

## THE ORGANISATIONAL LANDSCAPE OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE

“Gomantak is a part of Hindustan and that Portugal rules over it as Britain over the rest of the country, is an accident and a bad dream and will pass... meanwhile, people of Gomantak, think freely, speak freely, write freely, and act to build up organized strength”.

- Dr. R. M. Lohia.

The last phase of the Goa's Liberation struggle began with the above message to the Goans by Dr. R. M. Lohia on 18th June 1946. It was a struggle started to attain civil liberties which were denied to Goans under Portuguese rule. Every political or social action of Goans required the previous sanction of the Portuguese government. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia exhorted the people of Goa to come together and fight for civil liberties. His voice was heard at Margao for the first time in public by Goans under the Portuguese dictatorship. In his message to the Goans he emphasized the building up of the organizations limiting the aim to the attainment of civil liberties and not of independence. The formation of political organizations was in itself a challenge to the Portuguese rule. Under the fascist nature of Portuguese rule, even social or cultural organizations had no place to function.

The first and foremost principle of Dr. Salazar was to restrict all the activities by putting a ban on civil liberties. Dr. T. B. Cunha, the father of Goan nationalism writes;

‘Since 1926, Portugal is a fascist type of dictatorship. It has a close resemblance to the system prevailing in Italy and Germany with a difference that it supports itself on the shoulders of the military officialdom and high clergy instead of a strong political party. Like the other fascist dictatorships, its characteristics are the suppression of public liberties and the most elementary rights of the people. The parliament is considered as a mere decorative institution. Elections are a vestige of the past and aim at confirming unanimously the acts of the government; their result

being known in advance. No political parties are allowed. No political or even doctrinal discussion is permitted. The right of assembly does not exist and the press is under the severe censorship'.<sup>1</sup>

Under such circumstances a number of Political organizations had to be formed, to give a challenge to Portuguese colonialism.

The people of Goa, however did not lag behind as far as formation of organizations were concerned. Dr. T. B. Cunha, Goan nationalist had formed the Goa Congress Committee in 1928, much before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. In addition to this, a number of nationalists or political groups were functioning in Goa during the phase of dictatorship in Portugal. Thus, the people of Goa tried to voice their resentment towards the Portuguese through their organizations. After the 18th June 1946 movement Goans inside Goa, as well as those outside Goa, took the help of organizations to raise the Goan issue outside Goa as well as outside India. The organization or a committee named Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti was formed by Indians to help the Goans in their efforts at liberating Goa from Portuguese rule.

In this chapter, I will examine some of these organizations in terms of three themes: (i) The Influence of Ideology, (ii) types of organization and (iii) their different stages of formations. All three are related to each other. Ideology marked the very beginning of the struggle which led to the formation of organizations. These in turn resulted in different stages of formation of these organizations.

### **The Influence Of Ideology**

The best illustration of the influence of ideology is of Francisco Luis Gomes<sup>2</sup> who preached the message of Gomantaki Indian nationalism. Besides him, Luis de Menezes Braganza passed a resolution as a leader of the nationalist party in the Goa Legislative Council stating that Goa didn't renounce her patrimony of freedom and vision of a united

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<sup>1</sup> Cunha, T. B. (1961) *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, The New Age Printing Press, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Juliao, Menezes (1947), *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Published and Printed by Dr. Juliao Menezes at Shiva Printing Press, pp. 14, 15.

and free India. There are many examples of this type which make us to believe that nationalism as a process had begun in Goa much before the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. It was in 1852 Father Jeremias Mascarenhas citing the Independence of Brazil proclaimed in Parliament of Portugal that no one should wonder if Portuguese India also made a demand for Independence. He said that emancipation was a natural evolution common to both individual and colonies.<sup>3</sup>

However, in the later period of Goa's liberation struggle, it was Indian National Congress (INC) which created a new sense of nationalism in the minds of Goans. INC and its ideology of satyagraha and non-violence, became dominant in the last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa. There is no doubt that the liberation struggle was influenced by the Indian National Movement (henceforth INM) right from 1946 till 1961. The growth of nationalism that was taking place in Goa, among the Goan youth slowly started taking the shape of political organizations during 1920s. These organizations were built along the lines of the different ideologies prominent in the Indian National Movement.

The ideology of *satyagraha and non-violence* attracted many Goan youth. Shri Purushottam Kakodkar<sup>4</sup>, a Goan nationalist, who had stayed with Mahatma Gandhi in the Wardha ashram, started a Gandhian constructive programme in Goa. It included the spinning and weaving of khadi, praying, flag hoisting, etc. The ideology of the wheel, which represents the concept of *swadeshi* and self-reliance became popular among the women. Besides this the wearing of khadi and Gandhi cap, became the symbol of nationalism in Goa. Many Goan youth and students started identifying themselves with Indian National Congress. Let me give two instances of the impact of Gandhi cap on the youth during the civil liberties movement in 1946. Frank Andrade, a Goan nationalist was sentenced to one month's additional imprisonment<sup>5</sup> because he did not remove a Gandhi cap in the court of law. Andrade declared that though he was a Christian by religion, he was a Hindu by culture.

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<sup>3</sup> Gaitonde, P. D. (1987), *The Liberation Of Goa- A Participants View of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> He along with Shri. Shivaji Kudchadkar started 'Goa Rachana Karya Samiti' to spread the importance of Khadi in Goa.

<sup>5</sup> Hodarkar, S. M. 'National congress (Goa) Va Goa Swatantrya Latha' (Marathi), a paper presented in the seminar on *Advent Of Portuguese In Goa and Goa's Struggle For Freedom*, held on 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim college of Arts and Commerce.

Mr. Andrade was arrested by Mapusa police for offering satyagraha on 29<sup>th</sup> October 1946. In another case, one soldier snatched away the Gandhi cap from the head of Vincent Cunha (during civil disobedience movement) and passed it round to his comrades who promptly wiped their shoes with it. They then handed it over to its owner who received it with a defiant shout of *Jai-Hind*.<sup>6</sup>

The impact of satyagraha and non-violence was not limited to Goa. It even cut across geographical barriers with Goan nationalists in Portugal who were fascinated with the work of the Indian National Congress. They started calling themselves as the members of I.N.C.<sup>7</sup> For them, there was no difference between Goa and India. They referred to India as “*Patria Hindu*” and changed their Portuguese names to that of Indian names.<sup>8</sup> Such was the impact of Gandhi and satyagraha and non- violence on Goans.

Besides this, socialism and communism, which had played an equally important role in the Indian National Movement, captured the imagination of Goan youth. This ideology in the I.N.M was to get the support of peasants and workers to overthrow British imperialism. Some of the Goan patriots saw this ideology as more important than satyagraha and non- violence. This may be because of its success in I.N.M and because leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose were attracted towards socialism in 1930s.

The young nationalists like Shri Shamrao Madkaikar<sup>9</sup> and Shri Ramanath Kadkade worked to spread this ideology among the Goan youth. But the very objective of this ideology of mobilising the common people was lost in the liberation struggle of Goa. These nationalists should have been able to bring up the common people, especially the farmers community into the mainstream of the liberation struggle thus making it a mass movement. If that had happened in the early stage of movement, it would have helped at the later stage of the liberation struggle. However, it was only in mid-50s Bahujan Samaj got itself integrated with the movement. But the beginning of the liberation struggle of

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<sup>6</sup> Menezes, Juliao op.cit., p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> Sukhatankar, J. S., (1992), *Portuguese Rajvarttil Swatantrya Ladhychi Panne 1510-1947*, Bombay: Goa: Gomantak Marathi Academy- Panaji, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> For example a member of the organization named Fernadu Costa became Ram Gokhale, Antonio Furtado became Ram Pandit, Telo de Mascarenhas became Upendra Raj, etc

<sup>9</sup> Shamrao Madkaikar accepted the membership of Radical Democratic Party.

Goa remained restricted to the middle class only. There was another group of Socialists, who were attracted towards Subhash Chandra Bose and his Indian National Army. These were among many Goan Patriots who had faith not only in Gandhi, but also in Subhash Chandra Bose and V. D. Savarkar. And these people believed in the use of violence. They argued that the Portuguese should be given an open challenge.<sup>10</sup> However, just like the Shamrao Madkaikar's group, this group was small. Its activities were restricted to its members only and thus one does not find its influence on the general public. This does not mean that the people of Goa were not against the Portuguese rule. It only means that they did not get a chance to express themselves as they were not aware of the existence of these political groups in Goa before 1946. And if they were not against the Portuguese rule, then 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties would not have been a great success. One thing is to be remembered here is that these organizations were formed for the purpose of creating a sense of patriotism among Goans. The objective was to prepare the Goan youth to feel the sense of unity and brotherhood and to identify themselves with India.

It was an attempt to create an atmosphere conducive to the growth of nationalism which was dormant. The main purpose was to make a revolution in the existing values and principles. How far they were successful is a different story. Very little work was done in spreading the ideal of nationalism in Goa before 1946. And due to this, these ideologies, remained only as ideologies in the minds of Goan youth in that period.

However on 18th June 1946 the time had come to give substance to these ideologies when the last phase of liberation struggle had begun. Goan nationalists now came to the conclusion that without strong resistance Portuguese rule would never come to an end. And in an effort to give a challenge to Portuguese administration the first and foremost thing required was to organise the people against the denial of civil liberties on a large scale.

The 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties is, in itself, the best example of the practice of *satyagraha* and non-violence against Fascist Portuguese rule. Dr. R. M. Lohia,

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<sup>10</sup> P. P. Shirodkar (1986), '1946 to 1949 Madhil Pratyaksha Govyatil Ladhyaacha Adhava', in *Silver Jubilee Of Goa's Liberation 1961-86* (Souvenir) (1986), Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Freedom fighters Association, p. unnumbered.

a socialist leader of INM, himself set an example by speaking freely, without the support of any organization, but with the full fledged support of the people. The Goan people, who did not get a chance of watching what *satyagraha* can do, were fascinated by it. Right from that day till 1955, *satyagraha* and non-violence played an important role in the liberation struggle of Goa. Individual *satyagrahas*, group *satyagrahas*, and mass *satyagrahas* were held to give a challenge to Portuguese rule in Goa. Some nationalists argued that “Operation Vijay” which was launched by Indian Government to liberate Goa from Portuguese was nearest to non-violence, as there were hardly any casualties.<sup>11</sup>

National Congress (Goa) was formed on the principles of *satyagraha* and non-violence, which played an important role in the liberation struggle of Goa. However, revolutionary minded Goan youth severed its ties with NC(G) to practice their own ideology independently. Influenced by Subhash Chandra Bose, they formed *Azad Gomantak Dal* on the lines of *Azad Hind Fauz*. These nationalists who later on became famous as “bandits” among the Portuguese as well as Goans, believed that Portugal does not understand the language of *satyagraha* and non-violence.<sup>12</sup> There were many other organizations which were formed on the similar pattern like Goa Liberation Army, *Rancor Patriotica*, Quit-Goa, etc. However, it should be remembered that like INC, NC(G) was the only organisation to keep its faith in *satyagraha* and non-violence. But in case of Goa, NC(G) was run by socialists.

Right from Dr. R. M. Lohia the leader of the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties to Peter Alvares, the leader of NC(G), the liberation struggle of Goa was in the hands of Socialists. Besides them Ashoka Mehta, a Socialist had presided over the meeting on 17th and 18th August 1946 at Londa, which had concluded in the formation of NC(G). It is also believed that Nath Pai, a socialist was supervising the work of Goa’s liberation struggle in mid 50’s.<sup>13</sup> Again there were many socialists in Goa working for NC(G), like

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with Gandhian and Freedom Fighter Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November, 2000)

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Freedom Fighters such as Shri. V. N. Lawande (May 1996), Prabhakar Vaidya, (June 1997), etc.

<sup>13</sup> Karpe, Ramakrisna A. ‘Goa Swatantrya Ladhyatil Majhe Karya’ (Marathi) in Gomantak Marathi Academy, Maitra (Bimonthly) (August 1996). Goa: Published by Nisha Vaidya from Gomantak Marathi Academy Office- Panaji p. 11.

Interview with Shri. Jaisinhrao A. Rane. (October 1996)

Shri. Gajanan Raikar and others. However, all these socialists believed in satyagraha and non-violence to be adopted as guidelines for the liberation of Goa. This may be due to the fact that Goa was a small territory which did not require any underground or terrorist activities. If entire Goa had participated in large numbers in satyagraha and non-violence, it would have been very difficult for the Portuguese to maintain law and order. Terrorist activities, as we would see, only divided the movement into groups and resulted in lot of confusion in the minds of Goans. Further, Dr. R. M. Lohia, the Socialist leader, while addressing the crowd on 18th June 1946, advised the people of Goa to limit their struggle to the attainment of civil liberties. He suggested that they concentrate their attention on social work which was more important than freedom at that stage. In a speech delivered on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1946 at Margao Dr. R. M. Lohia emphasised;

‘And yet there are quite a few things which you can and must undertake at once. You must revive village industries and Khadi and establish new ones. You must stop this racket in rice which enables the Government and its servants and others to take a looting profit out of the food of the people’.<sup>14</sup>

Further, the social work also included the unity of Hindus and Christians, training the youth into social and co-operative ways through volunteers corps, to safeguard the peasantry and revive village industry and khadi, promote co-operative farming and honour the national flag and enable the people to sing their national songs<sup>15</sup>. However this was not done. Within two months of its formation NC(G) changed its goal to complete independence from Portuguese rule.<sup>16</sup> It was an immatured decision. Even Mahatma Gandhi had said that the larger question of independence would rest with the Indian government. Even Kakasaheb Kalellkar believed that if there would not have been any movement for liberation in Goa against Portuguese, India would not have kept its territory under the foreign imperialism.<sup>17</sup> However, one should not forget the contribution of all these ideologies to the liberation struggle of Goa. They have definately helped the Goans to try to solve the

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<sup>14</sup> Dr. R. M. Lohia's speech is quoted in P. P. Shirodkar (ed) (1990), **Who's Who Of The Freedom Fighters- Goa, Daman Diu**, Vol II. Goa: Goa Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa p. XIII.

<sup>15</sup> Shirodkar, P. P.(ed),(1990) **Who's Who of the Freedom Fighters-Goa, Daman and Diu**, Vol II. Goa: Goa Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa. pp. XI-XIV.

<sup>16</sup> This was decided in the meeting of NC(G) which was held at Karamali (Carambolim) on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1947.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000)

Goan problem. Gandhian satyagraha and non-violence might have dominated the liberation struggle of Goa. But it was also helped by other organizations believing in different ideologies. For example, when mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 was announced, *Azad Gomantak Dal* suspended its activities for time being in order to help the Indian satyagrahis to march into Goa. On many occasions, one find that all these ideologies have merged together to create a necessary impact on the liberation struggle of Goa.

However, as one studies the liberation struggle of Goa, one comes across a significant section of people, who did not align themselves with any of the political organizations, as if they did not have faith in any ideology. If they believed in something it was liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule. In fact they are proud of the fact that they were not the members of any Political organizations. Jyoti Deshpande, a Goan nationalist had worked for the underground radio that was started by Vaman Sardesai. Besides this, Vaman Sardesai, though a Gandhian was not a member of any Goan political organization but worked independently for liberation of Goa. While some of them have worked individually, others like Shivram Shet have helped almost all the organizations irrespective of their ideologies. For them, the liberation of Goa was itself an ideology or above all other ideologies. Thus the question of disbelieving in one ideology and joining other did not come. It is this section of people who have no leadership. They themselves were the leaders and they themselves were the followers. These type of people comprise the subaltern groups. An innumerable people, who do not have any recognition as freedom fighters or any voice of their own which could be heard by others, worked for Goa's liberation. Some of them acted as volunteers, carried national flags, arms, bombs, etc. from one place to another. Some acted as messengers, passing messages from person to person. Women in large numbers especially in border areas of Pernem and Canacona supported these freedom fighters, sometimes by providing shelter while sometimes providing food to them. These people never differentiated between those who believed in satyagraha and non-violence and those who believed in violence. They aspired only for the liberation of Goa.

Further, liberation struggle of Goa, specially the last phase of it, did not have any background of Goan history. I say this because I found not a single freedom fighter whom I

have interviewed who was motivated by the revolts that rocked Goa before 1946 movement, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Almost all the nationalists were influenced by Indian National Movement and no one was fascinated by the various acts of resistance and revolts that were triggered off in Goa right from the Portuguese conquest. This is very much surprising because lack of knowledge of history created confusion in the minds of young revolutionaries. A look at the history of all these revolts, makes us believe that underground terrorist activities cannot be successful in Goa all the time under all circumstances. All these revolts were local, restricted to a village or a group of villages or a locality. And due to this, most of them were crushed very easily by Portuguese authorities. The same thing happened with *Azad Gomantak Dal*. Their activities were mostly unsuccessful for the simple reason that they did not have knowledge of Portuguese administration.<sup>18</sup> Besides the people in Goa are peace loving people. These people were mostly afraid of the volunteers of AGD because, while fighting for the liberation they troubled lot of people sometimes robbing them as well as sometimes even killing them. Thus many people in Goa were against these activists. It was for this reason Portuguese called them as 'bandits' and not revolutionaries. Most of the Goans were terrorised by their activities. The sufferers were mostly the common people and not the Portuguese.<sup>19</sup>

Having seen the impact of various ideologies on the Goan nationalists, let me now study the various organisations which were formed before 18th June 1946 movement, during liberal era of Portuguese rule.

### **Types Of Organization:**

In its long rule for about 450 years, Portuguese Goa had passed through three phases. It witnessed the monarchical rule before 1910, liberal phase during 1910-1926 and then the dictatorship of Dr. Oliviera Salazar till 1961.

The revolution<sup>20</sup> that took place in Portugal led to the establishment of Republic on 5th October 1910, which lasted till 1926. The republican era of Portuguese rule in Goa

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<sup>18</sup> Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar. (November 2000)

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Shri. Rambhau Kakodkar (May 2000), Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (Nov. 2000) and Smt. Rajani Naik (June 2000)

<sup>20</sup> During this time Don Carlos and the Heir Apparent Felip were assassinated.

can be said to be a golden era in Goa as Goans enjoyed all the liberties on par with the Portuguese<sup>21</sup> in Portugal. Goans, taking the advantage of this situation, started expressing themselves through newspapers and organisations. The newspapers like 'Bharat' were started by G. P. Hegde Desai in 1913, 'Hindu' in 1924. Besides these, even political organisations were formed during this time.

Among the Goans, inside Goa, the first ones to take the benefit of the situation were Hindus- Hindus of high caste i.e. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins. The motive behind the formation of '*Pragatik Sangh*'<sup>22</sup> was three-fold, (i) that Hindus should come together and fight unitedly for their identity, (ii) that they should have their voice in the formation of government and (iii) that they should work for their progress in education and culture in which they were lagging behind.

However as far as its first motive was concerned, it was a farce. It did work for the unity of Hindus, but not of the whole community. Since this organisation was formed by enlightened and educated Saraswat Brahmin Hindus, it not only lacked the membership of Catholics, but also the low caste in Hindu community. The second motive was achieved by successfully contesting the elections to the local bodies. Bhaskarrao Sardesai and Narayan Bhandodkar were elected. Besides, this organisation also supported the candidature of Dr. Froilano de Melo for the member of Parliament in Portugal in 1924. *Pragatik Sangh*, as the name suggests, rather than working for the development or progress of the Hindu community, it had worked for the caste upliftment. *Pragatik Sangh*, which was formed in the Kawale Temple of Ponda Taluka in the year 1920, had the membership of only Hindu Gaud Saraswat Brahmins.<sup>23</sup> Its president was Dadasaheb Kundaikar.

Since *Pragatik Sangh* was political in nature, it opened up Marathi schools and libraries at different places in Goa. In order to spread the spirit of nationalism, prominent nationalists were invited to speak on different occasions. At the same time, they had also send their representatives to the Portuguese Parliament during the Liberal era. But *Pragatik*

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<sup>21</sup> Interview with Shri. Narendra Hegde Desai.(NC(G). (June 1996)

<sup>22</sup> Sardesai, M. H.(1994), *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*,(Marathi) Goa: Purogami Prakashan, pp. 177-179.

<sup>23</sup> They were Dadasaheb Kundaikar(President), Shamrao Sardesai, Bhausubab Sardesai, Dattatraya V. Pai, Upendra Talaulikar and others.

*Sangh* had failed in an attempt to unite the Hindus to build up a strong force to keep its own identity in Goa against the alien nature of Portuguese rule. Not only this, one can make out from its membership and work that it did among the people, that except very few Gaud Saraswat Brahmins it could not muster the support of other Hindus. Since Goans were treated equally during the liberal phase, various opportunities in education and jobs were provided to them.<sup>24</sup>

Hindus took the benefit of these opportunities and looked after their private interests. Since the Portuguese rule had become more liberal, Goans forgot about its foreign nature and instead, they concentrated their attention on the personal welfare. If at all, the Goans had asked for the self-rule or autonomy under the liberal phase and have worked for it, the Goan history would have been different.<sup>25</sup> Here they restricted their work in achieving the progress of their caste people. Gaud Saraswat Brahmins (henceforth GSB) in Goa took the advantage of this liberal phase, but on the other hand Bahujan Samaj people in Goa could not achieve any progress as they were culturally, socially, politically, economically and educationally less developed. Thus there was a rift between the Hindu GSB and the rest Bahujan Samaj who were mostly low caste people. This disunity further widened during the republican era. But GSBs were only concentrating on their development. During this time, this enlightened caste i.e. GSBs should have taken the lead in uniting the people of Goa. By joining hands with Bahujan Samaj, by making them aware of their rights, GSBs would have been able to start the movement for autonomy or self-rule under the Portuguese for Goans. If they were successful in achieving this objective, it would have been very easy to challenge the Portuguese in the later period. Besides this, *Pragatik Sangh* looked after the welfare of its own caste people. It would not be wrong to say that rather than other caste people, it was only the GSBs who took the advantage of this era as they were better-off and educated.

On the other hand the Goans in Portugal, who were influenced by the 19th century ideas of Liberalism, Socialism and Nationalism, and formed '*Centru Nacionalist Indianu*'

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<sup>24</sup> Sardesai, M. H. op.cit., p. 157.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Narendra Hegde Desai.(NCG),(May 1996.)

or ' *Patria Nacionalist Hindu* '.<sup>26</sup> This came into existence in Portugal itself in December 1925. It was formed by Catholic Goans who had settled in Portugal for higher education, business and jobs. It was established with the mystical name of the Hindu triad- the syllable 'OAM'. It should be remembered that these Goan Catholics were more liberal minded than Hindus and could clearly see the difference between the Monarchy and Republic and that too under the self-rule. And in order to work for 'Swaraj' or 'Independence' twenty-eight nationalists came together under the leadership of Fernando de Costa, to form this organization.<sup>27</sup> They started their work for Goa's cause by conducting interviews of intellectuals and important people<sup>28</sup> in the government in Portugal to know their views regarding India in general and Goa in particular. They emphasised on the unity of Hindus and Catholics for Goa's cause. They believed that the actual work of spreading the nationalistic thought is necessary in Goa. This organization got a wide publicity not only in Portugal but also in Goa and various Goan organizations supported it wholeheartedly.

However within one year of its formation, Dr. Salazar came to power in 1926 and imposed a ban on all the civil liberties. Thus *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* could not do any active work on the Goan soil, but definitely it had expressed its pro-Indian views on the soil of Portugal.

However, one thing is very clear that Goan Catholics were more liberal minded than Goan Hindus. *Pragatik Sangh* was formed by Hindus and worked for the unity among Hindus, more specially among Hindu Gaud Saraswat Brahmins. But *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* was formed by Goan Catholics and emphasised on the unity of Hindus and Catholics. Besides this, *Pragatik Sangh* did not receive much importance and publicity in Goa although it was formed inside Goa. It was not even popular among Hindus may be because it had restricted its activities to few Hindus. Whereas *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* became famous in Portugal and Goa due to its secular nature. It was understood that political and cultural development of a nation depends on the progress of people in general and not

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<sup>26</sup> Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., pp. 47-57.

<sup>27</sup> Sardesai, M. H. op.cit., pp. 186-194.

<sup>28</sup> These included Rosh Martins (MP and Member of Academy of Science), Ferrer Castro, Edward Friyash (writer), Ronald Periera (Political scientist) and many members.

of a particular caste or community. *Pragatik Sangh* on the other hand had a very narrow base. Being formed in Goa, it would have been able to unite the people irrespective of caste or religion. This did not happen and Goa had to suffer later on for more than thirty-five years. This was mainly because this organization had a very narrow base and it did not even tried to broaden its outlook where others can be encompassed in this organization.

Unfortunately, Portugal enjoyed the Republic only for a brief period of sixteen years. This was too small for any country to develop at its best. The revolution of 28th May 1926 in Portugal resulted in the dictatorship of Dr. Oliviera Salazar. More unfortunate were the Goans who could not bring about any changes in the political scenario of the region. After coming to power, Dr. Salazar's first action was to crush all the liberties; which people had enjoyed during the Republic. Meetings, demonstrations, organizations were banned and all the publications were strictly censored. The administration of Portugal and its colonies came directly under his supervision and control. He thus became a dictator.

After the curtailment of civil liberties and other rights and privileges, the Goan nationalist thought of starting the movement for liberation by organizing themselves, all over again. However, only two organisations were supposed to have formed, one inside Goa and the other in Portugal during the liberal era of the Portuguese rule. It was during the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, we find the emergence of a number of political organizations in Goa. Prominent among them are Goa Congress Committee formed by Dr. T. B. Cunha in 1928, *Tarun Hind Sangh* formed by Shri. Shamrao Madkaikar in 1937, *Goa National Congress* or *Gomantak Congress* formed by Dr. Ram Hegde, *Goa Seva Sangh* formed by Shri. Purushottam Kakodkar, Students Union formed by Dr. Bhembre at Altinho Mapusa.

The more you are denied something, or the more you suffer the more you revolt. This human nature was seen by the Portuguese when many Goans had revolted against the tyrannical rule before the twentieth century. Thus, the denial of the civil liberties encouraged or rather forced Goan nationalist to rise up against the Portuguese rule and to show their anger by forming political organizations.

The most important organization which was formed during the Salazar dictatorship of Portugal was Goa Congress Committee<sup>29</sup>. A Gandhian and a true nationalist, Dr. T. B. Cunha was its founder. The father of Goa's nationalism felt that the political future of Goa was to be integrated with the Indian National Movement. And this was the main reason to affiliate the Goa Congress Committee with the Indian National Congress on December 30, 1928<sup>30</sup>. Formed in the beginning of 1928, Goa Congress Committee could not work openly due to strict restrictions. Due to its clandestine nature it could not attract the people. And since it could not attract the people it could not get the support of the people. However, with the publicity it received in newspapers after affiliating with the Indian National Congress in India, the public in Goa, for the first time, came to know about the existence of a political organization in Goa. The founding members of Goa Congress Committee (henceforth GCC) were the members of *Pragatik Sangh*. For example, Venkatesh Rao V. S. Sardesai, one of the members of G.C.C. However, Dr. T. B. Cunha remained as the president of his organization till the formation of National Congress (Goa) in 1947 when GCC officially merged with it.

As a political organization, the important task in front of GCC was to make propaganda against the Portuguese rule through the newspapers. After the strict censorship in 1929, GCC published and distributed nationalist literature, posters and other reading material among the Goan youth. But if we evaluate the performance of GCC in Goa, its fate was like that of *Pragatik Sangh* and *Centru Nacionalist Indianu*. Besides, it was led by few educated high caste Christians and Hindus. Further Goa Congress Committee, instead of fighting against the Portuguese rule or making the people aware of the alien rule had to fight for its own existence. If this was the plight of GCC, formed by Dr. T. B. Cunha, one can very well imagine what was the plight of the other political organisations, which were formed in Goa.

Other organizations such as *Tarun Hind Sangh*, Goa National Congress, *Goa Seva Sangh* and Students Union were mostly local and attracted few people. It would

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<sup>29</sup> Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., pp. 67-72.

<sup>30</sup> At a session of INC held at Calcutta and Presided over by Motilal Nehru.

not be wrong to call these organizations as groups, mainly due to the fact that they entertained not the people, but friends and relatives<sup>31</sup>. Except, *Tarun Hind Sangh*, which advocated communism and socialism, all others acted like caste groups as all members and leaders came from the upper caste of Hindus as their name suggests. This can be explained from the fact that *Goa Seva Sangh* which was involved in spreading the concept of nationalism through celebrating important national days, singing of *Vande Mataram*, flag hoisting, praying etc.,<sup>32</sup> was restricted to the people of high caste and their family members. Besides this, the lectures on the nationalism which were conducted on behalf of *Goa Seva Sangh*, were delivered by upper caste Hindus especially GSBs. *Tarun Hind Sangh* also held the discussions on political issues and conducted many lectures on nationalism. Besides this, it is also said to have opened up libraries in many parts of Goa and propagated its views through hand-written monthly named '*Uttejan*'.<sup>33</sup>

One thing that is, however, to be noted here is that all these organizations had very little success in propagating the message of nationalism. The main reason for their failure lies in the fact that not a single organization took the work for cause of Goa seriously. If they thought that under the dictatorship they could not do the work properly, it was a false belief. It is said that before 1946, the restrictions were not so strict as it was projected to be. For example, during 1945-46, Portuguese government had allowed the Goans to hoist Indian flag with the Portuguese flag,<sup>34</sup> but unfortunately Goans did not take the benefit of the prevailing situation. Goans wanted to do something to build up the political consciousness in Goa, but did nothing, except form organizations. And this was one of the reasons why Goa had to wait for a long period of thirteen years to get liberated not by the Goans, but by Indians.

There seems to be not a single organizations formed by Goans for Goa's cause, outside Goa which can be considered to be significant. But GCC which was formed in

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<sup>31</sup> One can identify these people as GSBs from their surnames and they were mostly friends or relatives of each other.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Freedom fighter Shri. Shivaji Kudchadkar. (October 1997)

<sup>33</sup> Bhatt, Vithalrai. (1992). *Gomantakatil Agnifule*, Thane: Anuradha Prakashan Ambivali, (W) p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with Freedom fighter Shri. Madhukar Desai (May 1998) and Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000).

Goa, had worked outside Goa, i.e, in Bombay after its disaffiliation to INC in 1934.<sup>35</sup> But the way GCC had to fight for its existence in Goa, and also in Bombay where it had to fight for its survival shows the lack of involvement of Goans in the organization. After its resettlement in Bombay in 1936, and later on the advice of Subhash Chandra Bose, provincial GCC was established. Thus GCC started working under the Congress without directly affiliating to it<sup>36</sup>.

Goa Congress Committee, which had completely settled down in Bombay by 1938, started the work for Goa's cause with new vigour. Thus, to discuss, its future the GCC in Bombay held a meeting in December 1935 at Bombay. It was attended by Mr. Ignatius Fonseca (editor of *Anglo Lusitanu*), Purushottam Revankar, Adv. J. P. Lobo, Vinayak Karapurkar, J. D. Silva, Prof. Armando Menezes, Sushil Kawalekar, C. K. Sakholkar, Vaikunth N. Nevrekar, Peter Alvares, Dr. T. B. Cunha, Ana Mayekar and V. S. Sardesai. During this time Dr. T. B. Cunha was elected as President and F. S. Gracius as Secretary.<sup>37</sup>

GCC in Bombay took up the work of organizing the Goans in Bombay. Besides this, it had also published articles, pamphlets which were circulated secretly inside Goa. For example, 'Denationalisation of Goans' had become famous among the Goan youth<sup>38</sup>. However, GCC could not muster the support of a large number of Goans in Bombay for Goa's cause. It is said that the Goans in Bombay were not serious about the Portuguese rule in Goa. And this is one of the reasons why there was not a single organization formed outside Goa before 1946.

The 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties marked the beginning of new era in the political future of Goa. If it would not have been this movement which was responsible to start the liberation struggle afresh, the Goan History would have been totally different. Political organizations that were formed after this movement assume more importance for the reason that they acquired the knowledge of how to oppose the alien rule on the Goan

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<sup>35</sup> It was disaffiliated because INC thought of closing down all such branches of it which were working on the soil of foreign country. Since Goa was not under the British rule GCC was considered as foreign.

<sup>36</sup> Sukhatankar, J. S. *op.cit.*, p.84.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p. 84-85.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelckar. (November 2000).

soil. In a bid to throw out the Portuguese rule, a number of small groups were functioning against Portuguese imperialism. The number of these organizations was too big for a small territory like Goa (see Appendix-III). If India could challenge mighty British empire just with one organization i. e. Indian National Congress, it was rather pity for Goans, who kept themselves divided into many organizations. However all the organizations formed for Goa's cause had a strong ambition and anxiety to throw out the four hundred years Portuguese rule.

Political organizations formed before India's independence but after 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties assumed more importance than those organizations which were formed after India's Independence. This is for the simple reason that Goans felt that these organizations would help Goa to get freedom from Portuguese colonialism not only effectively organizing the satyagraha movement within Goa, but also by pressurising the Indian government to solve Goa's problem. Even Mahatma Gandhi believed that the inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence until greater India has regained it.<sup>39</sup> It was not only the Goan nationalists, but even the Portuguese authorities themselves believed that after India's Independence even Portuguese rule in Goa would come to an end. Besides this the priority of Goan nationalists was not the liberation, but asking for civil liberties, thus helping the Indian leadership to solve the Goan problem as early as possible, especially soon after India's Independence. With this background two important organizations were formed, Azad Gomantak Dal, inside Goa and National Congress (Goa), at Londa in Maharashtra.

The credit for the formation of the first political organization after 18<sup>th</sup> June 1946 movement for civil liberties goes to National Congress (Goa). The first and probably the last effort of Goan nationalists to bring together all the nationalist forces under one name and one banner, led to the formation of NC(G). It was formed by the merger of three political groups, which were then working for Goa's cause namely Goa Congress Committee, *Goa Seva Sangh* and *Gomantak Congress*. National Congress (Goa) was the

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<sup>39</sup> Kelkar, Indumati (1996), Dr. R. M. Lohia- His Life and Philosophy Pune: Published by Sripad Kelekar, Sadashiv Peth p. 119.

result of the meeting which was held on 17th and 18th August 1946 at Londa in the former Bombay state, presently in Karnataka near Goa border. The meeting was attended by 125 Goan nationalists and presided over by the socialist leader Shri Ashoka Mehta.<sup>40</sup>

Two reasons are given for the formation of NC(G), the first being more important and more reliable than the second. The call given by Dr. R. M. Lohia for the unity among the different nationalists forces for the demand of civil liberties finds its echo in the formation of NC(G). Whereas the arrests of top most leaders like Shri. Purushottam Kakodkar and others after 18th June movement led to a unification of the various organizations irrespective of ideologies which created the NC(G). The first reason has got more weight because NC(G) was formed for liberties and not for the independence as Dr. R. M. Lohia had suggested. Being the first political organization it received great support. Primarily there were about 125 founding members but later on many men and women enrolled themselves as the members of NC(G). The committee which was formed soon after its formation comprised of Dr. Ram Hegde (President and former leader of Gomantak Congress), Dr. Narayan Bhembre and Evagrio George (Secretaries), Laxmikant Bhembre, P. P. Shirodkar, Madhav Bir and many others. Till 1954 i.e., before the 15th August 1954 satyagraha, every year President and General Secretaries were elected to the National Congress (Goa).<sup>41</sup>

Since the main purpose of NC(G) was to fight for civil liberties, it was decided to hold the satyagrahas on 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month, all over Goa.<sup>42</sup> But the enthusiasm of the people was such that not a single day was spared without satyagrahas. It was started with Adv. Laxmikant Bhembre, the first satyagrahi on behalf of NC(G) who made a speech defying the Portuguese laws in front of Margao Municipality. However that enthusiasm soon came to an end by 1949 with the arrest and imprisonment of many leaders of the movement.

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<sup>40</sup> Shirodkar, P. P. (1991), '1946 to 1949 Madhil Pratyakha Govyatil Ladhya Adhava', (Marathi) in Akhi Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sainik Sangh- Pune and Goa Freedom Fighters Association- Panaji (1991), *Smarnika*, Maharashtra: Published by Shri. Ram Tupe, President, Akhil Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sangram Sainik Sangh, Pune, pp. 101-105

<sup>41</sup> The General secretaries and the President of various committees elected for NC(G) from 1946 are Dr. Narayan Bhembre and Dr. Ram Hegde, 1947, P. P. Shirodkar and Dr. V. N. Mayekar, 1948 Gilherm Tiklo and P. P. Shirodkar, 1949, V. P. Borkar and S. B. D'Silva, 1950 V. N. Lawande and Dr. John Carvalho, 1951 Dr. P. Jambavelikar and Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri, 1952 Anthony D'Souza and Dr. Narayan Bhembre, 1953 Anthony D'Souza and Peter Alvares, 1954 Anthony D'Souza and Smt. Sudhatai Joshi.

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Shri. Narayan Hari Naik. (October 1998). He had participated in a similar type of Satyagraha on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1946 at Sanguem.

Those who were released did not come forward to continue the struggle. Some of the people thought that their work was complete and kept themselves away from the Goan movement. Besides other people, seeing the attitude of the Portuguese towards the satyagrahis hesitated to participate in the movement. Some others like Shri. V. N. Lawande who were ill treated by Portuguese administration during and after 18th June 1946 movement formed underground organizations. Thus the Goan movement which was at the peak during 1946-49 started subsiding. It was during this time, Dr. R. M. Lohia noticed that the new recruits did not come forth to court imprisonment. Difference and dissensions cropped up in the organization and the leaders of the movement, who were drawn from the upper strata, were avoiding jails under the pretext of looking after organizational work.<sup>43</sup> Some Goan nationalists, who did not want the Goan movement to die down thought of reviving the National Congress (Goa). And after India's independence these nationalist such as V. N. Mayekar, P. P. Shirodkar, N. Karapurkar, Guilherm Ticlo, V. N. Lawande, Narayan Naik, Dattatraya Deshpande and Madhusudan Shirodkar held a meeting at Karmali (Carambolim) on 25th October 1947.

This movement has got its own importance from the fact that the aim of NC(G) which was to fight for civil liberties at this meeting decided to change its goal to complete independence from the Portuguese rule<sup>44</sup>. It is very interesting to note here that India had got its independence only two months previously. It was a good opportunity for the Goan nationalists to pressurise the Portuguese government to make them realise that now the time had come for them to leave Goa and go back to Portugal. The mass upsurge which Dr. Lohia's satyagraha sparked in Goa on 18<sup>th</sup> June 1946, had panicked the Portuguese government. Had the movement been sustained upto August 1947, the Portuguese would have to quit Goa simultaneously with the withdrawal of the British.<sup>45</sup>

This organization worked actively on the Goan soil, organising individual, group and mass satyagrahas at different places in Goa<sup>46</sup>. Under the leadership of Shri. Peter

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<sup>43</sup> Kelkar, Indumati op.cit., p. 123.

<sup>44</sup> Shirodkar, P. P. op.cit., p. 164.

<sup>45</sup> Kelkar, Indumati op.cit., p. 123.

<sup>46</sup> Sardesai, M. H. (1986) and (1990) *Goa, Daman, Diu Swatantra Ladhyacha Itihas*, (vol.I&II).(Marathi) Goa: Gazetteer Department, Government of Goa, Daman and Diu.

Alvares NC(G) organised mass satyagraha of 15th August 1954. Besides this, the hoisting of the national flag, celebrating days of National importance such as Gandhi Jayanti, Republic day, Independence day, sticking posters, etc., were the common features of NC(G) activities. Further it was also responsible for creating *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* for Goa's cause. But very few people supported the Goan leaders. It was only Dr. R. M. Lohia who was respected by a large number of Goans. After him, only Peter Alvares, as a common man was respected by Goans. And due to this, 15th August 1954 was not a complete failure. However, it was only converted into group satyagraha. Besides this, by 1954 many peaceful nationalists were attracted towards revolutionary terrorism. This resulted in the split in NC(G) which resulted in weakening of the Goan movement.

The first split to NC(G) came just within eight months of its formation. A group of revolutionary minded Goan nationalists severed its ties with the parent body in the belief that the Portuguese did not understand the language of satyagraha and non-violence. These nationalists came together in the Cuncolim village of Ponda Taluka at the Shantadurga Temple on 23rd April 1947 to form Azad Gomantak Dal under the leadership of V. N. Lawande.<sup>47</sup> The other members besides V. N. Lawande were Narayan H. Naik, Mahabaleshwar Naik, Dattatreya Deshpande, Jaiwant Kunde, Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri, Tony Fernandes, Mukund Dhakankar, Prabhakar Sinari, Prabhakar Vaidya, Shaboo Desai, Dattaram Desai, etc.<sup>48</sup>

Azad Gomantak Dal committed to violent struggle against the Portuguese state is said to have attacked and raided Portuguese Banks, nearly 24 police stations, two army installations, check posts etc. About 150 raids were carried out in order to paralyse the Portuguese administration.<sup>49</sup> After an unsuccessful attempt of attacking Portuguese revenue office, the organisation worked underground. Though established in 1947, it came to prominence only after 1953.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. V. N. Lawande. (May 1996)

<sup>48</sup> Working committee of AGD had President, V. N. Lawande, Secretary Tony Fernandes, Treasurer Dr. Kashinath Sanzgiri.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Shri. V. N. Lawande and Prabhakar Vaidya (June 1996) and others. (AGD)

<sup>50</sup> Lele, P. S. (1987) *Dadra and Nagar Haveli-Past and Present*, Bombay: Published by Usha P. Lele, Mauj Printing Bureau p. 40.

The reason for the failure of AGD are many. Firstly there was no help given by Indian government to such organizations. It is said that terrorism only succeeds if some other country helps these kind of organizations by providing them men and material. And in order to solve the problem of money, it is largely believed that AGD had even raided many rich people in Goa, resulting into the death of rich Goans during raids.<sup>51</sup>

Goa, being a small territory, all such raids, lootings and killings were termed as 'goondaism' and this nature of AGD was spread in entire Goa. Many people in Northern villages of Goa used to be afraid of AGD activities which had threatened the common people more than the Portuguese. And therefore it could attract very few nationalists Goans. Besides this, many AGD volunteers left this organization in between after they came to know about its real nature. Some of them included Ravindra Kelekar and Gajanan Raikar. The AGD claimed that it had successfully raided many outposts, army installations, police stations, etc. in order to collect the arms and ammunitions for AGD which was disputed by others in the liberation movement who termed them as unsuccessful since they were carried out without proper plans.

Whenever they had decided to raid either police posts or outposts etc., in order to grab armaments, they had very little knowledge about its presence at such places. Besides this, due to frustration and indiscipline the members used to fight and quarrel amongst themselves. Some of the members, later on split from the organisation and formed other organization such as *Rancor Patriotica*. Its leader was Prabhakar Sinari, who was the active member of AGD. However AGD played an important part in the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. AGD is said to have worked like a paramilitary force conducting regular guerilla warfare against the Portuguese in Goa.<sup>52</sup>

Having seen the important organizations and their role in the liberation struggle of Goa before India's independence, let me now take a look at the organizations formed for Goa's cause after India's independence. It is important to do this because the problem of Goa, which was considered a simple affair, took a different and serious turn after India's independence.

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<sup>51</sup> Shri. Rambhau's letter to co-freedom fighters.(Collected From Shri. Ravindra Kelekar).

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Sinari.

On 15th August 1947, India got its independence from the British rule. The French gave up their few territorial possessions, which they had in India, and followed the path of the Britishers. The future of India was now dependent upon the integration of nearly about 565 princely states with the Indian Union. The efforts had also begun in that direction soon after 1947. And the most simple case of ending Portuguese rule in Goa started becoming a complex one.

In contrast to Britain and France, Portugal started strengthening its imperial hold over Goa. The first and the foremost act of Dr. Oliveira Salazar was to change the words of 'colonies' to 'overseas provinces' in Portugal's constitution. More and more restrictions were imposed on Goans in these so called 'provinces' of Portugal. In fact upto June 11, 1951, for nearly four hundred years, there was in existence a Portuguese colonial empire. Only on that date, the Portuguese Government redrafted the articles of the Portuguese constitution where the word 'colonia' (colony) was mentioned and substituted it by 'Provincia Ultramarina' (overseas provinces).<sup>53</sup> As a result of all this, not a single organization could take birth on the soil of Goa, after India's independence. Portuguese administration, now became more alert and concerned with India's attitude towards the Goan nationalists. Dr. Salazar also believed that India, in an effort to get rid of foreign rule on its territory, might take a police action or help the Goan nationalist to throw them out. Thus, the liberal attitude of Portuguese towards the Goan nationalists which had prevailed before India's independence suddenly disappeared. And in order to escape from the repressive measures of Portuguese rule, Goan nationalists went outside Goa, settled in Bombay or Belgaum and in other parts in India. These nationalists formed many organizations for Goa's liberation outside Goa.<sup>54</sup>

*Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*(GVSS) and Goa Liberation Army (GLA) are two prominent organisations. Although formed outside Goa, both these organizations were active on the Goan soil. It is also to be noted that the former believed in *satyagraha* and

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<sup>53</sup> George, Evagrio (1961), The Goa case, New Delhi: National Campaign Committee for Goa. p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> These organizations are Goan Peoples' Party (Bombay 1948), Goa Liberation Council (Bombay 1954), Quit-Goa organization (Banda 1954), United Front Of Goans (Bombay), Rancor Patriotica (1957) and many others.

non-violence, whereas the later believed in terrorism. GVSS was an effort on the part of India to lend a helping hand to the Goans in their efforts to liberate Goa, whereas GLA, was solely the effort of Goan nationalists to liberate Goa by force. The credit of organising the *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* (GVSS) goes to the efforts of Shri. Peter Alvares, the President of National Congress (Goa) in 1953. After the limited success of the 15th August 1954 mass satyagraha, Shri. Peter Alvares thought that without the help of Indians, Goa's question would not be solved. *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*,<sup>55</sup> with its headquarters at Pune (Poona), organised satyagrahas in Goa from 18th June 1955 which culminated in the mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955.<sup>56</sup>

This was the single organization, which was responsible for uniting a large number of Indians on the Goa problem. It went about its activities in a systematic manner. Made up of *Akhil Bharatiya Goa Swatantrata Sangram Sainik Sangh*, working committees were elected for every state. Their task was to enroll the names of a large number of satyagrahis from their respective states. For eg., the president of the working committee of Rajasthan state was Mohandas, for Maharashtra, S. V. Khede, etc. Thousand of satyagrahis arrived on the India- Goa borders. Those who had shown the courage and determination of crossing the sealed international borders, were fired upon by the Portuguese border officials. This led to the death of some of the satyagrahis while others escaped with injuries.

The declaration, which was made by Dr. Salazar that mass entry of Indians amounted to invasion of Portuguese territory,<sup>57</sup> was followed by a warning. He warned India that there would be bloodshed if there was any attempt by its citizens to cross the international border. And for the first time in the history of nationalist struggle, the citizens of one country organised satyagraha against the continued foreign rule in the territory that was under foreign domination. As a result of Salazar's warning, *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*

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<sup>55</sup> It was formed by all non-Congress parties including CPI, SK party, Bharatiya Jan Sangh, Revolutionary Party and Forward block. Its main office was at Poona. Keshavarao Jedhe and Jayantrao Tilak were elected as president and General Secretary respectively. S. A. Dange, S. M. Joshi and many representatives of other parties became the members of this organization.

<sup>56</sup> The important personalities like Nanasaheb Goray, Madhu Limaye, Senapati Bapat, Shirubhau Limaye, Tridip Kumar chowdhary, Malinibai Tulpule and many others led the batches of satyagrahas.

<sup>57</sup> Lawande, V. N. 'They Embraced Death with Smiling Faces', in *Smaranika*, op. cit., pp. 27-29

without any notice to Goans withdrew the 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha.

The organization of mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 raised many questions. Its impact on the Portuguese was nil, but its failure and the attitude of Portuguese towards unarmed *satyagrahis* created a strong resentment not only in Goa and India but also in other countries. If the *satyagraha* of 15th August 1954 was responsible for the organization of 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha, then the later was responsible to give an international focus to the Goa problem. This is only the positive side of the *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*, amongst its failures.

Whatever may be the reasons for the failure of 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha, the reason for the emergence of Goa Liberation Army (GLA), after a split in NC(G) was a result of this failure. Thus on 30th September 1955, GLA was born at Belgaum to pursue Goa's liberation by force. The six founding members, the 'High Command' of Goa Liberation Army consisted of Shri. Augustus Alvares, Shri. Urselina Almeida, Shri. Shivaji Desai, Shri. Madhavrao L. Rane, Shri. Jaisinghrao V. Rane, and Shri. Balakrishna Bhonsale. Among these, three were ex-military men of India while Shri. Urselina Almeida, being a graduate in physics and chemistry was versed in using and handling destructive weapons.<sup>58</sup>

Unlike AGD, GLA was a well disciplined organization. Goa was divided into three sections, each was supervised and controlled by two members of the high command. All the activities like training the nationalists, preparing bombs and other destructive material was done under the vigilance of Augustus Alvares. GLA had pledged as its goal i.e. liberation of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union. Although formed outside Goa, GLA was very active inside Goa and the nationalists used to be in Goa after every militant action. One of the main conditions one had to fulfill to become member of GLA was that one must be ready to participate in the operations it undertakes. This was applicable to everybody including the members of the High command. Finance to the Army

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<sup>58</sup> Interview with GLA members like Jaisingrao V. Rane (October 1997), Krishnarao Rane (October 1997), Shivaji Desai (December 1999), Urselino Almeida (May 1999) and many others.

used to come mostly through donations and regular subscription collected outside Goa.

Thus, the Portuguese radio used to describe the underground workers as 'Bandits', they described the volunteers of GLA as terrorists.

Some of the members of GLA used to change their names very often during their stay in Goa. To escape arrests Urselino Almeida, one of the members of high command, changed his name five times. Besides this, some members were even given code names to hide their true identity and to confuse the Portuguese officials. Vasant Karapurkar, one of the members of GLA was given the code name as 'zero'.

Being a militant organization, GLA was successful, in destroying the bridges in Margao, Poinguinim, Balli, Cuncolim, Porvorim, etc. Besides this, to make the economic blockade successful, they started destroying the mines as well as barges and other means of water transportation through which minerals were being transported. Due to the proper planing, the mines of Bicholim, Sanquelim, Neturlim and Sirgao mines, which were the backbone of Portuguese economy, were destroyed successfully by GLA members.<sup>59</sup> In this way they had paralysed the mining industry. Portuguese officials were well informed of who had executed the attack by a message left on the spot of every successful attack which said 'GLA strikes again'. However just after two years of functioning, the GLA activities came to an end.

It is believed that an important attack on Sirgao mines of 19th February 1957 was disliked by one of the members of high command.<sup>60</sup> This resulted in restricting the activities of GLA workers. Within a short period, GLA did an important work of threatening the Portuguese administration and paralysing its economy. It is believed that many of its members later on joined with '*Rancor Patriotica*', formed in 1957.<sup>61</sup>

From the above information we can conclude that the militant organizations were

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<sup>59</sup> Interview with Shri. Urselino Almeida (May 1999), Shri. Shivaji Desai (December 1999) Jaisingrao V. Rane (October 1997) and other members of GLA.

<sup>60</sup> Jaisingrao V Rane 'Goa Liberation Army and its activities', in *Silver Jubilee of Goa's Liberation 1961-86*. (1986). (Souvenir) Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Freedom Fighters Association, p. unnumbered.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Prabhakar Sinari. (July 1998).

formed after having a split with NC(G) over its ideology. Right from the formation of Azad Gomantak Dal, the first militant organization after 18th June 1946 movement, almost all the organisations formed were militant organization except Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti. But neither satyagraha and non-violence nor terrorism was alone responsible for the liberation of Goa by Goans themselves. Instead from 1946 till 1961, the Goan movement was divided among many organizations.

### **Their Different Stages Of Formation.**

Having discussed the significance and its impact as well the importance of organizations, in some detail, let me now study the different stages of the formation of these organizations.

The organizations namely the *Pragatik Sangh* and *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* were formed during the liberal era of Portuguese rule. They were formed within a gap of five years. Others such as Goa Congress Committee, *Goa Seva Sangh*, *Tarun Hind Sangh*, *Gomantak Congress*, which were formed during the dictatorship in Portugal, were formed with the gap of three to four years. Although *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* was formed outside Goa i.e. in Portugal it was aware of *Pragatik Sangh* in Goa.<sup>62</sup> The members of *Centru Nacionalist Indianu* were even willing to work with *Pragatik Sangh* in order to raise the political consciousness among the Hindus and Catholics. Besides this, the founding members of *Pragatik Sangh* was the core group of GCC. It is believed that Dr. T. B. Cunha had taken the help of the members of *Pragatik Sangh* for the establishment of GCC. The members of GCC are even said to have worked for *Goa Seva Sangh* after the GCC was shifted to Bombay in the year 1936. These members sometimes secretly distributed the publications of GCC inside Goa and at the same time collected funds for the organizations. The young nationalist of *Tarun Hind Sangh*, Shri. Shamrao Madkaikar, never made any difference between GCC and his organization.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Sukhatankar, J. S. op.cit., p. 50.

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Shri Shamrao Madkaikar, (June 1996)

They distributed the periodicals and articles of GCC and also propagated the message of communism and socialism by distributing the literature of CPI.<sup>64</sup> Thus before the beginning of the last phase of the liberation struggle of Goa, on 18th June 1946, the above organizations had tried to spread the spirit of nationalism among Goans in their own way. Thus during the liberal era of Portuguese rule and during the dictatorship of Portugal, specifically before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties, these organizations willingly co-operated with each other. They had joined hands with each other forgetting their ideologies, as they had a common goal of making the people aware of the foreign rule on them.

After the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties the first organisation, which was formed, was NC(G) on 17th and 18th August 1946. Except for the Goan Peoples' Party which was formed in 1948 in Bombay, all other organizations were formed after 1954. It should also be noted that the majority of these organizations, except Goa Liberation Council (1954, Bombay), were the offshoot of NC(G).

In order to combine the efforts of the Goan nationalists the National Congress (Goa) was formed under the leadership of Ashoka Mehta on 17th and 18th August 1946. It was formed by the merger of various political groups which were functioning inside Goa, before the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties. Accordingly Goa National Congress alias Goa Seva Sangh of Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, Gomantak Congress alias Goa Congress of Dr. Ram Hegde and Goa Congress Committee of Dr. T. B. Cunha officially merged to form National Congress (Goa).

Goa Congress Committee and Goa Seva Sangh, believed in the Gandhian Principles of satyagraha and non-violence whereas Gomantak Congress, earlier was attracted towards the work of Subhash Chandra Bose's Indian National Army and the working of the Socialist group in the Indian National Congress. Thus, we could see that the National Congress (Goa) was the merger of two different ideologies, i.e. Gandhian and militant nationalism. The artificial formation of National Congress (Goa), could not keep the members united

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<sup>64</sup> Bhatt, Vithalrai op. cit., pp. 4, 5.

for a very long time. The revolutionary minded nationalists that were present in NC(G), split from the parent body. And thus we can see the formation of a number of political organizations, whose main intention was to openly challenge the Portuguese rule by arms and ammunitions. Not only this, due to the frustration as well as quarrels within the organizations, these militant organizations had a further split. For eg. some members of AGD formed *Rancor Patriotica* in the year 1957 under the leadership of Shri. Prabhakar Sinari. There was also Quit-Goa organization, composed of the dissident group of the workers which once belonged to NC(G). Even in this organization there were two groups. The one violent, led by John Gilbert Rebelo and the other non-violent led by J. J. Shinkre.<sup>65</sup> Due to a split in the Quit-Goa organization, as well as the members of Goa Liberation Army have worked for Rancor Patriotica. In addition these organizations had links with the smaller political groups that were functionig inside Goa. The members of AGD worked as the members of *Rashtra Seva Dal*, formed by Nath Pai in the year 1947 in Mapusa. While some members of Rashtra Seva Dal joined later on with National Congress (Goa). In the year 1950, Rashtra Seva Dal was changed to 'Vidyarthi Sangh' or 'Students Union'. (see Appendix IV)

Again in the year 1950-51, with the help of one of the founding members of Rashtra Seva Dal or Vidyarthi Sangh Dr. Dubhashi, Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde founded 'Abhinav Gomantak' on the line of 'Abhinav Bharat' of Swatantryaveer Savarkar (V. D. Savarkar). The members of 'Abhinav Gomantak', which was again a militant organization, later on joined with Azad Gomantak Dal whereas Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde, a founder member of 'Abhinav Gomantak' joined with National Congress (Goa). The parent NC(G) had a split within its members in June 1954 under the pretext of not having had the elections within the NC(G). Thus a group from NC(G)<sup>66</sup> under the leadership of S. B. D'Silva split from NC(G), held a conference on 6<sup>th</sup> November 1954, established Provincial Committee of

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<sup>65</sup> Hegde Desai, Narendra, 'National Congrss Goa And Its Role In The Freedom Struggle' a paper presented at a seminar held on 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> December 1990 on **Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa's Struggle For freedom**, under the Aegis of The Cuncolim Educational Society and The Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce, Cuncolim.

<sup>66</sup> This group included Dr. Laura DeSouza, Prof. Lucio Rodrigues, Vasant P. Borkar, Telo Mascarenhas, Gajanan Desai, Armando Pereira.

NC(G) until the elections to the working committee of NC(G) were held. Later, on this group conducted elections and elected Dr. Laura DeSouza as its President. This group came to be known as NC(G) –II.<sup>67</sup> This split came at a time when NC(G) under the Presidentship of Shri. Peter Alvares was organizing the mass satyagraha of 15<sup>th</sup> August 1955. This denotes the fact that the Goan Freedom fighters were more concerned about the elections and not about the real work within Goa. This dissident group does not seem to have worked actively for liberation of Goa within or even outside Goa.

After the failure of the 15th August 1955 satyagraha, a group which was working within NC(G) sought the help and co-operation from Shri. Peter Alvares (the then president of NC(G), who helped in the formation of Goa Liberation Army. His brother Shri. Augustus Alvares became a member of the high command of this organization. When the ban was imposed on AGD activists in 1956 some of its members such as Balkrishna Bhonsle and Rajanikant Kenkre met with GLA.<sup>68</sup> Thus we can see the growth of political organizations while Goa was advancing towards the liberation. All these organizations believed in militant nationalism.

Except Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti which was formed by Indians for lending a helping hand for Goa's liberation, not a single organization was formed after National Congress (Goa) was formed and which had its faith in satyagraha and non-violence. Right from 1920 till 1960, Goa had seen the emergence and growth of a number of political organisations for the cause of Goa's liberation. The National Congress (Goa), which was formed in 1946, later on sub-divided into various political organizations. Some worked inside Goa whereas some were active outside Goa. Thus instead of building an organised strength within one political organization, the liberation struggle of Goa was divided into many small organisations. This was one of the drawbacks of the liberation struggle of Goa. If Goans were united under one organization and leadership, Goan problem could have been solved easily. These organizations sometimes created confusion in the minds of the local people.

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<sup>67</sup> Sardesai, M. H.(1986), *Goa Daman Diu Swatantrya Laddyacha Itihas*, (vol. II)(Marathi), Goa: Directorate of Sports and Culture- Panaji pp. 195-197.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Sinari (RP)

However Portuguese authorities took the advantage of this situation. In addition, not a single leader could unite this small territory. Even Shri. Peter Alvares who is said to have worked like a common man was unsuccessful in uniting Goans. It will not be exaggeration to say that there were few followers and too many leaders in the Liberation Struggle of Goa. Some leaders have even held important positions in two organizations with contrasting ideologies at the same time. For eg. Shri. Vishwanath Lawande the leader of AGD was General Secretary of NC(G) in 1950. Besides many nationalists acted like individuals and behaved in the manner they wanted. Some of the members in the NC(G) even participated in the terrorist activities thus misleading the people. As Jose Martins, one of the participants of Goa liberation struggle observed;

‘A look at the history of the Goan Freedom Struggle reveals that every one that mattered was the president, secretary or at least a member of the working committee of some group or party. Sometimes an individual belonged to or claimed to belong to a number of organizations of which there were many for instance NC(G), AGD, GYL, GPP, UFG, GLA and Gomantak Congress, Goa National Congress and more. Accordingly there were papers, periodicals, magazines which gave to the interested readers of whom there were a few who had an idea of who wanted what to do to achieve the final aim- Independence of Goa. So in the course of time, there were scores of ex-presidents and ex- secretaries of so and so party and editors of so and so newspapers, magazines and other written material that appeared periodically.’<sup>69</sup>

However in the efforts to combine the Goan freedom forces to solve Goa’s problem at the earliest, nearly four Goan political organizations came together and established a Goan Political Convention in 1959 at Bombay. These political organizations were the National Congress (Goa), Goan Peoples’ Party (GPP), Azad Gomantak Dal (AGD) and Goa Liberation Council (GLC) with the Goan Clubs’ Federation as one of its constituting units. It is surprising to note here that those nationalists (except GLC, it was an independently formed and not a part of NC(G) who could not work with NC(G) had come together in 1959 to solve Goa’s problem of colonialism. Here again we find the merger or combination of three ideologies, satyagraha and non-violence of NC(G), Communist ideology of GPP

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<sup>69</sup> Martins, Dr. Jose F., ‘National Congress (Goa)’, a paper presented in a seminar, ‘Advent of Portuguese in Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom, held on 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> December 1990, under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society & the Cuncolim College of Arts & Commerce- Cuncolim.

and Militant nationalism of AGD, which initially had led to a split.

#### NC(G) and AGD- A DEBATE

Let me now study the debate between the two important organisations i.e. National Congress(Goa) and AGD. Mahatma Gandhi had emphasized on the unity of various political organisations to solve the Goan question. But over the question of ideology to be adopted in the liberation struggle of Goa, the first split occurred. The National Congress (Goa) believed in the *satyagraha* and *non-violence* while *Azad Goamntak Dal* believed in violence - the use of force.

These Goan nationalists who believed that the adoption of Gandhian methods of protest against the Portuguese was the best way to fight for independence, became the members of NC(G).<sup>70</sup> They believed that the peaceful strategy was the only way out to solve any kind of problem whether individual, social, economic, or international<sup>71</sup>. And due to their strong faith in Gandhiji's principles, right from 1947 till 1961, Goans under the banner of NC(G) fought for Goa's liberation by peaceful methods.

But the limited success of 1954 mass satyagraha and the set-back to the 1955 mass satyagraha of 15th August, challenged the strategy of peaceful resistance. Because it was during both these times, peaceful *satyagrahis* had to undergo severe beatings, lathi-charges and shots being fired upon them which had resulted in the death of many of these *satyagrahis*. Many peaceful nationalists as a result believed that peaceful methods cannot be used against the undemocratic or fascist regime of Portugal. Even Dr. T. B. Cunha a staunch believer in *satyagraha* and non-violence, sided with Mahatma Gandhi when he pointed out the difference between democratic Britain and fascist Portugal and called for a different approach on the part of India while dealing with the Goan problem.<sup>72</sup> To the Portuguese even Mahatma Gandhi was a monkey like creature, who could be disposed off with a bullet or two.<sup>73</sup> Some of the Goan nationalists felt that satyagraha and non-violence

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<sup>70</sup> However, we would find that these members and elders of AGD and NC(G) have changed their ideologies and have often changed the organizations.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Shri. Prabhakar Ghodge. (NC(G) (May 1997).

<sup>72</sup> Cunha, T. B. op.cit., p. 388

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Prabhakar Sinari.(October 1998).

is more than strategy, because it involves the entire population into a national mass movement. It did not succeed in Goa because a large section of the population did not participate directly in the movement.<sup>74</sup>

The civil disobedience movement which was started by Dr. R. M. Lohia, on 18th June 1946, was the only movement supported by a large number of people. But after that not a single leader was supported in this manner. Goan nationalists also believed that even in the Indian National Movement, freedom was not acquired only by satyagraha and non-violence but because of the heavy hammering Britishers got from *Azad Hind Fauj* and due to the mutiny of navy in 1945-46.<sup>75</sup> One more reason, which was responsible for the failure of Goan movement on 15th August 1955, was the negative attitude of the Indian government towards the Goan problem. During this time Pt. Nehru did not allow the Indian *satyagrahis* to march into the Goan territory and sealed the India-Goa borders which had strengthened the Portuguese government's decision to open fire on unarmed *satyagrahis*.

The 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha was conducted under the banner of *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*. It was during this time all the opposition parties of India, except the ruling Congress, supported the liberation struggle of Goa. This raised the question whether satyagraha and non-violence can be practised only at the national level and not at the International level. Pt. Nehru believed that the citizens of one country on foreign land cannot practise satyagraha.<sup>76</sup> This therefore was the reason why Pt. Nehru put a ban on crossing the international border. On the other hand it is also believed that satyagraha and non-violence can be practised at local, state or at the international level. Besides this, Goans never identified themselves as different from Indians and treated India and not Goa or Portugal as their country. When we study the liberation struggle of Goa, we come to the conclusion that it is based on the principle of the 'liberation of Goa and it's integration with Indian Union'. Thus from the Goan point of view, the Goa problem was the problem of India, as a state. It is a national problem and not of an international. Goans had always looked towards India for its solution. In contrast to this the

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<sup>74</sup> Interview with Freedom Fighter Shri. Urselina Almeida. (GLA) (May 1999).

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Shri. Shridhar Tamba. (August 1998).

<sup>76</sup> Limaye, Shirubhau, 'Goa Muktiladha Va Majha Sahabhag' in *Smaranika*, (1991) op.cit., pp. 57-60

Indian government, led by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, identified Goa as a separate entity. This attitude is borne out in the Indian government's decision, soon after India's independence, to require Goan travellers to other parts of India to carry Portuguese Passports.

After the arrest of Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde, a Goan nationalist, Pandit Nehru was asked for his comments in the Indian Parliament. He said that it is wrong to comment on such occasions when the Portuguese government arrests its own nationals.<sup>77</sup> Further the then Chief Minister of Bombay Mr. Morarji Desai refused to lower the Indian flag to honour the satyagrahis who dedicated their life on 15th August 1955 on India-Goa border. All these examples show that Indian government adopted a distant and not very supportive attitude on the situation in Goa.

However, other Indian leaders had a different attitude towards the Goan problem. Acharya Kripalani believed that India can solve the international problems with the help of peace-keeping forces.<sup>78</sup> Besides, J. C. Kumarrappa was of the view that 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha failed not due to the fascist nature of Portuguese rule, but because Goans were not prepared fully to practise or organise satyagrahas on large scale.<sup>79</sup> He was convinced by the decision of Pandit Nehru of not allowing Indian satyagrahis to cross the India-Goa border. This may be because Portugal called Goa as 'overseas province' and not a colony. And this was recognised by the international community.<sup>80</sup> However, Goan nationalists believed that if Gandhi had lived during that time, he would not have kept Goa waiting for thirteen years after India's independence and he would have marched into Goa with Indian satyagrahis.<sup>81</sup>

Whatever may be the reasons for the failure of some of the satyagraha activities of NC(G) and Azad Gomantak Dal, some nationalists believed that Goan problem would have been only solved by Goans themselves, and that too only with satyagraha and non-

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<sup>77</sup> Gaitonde, Edila (1987), *In search Of Tommorrow*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers p. 128.

<sup>78</sup> Kripalani, Acharya. 'Goa Ani Satyagraha' in Meerg (fortnightly), published from Wardha 1<sup>st</sup> June 1955.

<sup>79</sup> Kumarappa, J. C. 'Goencho Satyagraha' in Meerg (fortnightly), op.cit., 1<sup>st</sup> November 1955.

<sup>80</sup> Limaye, Shirubhau, *Goa Mukti Ladha Va Majha Sabhag*, in Smaranika, (1991) op.cit., pp.57-60. Padit Nehru had said that he is ready even to enter Goa as a satyagrahi. But due to the international recognition to Goa as Overseas Province of Portugal, it did not make it possible.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar. ( November 2000)

violence, if Goans were serious about the liberation of their territory. Gandhi's satyagraha was not practiced properly on Goan soil. For example, Kakasaheb Kalelkar believed that Goans should first solve their social and other problems by satyagraha and non-violence. He also emphasised on the unity of Hindus and Catholics. Similarly Dr. R. M. Lohia had asked for the unity between the two communities. Satyagraha and non-violence principles were generally misunderstood by the Goans. And thus Gandhiji commented that Goans were novices in the art of politics.<sup>82</sup> Since there was no unity among Goans, Gandhiji emphasized on unity before fighting for liberation. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi;

'.....There are several parties there, working not necessarily for its inhabitants, but for power. Yet, at the bottom the fight is good. He (Dr. A. G. Tendulkar, then President of the Goa Congress Committee) has produced voluminous papers in support of the statement that confusion reigns supreme in the minds of Goans, correctly described as Gomantakas. This confusion is bad in that the inhabitants of this Portuguese possession are novices in the art of real politics'.<sup>83</sup>

Even some of the Indian leaders viewed the satyagrahas of Goa as immatured and unprepared because they felt that the practice of constructive work, such as preparing Goans to fight non-violently, importance of satyagraha, importance of unity among the different sections of people, importance of self-reliance and swadeshi, importance of Khadi, etc. which is the first necessity of satyagraha and non-violence, was absent.

Revolution of values, principles is a very important factor in the way of political or any other revolution<sup>84</sup>. And these values and principles were not acquired by Goans. One should remember that efforts to change the values of life was done by some of the Goan nationalists in the beginning of the twentieth century. For eg., Luis de Menezes Braganza fought against the suppression of civil liberties and had warned the Portuguese administration in these words, 'I appreciate the freedom of thought that lifts the man above the beasts. It is the free thought that is a permanent measure of progress of society, only

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<sup>82</sup> Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar, (November 2000)

<sup>83</sup> Gaitonde, P. D.(1987), *The Liberation Of Goa- A Participants View of History*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 31.

<sup>84</sup> Editorial in Meerg (fortnightly) 15<sup>th</sup> September 1953, published from Wardha.

ideas are eternal'.<sup>85</sup> It can be judged that the Goans could not take the benefit of such vision after formation of republic to fight for liberation.<sup>86</sup>

Besides, those who believed in satyagraha and non-violence soon deviated from it and joined the terrorist groups. This happened not because the Portuguese did not understand the meaning of satyagraha but it was because these nationalist were frustrated with the outcome when *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* organized the mass satyagraha of 15th August 1955 in Goa. It was unsuccessful due to the fact that Goans depended fully on the help of Indians to solve the Goan problem.<sup>87</sup>

And for this reason, many Indian satyagrahis had to sacrifice their lives on the India-Goa borders on 15th August 1955. Thus it was not the deficiency of satyagraha and non-violence as principles which resulted in their ineffectiveness; but of the commitment Goan nationalists who did not understand the meaning of satyagraha.

Thus the only way out to solve the Goan problem, i.e., the liberation of Goa, was not by Satyagraha but by the use of force against the Portuguese administration. Accordingly, on 19th December 1961, Goa was liberated by the Indian army through armed action in 'Operation Vijay'. This action is considered by some to be the nearest to non-violence as it was done with few casualties. The excessive size of the armed force by the Indian Government, to threaten the Portuguese shows the limitations of this argument that 'Operation Vijay' was the closest to non-violence because there were few casualties. The Indian Nationalist Shri. Kakasaheb Kalelkar believed that if Mahatma Gandhi was alive during Goa's liberation even he could have endorsed the Indian armed action in Goa.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Menezes, Juliao, op.cit., p. 19.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Freedom Fighter shri. Narendra Hegde Desai. (NC(G)). (May 1996).

<sup>87</sup> Kumarappa, J. C. 'Goencho Satyagraha' in *Meerg* 1<sup>st</sup> November 1955.

<sup>88</sup> View of Kakasaheb Kalelkar are upheld by Shri Ravindra Kelekar – Interview with Shri. Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000).