CHAPTER - VII

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A. FINDINGS

F1. Chapter I expounds a brief overview of the family background, the birth and early life of T B Cunha. Born in a pre-dominantly Charddo family of the Charddo dominated village of Chandor in South Goa.

F2. The researcher has embarked upon the pursuit to appraise the early life and influences of the foremost Goan nationalist T B Cunha and the manner in which he gained popularity in the Goan social, political and particularly the literary circles after he immigrated to France.

F3. T B Cunha known for his works as a journalist has to his credit several in-depth written accounts in the form of articles, pamphlets that he has published with a single minded devotion to secure liberation of Goa from the fascist Portuguese regime.

F4. Other sources for the study of an analysis into the works of TB Cunha include, the newspapers and articles, Gomantak (English) edited by Juliao Menezes, Resurge Goa by Telo de Mascarenhas, Azad Goem, Free Goa, Goa Tribune by Aloysius Soares.

F5. At this time, certain Goan and other agents of British tea planters of Assam had under false pretence of high wages and a life of plenty succeeded in enticing hundreds of Kunbi labourers from Goa to distant Assam, there to serve as slave labourers for the British tea planters. T B Cunha succeeded in getting the unfortunate victims repatriated to their homes and families. The full story of this shameful exploitation and the fight against it has been written by T B Cunha in Camouflaged Slavery.

F6. He published a Konkani paper—Azad Goem, the only Konkani paper carrying the message of the freedom to the Goan masses.

F7. In the pamphlet, 'The Denationalization of the Goans' that was publicized in 1944, T B Cunha stated that “in the whole of India, no people are so denationalized as Goans.” In 1928, his pamphlet entitled ‘What is Imperialism?’, and in another “Camouflaged Slavery and Catholicism—an instrument of Portuguese Domination,” opined that Goa had become a market for slaves were
very popular. He had written several press articles on the Goa problem and its solutions, on Salazar and his propaganda, Salazar and the Vatican, The Jesuits and the foreign missionaries etc. "What is Imperialism?" was one of his most popular pamphlets.

F8. T B Cunha’s ‘Camouflaged Slavery’ and ‘The Concealed Slavery of Assam’ in T B Cunha, Goa’s Freedom Struggle, Dr T B Cunha Memorial Committee, Bombay, 1961, deserves a mention.

F9. In 1936, he published a pamphlet called The Basic Problem where he made an appeal for a modus Vivendi with neighboring India, wherein he was against the double British and Portuguese customs barrier.

F10. Cunha’s involvement in the historic fight where he voiced concern against indentured labour under which the Kunbis labourers from Goa were recruited and sent to Assam, was a defining moment in the Goan history.

F11. When he was court martialled on July 24th 1946 and sentenced to eight years of imprisonment, his trial captured the notice of the public. It was the first and most sensational, of such political trials.

F12. He commented strongly on ‘the forced conversion of a Hindu girl of Cuncolim’ was proof enough of of the Portuguese Regime’s total supremacy over the Goan people. As a matter of fact, the suppression of the freedom of opinion amounts to real mental castration of the Goan people.

F13. He insisted upon every Goan to wear the spirit of revolt on their sleeves and rise up against the subjection of the imperialistic regime which only lowered the standard of living and lead to intellectual stagnation. It was this spirit of stagnation that he instilled among people to shake off.

F14. He had understandable views and knowledge about the anti-Indian activities of Catholic Missionaries which he brought to light in an article as Cunha explained that: “If we are to succeed in the new endeavor to liberate Goa, we must be seized of the past mistakes and deficiencies as they have been responsible for the miserable failure of our efforts. In the light of the past experience, new methods of action must be devised to obtain the desired results”.

F15. In the Country- Territory of Goa it was alleged that the majority of the populace were Christians though the Hindus did form a greater number. From the statistics of the census of 1931, it is apparent that the population was divided on the basis of religion into the following groups: Hindus, (54.9%), Catholics, (43.1%),
Mohammedans (1.9%), Others (0.1%). Hence, it can be stated that the benefits which the Catholic religion was sanctioned was not due to the number of followers but can be attributed to the colonial rule of the Portuguese who resorted to the practice of mass conversion.

**F16.** Goa’s history embodied the harmony among the Hindus and Muslims which contributed to the rich tapestry of an inter-woven culture between the two and which gave Goa its unique and distinctive personality.

**F17.** At the end of the 18\(^{th}\) century and the beginning of the 19\(^{th}\) century, British troops on the pretext of defending the territory against a supposed French invasion, occupied Goa, Daman and Diu.

**F18.** An important economic accord between England and Portugal concerning Portugal India was signed on December 26\(^{th}\), 1878. This treaty liberated the trade between Portuguese and British India from the restraints of custom duties, allowed the construction of the Railways and the Marmagoa Harbour and established the monetary convention, thereby ushering in an era of prosperity for the land to themselves rather than deny their old faith. Even when the constitutional regime brought about a relative religious freedom as Catholicism was the State religion, the Hindus remained as pariahs in their own country right into the 20\(^{th}\) century.

**F19.** Underprivileged of any representative and responsible organization, Portuguese India was totally dependent on the power exercised by the Government of Portugal.

**F20.** There were three governors responsible to the people for acquiring more powers: one, a governor-general with his seat at Panjim and two district governors, one in Daman and the other, in Diu. The local administrative bodies in the villages had been abolished after having worked for a few years without even possessing definite rules resulting in leaving the villages to their fate and the towns administered according to the whims of those who succeeded in gaining the sympathies of the governors, the public concerned having no voice in the matter.

### Public Finance, Revenue and Expenditure

**F21.** The accounts of revenue and expenditure of the Portuguese State of India clearly illustrated that the government treasuries were filled to the brim whereas the country was heading towards poverty. The receipts which at Rs 32 lakh in 1918-
1919 constantly rose and reached the figure of Rs 65 lakh, more than double, when all the country's sources of income are terribly low and depressed.

F22. The land revenue showed a steady and continuous increase in spite of the agricultural income witnessing a fall. It was apparent that the government was not concerned about of the taxpayers while collecting the tax. The stamp duty was another illustration of government's exploitation. The slightest recourse to any public service costs heavily in stamped paper and other stamp duties, the cost of which was sometimes higher than that of the deed itself.

Alcoholism

F23. In 1934, when an exceptionally courageous elected member of the Government Council reminded Governor that it was his duty by law to lead the campaign against alcoholism and denounced the law prohibiting the opening of the liquor shops on Sunday and certain time and places was not observed at all, he was rudely answered that the Council need not deal with the matter. Even the super-tax on rice served to help the government to lower the tax on the production of alcohol, thus lowering the price of local spirits by raising the cost of people's staple food.

Economic Situation

F24. This tremendous unfavorable trade balance showed the backwardness of the country's economic development and its growing dependence on other countries. The deplorable conditions of exports was evident both in its quality as much as for the quantity. The contrast with the imported goods depicted the country's primitive economy.

F25. The hostility shown towards India was clearly shown in the drop of the total imports from 77.65 per cent in 1936, to 61.91 per cent to 70.40 per cent. Thus, the constant raising of duties and other restrictions of the recent years resulted not only in seriously damaging the internal economy, but also affecting the Indian products. The discriminating policy adopted in the export tariffs to be paid on colonial products impeded the industrial colonies themselves.

F26. Rice was the staple food of the population of Portuguese India. The great majority being extremely poor lived only on rice. The cost of production of the local rice was much higher than that of imported rice. Following a simple policy,
the government pretended to increase the local rice in order to assure a higher price for producers. As it was not offered for sale, the raising of its price did not benefit the local cultivators.

Emigration

F27. As restrictions of exports through tariff barrier decreased internal productivity to such an extent that the working class was forced to migrate outside in search of employment. The rise in the cost of living, lack of industries, and export tariff all contributed to the work-force leaving Goa in search of jobs for their survival.

F28. Goa lottery tickets were another source of good revenue tickets in British India.

Foreign Vested Interests

F29. The railway line which connected the Marmagoa Harbour with other Indian lines aimed in connecting Goa closer to the Indian continent. The construction of this harbor and railway was not only justified by merely local interests but it served to provide an outlet to the sea for the Indian inland. On account of its geographical position in relation to the Deccan and Southern India, its economic importance was derived from the access to the sea which it offered to this vast region, the local Goan traffic being of little value. It was the harbour and the railways that gave a tremendous increase to the commercial activity

F30. Indians in Portuguese Africa were treated with abhorrence.

Freedom of the Press

F31. There was no freedom of the press; they are denied the right of speech and assembly and were particularly deprived of the freedom of association, and were left entirely to the mercy of the arbitrariness and the terrorist methods of the police. The censorship did not allow criticism, even the mildest and impartial, of the actions of neither public official, nor did it allow discussions on the country’s problems like the agrarians crisis. The press was reduced to complete subjection even news relating to the international situations and to the Indian national movement having there a reactionary character and complete silence was compelled to be observed over the entire world’s movement for liberation.

F32. There was no right of assembly, as it was necessary to seek permission in advance from the administrative authorities. No political organizations are
allowed except the National Union, which under the military and clerical
dictatorship monopolized all propaganda and political activity. Even associations
of a cultural, social and economic character were dissolved through a summary
trial.

F33. Cunha was apprehensive about the economic relations India had with Goa and
was surprised that it maintained silence over the state of affairs with the
Portuguese imparted on Goa.

F34. Cunha was astonished at the fact how the countrymen-Goans and Indians
accepted the creation of the artificial barriers between the two-India and Goa
even though both were geographically linked and closely united by indissoluble
ties of economic and social order.

F35. He clearly stated the important role of the Kokani press in Goa's freedom
struggle: "The propaganda made through these papers must be examined by
people knowing well Konkani language, and able both to read and write, since
these persons must not only give a factual report of their condition but also
supply them with true and factual information. This is indispensable, because the
Konkani papers are run by amateurs and not by trained journalists. Since the
Konkani press is in immediate contact with the broad Goan masses, who due to
their semi-literacy resort to this only source of knowledge and information, every
effort must be made to see that it is not used by dubious elements for fostering
anti-Indian propaganda in the very heart of India."

F36. "Catholics" of the Jesuit Examiner and the anti-Catholics of the Gomantak at the
time used a similar critical process, they also differed in their points of view.
While the former affirmed that the guiding spirit of the Committee was "a
notorious atheist, apostate and anti-clerical, who professed communistic ideas,"
the latter emphatically blamed the organization for working "under the Jesuits
wing."

F37. Perhaps, the Goans were the most denationalized of all people in the entire
nation. An absolute lack of national consciousness and the most shameful
subjection to foreign rulers, either Portuguese or British, rendered the Goan and
particularly the Goan Christian a stranger in his own land.

F38. The reality was that Albuquerque was as full of racial arrogance as any other
colonial ruler. The mixed marriages that he encouraged and ordered were due to
an imperative necessity: to tie down his people to the conquered land to ensure the continuation of their predominance through these strange marital unions.

F39. The work of fiction invented by the Portuguese imperialism was in order to cloak the mass conversions and use it to establish their political rule. The fact is that Saint Francis Xavier made no conversions in Goa. In spite of all historical disguise, it is an irrefutable fact that the Catholic Goans, who constitute today nearly half of the population of Goa, owe their conversion to the methods of coercion used by the Portuguese in order to establish their rule in India. The Portuguese used these methods of conversions because they could not convince the Hindus to take on Christianity as their religion.

Cultural Denationalization

F40. With the denationalization of Goa, its cultural heritage witnessed a total bankruptcy as the Portuguese not only failed in their attempts to hinder the growth of the national culture but were also unsuccessful in befittingly replacing it with a new and worthy one.

F41. Official culture provided by primary secondary and higher schools was calculated to provide the rulers with submissive and obsequious State servants. The whole education was deliberately anti-national.

F42. As the Portuguese were unable to provide a new culture, they instead endowed the country with a travesty of civilization without root in the soil and in the profounder life of the country. The compulsion of the Portuguese language only resulted in the shocking illiteracy of the people.

F43. With the destruction of the old temples and mosques and the harassment of the local artists, sculptors of wood, stone, ivory and clay and goldsmiths, the final evil which hit the Goan society was debauchery and corruption. The awkward imitations of churches, basilicas and convents of the European Renaissance were adorned with altars of a hideous taste, profusely gilded and worked with a shocking mixture of styles. The study of science was purely bookish; because of a lack in laboratories no practical work was undertaken in any science, including medicine.
Politico-Economic Aspects

F44. The appalling renunciation of elementary rights, the suppression of political scrutiny, the exploitation of financial resources and economic means were the tools which the Portuguese employed to denationalize the Goan society. Their unwillingness to patronize articles of local and Indian industry denoted a complete lack of sense of collective and national solidarity which was the characteristic of all modern and progressive communities.

F45. The denationalization of Goans was more pronounced than that of any other people, not only owing to a longer period of subjection to foreigners but as a result of particularly barbarous and tyranny methods used in Goa by the Portuguese rulers, to deform the minds.

F46. As an example of the criterion adopted by the censorship, Cunha referred to the article on the strike of Ahmadabad students, of which only a few disjointed passages were allowed to pass, two-thirds of the article having been suppressed. The part suppressed contained passages from an article by Mahatma Gandhi which was published by almost all the papers in India.

The Strike of the Gujarat College Students: The Opinion of Mahatma Gandhi

F47. Mahatma Gandhi in his paper Young India clearly expressed his opinion in an article entitled “The Right to Resist”, published in the course of the strike stated that it was within the right of the students to declare the strike. The students were being guided and helped by responsible people. He also stressed the facts which were voiced by all that the students had the duty of resisting the orders of the Principal because he failed to keep his word.

F48. After this article was written, the strike of the Gujarat College students ended in a complete victory to the students. The strike lasted 37 days. The intervention which the Bombay Government saw itself forced to put an end to the conflict, giving full satisfaction to the students, against their Principal. It is one more example of what solidarity and a combative spirit can do.

F49. In October 1954, in Bombay, Cunha clearly declared that in 1954, it was the disunity among Indians and the slackness of the people in dealing with the anti-national elements among themselves that helped the Portuguese to continue here their insolent rule.
The Portuguese propaganda slandered India all over the world and spread the most absurd lies about Goa and Goans without meeting the slightest denial on the Indian side. Even the Indian Press was used by them against India.

One of the interesting notes of the book “Indian Diary” is remarkable for the full story of the manner in which our great poet Tagore was kidnapped by the agents of Mussolini and was made use of in spite of the benefit of fascism. Mahatma Gandhi had a more dramatic experience in Italy. He was warned before hand by Roman Rolland not to fall in the trap and to profit by Tagore’s experience. He said: “In Free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the Free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the Free State.”

The judgment delivered by Justice Chagla in the case of the book “The Denationalization of Goans” published in Bombay in 1914 and prosecuted at the request of the Portuguese consulate under the Defense of India Act. Justice Chagla not only acquitted the author and the printer of the book but strongly condemned the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa, and fully vindicated the thesis of the author in the masterly judgment delivered at Bombay High Court.

It is true that the book has attacked Portugal’s colonizing policy. It is true that the book has emphatically pointed out that Portugal has used religion as a weapon of imperialism, the Bombay High Court order stated.

Cunha stated that it was not only for material reasons that the slave traffic was made possible but the working class was condemned to the most perfect obscurantism, for lack of even the most rudimentary education. About 90 per cent of the population, which placed it under conditions of manifest inferiority, rendered itself a victim of easy exploitation by unscrupulous traffickers like those who recruited cheap labour for the Assam plantations.

The Bharat publication brought to light the hideous crime committed against the labourers of Kunbis from Vemam and Cortalim, who were promised jobs by a government employee and then taken to Assam as slaves. The workers from Goa were only happy to accept the job as conditions in Goa at the time did not work in their favour and poverty stricken they succumbed to the false promise made by the agents. The inquiry of the Bharat also disclosed new cases of the Kunbis handed over to the abject exploitations by the British capitalists by means of false promises.
In an editorial carried on May 30, 1926, the paper quoted facts narrated in the Bharat by the Kunbi from Navelim- a typical example of fraudulent recruitment undertaken by the British agents of slavery, in spite of the law prohibiting such practices.

Cunha stated that from the very beginning that “we nurse not the least illusion regarding the action of this Government in favour of our unfortunate compatriots, so cruelly snatched away from their country and separated from their families. We know from experience that during these two years the authorities have not bothered about the fate of those unfortunate people, and even now their agents implicated in this abject trade continue to enjoy impunity.”

His political exile to Portugal as a political deportee could be divided into two periods. In the first stage, which lasted for four and a half years, he spent his time in Portuguese prisons mainly in the ‘Fortress of Peniche. In the second phase, he was sent to Lisbon, where he was free for two and a half years. Though he was released from prison on grounds of amnesty for the two and a half years, he was however, not permitted to leave Portugal for India which was contrary to the law.

Democrats in Portugal Jailed for Pleading for Goa’s Freedom

An important trial of five eminent Portuguese democrats took place in the Special Political Court, the Tribunal Plenario, in the Portuguese town of Porto. The five were accused of treason because they spoke in favour of self-determination to Goans to decide their future in relation to India.

Portuguese Colonial Slavery Protected By United Nations. The ill-fated vote of the United Nations exempting Portugal from the obligation to report on the conditions prevailing in her territories not fully self-governed amounted to a protection of the slavery and abetment of the denial of human rights and civil liberties in the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

The crack among the supporters of Portuguese Regime headed by Salazar affected particularly the Military class which constituted the main barricade of the Dictatorship. This class was brought about the policy of immoderate protection extended to vested interests to the detriment of the interests of the common people.

Cunha urged the people to speak against the Salazar regime and exhorted the people to come out and speak up their minds. Salazar’ victory in the Goa case
was taken for granted by the people in Portugal, and even the opposition candidates did not refute it.

F63. The Portuguese presentation at the General Assembly of the United Nations in connection with the Goa case was ignored by the Indian Press, and even the Indian delegation to the Assembly did not react to the propagandist efforts which the Portuguese delegation made.

F64. In respect of the freedom of press in Portugal, it was also stated in the first article of the Press Act that the press was absolutely free. But in the following sections, the same freedom was curtailed to the extent of subjecting all publications to a strict and severe pre-censorship.

F65. The anti-Indian campaign of the Goan Konkani Press in Bombay, to which was inspired by the news circulated by the Vatican's 'Fides' and other agencies and publications controlled by the Vatican congregation of Propaganda Fide. The Portuguese official slandering campaign against India was known to use frequently and to take advantage of the statements made by the Indian dignitaries of the Church and published in the Indian Catholic press to discredit India and to harm her cause in regard to Goa.

F66. Some segments of the Indian Press had been time and again misrepresenting a report submitted by the Christian Missionaries Activities Enquiry Committee under the presidentship of Dr M B Niyogi.

F67. To say that Goans were satisfied with the rule of the Portuguese in their country was tantamount to causing the greatest offence to their natural patriotism. And stating that only a handful of Goans wished for a union with their motherland-India was a salt on the wounds of those who had so willingly sacrificed their lives for the great Cause. The very book "Truth Shall Prevail" was the best proof of the denationalizing influence exercised by foreign missionaries.

B. CONCLUSIONS

C1. Convinced that Goa should not be left isolated from the Indian struggle for freedom, in 1928, Cunha established the Goa Congress Committee and affiliated it to the Indian National Congress.

C2. Since he spent his early life in India and abroad, a major part of his philosophy was influenced by the contemporary ideas and hence, after coming to Goa, Cunha
tried to implement the ideas of the French Revolution to the Goan context. This infused new insights into the Goan freedom struggle movement which catapulted the Goan struggle on the larger canvas, making its mark on the Indian subcontinent as well as the world at large.

C3. Undoubtedly, the eventful life of Cunha, as a crusading nationalist journalist par excellence against all odds, will inspire today's journalists across media for strengthening democratic institutions to ensure freedom of thought and expression which the Fourth Estate alone can guarantee as the watchdog of society at large.

C4. From Chapter II, it can be concluded that Cunha was a versatile writer; hence the basic sources for the study of Cunha are most scholarly and significant pamphlets such as 'Portuguese India: A Survey of Conditions after 400 Years of Foreign Colonial Rule'. He made a specific reference of the bureaucratic rule namely, the political statute of the Fascist Regime administration and judicial organization, the public finance by stating the heads of income and expenditure and drawing a comparative between the two for the detriment of the Goan economy.

C5. *Portuguese India (A Survey of Conditions after 400 Years of Foreign Colonial Rule)* was completed in 1939 in which he provides a detailed concise description of Goa under the Portuguese rule and the Christianization by the Portuguese authorities. This was the milestone in the life covering details of conditions prevalent in Goa under the Portuguese dictatorship.

C6. The research included several other sources for an analysis into the works of T.B Cunha: from the Indian perspective, newspapers and articles and from the Portuguese perspective as well. In Chapter 3, an attempt is made to analyze the political ideology and stand of T.B Cunha vis-a-vis the freedom movement in Goa, in particular and Indian Independence, in general.

C7. Panikkar's appraisal of Cunha's political and social activity shed an objectivity which enhances its worth and credibility. Other biographers of Cunha, inevitably perhaps, have tended to either deify or demolish him, allowing passion and prejudice to color their judgment.

C8. Cunha was not only a staunch and zealous nationalist, but he was also endowed with qualities as a thinker, writer and humanist. He wrote with ease and elegance in French and the biographical study of Mahatma Gandhi, which he contributed
to the French Press created at the time of great impression in France, especially in the intellectual circle.

C9. But his lifelong mission and aspiration was the freedom of Goa. His activities with the Goa Congress Committee gathered momentum and as his pamphlets gained an audience in Konkani, Marathi and English, they greatly contributed towards the movement to gain liberation of Goa.

C10. Though through the last years of his life he was saddened and perplexed at the plight of the Goan movement which was heading towards a colony of the Portuguese, he refused to succumb to all the events which were taking and shaping around him.

C11 Cunha concluded that the people deprived of all political rights can ultimately be lead towards economic bankruptcy.

C12. The abnormal events and economic degradation of the state lead Cunha to express his annoyance and antipathy by stating that the main cause of the extraordinary apathy was the mental enslavement of the people of enslaved Goa.

C13. Cunha’s efforts not only included his political loyalty towards gaining freedom for Goa but he was also an ardent upholder of its socio-economic developments. His reactions and perspectives with regard to the Portuguese incidents, events and developments unfolding in Goa during the time demonstrated high degree of his commitment to the Goan masses.

C14. After his return to Goa at the age of 35 and having spent 14 years in France, his foresight that Goa was an integral part of India and not a separate State, lead him to establish the Goa Congress Committee in 1925 to carry on his crusade to gain liberation from the clutches of the long colonial rule.

C15. Forced mass conversions to Christianity were the principal means used by the Portuguese Regime to maintain their political domination in India, which is closely related to their political system.

C16. The persecution of the native Hindus and the material benefits offered to the new converts encouraged many to embrace the Christian religion; but many others preferred exile.

C17. The use of the profits accruing from the properties and funds belonging to the State were left to the use and benefit of the Catholic clergy.
Education

C18. The British India considered the capacity of a person to be able to write a letter, read and reply as their yardstick for measuring literacy, whereas in Portuguese India, this measure was not defined and very often a person who was able to paint his signature was considered to be literate.

The Tragedy of Konkany

C19. The Konkani of the North, the Kudali, which is spoken as far as Malwan and Devgad in Maharashtra, is influenced by Marathi and that of the South, which extends as far as Mangalor is influenced by the Kanarese. The chief cause of the stagnation and decadence of Konkani is the systematic suppression and persecution to which the Portuguese subjected it during their 400 years of colonial rule in Goa. In spite of the malice hurled against the local language by the Portuguese, who used every means available to suppress it and promote Portuguese language and culture, Konkani survived the test of time as it is said that what is deeply rooted in the soil and race can never be erased.

C20. The monetary system prevalent in Portuguese India was completely subjected and governed by the British India system. The monetary unit - the Indian rupee was freely circulated in British Indian coins and paper money together with currency notes issued by the Banco Nacional Ultramarino.

C21. The arbitrariness of the police in Portuguese India was a permanent threat to the freedom of the people. The power of the police had no limits and it often usurped the power of the judicial authorities to suppress the people. The autocracy of the police was revealed in the famous case of the rice manifesting fraud where they made mass detentions for an indefinite time.

C22. The success of this freedom depended on the combined efforts of all the Congress organizations. For Portuguese India, the immediate need was to attain the level reached in British India, by winning civil liberties which the colonial rulers claimed to have the right to deny to the natives in their own country.

C23. The entire Konkani press in Bombay was left at the mercy of anti-Indian agencies which indulged in Portuguese propaganda. The campaign for the liberation of Goa practically ceased to exist for the broad Goan masses that depended entirely on news and views given in their mother tongue Konkani. Goans were thus deprived of the main instrument of their political education.
C24. In Chapter IV, it is revealed from the writings of Cunha his realization about the denationalization of the Goan people. Cunha was certain that of the causes that denationalized of the Goans were Portuguese policies of Evangelization, Lussitanisation and Christianization. He further opined that mental slavery, political subjection, unnatural manners, cultural stagnation and decay, lack of character and personality, physical degeneration and economic ruin where the reasons thereof. In fact, a micro level analysis of Goan society indicates that even the Lusophiles did not lose their Indian identity as is evident in the lifestyle, architecture, written and oral traditions, folklore, folk performances etc of the Goans that were more syncretic than denationalized.

C25. The Salazar’s laws introduced the distinction of “indigenas” “assimilados” and the “population of the western civilization.” This affected both the Christians and the Hindus. Their conscience was inhibited and subjected to a shameful bargain, under a permanent threat of exile and confiscation of their properties, which resulted in cowardice and the practice of dilution, hypocrisy, servility and flattery.

C26. A law passed by the Government Council abolished caste prerogatives in the Indian Catholic confraternities alleging that that represented a privilege of birth, but deliberately excluded from this law the only confraternity of the white people, to assure them the exclusive benefit of lakhs of rupees derived from lottery money.

C27. The Konkani and Marathi languages suffered the worst of all fates. With the forcible imposition of the Portuguese language, the ban began with the conquest especially towards Konkani which is the mother tongue of Goans.

C28. Both in Goa and outside, the majority of the Goan press kept itself hostile to all liberating reactions from the leading lights of the day. They repeated everything dictated by more or less disguised propagandists of imperialism.

C29. The suppression of Konkani and Marathi languages resulted in the tremendous illiteracy and obscurantism to which Goans were condemned. Cunha stated clearly that: “Unless we identify ourselves with the Indian National Movement, we cannot claim equal rights in a Free India. On the contrary, Goans condemn themselves to remain in a State of subordination even after India’s liberation for lack of necessary mental preparation and the training needed for an independent life.”
C30. He concluded by remarking that: “We owe the few political liberties that exist today in India solely to the energy and courage of the Indian nationalists. How long will Goa remain resigned to its degrading condition?”

C31. The “Indian Diary”, published in French is a piece of factual literature which was disregarded and not given the significance it deserved. Cunha noted that the book of Roman Rolland remained unknown to the Indian reader though it highlighted and spoke eloquently about India’s political culture, social problems and of her greatest contemporary personalities. The book which Cunha inferred to contained rich and original material about India and also other countries which could not be found in any other work dealing with the subject.

C32. The right solution to the Goan liberation problem was reflected in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. That is: to consider the liberation of Goa and its integration into India as a part of the fight for the Indian independence.

C33. The Satyagraha of August 15, 1947, on the day of India’s Independence, discovered that their independence was not complete and that they were defied by an enemy settled in their own land.

C34. Cunha suggested solution to Goa problem viz. (A) the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu should not be treated as a concern mainly of Goans, but as an Indian national problem. (B) Regarding it as an internal problem of India. (C) Considering the fascist and dictatorial nature of its government and of its colonial system as such. (D) To regain full control inside the Portuguese occupied territories. (E) Ultimatum must be served on the Portuguese government to quit.

C35. In Chapter V, an endeavour to study the nature of the Goan society in the light of the 20th century and uncover Goa India has been attempted. It was T B Cunha’s ideal or at least the cultural metabolism that took place in the Goan cultural ethos. Cunha was undoubtedly a Mull Goemkar but not a Niz Goemkar in the strictest sense of the term.

C36. Cunha through his writings and speeches also brought to light the plight of the people who were exiled to Portugal because of their political opinions and views or otherwise. He was able to draw attention to this impasse as he himself had a bitter experience which lasted seven long years.

C37. The racial arguments lead Cunha to conclude that, while Portugal could claim Goans to be racially Portuguese, the “Indian Union on the basis of her claim had no right to incorporate them.”
Although the arguments made by the Portuguese delegation did receive support from like-minded people from Portugal, Cunha was of the view that they needed to be refuted and that the Portuguese propaganda must not be allowed to take advantage of the international platform where free speech was the right of all and that they could not use this to their advantage to freely pursue an anti-Indian campaign and distortions.

Cunha was quoted as saying that the settlement of the Goan issue did not need the likes of Suhrawardy and other Pakistanis to enter the scene with the view to involving a third party in the dispute and creating new complications to delay Portuguese departure from Goa.

Some very well-known Goans were criticized in the press, according to Dr. Niyogi's report on Missionary Activities. The criticism once again proved the point that freedom of speech, even through the pen were once again at the mercy of the foreign missionaries via the Portuguese propaganda.

Antonio de Melo Castro denounced to the king the refusal of the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustans missionaries in Goa to learn the Konkani language, who forced the people to speak Portuguese. Therefore, to have made statements like the Portuguese civil authorities alone were responsible for the decay of the Konkani language and culture of Goans and their denationalization was to distort and misrepresent history.

The full text of the last speech on Goa made by Dr Salazar, the Portuguese Prime Minister, was available in its original form in Portuguese. Cunha observed that his speeches were painful to read as they were written in his typical pedantic language full of ambiguous phrases and subtlety of thought than at dealing honestly and clearly with the subject under review.

The last portion of Dr Salazar's speech was a disgraceful confession of impotence. He admitted that he had no solution to the problem of Goa. These, according to Cunha, were the words of a desperate man who was at last convinced of the futility of his stubbornness.