CHAPTER VI
SALAZAR DICTATORSHIP
(1926 - 1947)
The condition of Portugal in early 1926 was highly chaotic, and peace and order of the country was replaced by political instability. To end this state of affairs, General Manuel Gomes da Costa, issued his famous Pronunciamento of 28th, May, 1926. His proclamation declared that parliamentary form of Government has failed in Portugal and to set the matters right he marched on to Lisbon, with a mind that was influenced by the examples of Benito Mussolini's march on Rome in 1922 and Primo de Rivera's capture of Spanish Government in 1923.

But Gomes da Costa outlived his utility soon. His very close friend, General Carmona secured Gomes da Costa's arrest on the 9th, July, 1926 and deported him as a prisoner to the Azores. After which General Carmona became the real head of the state. He adopted the common techniques of Fascist dictatorship. But such measures could not help to remove the financial chaos that was prevailing in Portugal.

Carmona was elected as President formally in March, 1928, after serving as interim President from


2. Ibid., pp. 229 - 230.
November, 1926. The financial crisis at this time was at its climax and the state was threatened with the fear of total bankruptcy. There was a talk in the European Diplomatic circle to deprive Portugal from his African colonies, as the successive Republican Governments had resorted to printing paper currency without the requisite gold reserve. It was at this stage that the Professor of Economics at the university of Coimbra, Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar appeared on the scene.

Salazar, son of a Catholic peasant, born in 1889. Salazar had been a bright student since his early years at school. He was ‘a boy with a serious idea.’ At an early age of 27 years he had come to occupy the Chair of Economics at the Coimbra University. In 1921, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, but after attending one session he left Lisbon, evidently realizing that politics was not his cup of tea. President Caramona urged upon him to take the charge of the finance portfolio and it was on 27th, April, 1928, that he assumed the office.

Before taking upon the job, Salazar publicly

1. Ibid., p. 233.
3. Ibid., p. 17.
4. Ibid., p. 21.
announced his 'conditions for the acceptance of the Finance Ministry'. He imposed upon all administrative departments the obligation to organize their offices within the limits of the financial estimate allotted to them in the budget. Thus, from the very beginning he acquired the right to veto any new legislation involving increase of expenditure. Secondly, all the reins of the Government, came into the hands of Salazar. After assuming power, Salazar embarked upon a programme which changed Portugal's economic, social and political life. From his first day of the assumption of office he was able to produce balanced budgets by economizing drastically and improving restrictions on borrowings. He actually collected a huge surplus without resorting to major increase in taxation. Salazar was Minister of Finance from April 1928 to August 1940 and Minister of Colonies in 1930. He became the Prime Minister of Portugal on the 5th, July, 1932. In 1933, just over a year after becoming the Prime Minister of Portugal, the 'Estado Novo' came into existence. Salazar after becoming the Minister for Colonies in 1930, replaced the Decree that was issued on 24th, March, 1928, by a comprehensive code for the administration of Portuguese colonies.

This code was known as the 'Acto Colonial' or the *Colonial Act*, which was issued on 8th, July, 1930.

Before analysing the purpose and scope of Colonial Act, and to understand the Clerical Faustic bases of the new regime - dictated by Salazar, it is necessary to have a glimpse of Salazar's philosophy of life. A bachelor, lonely and determined man, the nature of this dictatorial mission was basically founded in his religious, social and ultra-nationalistic beliefs. According to Salazar one must not 'aspire to power as right, but accept it as a duty considering the state as God's Ministry for the commandment.' A staunch follower of Caltholic religion, Salazar had given up a religious calling and had taken to teaching Economics, simply because there was no opening in the church. Salazar also stated, "Neither individual liberty the greatest of all blessings, nor the interests of the people are better of in those countries which pride themselves into being democratic than in those under the rule of dictators."

Life all dictator's Salazar expounded his creed in his speeches and writings and before going on to study the practical effects of his policies it is

2. *Salazar's speech to Ist Eucharistic Congress at Braga*, 4, July, 1924
illuminating to bear in mind his following statement:—

"The essential for the citizen of the Estado Novo is that he should have a clear cut conception of his country and national unity, of the family as the social nucleus par excellence, of authority and those in authority; of spiritual values....of the right to work; of the excellence of virtue and the sacred nature of religious beliefs...."

"We are opposed to all forms of internationalism, communism, socialism, syndicalism and everything that may minimise or divide or breakup the family...."

"We are the anti-Parliamentarians, anti-Democrats, anti-Liberals and we are determined to establish a cooperative state."

It is according to those precepts that the Decree No. 18. 570 brought into being the Acto Coloinal. By this decree, Article 5 of the Political constitution of the Portuguese Republic was amended. The intention of the Colonial Act was to impose further limitations on the financial autonomy and administrative decentralization in the Portuguese colonies. The Colonial Act curtailed the competence of the National Congress to legislate for the colonies and greatly reduced the executive authority of the Governor-General.

1. Antonio de Figueiredo., Portugal and Its Empire:—
and local administrative bodies.

Chapter I of the Colonial Act defined the general guarantees stating the principles on which the Political Constitution of the Republic was based. Chapter II of the Colonial Act concerned the 'natives' of the colonies. Chapter III of the Colonial Act defined the political and administrative systems of the colonies and Chapter IV regulated the economic and financial systems of the colonies. On the, May, 1931, a Decree No:- 19. 694 was issued from Lisbon which regulated the conduct of elections in Portuguese India and Decree No:- 20. 073, dt:- 15th, July, 1931 further amended the Election Law. The test for procuring the evidence of literacy of a citizen was to be based either on possessing a diploma certifying that the person concerned has passed a public examination or by presenting an application written and duly signed by a voter and certified by a Notary Public, or by a petition

1. Boletim Official., No.83 (Supplement)., dt:- 17, October, 1930.
2. Ibid., 17, October, 1930.
3. Ibid., 17, October, 1930.
4. Ibid., 17, October, 1930.
written, read and signed by a voter in the presence of the committee; which comprised of the President of village council, Regedors and one representative of the Administrator of the Conselho or by a declaration made by a competent Government officer attesting that the citizen was really literate.

Being profoundly influenced by the political ideology of General Franco, Salazar had come to power through force of circumstances and none of his making. The Monarchial and Catholic philosophical background of Corporativism was familiar to the elite Portuguese through the writings of Antonio Sardinha, the Father of the doctrine of Lusitanian Integralism. These doctrines presented the organic and historical concepts of the Corporate character of medieval society as an alternative to the individualism of the French Revolution, the mechanistic notions embolded in the Industrial Revolution and the materialism and internationalism of Marxism and Leninism.

To set the stage for the emergence of Corporate State, Salazar, disguised in the person of the then Prime Minister Domingos de Oliveira, read the Manifesto of the Uniao Nacional (National Union), the

1. Boletim Official, No. 69, 28, August, 1931.

country's only legal political association. It was defined as a coalition of all 'men of good-will', who had formed themselves as a front. Its aim was to organize a centre of political and social studies for suggesting the revision of certain jurisdical aspects of Government.

Antonio Oliveira de Salazar became the Prime Minister on 5th, July, 1932 and it was on 20th, August, 1932 that the Home Minister, Albino Soares Pinto dos Reis (Junior), issued the statutes of the National Union under the Decree No.21.068.

In the statutes, National Union was described as an association free from the hold of state or Government, without possessing the character of a party. The seat of National Union was situated at Lisbon, but it was free to spread its branches in metropolitan Portugal, its colonies and even in foreign countries where a substantial number of Portuguese resided. The measures taken by the National Union regarding the implementation of its programme, was

1. Ibid., pp.39 - 40.

through publications, propaganda, public meetings etc.
The National Union was vested with a juridical personality giving it the right to perform its functions and duties within the framework of the statutes.

The fundamental principles which the National Union was charged to accept, defend and propagate were: the concepts that Portugal was a unitary, pacific and civilizing state, the corporative nature of the state coordinated and preserved the rights and interests of the individuals and collective entities of the nation, that in the Portuguese society the State had a moral duty of upholding law and justice etc.

The National Union was asked to accept the Political Constitution of the Republic and the fundamental principles of the Colonial Act, which were said to be of the greatest value for the reorganization and progress of Portugal. Moreover the National Union by law could not work against the unity of nation and the state.

The membership of National Union was open to:

(i) All Portuguese citizen above 21 years of age.

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1. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Statutes of the National Union Decree No:- 21.608, Chapters IV and VIII, as mentioned in the Boletim Official., 72., 7, September 1932.
(ii) All Institutions and Corporations of Patriotic nature.

After the emergence of National Union the only party which could participate in the elections at all levels, the framework for the establishment of the New State was finally ready.

After the emergence of Salazar on the national scene as the Prime Minister, the political doctrine and structure of the nation were set forth in the Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, which got its approval by the national plebiscite of 19th, March, 1 and it came into force on 11th, April, 1933.

According to this Constitution the rights of the family were recognized at the root of the development of the nation and the sovereignty of the state was to be limited in internal affairs of Portugal based all political action on a direct appeal to Christian ethics.

Salazar and his intimate colleagues were responsible for preparing the draft of the constitution of 1933. He introduced it in the National Assembly and got it passed by a general vote. The votes casted


were tabulated on 9th, April, 1933. The number of votes which approved the plan of the Political Constitution was stated as 12, 928, 63; only 6,190 votes rejected the plan and 666 ballots were unused. Only 3, 578 electors did not participate in the plebiscite.

The Political Constitution was divided into seven titles and with the incorporation of the laws of No.1885, 1910, 1963, 1966 and 2009 of 23rd March and 23rd May, 1935, 21st, December, 1936, 18th, December, 1937, 23rd, April, 1938 and 17th, September, 1945 respectively.

By the Political Constitution of 1933, the liberal spirit that had pervaded the Constitution of 1911 was suppressed. The Constitution of 1911 had introduced the principle of full autonomy in their various spheres of the Legislative, the Executive and the Judiciary, in a way making the ministries responsible to the National Assembly for their acts. This had naturally given an upper hand to the Legislative wing or to the political party or groups having the majority in the National Assembly. This was an experiment in Parliamentary Democracy. The experiment as has been seen failed and 3 resulted in instability.

1. Dario de Governo., Lisbon., 11, April, 1933.
The constitution of 1933 did away with the democratic and liberal spirit of earlier constitutions—those from 1821 onwards. All powers were vested in the Council of Ministers, and above all in the Prime Minister. Martin Afonso, an apologist of the Salazar regime emphasized upon another great departure from the constitution of 1911. In his book, 'Principio Fundamentais de Organizacao Politica Administrativa de Nacao', was prescribed as a compulsory text book for the students studying in the Government schools. Afonso who emphasized the fundamental importance of the Catholic missions and their work of spreading civilization. Afonso said commenting on the historical significance of the Constitution of 1933. "As regards the overseas provinces, the main task of Portugal had always been of converting the natives to Roman Catholic faith and it was carried on by mission-ries in order to integrate all peoples into the Christian community. It was this humanitarian thought that led us (the Portuguese) to preach the gospel."

Along with the constitution, Portugal in 1933 adopted the 'Estatuto Nacional do Trabalho' (National Labour Statute), which brought an end to the dangers


that Salazar visualized in the Socialist Labour movements. The statute replaced the 'Federacao Geral do Trabalho' General Confederation of Labour), created during the early years of the republic of 1911. The statute laid down the principle that individual enterprise is normal and state enterprise is exceptional. A Decree of 1934 made strikes an illegal act. Businessmen were organized and grouped into 'Gremios' (Gilds). They were obliged to work in harmony with the plans of the nation and to subordinate their own interest to those of the state.

In the name of reorganizing the Portuguese society; Salazar gradually drifted into a totalitarian regime, under the obvious spell of the successes attained by National socialism in Germany and Fascism in Italy. Although the church had not been formally re-established in Salazar's Portugal, the influence of Roman Catholicism dominated the State and society.

When the Francisco Franco Revolution broke out in Spain in the year 1936, Salazar's regime remained neutral, but not indifferent to the outcome. They were opposed to the Loyalist Government for it revived the

2. Ibid., pp.40 - 41.
growth of Pan Iberianism and Communism. General Caramona, who had been re-elected as the President of the Republic in 1935 under the new constitution and Salazar officially severed relations with the Loyalist Government on 23rd, October, 1936 and in December, 1937 gave 'de facto' recognition to the Franco regime. In March, 1939 immediately following Franco's victory, Portugal signed a treaty of friendship with Spain.

After the consolidation of Franco Government of Spain, Salazar's 'Estado Novo' developed all the basic characteristics of the totalitarian State. He turned the pages of Portuguese History to discover "the virtues of race" and the "colonizing mission of Portugal", which were the equivalents of the Nazi ideology. Britain's threat to Portuguese colonies was exaggerated to whip up Xenophobia against democratic countries. The 'Uniao National' was transformed into a heirarchically organized party, like the Nazi and Fascist ones. Its members were organized into a militia the 'Legiao Portuguesa' (Portuguese Legion) and with its branch-'the Defesa Civil de Territorio' (Territorial Civil Defence) completed the work of the state security Police the P.I.D.E. (Policia

1. Ibid., p.237.
Internacional e de Defesa do Estado), whose secret branch had come to adopt the techniques of the Gestapo. A strict censorship was imposed on newspapers and information media. The Youth of Portugal was organized into a party- "The Mociadades Portuguesa", on the lines of Hitler Youth.

The organization "Mociadades Portuguesa" was created on 11th, April, 1936 by Salazar. It was sought of a youth organization whose membership was compulsory for boys and girls between the age groups of seven to fourteen. The children wore forage caps and green shirts, which were quite similar to the uniforms of Nazi and Facist youth movements, and belts bearing a metal buckle with the letter 'S' engraved on it. The letter 'S' stood for Salazar. Every Wednesday and Saturday afternoons all the members of 'Mociadades Portuguesa' or 'Portuguese Youth organization' had to attend meetings of this body for two hours or so.

The 'Mociadades Portuguesa' was extended to the native children of Portuguese colonies by the Decree No: 2. 9453 of 17th, February, 1939. The object of this

1. Ibid., pp.42 - 47.


organization was to provoke the feeling of nationalism among the Portuguese youths and the youths of Portuguese colonies for Portugal. Traditional Catholic religious instruction was to be given at the meetings of the organization. In all schools, whether run by state or private societies, one day in a week was to be reserved for pre-military training and physical exercises. In November, 1941 a list of further duties was added to the code of the 'Mocidades Portuguesa'. The Goan children were ordered to:

(1). Love the Father land and serve it.
(2). Venerate the President of the Portuguese Republic, National Flag, National Anthem and the Government.
(3). Behave according to the religions precepts.
(4) Respect the Flag and uniform of the 'Mocidade Portuguesa'
(5) Obey all orders coming from their superiors.

A decree issued on 9th, March, 1942, by the Ministry of Education, at Lisbon ordered that every association of institution imparting civic moral or physical education to the youth had to be an affiliate of the National organization of 'Mocidades Portuguesa'.

1. Ibid.
With the outbreak of the IIInd World War in 1939, Salazar decided to adopt a neutral approach so long as Portugal's interest were not hampered. During war years, Lisbon acquired a peculiar importance because of its strategic position as the one free neutral prominent sea-port on the Atlantic. Lisbon hummed with the activities of diplomats, agents of espionage and counter-espionage of both Axis powers and Allies. In 1943, when Allied armies assumed dominance in the European theatre of war, Salazar was forced to comply with the cession of the military bases in the Atlantic—the Azores to the Allies. Germany felt betrayed.

As the war escalated in the Far East, Britain asked Portugal of her attitude in the eventuality of Japanese attack on her colony of Timur. Salazar answered that Portugal would resist incase of such an eventuality and also that she would welcome if any help came from Britain. The Dutch soon occupied the Portuguese half of Timur. Portugal's diplomatic protests were lost in the fast moving events, Japan occupied the whole of Timur in February 1942. Macau escaped Japanese occupation.

For the duration of the war Portuguese African colonies made some contribution to the allied war effort. The Diamond Corporation Limited of London purchased the entire diamond supply of Angola. Mozambique produced coal, cromium and copper to be used in the war.

Neutrality gave handsome results to Portugal. There was a wartime boom in trade. With increased prosperity, open criticism of Salazar regime began. The end of war changed the rosy picture. High prices, inflation and unemployment resulted to workers strikes and demonstration. But however Salazar's personal dictatorship survived. The National Union, armed forces, big business and Catholic church all combined to combat the challenge thrown by the Republicans and the Proletariate. The P.I.D.E. dealt with these elements very strictly, by arresting the agitators and exiling them to Africa. This chaotic condition however remained continued till the third term of President 2 Caramona came to a close.

Now let's turn our attention towards the incidents that were occurring in Portuguese India, during Salazar regime in Portugal. The Governor-General of Portuguese

1. Nowell, Charles., E., op. cit., p.239.

2. Ibid., p. 235.
India, Craveiro Lopes left for Lisbon in April, 1933 and Alfredo Rodrigues dos Santos became the acting Governor -General on the 12th, April, 1933.

The Colonial Act, was received in Portuguese India with muted feelings of despair and disillusionment - The process of representative and secular Government begun in 1910 was retarded by Salazar. The people of Portuguese India; crushed under the harsh and totalitarian regime, lacked initiative and organization to launch a protest movement. So, the initiative was taken up by the Goans living in British India.

To protest against the imposition of the Colonial Act, the Goan residents of Bombay called a protest meeting for 30th, June, 1933, under the auspices of the Goan Union. The Portuguese Council General, Antonio Alves wrote to the Chief of Secretary of the Bombay Government on 12th, June, 1933. Saying that which the Government of Portugal had no objection to the holding of such meetings provided they were organized in a constitutional manner. He was not prepared to give the recognition to the Goan Union, as it was not entirely


composed of Portuguese subjects, most of them being in the service of the Bombay Government. Also, Portugal recognized only those associations which were aimed at social or economic welfare of the Goans. He threatened that all Portuguese subjects who participated in the protest meetings would be deprived of their political rights for 20 years, whenever they came back to Goa. He hoped that the meeting would not be allowed to be held. The Portuguese Ambassador in London had already approached the British Foreign office with a similar request.

On 17th, June, 1933, the Portuguese Consul-General again approached the Bombay Government saying that the agitation against the Colonial Act organized by the Goan residents of Bombay and the comments of Bombay Press seemed to be inspired by the Indian National Congress and it was aimed at fomenting a spirit of rebellion in Goa. He reiterated his earlier request to the Chief Secretary.

The Consul General informed the Chief of the Cabinet of the Goa Government on the 13th, July, 1933, that the Police Commissioner of Bombay had decided to

1. Ibid.
authorize the protest meeting which had been prohibited earlier. On 15th September, 1933 the Portuguese Consul General informed the Portuguese Foreign Minister, that inspite of his protests the Goan Union had succeeded in holding a meeting denouncing the Colonial Act on 30th, July, 1933. He recommended the need of a close watch being kept on the activities of the persons dominating the Goan Union which was unwilling to accept his authority.

The Government at Lisbon went on with its programme of enforcing its policies inspite of protests by enlightened Goans. On the 15th, November, 1933, the Central Government formed the Organic Charter (Decree No:- 23.288) for the administration of Portuguese colonies under the Colonial Act and the Political constitution of Portuguese Republic.

The Portuguese Empire was divided into 8 colonies which were the integral part of the national territory. Angola, Mozambique and State of India were to be headed by a Governor - General while rest were to have Governors. The Colonial Administration was placed


under the National Assembly, the Metropolitan Government and the Government of the colony. The Supreme Council of the Colonies, the Conference of Colonial Governors, economic cooperations and technical councils under the Ministry of Colonies were given a say in the administration of the colonies. In each colony a Government Council and technical Council was provided to assist the Governor.

The Governors and Governor-General of the colonies were to be appointed by the council of Ministers for a term of four years. The Executive and Legislative powers of Governor-General and Governors were defined by the Colonial Act. For each Colony a Government Council was created. It was to be presided over by the Governor-General or the Governors. The Government Council was an advisory body giving its opinion on all matters related to the administration of the colony, only on reference from the Governor. The Government Council in the Portuguese State of India was to consist of officials and non-officials, partly elected and partly nominated by the Governor-General. This provision further stated that the Governor-General while making such nominations should consult the Camaras.

1. Ibid.

Municipals, Industrial Councils and Agricultural Cooperations and the Worker's Guild. The Government-Council in Portuguese India was to be composed of the Governor-General, Attorney General, the Director of Public Revenue, Director of Civil Administration, one Director or Head of a Department selected by 3 non-official members appointed by the Governor-General for a term of one year. The number of elected members was fixed at five. The Vice-President of the Council was to be selected by the Governor-General from among the members, subject to the approval of the Minister of Colonies.

Only those Portuguese citizens who fulfilled the residence qualification of 3 years in a colony and could read and write Portuguese language, were eligible to be elected to the Government Council.

The functions of the Government Council chiefly aimed to safeguard the interest of Portuguese Empire. If the number of the Government Council expressed an opinion which went contrary to the integrity of Portugal, that member was to be dismissed. If in course of meetings or proceedings, any member used something derogatory in context of the President of the Republic or members of the Government or any high authority of

2. Ibid.
the colony, he was to be suspended for a period of 30 days in first instance and than subsequently for a period of one year. If an official used words of disrespect for the above mentioned authorities he was subjected to be penalized by law. There was to be no right to appeal in either cases. The Minister of colonies had the power to dissolve the Government council on a proposal from the Governor. The Government Council had to meet at least once in a year. Its quorum was half of its members plus one. All decisions were to be taken by a majority vote.

Military service was made compulsory under the Carta Organica for all Portuguese citizen. No Portuguese subject could hold Government office unless he had performed his share of military service.

Article 207 of the Carta Organica provided for the control of newspaper. Taking advantage of that provision, the Governor-General of Portuguese India, Carveiro Lopes, ordered that any newspaper brought out for more than 4 days in a week had to furnish a security of Rs. 6, 250/= (Cash) in the Government treasury. All other newspapers had to deposit Rs 3, 125/= (cash). For any violation of laws by a

1. Boletim Official, No. 99 (Supplement), 14, December, 1933.  
2. Ibid.
newspaper was to be fined £s. 625/=

Article 248 of the Carta Organica was amended by Law No:- 1900 (21st, May, 1936). The opening words of this Article, 'Religious missions in the Colonies', were changed to read, 'Portuguese Catholic Missions in the Colonies'.

With the imposition and implemention of the Colonial Act and the Carta Organica or the Organic Charter, in Portuguese colonies, the foundation of Clerical Fascist dictatorship was complete.

In the meantime, the Indian National Movement had taken firm routes in the soil of India with the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the national scene. The climax was reached when the Indian National Congress was resolved in 1930 (January) to achieve complete independence for India. In consequence of the resolution, the Civil Disobedience movement was begun in 1931. The Goa - Government tried to isolate her subjects from rest of the India, but inspite of their best efforts the people of Goa, Daman and Diu, worked hard to liberate themselves from Portuguese clutches.

The great Goan nationalist like T.B. Cunha and his

intimate colleagues were arrested and some of them were exiled. It was at this time that in Portuguese India the citizens were classified into three categories Europeans, Assimilados and Indígenos. Those who could not read or write Portuguese language were debarred from all Government offices as well as from participation in election. The Gomantak Praja Mandal under the leadership of Juliao Menzes challenged the might of the Portuguese Empire.

The Quit India Movement had its repercussions in Goa. When after the close of the II World War, England decided to grant freedom to British India, the problem of liberty of Portuguese colonies assumed great significance. All Goan nationalists along with Indian nationalists launched Satyagraha Movement in Goa. The movement was started by R.M. Lohia on 10th, July, 1946. The Portuguese Government resorted to a policy of arrests, exiles and brutal suppression of civil liberties. After Lohia's release, Gandhi advised the Portuguese to follow the British example and transfer their possessions in India to the impending Republic of India. The Governor-General of Portuguese India Jose Bossa replied to Gandhi and said that by right of conquest and by legal and judicial

2. Galtonde, P.D., op.cit., p. 68.
3. Ibid., p. 41.
rights, the Portuguese colonies of India were inseparable from metropolitan Portugal. However, for the purpose of pacifying public opinion, Jose Bossa promised some measures of autonomy in Goa administration at some future date. For at time the Goan Government was able to suppress the nationalist movement.

The end of II World War brought a time of trouble for Salazar. For the first time some opposition emerged to challenge his dictatorship. In the Presidential election of 1948, Salazar's nominee General Caramona was challenged by Norton de Mattos. At the last minute, however, the candidate from the opposition was forced to withdraw. In April, 1951, Portugal joined N.A.T.O. The second challenge to Salazar came from Admiral Mevieles in 1951, but he was also forced to withdraw. When the presidential elections were announced for the year 1958, the candidate who opposed Salazar was Americo Termeps, but the leftists and liberals set up Delgado as their candidate. Delgado did not withdraw like the previous opposition candidates and was able to secure 25% votes cast. The last challenge so far thrown to Salazar within Portugal came

form Galvao, who in January 1959 escaped from Portugal and organized a movement for the national independence of Portugal. The next jolt came to Salazar when Goa, Daman and Diu were liberated on 19th, December, 1961.

On 12th, April, 1954 Salazar in his address to the Portuguese nation commented that the Indian press was, "in general rather hermetically closed to our attempts to re-establish the truth, when at even, turn we find it led astray, in regard to us and to Goa; by in accurate information and unfair opinions. . . . . It is difficult under these conditions to make a dispassionate message reach the independent minds of the Indian Union". To quote Salazar, "Some of the ideas which took us to India - political or economic - disappeared with the age which produced them but they gave place to other realities - those we now assert. And these realities are that Goa constitutes a Portuguese community in India, and that Goa represents a light of the West in the lands of the Orient. The territory is merely the space in which that community lives; the land, the tower where that light was kindled ours are truly moral interests - interests of the Portuguese in the first place and Westerners in the second."

2. Gaitonde., P.D., op.cit., p. 78.
There followed a piece what he called history: "The Portuguese went to the East with great religious, political and commercial designs. Yet those ideas, it seems clear, did not imply conquest of territories or subjection of their inhabitants. Only a foothold on the main land from which to guarantee the security of the seas and the new shipping routes in those tiny territories, which had been ceded or militarily occupied. Portuguese blood mingled liberally with that of the local peoples; more than four centuries of life in common, of a spiritual presence.....have created a thoroughly differentiated social type. Try, as you may, a Portuguese from India, a Luso-Indian, cannot be confused with a native of the Indian Union". Salazar then referred to the contradictions in the "impassioned arguments of the Indian Union". In this context, he observed "In order to arrogate the right to absorb Goa, it is said that the latter is India, by race, religion and culture, in order to win the favour of the Goans it has promised them that all the religious activities and distinct cultural elements of that small community shall be respected. The truth, however, lies in the


2. Ibid., p. 41.
recognition of the differences and not in the sympathy of resemblances. The small Portuguese state of India is effectively a province of Portugal and precisely that one with which are associated some of the greatest names that the Portuguese nation was able to give to World History."

Salazar further remarked, "We are fighting so that, without offence to anyone, Goa may continue to be the memorial of Portuguese discoveries and a small hearth of the spirit of the West in the East. But if this fire is to be kept alight, it must be linked to its origin like the stream to the spring".

It is also said that Marcello Mathias, the Portuguese ambassador in Paris, had advised Salazar that the question of Goa, should be shoud be solved by carrying out a plebiscite. To Salazar's question, 'And if we loose', he replied, "We shall abandon Goa just as we did in Mazagao........ this only could bring us international prestige'. Salazar is said to have commented, "But it is an abandonment........" . 'Yes', said Mathias, 'but it is better to abandon with honour than to be beaten'. Salazar discussed this suggestion at a cabinet meeting but met objection from two of his

2. Ibid., p.80.
most important ministers, Paulo Cunha and Santos Costa. Thus the idea of a plebiscite as a solution to the problem of Goa was set aside by Salazar because he thought it could go against the Portuguese sovereignty there.

On 1st, December, 1960 Salazar in his television broadcast from Lisbon told his people that it was "shocking" that Indian leaders would not recognize Portugals historic rights in Goa. He said, "We noted that the Indian Union sought to restorge its shaken prestige by eagerly assuming in the U.N the leading role in Afro-Asian of opposition to Portugal".

It was India's hope that by multiplying the difficulties faced by the various Portuguese colonies it would be able to create greater facilities for its claims on Goa.

Salazar's television broadcast on 1st, December, 1960, emphasized Portugals historical rights in Goa which were not acceptable to Pandit Nehru and any other prominent India leader. Infact the mood of Indians in 1960's was agaisnt any form of colonialism in Afro-Asian countries. Consequently the attitude of the


Government of India towards the Goan problem was not at all ambivalent. Discontent against Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, Daman and Diu was abundantly clear and manifest. The Government of India did realize that it would no longer be possible for Salazar to resist the mounting pressure of mass mobilization, organized by Congress leaders as well as socialists like R.M. Lohia and Ashok Mehta particularly. It will not be a exaggeration to say that the anti-colonical and anti-imperialist movement in Goa was something like spontaneous revolution like the Quit India Movement of 1942. Unfortunately Salazar was not prepared to accept this grim reality of this situation and he remained silhouetted against the background of Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. He was waging a battle against the people of Goa which had already been lost.