr. Salazar announced the formation of the ‘New State’ patterned on Mussolini’s ideas and promulgated a new constitution and the Colonial Act (Acto Colonial of 1930), which introduced odious racial discrimination and in its Article II declared: “It belongs to the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfill the historic mission of possessing and colonizing overseas dominions and of civilizing the native populations which are comprised their in by using also the moral influence which is granted to them by the ‘Patronage of the East’.”\textsuperscript{18} This ‘Acto-colonial’ thus denied to Portuguese colonies the right of self-determination. It asserted the right of Portugal to ‘possess’ forever its colonial territories. By his military law he divided Goans into two categories: the assimilated and indigenous. And the worst part of this dictatorship was curtailment of all the elementary civil liberties, which Goans had enjoyed during the Republic.

British Colonialism and Portuguese Colonialism. – A Comparison.

When Timoja with Mhal Pai Sardesai of Verna, invited Afonso de Albuquerque to invade Goa, in 1510 they were under the impression that once conquered Portuguese would leave Goa forever and hand it over to them. However this was not the only reason behind

\textsuperscript{16} Gaitonde, P. D. op.cit,. p. 19.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid. p. 20.
inviting Albuquerque to invade Goa. It was believed that Hindus were not happy under the rule of Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur. Since Timoja was the Hindu Brahmin governor of the King of Vijaynagar, the enmity between the Adil Shah and the King of Vijaynagar also made him to take such a decision. Once Goa was taken over by the Portuguese it became clear later on that Albuquerque had come to Goa to stay. He had also started preparations in that direction. This act of Timoja, of inviting Portuguese to take Goa in 1510, changed the entire history of the region. Thus the Portuguese who had come to India first and settled down here were also the last ones to leave this region of Goa. While the rest of India was ruled by British, Goa remained under the Portuguese even after the British, Dutch and French had left India.

Understanding British Imperialism.

Since the English had parliamentary democracy functioning in their country, they also tried to establish and introduce some of the democratic principles in India, the country over which they ruled. Right from 1813, when British Crown assumed sovereignty over India from the East India company, till the freedom of India on 15th August 1947, one will see the devolution of powers to the people of India from the British Monarch. Though there had been many unusual and discriminatory incidents on the part of British which were later on challenged by the Indians, civil liberties did exist and one had a right to speak and express freely against the laws that were not suitable to the Indians or went against the peoples aspirations. While comparing the British rule in India and Portuguese colonialism in Goa, One of the freedom fighters asserted;

‘Britain had a tradition of nearly six centuries of democracy behind them. Democracy is always accompanied by passiveness. They were a highly educated nation and were concerned about the world opinion. The nation known as Portugal was complete antithesis of Britain’.19

Even many freedom fighters believed in the same. They opined that since British India had civil liberties, the Indian nationalists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Agarkar, B. K.

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19 Vaidy, P. T. ‘Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa’s Struggle For Freedom (A Summarisation)’, a paper presented at a seminar on Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom, held on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.
Gokhale and other reformers could voice their nationalistic feelings through the newspapers, by organizing meetings, demonstrations, etc. The mass movements in India that took place under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi were successful due to the existence of the civil liberties in British India. People could organize themselves on a large scale to demonstrate against the British rule due to civil liberties. But in Goa, nothing was possible. Especially after the establishment of Dictatorship, Goans could neither form organizations, nor could they voice their patriotic feelings.

The first major revolt against the British rule was the revolt of 1857. The reasons for this revolt are many. But the revolt indicated the Indian people’s resentment against the British rule. However, right from 1757 till 1858, the first century of England’s rule over India, was a period of many changes in the life of Indians. It was a period for Indians to learn new things and discourage the age old traditions of Indians and especially that of the Hindus, which had infected the society. It was through English education the liberal ideas of the west were spread among the Indian youths. Thus, due to its impact Raja Rammohan Roy, an Indian reformer, who pioneered English education. He opposed polygamy, advocated re-marriage of widows and also preached against the practice of sati.

It is also to the credit of the Britishers, that they followed a policy of neutrality in religion and social matters of people in India. Britishers, by taking the help of Indian reformers, worked to remove some gross evils, which prevailed in Hindu society under the sanction of custom or religion. Thus infanticide was abolished by passing laws against its practice. In December 1829 Lord William Bentinck passed the famous regulation XVII that declared sati illegal and punishable by courts. Thus it was a period where English men worked with Indian reformers to eliminate the evils from Indian society. When these changes were taking place in British India, Portuguese were hardly impressed by them. Rather than following the policy of neutrality in the matters of religion, here state was hand in glove with Catholic religion. Portuguese even believed that Catholics are their supporters and would always support the Portuguese. They thus wanted to rule in Portuguese India by

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taking the help of the Catholic religion.21

In the second half of the nineteenth century British India saw the emergence of strong social and religious reform movements, such as Brahmo samaj, Prarthana samaj, Arya Samaj and other such movements that stimulated the growth of individual and organized efforts for social reform. As I have mentioned earlier, the British government always declared its liberal policy towards India. This liberal policy of British government, the growth of English education in India, the wave of liberalism over English politics and literature during the nineteenth century imbibed the spirit of democracy and national patriotism. In order to build up a strong force ascertaining the real wishes of the people and for public benefit Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 under the leadership of A. O. Hume. Thus INC played a very important role in voicing the peoples wishes and demands for the freedom of the country which was later on gained on 15th August 1947.

Relationship Between Portuguese and British Rule.

While the British government, in response to the nationalist activities of the Indians was becoming more and more liberal, laws in Goa were becoming more and more stringent and day by day Goa was coming under the strong clutches of the fascist rule of Dr. Salazar. The Portuguese were adamant on keeping Goa for them permanently. The Indian National Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi with Satyagraha and Non-violence was becoming successful day by day. This was so because the Britishers were themselves liberal minded, had faith in humanity, and respected the wishes of Indians. Though Britishers were responsible in sowing the seeds of communalism in India, which later on divided the country into two, British rule in India cannot be equalled to that of Portuguese rule in Goa.

In Goa too, the nationalists took up the weapon of satyagraha and non-violence to drive off the Portuguese from Goa, on the lines of Indian National Congress. Thus two mass satyagrahas, along with a number of individual and group satyagrahas were held at different places in Goa. But everything resulted in crushing the movement for liberation

21 Interview with Dr. Diago J. F. Gomes.
with a heavy hand. What British could understand the Portuguese could not. Thus Satyagraha and Non-Violence preached and practiced by Mahatma Gandhi in India, was a failure in Goa. Even a question was raised by some of the Goan nationalists, Do the Portuguese understand the meaning of Satyagraha and Non-Violence? Many answered ‘No’. Thus a number of revolutionary organizations were formed. They all believed that the Portuguese only understand the language of violence. Thus they sought to drive off the Portuguese at the point of a gun. The people of India could successfully fight against the British Rule, because they had civil liberties. In Goa, people tried to raise voice against the Portuguese rule in the absence of civil liberties. The voice of the people of India was heard in Britain, but the voice of Goans was suppressed. Thus after India’s freedom for about fourteen long years, Goa’s voice was raised in India by Indians as well as Goans. These efforts resulted into the liberation of Goa by ‘Operation Vijay’.

First Phase Of Liberation Struggle.

It is believed that the struggle for liberation of Goa started on the very day the Portuguese entered Goa in 1510. In the years that followed Portuguese had always to be ready to preserve their control, as there had been the opposition from all the sections of people as well as from the outside forces.

Reasons for the struggle and revolts.

While studying the liberation struggle of Goa, it was noted that the freedom fighters had different of opinions on as to when the liberation struggle of Goa against Portuguese rule was started. Some argued that it was started with the revolt of Cuncolim, while some believed that it was started with the revolt of Dipaji Rane in 1852, whereas some argued that the liberation struggle started with the civil disobedience movement of 1946 under Dr. R. M. Lohia. But it is a known fact that the Portuguese were continuously opposed by the local population sometimes on religion, racial and agrarian grounds. The major revolt that was triggered off against the Portuguese rule was on the conversion policy of Portuguese.
The village of Cuncolim and its adjoining villages were acquired by the Portuguese in the year 1543 from Adil Shah of Bijapur. In an effort to convert the local population to Christianity Jesuit missionaries entered these villages who were killed by the people. The people of these villages opposed the conversion of Jesuits tooth and nail to preserve their faith.

The first Catholic priest to raise his voice against the racial discrimination was Mateus de Castro in 1654. He was a Brahmin and was consecrated Bishop of Chrysopolis and sent to India as Vicar Apostolic to the Kingdom of Adil Shah where he began to ordain native Brahmins to priesthood. This was disliked by the Archbishop of Goa and a report against him was sent to Rome. The propaganda authorities did not nullify his acts but asked him to obtain necessary permission from the Archbishop of Goa in such matters. As if this was not enough, his every action was supervised secretly by Portuguese authorities. The Bishop had developed a hatred for the Portuguese colonial rule in his native land and had been instigating the Goans to shake off the Portuguese rule.

It was again due to the racial tensions that gave rise to the conspiracy of 1787, which is famous as ‘Revolt of the Pintos’. This conspiracy was masterminded by the two priests namely Caetano Franscisco do Couto and Jose Antonio Gonsalves who were denied the important posts in the church. This revolt had confirmed the conviction that it was a social, political and racial uprising and Goan native priests and laymen saw no hope of promotions based on merit in Portuguese colonial set-up.

It was in nineteenth century that the revolts of Ranes began in the Sattari Taluka of New Conquests. Out of a number of revolts by Ranes, the revolt of 1852 by Dipaji Rane and the revolt of 1895 by Dada Rane are of the utmost importance. Dipaji Rane’s revolt was against the declaration forbidding men to wear trousers and women blouses. At the same time there were cases of assaults on women. Portuguese encroached upon Ranes special rights and privileges.

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22 Interview with Shri. Joaquim Dias, Shri. Verissimo Coutinho.
25 Interview With Shri. Jaisingrao A. Rane.
Dada Rane revolt had two reasons responsible, the new system introduced for collection of revenue and dispatch of troops from Goa. Both, soldiers and the farmer community had joined hands under the leadership of Dada Rane. Both these revolts came to an end by bringing the Portuguese to accept the terms of the agreement.

**Its Impact on Portuguese Colonialism.**

The various revolts in the beginning of Portuguese occupation of Goa suggested that the people of Goa had not accepted the Portuguese sovereignty. They resented and opposed the destruction of their temples even at the cost of losing their lives. Mass Christianization was opposed by them strongly. They even successfully organized the revolts but some of them were leaked before the actual outbreak. The Portuguese administration, in order to resolve all such problems, had to be very conscious and careful. These revolts which I have referred to as the first phase of the Liberation Struggle were against the Portuguese Sovereignty. If the revolt of Pintos had been successful, or of the Ranes of Sattari, they would not have been able to occupy entire Goa. Portuguese government was threatened during these revolts and they had to accept the agreement that was made after these revolts.

**Last Phase Of Liberation Struggle.**

It was against this type of dictatorial rule of Portuguese that the movement for civil liberties was started on 18th June 1946 by Dr. R. M. Lohia. The struggle continued, both by violent and non-violent means till the liberation of Goa in 1961. Dadra and Nagar Haveli were liberated by Goan nationalist with the help of Communist Party of Maharastra and Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh in July-August 1954. It was on 15th August 1954 and 1955 the mass satyagrahas were organised by Goans and Indians to challenge the Portuguese rule. Through out its struggle against the Portuguese rule, Goans asserted that Goa is a part of India and after its liberation it should be merged with the Indian Union. With this perspective in mind, government of India, which initially tried to solve the problem by peaceful means, sent its
military into Goa on 18th December 1961 and finally on 19th December 1961 Goa was liberated by ‘Operation Vijay’ and India removed the last vestige of colonialism from its land.

Liberation Struggle In India.

The last phase of liberation struggle of Goa carried a strong impact of the Indian National Movement (henceforth INM) that took place against the British rule. Since Goa was a small territory inside India although under the Portuguese rule, Goans directly or indirectly supported the INM. They watched all the activities that were happening in India with utmost concentration.

The first revolt against the Britishers in India began on 11th May 1857 which lasted till 1859 is now famously known as ‘revolt of 1857’. It was an unsuccessful but heroic effort to eliminate foreign rule from the Indian soil. With the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885, the national movement was started. Prominent leaders like G. K. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Dadabhai Naoroji, etc and later on Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, Pandit Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose etc. provided leadership and ideas.

However, the strategy of INC was changed when Mohandas karamchand Gandhi led the nation-wide satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act in March 1919. Henceforth, INC had to believe in satyagraha and non-violence, an ideology which played an important role in the latter period of the national struggle. This was followed by the non-cooperation movement in 1920-22, Civil Disobedience movement in 1930-31 and Quit-India movement in the year 1942, galvanized almost all the people of India, irrespective of sex, religion, class and caste. Though quite a good number of people of Goa have even participated in Quit-India movement of 1942, a large section of Goans were morally supporting the INM against the British rule.

Indian National Movement and Goa Liberation Struggle.

It was due to the efforts of Dr. T. B. Cunha that the Goa Liberation Struggle was, for some time, aligned with the INM. Goa Congress Committee, which was formed by
Dr. T. B. Cunha in 1928, was affiliated with INC in the same year. It was an effort to link the liberation struggle of Goa with that of INM. However, because of British rule in India and Portuguese rule in Goa made it difficult to combine both the movements for liberation together.

It was after India's freedom in 1947 that the movement to recognize Goa's question as an all India problem gained momentum. Indian government also tried to settle it peacefully. But Portuguese government was in no way interested in settling the issue as they believed that it was their internal matter and the Indian government had no right to interfere. Indian government on the other hand considered that the Portuguese colonialism is the last vestige of colonialism the on Indian land. In an effort to solve the Goa problem peacefully, Indian government took nearly fourteen years to liberate Goa by force. Thus on 19th December Goa was liberated by the Indian army.

Explaining the Research Theme.

The research theme 'Voices In The Liberation Struggle-The Case Of Goa, 1947-61' records the voices of the people who have fought for Goa's liberation. These voices of the people are recorded sometimes in the form of individual voices and sometimes as the group voices.

The Liberation Struggle of Goa saw the participation of the common man who believed that progress of the country depends on its freedom from colonial rule. They also believed that no foreign country has a right to rule on others. Thus the voice of these people was heard long back in 1862 when an eminent Goan writer Francisco Luis Gomes wrote in "Os Brahmanes" 'Impartial men, who are moved by justice and not by racialism, want India to be ruled by Indians'. Thus people of Goa voiced their just demand of freedom of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union through organizations, meetings, satyagrahas and even through revolutionary means.

While studying these voices in the liberation struggle of Goa, I have taken a middle path, between the elite historiography on the one hand and the Subaltern perspective on
the other. Since Goa was under the Portuguese rule for about a period of 436 years, before the beginning of the last phase of liberation struggle, Goa, represented a political space that Dr. T. B. Cunha characterized as denationalized. This denationalization by the Portuguese resulted in the low self-esteem of Goans. They were, however, later on encouraged, directed and led by a socialist leader Dr. R. M. Lohia in 1946 to fight against the denial of civil liberties by the Portuguese. After this movement for civil liberties, a large number of Goans came forward to challenge the Portuguese administration by following satyagraha and non-violence as well as by revolutionary methods. Most of these people, in the beginning of the struggle were educated, from well to do families, upper caste and those who were influenced by the Indian National Movement. These people were also in the front of the nationalist activities before 18th June 1946 movement. These people provided the first rank leadership. But after their arrest and imprisonment the second rank of leadership emerged, who came forward to challenge the Portuguese rule. These were mostly the common people who came from the middle class or from poor families and either were less educated or uneducated.

The story of the liberation struggle of Goa can be heard from their voices. I have given importance to the voices of these people who have worked to eliminate Portuguese rule. These are the voices of those people who were involved, participated and witnessed the liberation struggle of Goa. These are also the voices of the people who came directly in contact with those people who participated in the movement.

As I have already mentioned that while studying Goa’s liberation struggle, I am taking the middle path between elitist and subaltern historiography. This is so because, these voices do not fall either under the elitist perspective nor they fall under subaltern category. It is rather combining elitist or nationalist historiography with that of subalternity.

To study this liberation struggle of Goa, I have chosen a particular period from 1947 to 1961. In 1947, India, to which Goans looked with pride as their mother country, got freedom from British rule. The dictatorship of Dr. Salazar established in 1926 was strengthened after India’s independence. It was almost one year earlier from India’s
Independence that the last phase of liberation struggle had begun on this land. From 1946 till 1961, a small period of 15 years, saw the most hectic and disturbing period of activities on nationalist front. The 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, 15th August 1954 and 1955 mass satyagrahas, liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, etc. were some of the features and important events through which Goa had to pass to bring closer its liberation. These were the internal movements which shook the Portuguese rule from its foundation. With that of internal movements there were also the demand for the solution of Goa problem peacefully at nation-to-nation level. It was also taken to the international level in the later period. Satyagraha and non-violence along with revolutionary activities dominated the liberation struggle during this period. However, all these efforts later on resulted in to the liberation of Goa by the Indian army on 19th December 1961.

Structure Of The Thesis

The thesis is organized along the following chapters.

Chapter I- Introduction.

This chapter provides a brief sketch of the historical background of Portuguese colonialism covering aspects of Portuguese colonial rule and its impact on the Goan people at different stages. It also attempts a comparative comment on British and Portuguese colonialism. It looks at the first phase of the liberation struggle covering the various revolts that had occurred and the reasons for these revolts and its impact on Portuguese colonialism.

Chapter II- The Struggle For liberation Against Portuguese Rule.

The last phase of Liberation struggle of Goa was started on 18th June 1946 when Dr. R. M. Lohia vehemently defied the ban on the most elementary civil liberties in Goa under the authoritarian Portuguese rule of Salazar. This chapter deals with the background of the liberation struggle covering social, economic, political and ideological reasons responsible for the struggle. It will examine some of the prominent events of the liberation struggle starting right from the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties till the Liberation of Goa by “Operation Vijay” on 19th December 1961. The chapter would then assess the
impacts of these events for the liberation movement.

Chapter III- The organizational Landscape Of The Liberation Struggle.

The liberation struggle of Goa saw the emergence of a number of organizations for the liberation of Goa. They played an important role. Although the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties was made successful by Goans under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia, it was without any organizational support. But Goans felt the need to form organizations under which they could come together to challenge the Portuguese rule. This chapter investigates the role of various organizations taking into consideration the part played by individual and group voices. It looks at the functions and importance of these organizations in the liberation struggle of Goa. The chapter also studies the role of ideology in the formation of the various organizations and their relationship with each other. It also briefly evaluates the debate between the revolutionary (AGD and GLA) and the non-revolutionary (NCG and GVSS) with respect to the issue of violence and non-violence as strategy and instrument for the liberation of Goa.

Chapter IV- The Gendered Face Of The Liberation Struggle.

The Liberation struggle of Goa also saw the participation of women beginning from the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. To appreciate the impediments to participation of women it was necessary to understand their background in terms of their social status during the Portuguese colonial rule. It was necessary to study the influence of some women leaders which inspired other women to participate. The women’s contribution to the liberation struggle is often neglected and assumes importance in the context of patriarchy and traditional Hindu society from which they had to emerge to enter the public domain of political struggle. These had consequences for their social, family, and personal lives. This chapter discusses the heroic actions of some of these women.

Chapter V- Caste And Community Profile.

The social stratification of Goans, before the arrival of Portuguese in Goa, was based on the ‘varna’ system. Since the Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to India, they observed the prevalence and practice of ‘Varna’ system and described it as
'casta' meaning 'Chaste' or 'Pure. It is interesting to study how this caste system among the Hindus got transferred into the Catholic community after conversions and how initially Portuguese took the advantage of various caste groups to perpetuate their rule in Goa. However, in the end we find all these caste groups, and also both the Hindu and Catholic communities, coming together to drive-out the Portuguese from Goa. This chapter studies the background from the point of view of social life of Goans, varna system (based on division of labour) and caste system under the Portuguese rule. It investigates the role of various castes in the first phase of liberation Struggle of Goa. It also analyses how the movement for liberation of Goa transcended caste, in spite of its deep roots and division in Goan society, and became a secular movement in the last phase of the liberation struggle. It was only in Goa one finds the attachment towards one's own caste before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties and after the liberation of Goa. The movement for liberation for about a period of fifteen years form 1946 till 1961 was a secular movement.

Chapter VI- Voice Of Freedom Of Goa.

This chapter is devoted to studying the place of the Goenche Sodvonnecho Awaz- 'Voice of Freedom of Goa' in the liberation movement. This was an underground radio station that was manned, and run, by the nationalists during the liberation struggle of Goa. It was started on 25th November 1955 and continued, without a break, till 19th December 1961. The nationalists worked from outside Goa, especially at the Goa-India border and were living incognito in the dense forest areas. It is a remarkable story of idealism, courage and commitment to a free Goa. The 'Voice of Freedom' of Goa was heard in Goa despite the ban on the most elementary civil liberties. This chapter looks at the various important broadcasts that were made by 'Voice of Freedom' during the Portuguese rule and its impact on Goans as well as on the Portuguese administration. It will broadcasts on themes such as the struggle for civil liberties, the anti-colonial struggle in Goa, and the anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa.
Chapter VII- Conclusion.

This chapter would assess the entire liberation struggle in terms of achievements and failures. The movement for liberation had subsided for about a period of five years from 1949 to 1953. Again the movement for liberation was at stand still after the organization of 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha. The chapter will also evaluate the role of satyagraha and non-violence at the same time the revolutionary activities in the Portuguese colony in Goa. The study on the internal movement that is within Goa records the smaller voices which do not form the part of the general discussion on the liberation struggle of Goa. These voices were either not heard or they were neglected by the earlier scholars who have studied the liberation struggle of Goa. The story of the voices in the liberation struggle is been told through the voices of these freedom fighters who have directly participated or indirectly formed a part of this movement. This would definitely help one to understand the realities, the truth of the movement.

The study helps one to understand how the movement for liberation was actually a movement of the people, the efforts of the individuals and the groups to challenge the Portuguese rule even under the strong hold of the dictatorial rule, the formation of various organizations by different groups later on all merging into one and then again defecting from the parent organization, the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli by these organizations, the issue of leadership in the movement, the union of Catholics and Hindus, especially in the last phase of the movement forgetting even the caste differences, the efforts of a small group of nationalists who lived underground for about a period of about six years in jungles to make available the news about the liberation struggle in other colonies of Portuguese rule. Thus the study helps one to gain a deeper and richer understanding of the liberation struggle.

The aim of the study is to concentrate on the liberation struggle of Goa, especially on its last phase. I would like to record some of the voices in this struggle for liberation that are not often appreciated since the resistance by this group, to foreign rule, is also important and must become part of the process of historical recovery. The study would
highlight the role of various organizations, groups, individuals, etc., in this liberation struggle. It would also look at the contribution of different caste groups and communities to the liberation struggle, by highlighting the major events in the liberation struggle of Goa.

Research Methods

The primary data on which the thesis is constructed comprises of extensive interviews of freedom fighters and their associates, personal correspondence, documents and archival records pertaining to the liberation struggle, radio broadcasts, newspaper reports, pamphlets and periodicals published during the struggle both from within and outside Goa. The secondary data consists of books and articles and other studies on the subject. The rich source of data, however, is the personal interviews where nearly sixty interviews with freedom fighters, both men and women and even of their children were recorded. The attempt was to try and recover from them the issues that motivated them, the events and personalities that inspired them during the liberation struggle for Goa.

The study adopted the Historical-Institutional approach. Here the role played by individuals and groups, organizations and events, in the liberation movement is examined. The Historical-Institutional approach allows us to emphasize the efforts and role of small as well as big organizations in liberating Goa from Portuguese rule. The role of leaders will also be studied. It is generally considered that right from the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, till the liberation of Goa, the struggle should be seen as a political movement. The earlier revolts of Goans against the Portuguese will also be recognized. The discourse of nationalism also serves as an important backdrop. The study will also examine the role of the national policy towards the liberation struggle in Goa and the response to it.