The advent of Portuguese initiative in the era of colonialism in India, followed by the political and commercial rivalry of other European powers for political ascendancy. The pattern of European colonialism reveals the splinter marks of history which was susceptible to time, place and country. Any assessment of Portuguese colonial policy in India should be made keeping this historical perspective. It is a sober truth that the Portuguese, with their remarkable intrepidity and dogged tenacity, became the pioneers of colonial rule in India. They did show to European adventurers belonging to other nations, how to respond to the challenge of unknown seas and quest for conquest. Soon Goa became the capital of whole Portuguese empire in East. It was granted the same civic privileges as Lisbon. The pages of Goan history under the Portuguese rule was not without blemish, the most notable being the Inquisition, which left a trail of bloodshed in its wake. Yet the Portuguese contribution to the cultural history of Goa should not be underestimated. It has lent a quaint charm to the Goan way of life, which even now retains a Latin touch. The Goan struggle for freedom from its beginning (in 16th century) to the last Revolt of the Ranes (1912) was always violent and followed the conventional war-like pattern, with accompanying
bloodshed.

With the passage of time, resistance erupted in several forms through the ages. The establishment of Inquisition in Portugal in 1536, brought an increase in religious intolerance, both in Portugal and its overseas provinces. The year 1560 is a notable period in the history of Portuguese colonialism as in this year Inquisition was introduced in Goa, when Aleixo Dias Falcao came to Goa as Inquisitor. At the same time laws were enacted favouring new converts to Christianity at the coast of "those who resisted conversion". This led to the exodus of Hindus to distant villages which were not within the reach of Portuguese like Assolona, Veroda, Ambolim Cuncolim and Velim. But here also the Portuguese destroyed the Hindu temples, which ultimately culminated into the massacre of Cuncolim. In order to please the Luso-Indians or the New Converts, the land of the migrated Hindus were given to them and the estates of the temples went into the hands of the Church. The Luso-Indians were regarded to be the privileged class, next to the Portuguese and soon a conflict between the Luso-Indians and the Canarins (Native Christians) ensued which continued till the end of the 19th century. The Hindu Christian disharmony owes its existence to establishment of Inquisition in Goa. For the
Inquisitor, conversion to Christianity meant also a drastic change in the way of life of the converted. As stated in the Preamble of the Edict of Goa in Inquisition published in 1736, the Goan Christians should "in all their behaviour lose all resemblance to the Hindus and confirm to that of the Portuguese from whom they receive the incomparable gift of conversion". The extent and the intensity of the religious discrimination in Goa was that as late as 1907. The Hindus were not allowed to teach in the Portuguese primary schools, simply on the ground that they did not profess the state religion.

The rule of Portuguese in India had been the rule of 'Cross and Sword', i.e. 'either accept Christianity or get beheaded. The mass Christianization was one of the chief means used by the Portuguese to maintain their political domination in India and the history of their forced conversions is closely related to their political system. The thing that attracted the Portuguese towards India was its wealth, but at the same time they were obsessed by the idea of converting the heathens, and protecting Christianity against Muslims who were considered to be their rivals in the field of trade. Portuguese policy of extortion went always hand in hand with the work of forced conversion. For this purpose they were armed with Papal Bulls,
which granted them the privilege of sailing and
conquering for Christianity and they were granted the
right of 'Padrado' of Royal Patronage. The first
conversion made by Portuguese in India were of women.

The 17th and 18th centuries witnessed a number of
the most notable being the Maratha uprisings, Pinto's
revolt and the Revolt of Ranes. Though these revolts
were quelled with an iron hand, but gradually it eroded
the stability of the Portuguese. Politics of Protest
in real sense began in the year 1755, when the Ranes
for the first time revolted against the Portuguese as a
protest against the levy on tobacco. This rebellion
aimed at overthrowing the Portuguese and
establishing a new Republic in which the people of the
country would have ruled themselves by excercising all
ruling powers through a Popular Assembly. In the year
1787, Portuguese had to face a strong challenge from
the Pinto's. It was landmark in the history of Goan
freedom struggle known as Pinto's rebellion. The main
reason behind this rebellion was that the Goan Catholic
priests were seething with discontent as they were not
allowed to hold the top Ecclesiastical seats reserved
for European clergy.

By the end of the 18th century, the Portuguese
empire in India was threatened by Napoleon Bonapart and
Tipu Sultan. On the 3rd, August, 1788, a mission under
the leadership of Mohammad Usman Khan, was sent by Tipu to Louis XVI. This was the first instance of Indian king sending a formal mission to an European power. Nothing came out from such activities, but the Portuguese in India were thoroughly alarmed.

The Napoleonic wars in Europe, where English came in confrontation with French, gave to Lord Wellesley the desired 'casusbelli' for the extirpation of Mysore and Tipu along with his French allies. Goa and the lesser establishments of Daman and Diu also became a prey of the inter-continental Anglo-French struggle. In other words such an inter-continental crisis proved to be a boon in disguise for Lord Wellesley who was waiting for a successful termination of the Anglo-Mysore war before ordering a British Auxiliary force to enter Goa, under the pretext of protecting the Portuguese possessions from the French treat. Finally on the 7th, September, 1799, a British Auxiliary force penetrated into Goa. By 1802, the British were in complete control of Goa.

Following the Treaty of Amiens, Portugal for some years was at peace. Yet, the French plan of possessing Portugal was not completely shelved. Actually, Napoleon was encouraged by the Spanish Minister Godey to conquer Portugal. By the Treaty of Fontainbleau, the partition of Portugal was decided between France
and Spain. The fact of general peace in Europe following the Treaty of Amiens, could no longer be kept secret from Portuguese authorities. Consequently Lord Wellesley had to order the withdrawal of British troops from Goa in a phased manner. By May, 1816, the last of the British troops had been withdrawn from Portuguese India. The stay of the British troops in Portuguese possessions for a period lasting over 15 years was more or less unnecessary for the French threat, under the pretext of which Wellesley had send the force, was illusionary. Portuguese India, escaped incorporation with the territories of British India Company only because of the policy of Lord Minto and the hesitation of London to order this move in the view of the close Anglo-Portuguese friendship.

The eight years period (1835-1842) provided a spectacle of tumultuous happenings in Portuguese India. The appointment of a local Goan (de Silva) as the Prefect of Portuguese India was in itself a forward step in Portuguese colonial administration. Another consequence of the rise and spread of liberal and Chartist ideology in Goa was the growth of journalism in Portuguese India, because during the stormy days of early 1835, newspapers, bulletins and pamphlets began circulating in large numbers, either for or against the Prefect of Portuguese India. Towards the end of 19th
century, the clarion call for freedom sounded through the speeches and writings of Francisco Louis Gomes, Goan Parliamentarian.

The Revolt of 1895, was an upsurge of the Goans against the Portuguese, as the truce which the Portuguese achieved by agreeing to Dipaji Ranes's demands did not last long. Moreover, the events that led to this historic event gave it a particular significance in the Goan history of Armed Resistance. The Revolt of 1895 was crushed by a special expeditionary force sent from Portugal, led by Affonso Henrique. The leader of the Ranes of Sanguelim, Dadaji Rane Sardesai was arrested and deported to Timor for 28 years. The real war of independence which was started in 1852, under the leadership of Dipaji Rane, preceding by five years what widely acclaimed in official Indian Historiography as the First War Of Independence (1857), was in fact far more successful than the 1857 revolt. Curiously enough between 1740 and 1852 there were no less than 14 attempts to overthrow the foreign domination. Unfortunately, all these attempts proved to be futile.

The Rane rebellion and the Mutiny of the Maratha soldiers had evoked a feeling of hostility and distrust against the local Goans. The Portuguese press dubbed the Goans as the 'Black Sect' which under the
leadership of Bernado Francisco da Costa had taken a view to drive the Europeans out of Portuguese India. This feeling of animosity and hatred was revealed in the actions of Andrade, who transferred many civil and military Goan officers to Mozambique.

Parallel to these revolts of Ranes, the desire for freedom was expressed by the Goans in the Portuguese Parliament. In 1852, Father Jeremias Mascarenhas citing the independence of Brazil, proclaimed in the Parliament that no one should wonder if Portuguese India also made a demand for independence. He said that the emancipation was a natural evolution common to both individual and colonies.

The period of local armed resistance came to an end, early in the second decade of the 20th century which coincided with the establishment of the Republic in Portugal. It may be pointed out that in final months of the Monarchy, the issue of discrimination against the Hindus in Goa had been brought to the notice of the Portuguese Parliament. Antonio de Jose Almeida, was of the view that the armed resistance had been caused mainly by religious oppressions. It may be recalled that during the period of armed resistance, the Goan Hindus were singled out as the natural enemies of the colonial regime. After the establishment of the Republic in Portugal, however, the enlightened
Christians, particularly the young generation of the time recognized the ties of race, blood and civilization which binds Goa to the rest of India.'

In the early years of 20th century political education had begun in Goa. Although the events in Portugal had great importance in terms on Goa's immediate future, they were not thought relevant to the ultimate destiny of this small territory. By then, the Goans had learnt that their destiny was inseparably linked with that of the rest of India. At Tilak's death, Goa showed that she was no stranger to the general feeling of grief and irreplaceable loss that his death represented. He, after all through his paper 'The Kesari' had been largely responsible for the political education of the Goans. The Revolt of 1895 provided a new impetus to the growing aspirations of the Goans who had been aspiring to throw away the yoke of foreign domination since the 16th century, and had recorded in history their displeasures a number of times.

The Father of 20th century Goan nationalism was Menzes Braganza. The role he played in the history of Goan freedom struggle was very significant as he collaborated with the radical elements of Portuguese Republicanism; and as a devoted journalist, he interpreted the values of western liberalism, humanism
and rationalism to the backward Goan peoples.

The liberal interlude, i.e., 1911–1926, had made the Goan patriots to believe that their dream of self-government be soon realized. But when in Portugal the military regime of President Carmona withdrew the small concessions which had been granted to the Portuguese colonies by the Decree of 15th August, 1914 the conscious and literate faction of Goa started to tax their brain in a new and modified way. They now started to feel that only by forming a nexus with the patriots of British India, the Goans would be able to throw away the yoke of Portuguese rule from their shoulders. The period between 1919–1928 in the history of Goa's freedom struggle was not the final step towards the elimination of Portuguese domination. It was an intermediary phase between the Revolt of 1895 and the actual liberation of Goa, in 1961.

The great Goan nationalist and the founder of Goa Congress Committee in 1929, Dr. T.B. Cunha, denounced the military regime of Portuguese India in the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, which gave full recognition to the Goa Congress Committee as its affiliate. A significant factor, which was responsible for the growth of the popular resistance in Goa, was the dictatorial suppression of civil liberties. The Goans were deprived of the most elementary rights like
freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom to form association etc. Dr. Gunha was completely convinced that the salvation of Goa lay in embracing the freedom movement of India. He appealed for a common front, under the banner of Indian National Congress to drive out the British as well as the Portuguese from their sacred soil. During this period, the Goans in Portugal organized an Indian Nationalist Centre. The students, who were studying in Coimbra and Lisbon, strongly supported the idea that the political merge of Goa with India is very essential.

The Quit India Movement had its repercussions in Goa. The outcome of this movement was that, the Goan nationalist, Peter Alvares, after undergoing a three year term of imprisonment, on his release, raised the slogan 'Quit Goa'. In 1944, the Portuguese Indian nationalists were in a state of suppressed excitement. These nationalist established their sense of identity with the Indian nationalist by openly wearing Gandhi caps, and using buttons having the picture of Gandhi in it. In 1946, Goa was well in the grip of a large scale Satyagraha Movement, which was followed by a large number of demonstration and arrests. The campaign for civil liberties, was on the Gandhian lines of non-violence, but it was suppressed ruthlessly by the Portuguese authorities. However, the wave of arrests
and repression failed to subdue the zeal and enthusiasm of the nationalists.

The phase of popular resistance was not the last chapter of the Goan freedom struggle, but it was a phase in which the Goans were fully awakened of the chaotic condition that was prevailing in Goa under the Salazar regime. The liberation movement continued with a renewed spirit. It had begun as a struggle for civil liberties gradually acquired the characteristics of a mass movement for independence. The Portuguese administration for a time, succeeded in crushing the anti-Portuguese voices. As a consequence of the policy of repression and terror, the mood of sullen discontent and naked fear descended upon the people of Portuguese India, and it was this peace of graveyard that the Portuguese prided themselves about.

The mood of Indians in 1960's was against any form of colonialism in Afro-Asian countries. The attitude of the Government of India towards the Goan problem was not at all ambivalent. The people's discontent against Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, Daman and Diu was abundantly clear and manifest. The Government of India did realize that it would be no longer possible for Salazar to resist the mounting pressure of mass mobilization, organized by Congress and socialists, like Ram Manohar Lohia and Ashok Mehta particularly.
It will not be an exaggeration to say that the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movements in Goa was something like spontaneous revolution like the Quit India Movement. Unfortunately Salazar was not prepared to accept the 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.

The struggle for civil liberties, triggered by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, awakened the Goan masses from their disastrous slumber, Lohia brought before the world the type of mental enslavement and discriminatory treatment that was given by Portugal to her colonies in the east. He exposed the dual policy that was adopted by the Indian National Congress, which wound up its branch committee in Goa in 1934, thereby excluding the Portuguese colonies from the periphery of the liberation struggle in India. If the Congress leadership had taken up the issue of the Portuguese and French colonies in India, along with their larger problem of freeing the country from the clutches of British rule, separate movement in these colonies could have been avoided. But the stance of the Indian National Congress was such that there was no other alternative for the freedom loving people in the French
and Portuguese possessions than to resort to their own liberation struggles. Lohia hastened the process of the liberation struggle of Goa, Daman and Diu. His vision imbied in the Goans a fearlessness to face any eventuality in future. He not only guided them to act, but actually goaded them to the arena of the freedom struggle.

Although the Goan liberators had requested merger with India, Nehru remained silent. Frank Moraes, observes, "For most of his life Prime Minister Nehru had resisted the idea that non-violence should be projected to the plane of defence against external aggression." Throughout the late spring crisis of 1955, Nehru firmly refused to officially sanction the Satyagraha campaign. He wanted the Goans to spearhead the movement for their own liberation. Nehru was of the view that individual Indians could march into Goa but not in masses as a mass approach as might lead to violence. Nehru announced that any demonstration by Indians in Goa would be regarded as directed not against the Portuguese but his own administration. He was repeatedly afraid that the Satyagraha demonstration would be used against him in the Punjab and Rajasthan. Satyagraha, he held, could not be performed by one Government against the other. Later he seemed to modify his position. He assured
Congressmen, who desired to participate, that he would not interfere with the proposed Independence Day Satyagraha, as he had done a year earlier. Furthermore, Nehru ordered the Portuguese to close their Legation in Delhi by the 8th August, 1955. He claimed that he was taking this drastic action to prove that the Congress Party was against the Portuguese rule as any group in India. Yet he refrained from completely breaking relations.

In the Satyagraha March of 1955 many demonstrators were injured and about 20 of them were killed. Such a brutal act of the Portuguese was severely criticised by Nehru in the Parliament. Many 'hartals' and protest strikes were held in the principal towns of India. As one Swiss writer Eric Streiff commented, in the Swiss Review of World Affairs of September, 1955, "What India allowed to happen against Goa and the diplomatic and consular institutions of Portugal on Indian soil is a clear cut violation of each of the five lofty principles......"

A lot of dust was raised in the corridors of international politics and the world press, over the liberation of Goa by a swift military action. India was accused, specially by the western nations, of indulging in double-speak and of being an aggressor. To judge the issue in its proper perspective, it is
essential to examine it in the framework of colonialism under customary inter-national law and in the U.N. Charter. It must not be forgotten that the Portuguese conquest of Goa was through unjust use of force and aggression, which continued for four and a half centuries. The Charter of U.N. never sanctioned the perpetuity of colonial rule. Therefore, India on the one hand had restored the balance by righting the wrong committed by Portugal, and on the other hand acting in conformity with the inter-national law. On the grounds of humanity, on the basis of common nationality, and in order to fill the vacuum that had appeared just before the Goan liberation. India was perfectly justified in rendering military assistance to the Goans in their liberation movement.