CHAPTER I

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Goa’s struggle for freedom is an unique experience not only in the history of the Indian National Movement, as it paved way for national integration, but also in the history of the world. The movement of Goans to liberate themselves from the clutches of Portugal’s dictatorial rule shattered the last remnants of European colonialism in India and at the same time heralded the freedom of African colonies such as Angola and Moçambique. Its significance can be perceived from the fact that it not only proved inspirational to the nationalist struggle in other Portuguese colonies but motivated the fight of Portuguese citizens to attain democratic rights and gave strength to the ushering of a democratic revolution in Portugal, which materialised on 25th April 1974.

The urge of freedom against colonial rule that was created in the hearts and minds of the Indians by the Indian National Movement finally and completely triumphed on 19th December 1961, when the Indian Government with its military action, ‘Operation Vijay,’ liberated the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu that had been under the control of Portugal for nearly 451 years. This army action of the Indian military put an end to the last battle in the process of India’s decolonisation and strengthening the fight against the Portuguese colonialism in the world.

The army action of the Indian Government was prompted by the continuous and consistent struggle that the Goans launched to pronounce to the world their ardent desire to dismantle the artificial political barriers created by European colonial powers between Goa and the rest of India and to achieve the goal of political unification with the Indian Union.

The basic colonial character of the British rule and its grinding impact on the lives of the Indian people had led to the rise and development of an anti-British
movement in India. Indians, stirred by the spirit of patriotism, constituted a strong nationalist political struggle against the prevailing British imperialist regime.

The Indian national struggle, in its various phases, that included strong currents of militant nationalism that had manifested itself right from the revolt of 1857, and also Gandhian non-violent satyagraha struggle, continued unabated till India emerged as a free and sovereign nation in 1947.

While the rest of India was enjoying the fruits of liberation, that was the result of their successful tenacious struggle against the British colonial rule, Goa, located on the western coast of the Indian subcontinent, was still struggling to liberate itself from the stifling regime of the Portuguese dictator, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar.

The dictatorial regime deliberately followed a policy to keep Goa de-linked from the rest of India, with its fascist measures. However, in spite of these tactics, on account of Goa's geographical, socio-cultural as well as economic proximity with the rest of India, the impact of the national struggle was felt very strongly on these territories.

On 18th June 1946, the Indian socialist leader, Ram Manohar Lohia, decided to break down the unnatural political boundaries between Goa and the rest of India by launching non-violent direct action to defy the unjust laws of the Portuguese Government that denied to the Goans their basic civil rights. The Goans, spurred on by the urge of freedom against the despotic colonial rule, now spontaneously plunged into this non-violent struggle.

Thus, began the saga of challenge, in the form of non-violent direct action launched in 1946 when India was on the threshold of independence. The struggle reached its peak when the National Congress (Goa) [=NC (G)], a political organisation, was formed on 18th August 1946 to provide a platform for Goans to articulate their demands against the unjust rule of Portugal.
Accepting the Indian National Congress as a model organisation, the NC (G) modestly began its fight for the restoration of civil liberties. In course of time, it assumed the broad-based national objective of complete independence of Goa, Daman and Diu and its re-integration with the Indian Union through non-violent means. The National Congress (Goa) also based its objectives on those of the Indian National Congress that had formulated a broad-based social, economic and political vision of the nationalist struggle in India.

However, the non-violent civil disobedience movement considerably slowed down within a year and the Goan struggle acquired two more dimensions: the underground resistance launched by the Azad Gomantak Dal, [=AGD] a revolutionary organisation, and the deliberations of Government of India to solve the Goa issue through bilateral talks.

While researching on The Role of Satyagraha in Goa’s Struggle for Freedom,” for my M.A. dissertation, I realised that along with the Gandhian ideology of non-violence, that had tremendously influenced the national movement in Goa, Goans drew commendable inspiration from the ideology of militant nationalism that had dominated the pre-Gandhian protest movements in India as well as in the later period when Gandhi was propagating his non-violent method to achieve self-determination for Indians. With this research base at my command, I initiated a more detailed inquiry into the contributions of the National Congress (Goa) that was committed to the use of peaceful means to achieve the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu, and that of the Azad Gomantak Dal, which made use of militant methods to challenge the dictatorial regime of Salazar.

A critical evaluation of these organisations, that played an important role in the Goa liberation struggle and its re-integration with the Indian Union, is the main objective of this study. An analysis of the ideas and passions of liberty that were expressed and the nationalist sentiments that predominated both these organisations is definitely one of the most valuable aspects of the nationalist movement.
This study, I am sure, will certainly lead to the unfolding of the secrets of the nationalist struggle that are still unexposed to us and simultaneously explain to us in great detail the process of self-determination in these territories. This will definitely instil in us a faith in democratic ideals in facing the challenges that are before the Indian nation today.

Nature of the Research Problem and Its Objectives

The thesis, has made an attempt to inquire into the factors responsible for the formulation of the ideologies of the organisations that worked to liberate Goa and inquire into the nature of their activities as well as their impact on Goa’s struggle for freedom. An exhaustive analytical assessment of the contributions of the National Congress (Goa) and the Azad Gomantak Dal, to the struggle of Goa for liberation from the Portuguese colonial rule, is the main objective of the current study.

While examining the contribution of these two organisations to Goa’s struggle for liberation, an inquiry has also been conducted into the need for the Indian Army’s ‘Operation Vijay’ that was ultimately responsible for liberating Portuguese India from the colonial rule.

In the present study, I have concentrated on two organisations and studied in detail their role. In history as is well known such micro studies are always undertaken to lay bare more detailed accounts which never form a part of generalised works. Keeping this aim in mind, I have attempted to form an estimate of the process of decolonisation that led to complete political transformation of the Goa, by

- undertaking a critique of the Portuguese colonial regime in the context of which the struggle was launched;
- analysing the multi-faceted responses of the National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal to the colonial regime;
• making an evaluation of the reaction of the Salazarist dictatorial regime to the struggle;
• forming an assessment of the impact of the activities of the nationalists on the Government of India and
• examining the factors leading to the finalliberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The nationalist literature of the period, which was in abundance in English, Konkani, Marathi, and Portuguese languages, came to Goa in different forms, such as pamphlets, journals, newspapers and other propaganda material. This was designed to arouse political consciousness in the Goans to rise against the Portuguese as well as to carry the message of the struggle to the world. Besides this, there are memoirs, first hand accounts by eye-witnesses and participant in the struggle, fictions, novels and poetry that contribute to our knowledge of the final act in the long history of Portuguese colonial rule. The literature published on Goa’s struggle for freedom includes, among others, Goa’s Freedom Struggle, a collection of articles and speeches by the renowned Goan freedom-fighter, T. B. Cunha. This text throws light on the impact of the colonial rule, especially under the dictatorial regime of Salazar, on Goa. The suppression of civil liberties and the dismal picture of a stagnating Goan economy are discussed in great detail in this work. In his essay entitled, Denationalisation of Goans, Cunha traces the reasons that led to “delIndianisation” of Goans and puts forward a theory that more than four hundred years of Portuguese rule and internalised oppression had made Goans servile, emasculated and timid. He further urges that in order to break the chains of mental enslavement, Goans must identify themselves with Indian culture as well as with Indian nationalism and must fight Portuguese colonial regime. Goa’s Awakening-Reminiscences of the 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement is authored by Evagrio Jorge who had actively participated in the 18th June Movement as well as the movement itself. A play by George Ataide Lobo, entitled Liberation, revolves around 18th June struggle and it sketches in detail its immediate aftermath. The Liberation of Goa - A Participant’s View of History by
P.D. Gaitonde, who was an active participant in Goa's struggle for freedom, traces the events that took place after 1954 up to the liberation of Goa in 1961.

*Goa's Freedom Struggle* authored by Julião Menezes is a detailed eyewitness account of the protracted action launched by Goans under the guidance of Lohia. It describes some of the early *satyagrahas* offered by the nationalists for the restoration of civil liberties and also reviews the trial of leading nationalists like T. B. Cunha, Purushottam Kakodkar and others. *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, which deals basically with the Goa Case in the International Court of Justice at Hague, attempts to give valuable information about the diplomatic aspects of Government of India's approach regarding Goa Case. *Down The Corridors of Time Reflections and Recollections* gives thoughtful insights into the socio-cultural conditions that prevailed in colonial Goa as well as reflect on various stages of Goa's struggle for freedom. N. G. Gore's *Behind Portuguese Prison Bars* focuses on the nationalisation of the Goa issue that led to 1954-55 *satyagraha* that the Goans launched with the support of the rest of Indians.

A quasi-memoire, *When The Mango Tree Blossomed* is the recollection of Telo de Mascarenas, an active participant in the process of decolonisation of Goa, that depicts the nationalist urge of the Goans to unite with the motherland. *Portugal's Struggle for Liberty* provides an analysis of the subtle and all-pervasive character of repression under the *Estado Novo* that suppressed democratic institutions with the systematic use of political police and censorship. It highlights the development of typical fascist institutions that Salazar promoted to create a resigned atmosphere in Portugal as well as in its colonies. The Goa University publication, *Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences*, touches several aspects of the freedom struggle and also gives graphic accounts of the events by those who actually participated in the struggle.

Datta Venktesh Pai's *Jalata Gomantak* besides projecting the immediate spill-out of the 18th June Direct Action evaluates the political situation that prevailed in
Goa during 1946-47. *Ajacha Wa Kalacha Gomantak* by A. K. Priolkar and *Gomantakachi Pratima* by B. D. Satoskar basically deal with the socio-cultural conditions of Goa during the Republican period as well as throw considerable light on the nature of the Salazarist dictatorship. *Satiche Van*, authored by Mohan Ranade, depicts the nature of the violent struggle launched by Goans to achieve their goal of liberation and narrates the author's experiences in prison in Portugal. *Maye: Swatantra Sangramatil Aghadivaril Ek Gaon*, authored by V. N. Lawande, reviews the struggle launched by the peasant community of Maye against the landlord of Maye under the leadership of Atmaram Mayekar who was an active worker of the AGD. *Agnichya Jwala* provides insights into militant revolutionary actions that Goans undertook under the banner of *Azad Gomantak Dal*. The two volumes of *Goa Daman Diu Swatantraladhyacha Itihas*, authored by M.H. Sardessai, is an account in Marathi of the history of Goa's freedom struggle. Ravidra Kelekar's *Panthastha* in Konkani contains reminiscences of the process of decolonisation of Goa that critically evaluated the course of the struggle launched by Goans to reunite with the Indian Union. I would also like to mention here that I have come across *powadas, lavanis* and other poems on Goa's anti-colonial struggle. Moreover I have also come across manuscripts of plays written by freedom-fighters that have been mentioned in my bibliography.

However, my researches differ from the earlier works done in this field in two ways. Firstly, I have concentrated on the contributions of just two organisations to Goa's struggle for freedom and hence have studied in detail their configuration and development in the context of the nationalist struggle launched in Goa. At the same time, their role in mobilising support for Goa's struggle against colonialism has been significantly analysed. Secondly, and this I consider more important, along with published and unpublished documents, I have made extensive use of oral history. In this work an attempt has been made, for the first time in this field, to record and critically evaluate the reminiscences of those persons who had contributed to the struggle.
Along with the unpublished primary documentation and published secondary sources, a very important component of the methodology of my research studies is oral history documentation, I have taped those several “living documents” that had actively participated in the struggle. I had the opportunity to interact with activists such as Purushottam Kakodkar, Madhav Bir, August Alvares, Narayan Bhembre, Berta Menezes Bragança, Nagesh Karamali, V. N. Lawande, Prabhakar Sinari, Narayan Naik, Mohan Ranade, Sharada Sawaikar, Lalita Kantak, Ravindra Kelekar, Laxmidas Borkar, P. P. Shirodkar and others who have made a tremendous contribution to the national movement in Goa. Besides the above mentioned personalities, I also had an opportunity to interview veteran leaders such as Nana Saheb Gorey, Shirubhau Limaye, Jayantrao Tilak, Madhu Dandavate and others who had established the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti to provide a strong moral as well as active support by organising mass satyagraha action of 1955.

Further I would like to mention that I have also consulted the oral history interviews with women freedom-fighters that were documented as a part of the project of the Centre For Women’s Studies, Goa University on “Role of Women in Goa’s Struggle for Freedom. This includes, interviews of Lalita Kantak, Sharada Sawaikar, Rajani Naik, Prema Purav, Libia Lobo Sardessai and others.

Besides the above-mentioned oral history documentation, I have analysed official documents of both NC (G) as well as AGD located in India as well as in Portugal. Military Tribunal files as well as files on criminal proceedings of the freedom fighters have been analysed to assess the role of NC (G) as well as AGD. I have also scrutinised official correspondence of the State of India (Estado da India) and the Ministry of Overseas Colonies (Ministério do Ultramar), documents and official correspondence of the Portuguese military forces of the state of India (Forças Armadas do Estado da India) I have also assessed official correspondence, circulars, pamphlets, and other documents of NC (G) as well as AGD. I have also analysed personal correspondence of various freedom fighters as well as their diaries and other documents.
I would like to mention here that in the course of my investigations, I have consulted primary and secondary documentation pertaining to the above-mentioned study that is located within Goa and the rest of India, in places such as Mumbai, Pune, Delhi, as well as other places that were centres of hectic nationalist activities. I have also referred to documentation housed at archives, libraries and various repositories in Lisbon, Portugal.

In Goa, I have referred to documentation located in the following repositories: Department of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, Panaji; Goa University Library; Central Library Panaji; Goa Gazetteer Department; Department of Information, Government of Goa; Library and Museum of the Azad Bhavan; Xavier Centre of Historical Research; Library of the Goa Legislative Assembly Kala Academy Library; Gomantak Marathi Academy; Library of Maharashtra Information Centre and other institutions.

I have also scrutinised primary and secondary source material related to the decolonisation of Goa, located in the following archives and libraries of Lisbon, Portugal: The National Archives of Lisbon, National Library, Library of Art, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Library and others.

I have also referred to oral history documentation on Goa’s struggle for freedom as well as other collections housed at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi.

In addition to this, I have consulted books and journals at the Mumbai University library; library as well as archives section of the State Archives of Maharashtra, Mumbai; The Goa Hindu Association Library and Library of Maharashtra Vidhan Sabha and other institutions in Mumbai.

Besides the above-mentioned repositories, I have referred to records housed at Tilakwada, Pune, which includes personal archives of Jayantrao Tilak, an activist in Goa’s struggle for freedom, and also the newspaper archives of Kesari.
Besides these institutions, I have also consulted personal collections of participants in Goa's struggle for freedom that include collections of V. N. Lawande, the founder of the Azad Gomantak Dal, Sudhir Phadke, P. P. Shirodkar, Mussolini Menezes, Narendra Hegde Desai, Lambert Mascarenhas, Jyoti Deshpande, Trivikarm Sanqualkar and others.

Based on above-mentioned sources of documentation, archival, published as also oral, I have analysed the contribution of NC (G) and AGD to Goa's struggle for freedom in the present thesis, which is divided into the following chapters.

Chapter I Introduction
Chapter II The Setting
Chapter III Establishment of National Congress (Goa): Aims and Objectives
Chapter IV Establishment of Azad Gomantak Dal: Aims and Objectives
Chapter V National Congress (Goa): The Satyagraha in Action
Chapter VI National Congress (Goa): Negotiations and Networking
Chapter VII Activities of The Azad Gomantak Dal
Chapter VIII Conclusion

The first chapter deals with the statement of the research problem as well as the methodology that has been used in the study. In this chapter an attempt is made to provide a critique of the literature available to us on the subject. It stresses the need to undertake such micro level studies in the field of history and at the same time
provides meticulous scrutiny of concepts such as nationalism, the ideology of the satyagraha and the use of violence to achieve political ends.

Chapter II provides a detailed examination of the nature of Salazar's fascist dictatorship in Goa with a view to provide the requisite background for the establishment of the National Congress (Goa). The establishment of the dictatorship in Portugal gave a serious jolt to the liberal policies of the Republican period. The liberal atmosphere was put an end to by the severe restrictions imposed by the regime in socio-political fields. The lack of civil liberties, along with the depressed economic condition, worsened the condition of the Goans. This chapter also includes highlights of the history of Goa from ancient times, as well as comments on political developments that took place after the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese.

18th June 1946 was a turning point in the history of Goa as it opened an era of challenge that the Goans undertook under the banner of the NC (G), a political organisation that appeared on the Goan political scenario. This organisation emerged on the Goan political scene as a fallout of the 18th June civil disobedience action that Ram Manohar Lohia had ignited in Margão in 1946. Chapter III offers a detailed assessment of the causes that led to the establishment of the NC (G). The ideology behind initiating such an action is examined exhaustively and concurrently the aspirations of the NC (G) are reviewed thoroughly. The chapter makes a detailed review of the aims and objectives of the NC (G) and simultaneously traces its growth as a political organisation.

Chapter IV analyses the factors that led to the establishment of the AGD and seeks to elucidate why a group of Goans drifted away from the ideology of non-violence within a year to resort to armed struggle. It is an undeniable fact that along with the Gandhian ideology of satyagraha, Indian national movement witnessed strong currents of militant nationalism. Goa although separated from mainstream India for more than 400 years, had the opportunity to experience both these political currents of Indian nationalism. The idea to challenge the ruthless colonial rule through
in underground militant technique was gaining acceptance among some young Goans even before the launch of the non-violent struggle on 18th June 1946.

However, it was kept on hold as the non-violent struggle geared up. This chapter reviews the rationale behind the adoption of violent methods by the AGD and also provides an explanation for the factors that motivated the AGD to change its course of action from non-violent to violent means. It also focuses on the various aims and objectives that the AGD sought to achieve throughout the struggle.

Chapter V inquires into the nature of the activities of the NC (G) that were aimed to articulate their desire of freedom and integration of their land with the Indian Union. It focuses on the different modes of non-violent strategies that the nationalists adopted in course of their battle against colonialism and highlights their relevance to Goa’s struggle for freedom. It also highlights the propaganda activities of NC (G) that were undertaken to disseminate factual information regarding Goa’s struggle against colonialism, in India as well as abroad.

Chapter VI tries to analyse the endeavour of NC (G) to negotiate with Salazar regarding the Goa case. At the same time NC (G)’s efforts to convince the Government of India to shoulder the responsibility of resolving the Goa issue has also been emphasized. The diplomatic negotiations between Government of India and the Government of Portugal have also been analysed in this chapter.

In order to harness support for the cause of the liberation of Goa, NC (G) established diplomatic parleys with various political organisations from India. At the same time it also tried to coordinate its activities with the pro merger elements of the French territories in India as it felt that joint efforts of nationalist forces in these territories would strengthen the efforts of the Indian Government to resolve the issue. A thorough scrutiny of this effort is made in this chapter. The Chapter also reviews the attempt of the NC (G) to collaborate and coordinate their activities with Afro-Asian people that were fighting for an immediate termination of colonialism from their respective homeland.
This chapter also highlights the attempt made by NC (G) to forge a united front to challenge the Portuguese colonialism by deriving support by establishing cooperation between the various political organisations and by synchronising the activities that led towards the liberation of Goa.

Chapter VII concentrates on the various activities of the AGD that included amongst others, the armed action that AGD undertook to shatter the Portuguese colonial rule. The AGD opted out for a confrontationist path and defied the Portuguese regime. A detailed review of this method is discussed in this chapter.

At the same time an attempt is made to study the impact of these challenges on the struggle as well as to assess the Portuguese response to it. This chapter also deals with the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and the contribution of AGD. The chapter further highlights the structural aspect of the organisation.

Finally in the concluding Chapter, which aims at an evaluation of the contribution of NC (G) and the AGD to the process of the decolonisation in Goa has been undertaken along with an analysis of the raison d'être for the military action that the Indian Government undertook in December 1961.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to briefly introduce the territory of Goa from the historical perspective.

Located between the latitudes 15° 48′ 00″ and 14° 53′ 54″ N and longitudes 74° 20′ 13″ and 13° 40′ 33″ E, the state of Goa shares its boundaries with Ratnagiri and Kolhapur districts of Maharashtra in the North, with Belgaum and Dharwar districts of Karnataka in North East and North Kanara District in the South. On its West is the Arabian Sea. The eastern boundary of Goa is located in the Sahyadri range. Sarayu Doshi, in her introductory note in Goa: Cultural Patterns, describes the Goa region as a “land of wide sandy beaches, rice fields and lush green palm groves...” She further states that Goa has a “certain atmosphere, indefinable yet distinct, gives character to some places and sets them apart from others. Goa is one
such place." Just as Goa enjoys this unique physical setting, its cultural ambience is equally interesting, caused more by its 451 years of political insulation from the Indian mainstream.

There is ample archaeological evidence of prehistoric times in this region. A concentration of early Palaeolithic sites in the upper trenches of Dudhsagar valley, the discovery of rock engravings of animals, human figures, symbolic x-ray bulls and others at Usgalimal in Sangue and *Dudhan fator*, a rock with engravings of animal and human figures on its surface, found in Kajur village in Quepem taluka and the discovery of new archaeological sites in Sattari and variety of stone implements belonging to different periods such as upper Palaeolithic and others, give sufficient data of the prehistoric period.

During this historical journey Goa seems to have adopted different names, which reflect facets of its personality. Names, such as *Govarashtra*, *Gove*, *Guwi*, *Goparashtra*, *Gomanta*, *Gomanta-dwipa*, *Gomantdurga*, *Gopakapattana* affirm the socio-economic status of Goa, a rich and fertile land where "godhan" (go=cow dhan=wealth) was found in abundance. According to the ancient Indian culture, wealth of the region lay in abundance of cows that the region reared. Therefore, cows were considered to be a denominator of wealth.

Goa's political history prior to the advent of the Portuguese indicates contacts with a number of neighbouring states whose rulers held sway over Goa at one time or the other. They include the Bhojas, Mauryas, Silaharas, Kadambas, Bahamanis and Vijaynagara rulers. These rulers have etched their footprints on the sands of Goa. Among them the Kadamba footprints are more prominent. During the Kadamba rule, the port town of *Gopakapattana*, the capital city, was known for its flourishing maritime activity that brought economic prosperity to the region.

The disintegration of the Bahamani kingdom brought Goa under the control of the Adilshah of Bijapur and later the entry of Portuguese in the Indian waters in 1498.
and their conquest of Goa in 1510 had its own ramifications on the territory of Goa in several ways as has been discussed in the following paragraphs.

**Goa Under Portuguese Rule**

Goa with its varying boundaries came under the sway of the Portuguese in 1510. Afonso de Albuquerque conquered the rich land of Goa from the Adilshah of Bijapur. The conquest of Goa by Portuguese opened up a new chapter in the history of this territory.

The fanatic religious policy adopted by the rulers, leading to mass conversions and destruction of symbols of Hindu as well as Muslim religion, in the beginning of the colonial rule is the most unfortunate and unforgettable part of Goa's history. Although the religious zeal of missionaries lessened in the subsequent period, the bitter memories of the Holy Inquisition still lingered on in the minds of the Goans. In spite of these religious and cultural onslaughts on Goans, the people of Goa could not be alienated from their Indian motherland. They retained their strong cultural ties, which the alien rule attempted to root out.

We notice that from the initial days of the conquest of Goa, the Goans expressed their discontentment with the Portuguese through revolts. “Right from the sixteenth century when the Portuguese conquered the islands of Goa, to the twentieth century, which witnessed the flowering and the fructification of the territory’s struggle for freedom, the history of the Estado da Índia (the Portuguese State of India) has been studded with revolts – the equal and opposite reactions of the ruled to every intolerable action undertaken by the rulers.” It is said that there were at least forty revolts staged against the colonial masters, which were suppressed. However, the failure of each revolt was a stepping-stone to the next. The torch of resistance lit by the Goans was kept burning throughout the period. The early revolts that were staged by the Goans were directed mostly against the Portuguese policy of religious persecution, racial discrimination and against the exploitative economic policies that the colonial rulers tried to implement in this territory.
The nineteenth century witnessed the frequent outbursts of the Rane revolts that nearly shook the foundations of the Portuguese rule in Goa. “The Ranes ... were feudal lords who had rebelled against their overlords, the Portuguese, and before them, the Sawants of Wadi, in defence of their feudal privileges.” 6 “The progressive reduction in their traditional rights and privileges, accompanied by the simultaneous rise in taxation and the imposition of laws that ran counter to their socio-religious practices, contributed to the outbreak of these uprisings.” 7 The disapproval of the Goans of injustice which was inflicted upon them, also found its way in military mutinies that challenged the Portuguese rule.

With the coming of Marques de Pombal as a prime minister of Portugal religious fanaticism received a serious jolt. With his liberal reforms, he undermined the role of the church and expelled Jesuits from the colonies. Much relieved by the tortures of clerical institutions, the people of Goa ceaselessly continued their struggle against the Portuguese. In the nineteenth century the world, especially Europe, experienced the tides of constitutionalism. Goa too came under its sway. Let us review the effects of the constitutional regime and the subsequent events on the history of Goa that will unfold to us the glorious saga of Goa’s struggle for freedom.

The Constitutional Monarchy 1820-1910

Europe, by the end of eighteenth century, witnessed the waves of enlightenment that questioned the prevalent autocratic, conservative, monarchical government. It was this radical thinking that pronounced the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity and unfurled the banner of French Revolution in 1789. The people of France fought against their tyrants inspiring other European states to join them in their fight against the misrule of the monarchs. The subsequent rise of Napoleon Bonaparte and Napoleonic wars gave birth to a new spirit of nationalism in the European world. This age of revolutionary ideology was bound to influence Portugal situated in the Iberian Peninsula of Europe.
In 1820, the constitutional regime was established in Portugal. However, much before the French Revolution Portugal had experienced great reforms under the premiership of Marquês de Pombal. He had introduced many revolutionary reforms, which were based on principles of racial tolerance. The 1761 Alvara tried to eradicate racial discrimination that was practised by the Portuguese in their colonies.

The Napoleonic conquest of Portugal contributed to the growth of constitutionalism in Portugal. The constitution of Portugal was drafted which reflected the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. Religious toleration and separation of powers were the main features of the constitution.

Subsequently, on 24th August 1820, a military mutiny broke out in Porto that pressurised Dom João VI to accept constitutional form of government. Unfortunately these winds of change were resented by a group of reactionaries who made every effort to sabotage the new sprit. Therefore, Portugal witnessed a strong tussle between liberal forces and the conservatives, between 1820-1833 and which finally resulted in to the triumph of liberals in 1833.

The State of India along with the other colonies of Portugal felt the tremors of liberalism. The people of Goa, under the leadership of Bernardo Peres D’Silva, with the aim of establishing constitutional monarchy in Goa called on the viceroy, the Count of Rio Pardo for its implementation. Establishment of constitutional form of government in Goa with its electoral provisions would result into the constitutional checks on the unlimited power of the viceroy who represented the king of Portugal in Goa. As the viceroy refused to accept their request, a coup d'etat followed in which the viceroy was overthrown and replaced by a constitutional Junta.

Thus, on 16th September 1821, the Provisional Committee of the Government of the State of India, Junta Provisional do Governo do Estado da India, was set up in Goa. The setting up of a Constitutional Junta was a major step towards liberalism. The Charter of 1826 was declared by which Goans received the right to send their representatives to the Portuguese Parliament. Bernardo Peres da Silva, Constancio
Roque da Costa and Antonio José da Lima Leitão were the first three deputies who represented Goa in the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies in Lisbon.

As mentioned earlier, the constitutional regime experienced turmoil in the metropolis and this was naturally reflected in Goa between 1821-1833. It was only in 1833 that political stability was established in Portugal. In 1835 a Goan, Bernardo Peres da Silva was appointed as Prefect of Goa, in charge of the civil administration of the State of India, while the defence of the Portuguese India was still in the hands of Portuguese personnel. Unfortunately this joy of administrating the land by a local did not last for more than two weeks. Silva was overthrown by the Reinol lobby who opposed his pro-Goan reforms.

With the right of limited franchise Goans could send their representatives to voice their desires and grievances in the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies: This encouraged political awareness in Goa that led to the birth of political parties. Although in the beginning of the constitutional regime, the Goans preferred to align themselves with the existing political parties of Portugal and did not venture to form new local political parties. However in course of time, in the middle of the nineteenth century, two local political parties emerged on the local scenario, Partido Indiano and the Partido Ultramarinho. José Inacio de Loyola led Partido Indiano and as the name of the party suggests, this party advocated major administrative autonomy for Goa. The other party was led by Bernardo da Costa and stood for maintenance of Goa’s link with metropolitan Portugal.

The constitutional regime also saw growth of newspapers in Goa. These newspapers were linked with the political parties that were referred above and were mainly used to spread party ideology among the people. A India Portuguesa was the voice of Partido Indiano and O Ultramar propagated views of Partido Ultramarinho. The constitutional regime brought political changes in Goa. Goans became more vocal to demand their participation in the political field. This right to elect gave them
opportunity to voice their grievances and aspirations. All these changes led to their political growth.

The constitutional regime had its own limitations. It could not change the basic colonial character of the Portuguese rule. Highly centralised control of the Home Government undermined the few liberal rights that the Goans enjoyed. Goans got the right to send their representatives to the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies, but this right was restricted by considerations of religion, payment of taxes, literacy and the knowledge of the Portuguese language. The elections were often rigged.

However, in spite of these drawbacks the relative liberal regime produced great parliamentarians like Fransisco Luis Gomes who strived for the political upliftment of Goans. Proudly declaring himself as an Indian, Gomes demanded, “I ask for India liberty and light; as for myself, more happy than my countrymen. I am free - civis sum; these titles, Sir, would suffice to recommend me to you who admire my country and love mankind.”

With the advent of the Republican regime in 1910, the spirit of liberty and nationalism strengthened further. This spurt in the nationalistic ideology will be discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

The Republican Regime

The establishment of the Portuguese Republic on 5th October 1910 was a joyous occasion, which raised the aspirations of the Goans for a better and more autonomous future. Widened political liberalism and secularism aimed to put an end to the segregation between Hindus and Catholics. The spirit of nationalism was strength especially by journalistic activities that were carried out extensively during this period. In administration too, changes were introduced in order to give colonies a more liberal government.
The republican constitution, which was promulgated on 21st August 1911, increased the number of representatives from the State to India to two. Moreover out of these two elected representatives, one was given the right to represent Goa in the Portuguese Senate. The constitution also encouraged the principle of decentralisation in the colonial administration. The *Lei Organica de Administração Civil das Colonias* (The Organic Law of the Civil Administration of the Colonies) was passed on 15th August 1914, which laid down the basic tenets of civil administration in the colonies. According to this law, the government was empowered to introduce structural (organic) laws for each colony in accordance with its requirements. In 1917, further attempts were made to grants autonomy to Portuguese India with the promulgation of charter of 27th July 1917. The charter created the *Conselho do Governo*, an advisory body to run the administration of *Estado da Índia*.

According to this charter, the administration of the colony was run by the governor-general, appointed by the President of the Republic for a tenure of five years. Being the chief executive authority of the overseas provinces, the Governor General was assisted by two *aides de camp*, a Chief Secretary and by a Government Council consisting of ten official members, the heads of various departments and ten elected members of the representatives of the *concelhos*.

The charter of 1917 was entirely replaced by the Organic Law of 9th October 1920. Another law, promulgated on 16th October 1920, provided for the creation of an Executive Council (*Conselho Executivo*), a legislative council (*Conselho Legislativo*) with a permanent section (*seccão permanente*) that managed its internal administration, a Fiscal and Administrative Tribunal (*Tribunal Administrativo Fiscal de Contas*) and a council of Finances. Thus, regular Legislative Council that was composed of eleven non-official members of the Executive Council replaced the Government Council. The laws and regulations drafted by the Executive Council were subjected to its discussion and approval.
As mentioned earlier the liberal atmosphere of the republican regime resulted in tremendous changes in the socio-cultural life of Goa. The Hindu community that was completely cut off from participation in public life, now entered into the spirit of revitalisation. This regime saw a spurt in the intellectual activities of Hindus, especially in the field of education and media. It spurred them to accept the new challenges of the twentieth century: “The Republican regime destroyed the wall created by religion among Hindu and Catholic communities in Goa. As the water rushes like a torrent after the dam is cracked down, that community like a torrent rushed to participate in the Goan society. Large number of Hindu children began to attend Portuguese schools. Those people opened new libraries and began to constructively participate in all-pervading social life.”

Education

Goans were inspired by the socio-religious reform movements taking place in the rest of India, especially in Maharashtra. Unfortunately before the advent of liberalism they could not do much along these lines. However as soon as they got the opportunity in the form of the constitutional regime, they came forward to establish schools and social institutions in the territory. In 1889, inspired by the Pune Sarvajanik Sabha, Akhil Gomantak Sarvajanik Sabha was established at Margão. In the same year Saraswat Vidyapith Vachanalaya was established at Marcel. The Goa Hindu Club, The Hindu Association Club, Ramnath Damodar Vachan Mandir were founded at Margão. In 1900, Deshsevak Arya Samaj and Sri Laxmi Vachan Mandir were established at Ponda.

These names themselves indicate that they were very much influenced by the reform movements taking place in the rest of India. The Republican regime gave further boost to their aspirations. Already stimulated by the Indian National Movement and the socio-cultural progressive movements in the neighbouring territories they started opening up new institutions in Goa. Mustifund Samnsthata Panaji, Damodar Vidyalaya at Margão, Saraswat Vidyalaya at Mapusa, Almeida.
School at Ponda, Saraswati Vidyalaya at Karmali, Shantadurga Vidyalaya at Bicholim and Sharda Vidyalaya at Kumbharjuva sprang up. Even English medium schools were encouraged during this period. These changes in the educational field brought Goa closer to the rest of India as the syllabus introduced in these schools was based on the pattern prevalent in the rest of India especially in Maharashtra.

Libraries were opened in the cities, including Sri Laxmi Prasadik Hindu Vachan Mandir, Panaji, Vidya Vacahan Mandal, Bicholim, Gomanatak Vacahanalaya, Mapusa. These institutions reflected the urge of the Hindu community to be on the path of progress. It showed their earnest desire to gain better and higher proficiency in the educational field. This socio-cultural development which received great fillip during the Republican period was later responsible for the spread of national culture among the Goans to a great extent.

After analysing the efforts of the Hindu community to revitalise themselves in the socio-cultural field, let us now dwell on the Government educational system and inquire into the changes brought about in the liberal atmosphere. Before 1910, one can say that Hindus very rarely joined Portuguese schools. For example, in 1907 there was no Hindu pupil in the Escola Normal as Hindus were forbidden by the law to join this institution. Therefore only Catholic students took admission in it. By 1920-21 along with Catholic students Hindus also received education from government schools. 85 Hindu students completed their Lyceum education during this period. Seventeen Hindu students were admitted in Escola Normal in 1920. Hindu students also came forward to take up medical profession and by this time their number in medical college increased to fourteen.

The Portuguese also introduced local language as a medium of instruction. According to this policy government decided to open primary schools up to standard seven in every village. The medium of instruction in these schools up to standard four was to be in Marathi language. The rest of the classes were to have bilingual instruction that is Portuguese as well as Marathi language.
Government had planned to provide educational facilities in subjects like agriculture and commerce. Special care was taken to open up institutions for girls with subjects like housekeeping, stitching and music. The government also made important recommendations to improve existing medical as well as pharmacy courses.

This policy was very much appreciated and was passed in the Legislative Council and was sent to Portugal for approval. Unfortunately the Lisbon Government turned it down. One can say that the republican regime was pledged to adhere to the principles of equality, fraternity and compared to previous regime it was much liberal, yet it was basically colonial in nature.

Therefore despite being liberal it continued to thrust colonial ideology on the Goans and refused to encourage policy matters that would initiate participation of the locals in the educational field. Thus it looks like the colonial masters deliberately wanted to keep the local population ignorant so that they could ensure their colonial claims on the territory.

Role of Press

The liberal atmosphere propagated by the republican regime facilitated the rise of Portuguese as well as Marathi press which played a significant role to educate people and appraised them of the current trends in socio-political and economic matters.

As mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, the Hindu community of Goa, taking advantage of the liberal atmosphere of the republican regime, vigorously began to take interest in the social life of the territory. They ventured into journalistic activities. *Hindumat*, a bilingual newspaper in Marathi and Portuguese, was launched with the advent of the Republican regime. The name *Hindumat* itself suggested that from now the Hindus of the territory would voice their suppressed opinions openly. It was evidence of the fact that Hindus had decided to come forward to actively vocalise their hopes and aspirations.
The writings in *O Heraldo* were thought-provoking pieces contributed by eminent Goans like Dr. José Maria Alvares and Luis de Menezes Bragança. Influenced by the revolutionary ideology of the French Revolution they aimed to espouse the cause of liberty, equality and fraternity. They provoked political consciousness among the Goans and tried to bridge the cleavage between the Catholics and Hindus that was deliberately inculcated and nurtured by the colonial rule. They vigorously championed the Indianisation of Goan Catholics by making them aware of their ancient Indian roots and cultural ties with the rest of India.

The significant role played by Luis de Menezes Bragança in exposing the abuses of the Portuguese state and creating public opinion through *O Nationalista* (The Nationalist), *O Comercio* (The Commerce) and *Pracasha* (The Light) is worth mentioning. Menezes Bragança who took a progressive stand and exposed the oppressive measures stood for justice and righteousness. His *O Debate* (The Debate) was a powerful vehicle of the ideology of secularism.\(^{18}\)

As a strong supporter of the principle of equality, Menezes Bragança strove to defend the interest of the Hindus who were victimised by the Portuguese rulers. At the same time he raised his voice against racial discrimination practised by the Portuguese against the Catholic community. Like the above-mentioned newspapers, *O Oriente* (The Orient), *Eco de India* (Echo Of India) and *A Luz de Oriente* (The Light of the Orient) strove to create consciousness among the local Catholic community regarding their origins, which had strong roots in the Indian cultural traditions. The identification of Goan Catholics with the cultural mainstream was the main goal of these newspapers.

As mentioned earlier the Hindu population who kept their affinity to the Indian culture could grasp the socio-cultural happenings of the neighbouring state of Maharashtra. The spirit of nationalism, which reigned high during Lokmanya Tilak’s active tenure, served as a source of inspiration to Goans. The ideas that Tilak propagated were reflected in the *Sat-sang*, a Marathi weekly. *Prabhat*, a weekly
published by Purushottam Vaman Shirgaokar, did tremendous work of spreading liberal ideas among the population.

Its offshoot, *Bharat*, under the editorship of Hegde Desai played a very crucial role in the post-1946 period. Its editorials were highly critical of the Portuguese administration and it took up the cause of peasants and vehemently demanded an improvement in the stagnant economic life of Goa. Various constructive programmes in the social structure of Goa were strongly recommended by this newspaper. Hegde Desai was a staunch nationalist who openly crusaded against the ills of the Portuguese colonialists. Annoyed by his strong criticism the Government charge-sheeted him on at least twenty-five occasions. This did not deter him from continuing his attacks on the Government. Commenting vehemently against the foul means adopted by the Government, he in an editorial of *Bharat*, had boldly declared, “If mean and uncommendable attempt is made to close down *Bharat* we well start *Mahabharat* but will not give up to criticise the illegal acts of the Government.”

Another newspaper, which requires due recognition is *The Hindu*, which was published in 1924 and was edited by Dattatreya Venketesh Pai from Margão. With the aim of spreading nationalist ideology, *Hindu* voiced the urgent need of identification of Goa’s interest with that of the Indian national movement. The Gandhian ideology of *satyagraha*, the non-cooperation movement which Gandhi launched, featured prominently in its editorials. T. B. Cunha’s efforts to establish the Goa Congress Committee and to bring the Catholic community closer to the Indian freedom movement found an important place in this weekly. Amongst the other Goan writers who contributed to this weekly were, B. V. Sawardekar, Janardhan Vishnu Kamat and Kashinath Damodar Nayak. Pai published the famous treatise of Antonio Floriano de Noronha, “*Os Indus De Goa e a Republica Portuguesa*”, in his weekly. This gave an opportunity to those Goans who lacked the knowledge of Portuguese but were fluent in the Marathi language to learn about the upliftment of Hindus that had taken place during the Republican regime.
Some other weeklies like *Vidyaprasar* (Spread of Education), *A Patria* (Motherland), *Pragati* (Progress) and *Navajeevan* (New Life) contributed tremendously to the liberal awakening in the people. Thus, the Republican period proved to be of great utility to the local press that tried to serve effectively in the interest of the people. This bore fruit in the later period when Goans were deprived of their civil liberties under the Salazarist dictatorship, as will be discussed in the following chapter.
Notes and References


11 Administrative divisions.


15 Personal communication with Smt. Jyoti Deshpande.


17 Ibid., p 22.


Map showing former Portuguese Possessions in India.
Scenes from Plays organised by AGD Cultural Committee, Bombay.

"Raoji Rano"