CHAPTER 4

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The people of Goa had risen against the Portuguese political domination and their policies on a number of occasions. These uprisings were however limited to particular disgruntled groups protesting against policies or actions taken which were perceived not to be in their interest. They were not broad based movements to free the people of Goa from the colonial domination of the Portuguese. It was only after India gained her independence that Nationalists based in Goa and Bombay began to make a concerted effort to persuade the Indian Government to take necessary action and as quickly as possible to integrate Goa with the rest of the Indian Union. The press played its role in such a movement either by supporting or by criticizing it.

A strict censorship was imposed on the press during the course of the II World War and newspapers published in Goa carried the message “visado pela censura” i.e. seen by the censors. The Press was now sharply divided into two groups, one which supported and actively propagated the end of Portuguese colonialism in Goa and its integration with the Indian Union and the other which became very shrill in its support of the continuation of the Portuguese regime. The papers based in Goa could not be very bold in their support of ending the Portuguese regime and integration of Goa with the rest of the Indian Union due to the harsh
censorship in effect. It fell upon the Bombay based Goa Press to take up the cause of Goa’s liberation from the Portuguese Political domination. Papers like Ressurge Goa, Goan Tribune and many others espoused the nationalist cause. Other Goan papers in Bombay were the Anglo Lusitano, the Ave Maria and Maim Desh.

A fresh Goan freedom movement was launched in 1930. Mahatma Gandhi’s silent and non-violent revolution in India inspired Goan nationalist leaders. The Goan nationalists thought that in the existing circumstances it would be better to fight for freedom from outside the territory. In 1930 Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, the Goan nationalist, established the Goa Congress Committee and got it affiliated to the Indian National Congress, which too was fighting for India’s freedom from the British Empire. Henceforth, the Goan freedom movement took the shape of non-violent civil disobedience. On June 18, 1946, for the first time Indian patriots and the Goan nationalists joined hands when Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia appeared on the scene. He launched a non-violent struggle, which stirred Goan public as well as the authorities. There was a new sense of action among nationalists in Goa. The Portuguese police were prompt in suppressing the movement. Hundreds were arrested, many were beaten up and tortured. Many Goans were tried by military Tribunal and given harsh sentences. The Goan leaders like T. B. Cunha, Kakodkar, and Bhembre were deported to far-off Portuguese prisons.
The 1946 movement in Goa continued till India attained independence. Goans watched anxiously to see what efforts the new Government of India would make for a solution of the Goa problem. The Government of India tried to persuade Portugal to withdraw peacefully but all its proposals were rejected by the Portuguese government. The freedom movement gained momentum. A number of political parties, with a coordinating party under the chairmanship of T. B. Cunha, were formed and a peaceful satyagraha movement was launched. In 1954, a number of satyagrahis from India reached Goa to defy the Portuguese authorities; and on June 18, 1954, the nationalists demonstrated and hoisted Indian flag in Goa. A large number of demonstrators and suspected nationalist sympathizers were arrested. The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli on July 21, 1954, further strengthened the movement. On August 15, 1954 a mass satyagraha movement was launched when hundreds of young people from all over India decided to enter the territory of Goa which the Government of India did not favour and made it clear that satyagraha should be undertaken only by the Goans. They asked the Goans to refrain from acts of violence. But this appeal could not check the satyagrahis, and on August 15, 1954 a number of them defying the Government of India's ban, entered into Goan territory in batches at a number of points. The Portuguese army killed many such entrants.

Relations between India and Portugal, thereafter, became even more strained. Diplomatic relations were severed on August 19, 1955 and the Posts and Telegraphs Department announced that the money order
service between India and Portugal was suspended till further orders. This made nationalists in Goa more violent in their action and Indian nationalists urged the Government of India to take retaliatory action against Portugal. The Government of India tried to pacify the people and made diplomatic efforts for peaceful withdrawal of the Portuguese from the Indian soil. The Portuguese government did not show any inclination to withdraw. Between 1955 and the Liberation on 19th December 1961 hectic efforts were made by Portugal to preserve their colonial prestige in the East. The Salazar regime continued its atrocities against the nationalists and killed hundreds of them. The Indian Prime Minister, Nehru made a pointed statement in Parliament that a time might come when India would have to send army into Goa. Great Britain and the United States and other countries tried to persuade Portugal to retreat peacefully from Indian soil, but this had little effect on Salazar's attitude. This convinced the Government of India that the problem of Goa could not be resolved by talking reason to a fascist dictator. The Government of India had to take cognizance of the situation and to send army to liberate Goa.

The Newspapers in Goa reflected the evolving political developments within the limits of strict censorship laws applicable to the Press. In Goa, Heraldo became almost rabid in its criticism of the Indian Government and its officials. It would frequently quote articles from 'The Times of India', 'Current' and other papers either relating to Goa or some domestic issues of India like communal riots or shortage of food supplies and then sarcastically criticize it. The cultivation of good relations between
Portuguese Goa and Pakistan were lauded and any interactions between the two were written about in the *Heraldo*. The policy and actions of the Indian Government toward Kashmir were criticized. The outbreak of the II World War led to the imposition of press censorship in Goa. *Vauraddeancho Ixtt* (Friend of Workers) reported that “on account of commotion caused by war the Government has proclaimed that all papers shall be subject to press censorship in Panjim and to that purpose one committee has been appointed”.

**Civil Liberties Movement**

The conscious effort towards the liberation of Goa with the help of neighboring India began in 1946. The movement was inaugurated on 18\(^{th}\) June 1946 in Margao with the address of the Indian Socialist leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. His speech created a ripple among Goan leaders and aroused public as well as the local authorities. His speech, which encouraged Goans to fight for freedom, was followed by a series of demonstrations. This was a momentous event in the history of liberation movement in Goa.

*A Vida*, commenting on Lohia’s address at Margao, wrote, “The day before yesterday around 1600 hours a mob gathered at the old bus stand of this city to listen to the Socialist leader of the Congress Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia – who is on a visit to Goa. As the organizers were inquired
about the purpose of meeting, the authorities sought to disperse the multitude, for it was ascertained that the speaker had the lawful permission. When Mr. Lohia accompanied by Dr. Juliao de Menezes, was getting down he was advised by the local administrator that he was not allowed to make a speech in public, and as he was insisting, he was detained, along with his companion, and taken to the police station for due declarations and next he was sent to Panjim. The mob expressed its protest giving "hurrahs" to Mr. Lohia and shouting other slogans. The shops were closed since the afternoon the day before yesterday. Yesterday at the same time, the multitude gathered at the same place manifesting its protest in the same manner, the police did not wish to use violent means immediately to disperse them. One and half hours after they were informed that Mr. Lohia and his companion were already set free the multitude dispersed in an orderly manner and the police withdrew to the stations.”

*Heraldo* in 1946 published articles almost every day on the Indian freedom movement either in the form of news on the activities of the Congress or other parties and their leaders or in the form of articles on Swadeshi, Swaraj, partition etc. It is seen that at this stage it adopted a noncommittal stand on the liberation movement and often wrote about other issues like R. N Tagore, Churchill's views on India, his fear of a civil war in India, international events including UNO mandate system, spectre of famine, postwar economic problems etc. On 4th August 1946, *Heraldo* explained the meaning of swaraj and the meaning of the use of Gandhi cap and other philosophies and concepts associated with India's freedom
struggle under Congress. It started taking anti-Indian stand only after India’s independence in 1947.

While initiating the Civil Disobedience movement in Goa, Lohia, in an open letter to the Goans made it clear that the aim of the movement was to win civil liberties, but that the methods followed were those of mass awakening, an action short of violent rebellion. The extraordinary step of Dr. Lohia led the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Wardha to pass a resolution condemning the high-handedness of the Portuguese Government and to back fully the Goans in their struggle for the restoration of civil liberties. It reminded the Portuguese Government that Goa had been, and must inevitably continue to be, part of India and the Goans must share the freedom with other Indians. But the Portuguese rulers without realizing the signs of the time, called the Civil Disobedience movement as ‘movimento da rua’ (roadside agitation).

The Civil Disobedience movement instilled a sense of boldness among the Goans and boosted their morale. It encouraged many Goan patriots and fence sitters to participate in the movement. It pushed all the political groups and nationalists to come under the banner of the National Congress (Goa), which was formed on 17-18th August 1946 at the historic meeting at Londa. The National Congress (Goa) was the main political party under which the political workers of all shades and opinions rallied and at times fell apart from it resulting in the proliferation of several small parties and groups which too contributed to the cause with a great measure.
All these events were reported and commented upon positively or negatively in the papers like *Diario de Noite, O Heraldo* etc. For example, *Diario de Noite* wrote about and commented negatively on the visit by Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and the Civil Disobedience Movement in an article published in three parts. It wrote, "On last 18th June, a month or so ago this cry rent the air Jai-Hind. What does this cry mean, which has risen up in processions on public roads, let out from young lips, which were brought to the same streets by hands, which are now hiding?

The issue of *O Heraldo* dated 28th June, brought out a write-up about the goal of this movement "What is desired are public liberties which the people deserve in a democracy (without prior deposits, censorship etc) freedom of expression by spoken or written word, freedom of meeting dispensing with prior permission, freedom of associating without the requirement of approval by the Government and finally a Government representative, with a Governing Council, Administrative bodies elected by the people. The demands are minimum and proper and quite so." Regarding the raison d'être of the movement it wrote: "One more thing is desired: that India and the Indians may not be dishonored in their own land, that in official speeches and ceremonies, our legitimate honor as Indians may not be injured, our history, our customs, our traditions; that the Indians of any part of India may have the right to love their land (India), be proud of their history and of their common traditions respecting and revering their great men, alive or dead ones, from any part of India. This does not amount to making an attack on the Portuguese
sovereignty nor the functioning of government. Let honor be bestowed on him, Dr. Lohia is a great politician and in those parts away is fighting for independence of India. But here in Goa when the population told him that it has no civic liberties he wished that the people demanded them. It devolves on the Government to hear him or fail to hear him."

As this movement unfolded itself, its intentions and aims became quite open. It’s raison d’etre became very clear and its purpose could not have been better expressed than what is expressed in the O Heraldo which initially adopted a positive view of the movement. It wrote that the demand made was civic liberties, or public freedom. What was desired was the natural evolution of the people for nobody could be entitled to oppose it and it was the duty of one an all to make it easy.

On the other hand, Diario de Noite\textsuperscript{3} was against the movement and taking a negative view it wrote, "For a better perception of how the "movement" started on 18\textsuperscript{th} June last, how it is deviating from its origins and changing its form, and colour within a brief period of two months, we have to put it in its true highlight as in the moment it unfolded itself it was defined. To that purpose we have to take recourse to unsuspected sources." Diario de Noite then published the translation of what the O Heraldo wrote on 28\textsuperscript{th} June 1946 and criticized it. It wrote: "In order that the reader locates the aspects as were defined we are transcribing here from the said issue of "O Heraldo" the following passages: "The thought which is prompting these movements is the Indian thought and not the Portuguese
thinking. The soul of these people remains purely Indian. The tactics of Albuquerque and Xavier failed. One of them by dint of mixing of races; the other wished to change the Indian soul into Portuguese soul by conversion. But both failed. The efforts made by Albuquerque came to an end with a few Luso-Indian families and even these seem to sympathize with the movement, as was said by Mr. Carlos Pires. I believe that one of the members of this family was from Ponda. Xavier by ascetic life as an example and other missionaries using violence converted a large part of population of this land and transmitted unto them western habits. But if they sought to change the soul of the people they also failed. The Christian possesses an Indian soul under a light foreign mantle. It is, as some one who adheres unreservedly to this movement of the people of Goa, as the Mohammedans too. But here is the definition of the ideology, which encouraged the 18 June movement."

In the said article in *Diario da Noite*, the writer further wrote that the Goan people do not abjure the road to *Swaraj*, do not disown their great men living or dead of India and in the philosophical and ideological spheres, they do not allow barriers within India. But, the article lamented, the movement, instead of having ideology, is governed by other interests and the worst of it is that no one knows who "governs it". According to the writer it turned into a movement which was born without a head or legs. and it metamorphosed from being started by "thinking persons" to becoming a movement of "popular masses" and from a movement "of gaining civic rights" to an agitation also for "civil supplies". It wrote⁴ that
the goal of the "nationalist movement in Goa" within a few days underwent a metamorphosis. "How or where did this change come up from? Cowardice came in at once - the worst of them, which is moral cowardice - in order to cover the movement by the mantle of irresponsibility. When from the other side an instruction was given that without sacrifice, rights are not re-vindicated, advising therefore that the way was to fight till death, the "thinking persons" felt that they should shrink because to make sacrifices there is a guinea pig, the people...The movement which was brought to the streets with the purpose "of gaining civic rights" or "public freedom", as it was proclaimed over there at the top of the voice, turned to be also of civil supplies. It means that political question underwent a metamorphosis, it became an economic problem. The transfer of responsibilities, which no one wishes to take up, - no one absolutely - did not find another justification. Whether it be economic issues or political problem and aspiring for civic rights or supplies and even admitting that the movement has started from the masses of the people - it is ever necessary that someone is there speaking or representing the people. Where are they?"

Diario de Noite adopted verbal jugglery and used harsh language to distort the ideology and objective of the movement and thus debunked its pro-government stance. It wrote: "In truth the mutation of the political movement into supplies issue is fraudulent and malicious, because as it could not succeed by other means the "thinking elements" intended to excite the flames, by deceiving the good faith of the same
people. And then instead of Congress flag they raised the supplier's flag, insinuating that in the case of merger of Goa into greater India, we would have abundant supplies, and we would not bear any shortage. They told lies, deceived, falsified the truth for no one is unaware that there is acute crisis of supplies in the neighboring India, where in some places during the war and even now deaths occur for lack of food. Thanks to God, with all our insufficiency in the production and notwithstanding all difficulties caused by the crisis, which is worldwide, here and till now we are not in a tight corner.

The justification which is alleged for the change in the movement represents therefore the correction which is worse than the sonnet, and certainly it comes to uncover the intentions of those who desired and desire to their own ends, to disorient the people in a movement of its natural sadness, which is even more condemnable.”

A report which appeared in *A Voz da India* makes it clear that Nehru as a central figure in Indian politics was appraised of and was being asked about his policy towards Goa even before India’s independence. It wrote, “Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech regarding diplomatic posts, referring to foreign possessions in India, and Goa among them, said that he is not resolved to take any governmental action because, though it is a small state, the action would raise international disputes which he does not intend to provoke for the time being, as he has more important problems to solve.”
Bharat, commenting on the visit of Lohia, wrote,”Juliao quite aware that in Goa no one would take him seriously dragged up to these parts Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, drumming into his ears falsehood, such as he has been singing in the Gomantak. The reader knows what happened later. Juliao vainly tried to hoist himself as a hero but no one took him seriously. A ridiculous imposter, he was driven off the police station, as he had no status!” Bharat stooped so low as to condemn Juliao Menezes on the grounds of his belonging to a low caste.

Like other Indian leaders, Mahatma Gandhi also took interest in the "case of Goa" and published a letter to Dr. Bossa, the Governor-General of Goa, in Harijan, which was reproduced by Heraldo with its critical comments. Gandhi reveals through this letter that he was well informed about the political developments in Goa. He wrote: "It was kind on your part to send me your reply to what I wrote in Harijan, about the Goan issues. I believe that you are aware that I have visited Mozambique, Delagoa, and Inhambane. I have not seen there any government of philanthropy. I was truly surprised to note the discrimination done by the government between the Indians and the Portuguese and among the natives of Africa themselves. Neither the history of the Portuguese establishment in India proves the point of view, which is defined by your Honor. In truth what I see and know the state of affairs in Goa, is little edifying. The fact that the Indians in Goa have been without being able to speak out is not a manifestation of philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government, but a reign of terror. You will excuse that I do not subscribe to your declaration
that there is full freedom in Goa, and that agitation is limited to some disgruntled persons. All reports, which have been examined by myself personally, and seen in the papers here, in this part of India, do confirm a contrary opinion. I presume that a conviction for eight years imposed by your military tribunal, upon Dr. Braganza Cunha, and his projected exile in a distant Portuguese settlement, is by itself confirmation of the fact that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. What can be the reason that an ordinary citizen might be selected as a very dangerous one to be exiled?

Though Dr. Lohia's politics may be different from mine, he won my admiration because he went up to Goa to put a finger in the wound. The inhabitants of Goa may wait till the great India has regained its freedom. But no person or group of persons can so remain without civil liberty without losing its dignity. He lit a torch, which the inhabitants of Goa cannot without risk allow to burn out. I presume that your Excellency as well as the Goans should have thanked the doctor for having lit this torch. Hence, your description that he's a foreigner would provoke laughter, were it not so tragic. Certainly, the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers, whether they have come as philanthropists or rulers exploiting the so-called weak races of the world. You have referred to the abolition of caste distinctions. What I observe is that not only the caste distinctions were not abolished, but another more terrifying caste than the castes in the tradition was added by the Portuguese rulers. I do hope then, that you will change your views on philanthropy, civil liberties and caste distinctions, remove all African police, declare from your heart in favor of
civil liberties and if possible leave even the inhabitants of Goa to form their own Government and invite more Indians who are better experienced to assist the inhabitants, and even to your own self to form such a Government."

At this stage, *Heraldo* took upon itself the task of defending and justifying the Portuguese administration by refuting all the points of Mr. Gandhi's letter in the same report. It sums up as follows, "Whatever Mr. Gandhi knows about the "conditions of matters in Goa" we are persuaded that his knowledge is limited merely to the information given by the elements whose main purpose is to create confusion and to discredit the Portuguese Administration in Goa. Besides, all that he could read in the papers belongs positively to these sources, which are opposed to our administration. It is not therefore surprising that Mr. Gandhi may say that the "Indians of Goa have remained dumb". In case he would read our papers which are in considerable number as for example "Heraldo", "A Voz de India", "O Heraldo", "Diário Da Noite", "A Vida", "Bharat" etc. etc. some of them belonging to the opposition as for example "Bharat" which is pro Congress paper, none of which were silenced, you would realize how erroneous are your opinions and in case you visit the country, you would be convinced that what was said by Dr. Bossa is pure and simple truth.

Regarding the deportation of Mr. Braganza there's no corroboration of the point of view of Mr. Gandhi who affirms that in Goa there do not exist civic liberties. It is an isolated case of rebellion against
the state and the law; dura Lex sed lex (law is strict, but it is law which must be enforced)—it prescribes exile for such crimes. Which is why Mr. Braganza—not Dr. as Mr. Gandhi otherwise best knowledgeable about facts calls him—was deported. Moreover, Mr. Braganza used to shout slogans—Death to Portugal—on the face of authorities, with clenched fists, threatening the agents of the public order who were advancing towards him. What is strange is that Mr. Gandhi calls Mr. Lohia a citizen who abides by law when all are aware, and it was conclusively proved, during his hearing that he was an agitator and the authorities could not have acted in another manner, than to arrest him and to act juridical against him. This man cannot be called a "respecter of law".

Moreover, it is known that the Goa movement was restricted to a small number of persons who nourished a personal grudge against Portuguese Administration. It is however emphatically denied that there are no civic liberties in Goa. There is freedom of the press and public speech, but not the licentious liberty of the jungle. It is true that Dr. Lohia was arrested but it is only proved that he was a mass agitator and had challenged law and order. Dr. Bossa did not call Dr. Lohia a foreigner but a stranger, as any Goan would be in Baroda or Bengal. He came certainly as a stranger and even addressed the people in a language, which they could not understand, because people's language is Konkani. The Portuguese Government had the right to forbid Dr. Lohia from delivering speeches, and it shouldn't be surprising that he should be treated by this Government as an agitator, whereas he himself in Lucknow was recently jailed by Congress
authorities. If, however, Mr. Gandhi shows himself to be unaware of this fact we are not aware of this whether it is consciously unconsciously.”

Thus **Heraldo** criticized the cited letter of Gandhi point by point and showered praise on the Portuguese, their race and their Government. It wrote: “Mr. Gandhi views the matters through a personal prism. When he declares that "governors come to exploit the weak races of the world", he should have realized that Portugal linked historically its destinies with Goa, and consequently, ethnic problems are arising here, as well as historical, social, economic, class and political issues which cannot be assessed so lightly, as it is done by Mr. Gandhi. The historical and political realities cannot be viewed and resolved with so much passion as done by Mr. Gandhi. It passes our comprehension how the Portuguese rulers added a more terrible caste unless Mr. Gandhi conceives a different notion of the caste system, which prevailed in Goa, which the Portuguese succeeded in eliminating by peaceful and educational methods.

Afonso de Albuquerque himself gave an impetus to marriages between Portuguese soldiers and inhabitants of Goa with no racial prejudice.

The Portuguese are not a strange race in Goa, where they are for over 400 years which is a period sufficient enough to create a new spirit and to modify the psychology of the people, during which many Indian monarchies flourished and disappeared. The Portuguese who are born and brought up here in Goa, form a reasonable number, who hold a prominent
part in the local administration, and the same can be said of the Hindus and
the Christians (Goans). The European Portuguese are in a very limited
number, and Portugal has not been administering the country with the
purpose of exploitation, but it has rather assisted Goa financially and not
only in these aspects but also in many other ways. Hence there could not
be Portuguese system of castes in Goa, as Mr. Gandhi says; but if it were
there, it would have so remained as the matter refers to Goans and Hindus,
who have reached the status of judges of judicial division, high Court
judges, heads a department and other similar ones. The judge who
convicted Mr. Braganza is a Goan.”

Heraldo further wrote that “Mr. Gandhi was described by Dr. Ambedkar as the greatest enemy of the Harijans who's number is counted
as 60,000,000 among other 400,000,000 souls of India. The small number
of the Portuguese in Goa can in no way be compared with hundreds of
existing castes in India. To think of calling the Portuguese in Goa, one
caste, is really surprising. But as he is the enemy of harijans, no wonder
that he may also be of the same caste of his own invention. Dr. Bossa said
and said it quite well, that Mr. Gandhi is ignorant of history and his letter
confirms this assertion of his Excellency the Governor General.”

The whole write-up indicates that the Heraldo was writing for and
on behalf of the Portuguese government. The paper wrote that “in Goa
there are no African police as it was emphatically denied in the press,
absolutely no posse of Negroes stationed here. This is what Mr. Gandhi
should have known. Mr. Gandhi's reference to the fact that Dr. Lohia has lit the torch in Goa is absurd. Dr. Lohia only obscured the milieu. It is surprising that Mr. Gandhi says that he admires Dr. Lohia. Mr. Gandhi may erroneously applaud Dr. Lohia, in regard to his intervention in the Goan issues. But that he is paying homage to an agitator is astonishing. It is a paradox that Mr. Gandhi who is a leader who commanded respect of the Indians and is considered an apostle of nonviolence might admire Dr. Lohia. It was clearly demonstrated that Dr. Lohia is an agitator, by the congress authorities themselves, who arrested him in Lucknow. In regard to his Excellency the governor-general inviting the experienced Indians from greater India, it sounds strange, and short of sense, and even more insulting to the prestige of the Goans. It directly leads to the suggestion that in Goa there is shortage of experienced persons and it lies in a low level of culture in political matters while the fact is that there are Goans in Goa and in Portugal holding privileged positions, two of whom are deputies of India in the Portuguese National Assembly who frame laws for Portugal and all colonies. There are also many Goans in the governing council in Goa who are cooperating with the Governor General in solving more urgent problems of this country.”

The paper went on to say that Goans neither wanted expulsion of the Portuguese from Goa nor its merger with India as if it was expressing the general will of the entire community. It wrote in the same rejoinder to Gandhi’s letter: “These problems, since they relate to Goans, can only be assessed entirely and justly by those who have undertaken the
sacred task of administering the territories of Portuguese India. The Goans themselves do not wish to merge Goa in greater India of Mr. Gandhi, and even recently a letter was sent to Mr. Gandhi signed by more than 60 persons of all sections of opinion, condemning his interference in Goan affairs and manifesting the desire to continue under the Portuguese flag.”

The paper quoted Dr. Antonio B. Braganza Pereira, as having written that - "Portuguese India has the right to assert its personality not to be lowered to the level of a simple district of India, swallowed by millions we are not living with, and hence we cannot be eye to eye, millions who have other traditions, cultures and other collective conscience. Our land is very small, but beautiful. We can say as Alfred de Musset said: Mon vive n'est pas grand mais je bois de mon vive". Portuguese India is a Portuguese creation. Its culture is universalistic, like Christianity we were educated in hovering above the dissolute Hindu communalism, which has a terrible reality more terrible than the Rudra or Bhairavi, the obstacles wherein the national aspirations of Gandhi are wrecked, who complains of lack of light, perhaps lack of Grace. So says one who considers Portuguese India a province of Portugal and Portugal as the intellectual fatherland of his mind.”

. The strong anti-Indian and pro-Portuguese pronouncements of Heraldo are prominent throughout the write-up. It wrote further; “The millions, who surround us dominated by the concept of nonviolence and self-determination, are bound to respect our liberty. What right do the
neighbors have to violate our domicile? We are the masters of our house. Now it is high time to ask Mr. Gandhi if he still remembers what he said about the Portuguese in 1921. We shall quote his words, which were a sincere expression of his enthusiasm for the Portuguese Administration in Goa. "Happy are our Portuguese brethren who at least enjoy the privileges of having a constitution and the liberal rights of citizenship." What Gandhi said in 1921 was true, not only then but even now, and there is no change up to this moment but in the mind of Mr. Gandhi. These are the facts, which Gandhi never sought to examine."

**The Satyagraha:**

Adopting the Gandhian path of non-violence and *satyagraha*, Goan and no-Goan of *satyagrahis* wished to convince the Portuguese to leave Goa peacefully and gracefully. Two *satyagrahas* were launched against the Portuguese authorities in Goa from the territory of the Indian Union, the first in September, 1954 and the second in August 1955. These provoked reaction in the press. *Heraldo*, taking anti-Indian stand, in an editorial on page one in 1957 wrote, "If the Indian Prime Minister expected that Goa would oblige him by collapsing, like the wall of Jericho at the command of Joshua, the sooner he gives up that illusion the better. We do not boast but we have every right to tell whomsoever it may concern that, after nearly three years of all manner of pressure, Goa is definitely looking up, not only stronger in her resolve to resist Nehru's oppressive tactics but resolved also
to continue building up her own internal life with a view to the greater prosperity and greater happiness of her population.”

The editorial of *Heraldo* listed a number of development tasks undertaken in 1957 to impress Goans. It tried to prove that life in Goa was normal despite the *satyagraha* and that the economy was being improved and that Goa was very much Portuguese. It wrote: “It is no exaggeration to say that Goa is bristling with enthusiasm for progress in every direction. The year 1957 began with two far-reaching steps: more decentralized municipal and village administration and the establishment of a limited company for building a ship yard. Other major schemes, which can be taken as certainties, are the mechanization of dock No. 6 of the port of Mormugao, the development of the deep sea fishing and the establishment of a fish meal factory. There are other outstanding works - to mention only a few which have been completed or are well under way: water supply to the capital is ready and supply to Margao, Vasco da Gama, Mormugao and Ponda is making rapid progress. Quepem and Sanvordem-Curchorem have been supplied with electricity and work is going on to give the same benefit to Ponda; the export of iron ore is increasing and mining equipment is being improved as rapidly as possible, the latter as an equipped industry; a technical school has been set up, the fishing company of Diu has been placed on a sound basis, and of course we have our own air service. If we add the enthusiasm of our youth to join the army, we have a picture, faint though it is, of the determination of our people to resist Indian ambitions and to bend every ounce of energy, aided always by the generous support of
the central government towards making our land less vulnerable to Indian pressure...”

Heraldo also published a note on the release of the imprisoned Indian satyagrahis. “The Lisbon Government has issued a decree releasing Indian "satyagrahis" undergoing imprisonment in Goa for offences against Portuguese Sovereignty, provided they were not guilty of more than one offence.” 9 Its editorial of 28th January 195710, presented the release of the imprisoned satyagrahis of the Indian Union as an act of generosity and magnanimity of the Portuguese authorities against the subversive activities of the satyagrahis. It wrote, “By granting amnesty to Indian citizens undergoing imprisonment in Goa for certain offences against Portuguese sovereignty in the state of India, the central government has once again affirmed the tradition of the noblesse which has characterized the Portuguese nation. Intransigent in the defense of its rights, while conscientiously respecting the rights of others, Portugal has ever been magnanimous in the treatment of its adversaries, the released. The Portuguese government has shown the superiority of spirit, which may not be fully appreciated in the Indian circles, where the so-called “case of Goa” has been artificially created with bases on falsehood and sustained with a large dose of cynicism. But nobility of soul does not wait for applause.

The concession made to the Indian prisoners should not be construed as a revision of the sentence justly awarded by the competent court. On the other hand, the decree in question stresses the intrinsic
culpability of the so-called satyagrahis whose work was political subversion. It also takes into account the circumstances that the Indians under reference had been misled by the false propaganda carried on in these countries, that they committed no violence and that the Indian government has since advised its citizens against the use of such methods as well as the fact that the prisoners have already served a part of this sentence. All these factors have been taken together and considered sufficiently to justify the act of clemency which is signified by the amnesty - a free act of grace, which is further enhanced by the fact that it has come when the Indians, the prisoners as well as the other political leaders, needed it most, namely on the eve of the Indian general elections…"

_Heraldo_ had become stronger than any Portuguese Government agency in name calling the Indian policy and the Goan nationalists and their Indian supporters. In an editorial dated 25<sup>th</sup> February 1957, it held India responsible for disturbances in Goa and for many of the colony’s troubles. It wrote, “Terrorism may allege an ideal, but this is only a window dressing. In this century, when even regular war is sought to be outlawed, terrorism has no possible justification. Here in Goa it could at most be an attempt on the part of a minority to force its will on the majority. But it is not even that, the few Goan mercenaries, who have hired themselves out for terrorism, stand self-condemned before the Goan public, not only because they are engaged in a dastardly work which every decent person abhors but also because they are seeking to destroy their own kith and kin at the service of a foreign master.
There is not the slightest shadow of doubt that the destructive devices used in Goa are sent here from the Indian Union. The batteries used for terrorist acts leave the mark “made in India”; they are not available in Goa. In one case, the paper, in which the explosive charge was wrapped, was a Marathi newspaper published in Bombay – also now available in Goa. If these indications are not sufficient, there is the conclusive fact that the gun cotton found in various charges which did not explode cannot definitely be found in Goa. This fact, together with the make of the batteries, leaves no doubt whatsoever that the explosives are prepared in the Indian Union. The explosives therefore come from the Indian Union. They are a sequel to the frustrated attempts to conquer Goa by the economic blockade, “satyagrahas” and other so-called peaceful means. The terrorist activity, which followed the nullification of the blockade and of the so-called satyagraha, is another flagrant illustration of the same phenomenon. The Indian Union is resorting to terrorism in an attempt to avenge her previous disappointments. But to no avail. Violence or non-violence, Goans will never surrender to the pressure tactics of the Indian Union, because they have a high sense of their own dignity and a love for their nationality, which is as strong as death itself. Terrorism will go the way of the economic blockade and of the “satyagrahas”. It will only provide another instance to expose the black soul of Indian leadership.”

When the Government of India banned the mass satyagraha movement in 1955, it assumed the responsibility of freeing these pockets.
Between 1956 and 1961, many resolutions were adopted by Indian parties demanding the early liberation of the settlements; and seminars were held, public meetings organized and 'Goa Days' and 'Goa Weeks' were held at regional and all-India levels. Hundreds of adjournment motions were moved in the Lok Sabha to discuss matters pertaining to Goa. The nation was uneasy over the state of affairs in Goa and the Government's silence. India would have attempted to obtain a peaceful solution through the United Nations. However, Portugal maintained that Goa was no colony and refused to supply the U.N. with the information it called for under the Charter. It was unyielding in spite of the U.N.O.'s decision that Goa was a colony and reports should be submitted about its progress.

Fear of Loss of Identity:

Heraldo through its writings tried to arouse various kinds of fear in Goan masses against possible merger of Goa in Indian union. In an editorial it wrote that the Goans and Goan identity would be submerged if Goa were integrated into that mass of humanity that was India. "We're convinced that it is only by unflinching loyalty to the (rulers), which we have held sacred for more than four centuries past, that we shall be saved from being absorbed in that nameless mass of (humanity) which is sought to be evolved today. The first page of that lurid process would be absorption into that Indian union where we would be lost in the ocean of her heterogeneous millions. Our traditions, all that we hold dear and precious,
not excluding the blessed peace and tranquility of our homes, would disappear. And this golden Goa would be transformed into an oriental bazaar for the benefit of the Indians. It is not difficult to see -witness the harassment of Goans in the Indian Union- that we would be enslaved in our own homes, if indeed we would be left with any homes in the event of rapacious outsiders gaining a foothold in our land. We refer to the material aspect of absorption into the Indian Union. But there are other aspects of a far higher importance. Our Portuguese nationality has imprinted on us a character and given as a hierarchy of values which is precious heirloom to be jealously preserved and handed over intact to our children."

Heraldo gave its verdict\textsuperscript{13}, "Let Nehru devise what "concrete measures" he will; let his agents who are paid to call themselves Goan leaders continue their machinations and false propaganda, let the communists all over the world support the Indian Union-the people of Goa, Daman and Diu will resist. And, while resisting, will forge ahead in the pursuit of their own ideal even as they have been doing since they began to be persecuted by the Indian Union."

In another issue Heraldo condemned what it called Indian imperialism and wrote that Goans are proud of their Portuguese nationality:\textsuperscript{14} "In recent years, the imperialism of New Delhi has brought Goa into the limelight of publicity. Intellectuals, journalists and even simple students of world affairs have become interested in what has come to be known as the "case of Goa".... Except for three or four journalists, all
of leftist brand, all the visitors to Goa have spoken the truth as they found it. The exceptions only served to reinforce the verdict of the overwhelming majority. What is the secret of this unique fellowship? The answer will not come easily to those who do not understand the traditions of Portuguese India or better, the work done by Portugal in Goa, Daman and Diu during the past four centuries. In fact, the miracle of Portuguese India is repeated in every one of Portugal’s overseas provinces, where white or black or yellow is equally the citizen of the one, indivisible fatherland, not merely by virtue of registration but by the imperative of a national consciousness fostered by that Christian idealism which Portugal practiced in every land where its flag was planted. The Goans have ever been proud of their traditions, which intimately bound up with their Portuguese nationality. They know that, apart from Portugal, there can be no Goan. Integrated in the Indian Union, the Goan will be like an unlaid ghost, restless forever, because he will be cut off from the source, which has nourished his culture and social life without being able to find a substitute in the Indian life to which he is an alien. In other words, the integration of Goa can never lead to the integration of the Goans, who have four centuries of Portuguese culture and tradition behind them. That is why the Goans resist and will resist all the Machiavellian Indian move to deprive them of the spiritual values which form the main spring of their very existence.”

The editor and other writers of Heraldo tried to enumerate the advantages of Goa remaining a Portuguese colony as well as the disadvantages of Goa being taken over by the Indian union and all this to
arouse Goan mind against India and for continuation of Portuguese rule in Goa. A frequent contributor of articles to *Heraldo* with the byline Phoedrus wrote¹⁵: "If Goa were taken over by the Indian Union, it is the Indians who would swarm in and dispossess the Goans not only materially but also culturally. For, 600,000 Goans could not hope to survive as a community in the melting pot of humanity that is the Indian Union. The Goans would just be swamped. There is no need to possess any special powers of foresight or prophecy to see that worse still would be the plight of Goans, if Goa were integrated into the Indian Union. The small Goan landowners would be tempted, cajoled and even forced by circumstances to sell their plots to the newcomers. As for the businessman, what chance would they have of competing with the wealthier Indians? As for the rest of Goans, they would have to go out of Goa even as they are doing now, because the Indian government would not obviously be able to give jobs to all the Goans in their own land. No matter how much improvement would take place, the bulk of the advantages would go to the Indians and not to Goans. Is anyone so foolish as to think that the Indians would make improvements in the benefit of Goans?

The question is often discussed from the purely material point of view. But it is never too much to insist that the material aspect is the least part of the problem. Not by bread alone doth man live. but since bread is also necessary we add-and this is our answer to Indian propaganda-that in recent years there has been a substantial increase in jobs available in Goa. And what with the development plan about to be started, there will be another
considerable increase in jobs. Moreover-and this is an important point-the Portuguese citizenship of Goans gives them the advantages of emigration which the Indians do not possess. Finally, we would like to stress that Goa integrated into the Indian Union would not be Goa-the land of peace, tranquility and pleasant social life that it is now. And Goans would seek to emigrate from an Indian occupied Goa out of sheer disgust, even if not for jobs-just as many Goan emigrants return home from the Indian Union today out of sheer disgust.”

**Economic Blockade**

Since the Portuguese government continued its nonchalant attitude towards India and persisted on the maltreatment of Satyagrahis and other freedom lovers and continued to maintain unfriendly postures against Indians, Government of India imposed the economic blockade of Goa in 1957. *Heraldo* reacted sharply and condemned this act in strong language. In an editorial in 1957, it wrote: ”It is unnecessary to refer to the effect of the ignominious Indian blockade on the total economy of Goa, except to say that it has stimulated local talent and served to canalize it towards new profitable trades. The import market has not been affected. Goa is provided with the commodities, which have been traditionally imported. The difficulties created for the export market have been largely overcome.” In another editorial it wrote, “An instance in point is the economic blockade of Portuguese India. This criminal method of starving whole
populations into surrender was first tried by New Delhi in the French possessions in India. Crazed by its success there, New Delhi decided to apply it to Goa, Daman and Diu. This was in 1954. Before the year was out, in fact soon after the dismal failure of the march against Goa on 15th August 1954, Indian imperialism consoled itself with the make believe that at least its economic blockade would achieve results. By September 1954, Indian newspapers carried bold headlines giving fantastic stories to prove that the economy of Portuguese India was on the verge of collapse; for a long time Mr. Nehru himself seemed to lay the same flattering unction to his frustrated soul."

The paper wrote that the ‘Indian imperialists’ finally realized that economic blockade had been practically defeated long ago by the united effort of the government and the people of Portuguese India. “As a result of this realization, New Delhi decided to change the tune; and its propaganda machine was switched on to play it to the four winds advertising that "certain curbs had been removed on humanitarian grounds."

In a letter to the editor, a writer expressed some of the problems faced by the people of Goa and justified the Portuguese position that Goa, Daman and Diu constitute overseas province of Portugal. He wrote “Goans in the Indian Union are undeservedly harassed in various ways and even Indian Frontier customs authorities have many times instigated them by saying "dirty Goans". The Goans are well aware that if Goa should separate from Portugal, the Indian Government would pounce upon Goa (as
they did in Hyderabad) on some pretext or other. Mr. Nehru wishes to allure us by saying great improvements will be made in Goa and trade and employment will be increased. How can we give credence to such promises, when we already know the dire treatment meted out by the Indian Union to Goans and Christians? The Indian government has not only violated the Indian constitution but even the U.N.O. charter....In fine, I have to state that though Goans in India are greatly affected by the persecution by the Indian government, the Goans in Goa are happy because the government has been able to provide food and employment to people in spite of the difficulties etc. mainly created by the Indian government.”

The editorial of Heraldo[^19], on January 25, noted the extraordinary efforts already made by the central and local governments to solve the difficulties created by the Indian Union, many of which it said had already been satisfactorily resolved, particularly by the creation of the air and steamer services to Karachi. Heraldo was skeptical on the lifting of restrictions on travel across the Indo-Goa border[^20]. In its section, “Roundabouts and Swings” it wrote, “The Press note, issued by Indian Government in connection with the lifting of restrictions on movement of Goans across the Indo-Goan borders, seemed at first sight to be an honest attempt to make amends for an unwarranted piece of cruelty because Goans residing in the Indian Union were prevented from joining their families in Goa. This notification says, amongst other things of interest to Indian citizens that the "Indian police will have full authority to prevent the passage of any persons who may carry arms and wear uniforms, who may
belong or are believed to belong to Portuguese armed forces, military and paramilitary formations police of security services and who may be suspected of being Portuguese agents”.

In another issue Heraldo wrote 21, “Now the “permit” system has been removed but the travel of Goans across the border has been made a matter of the unfettered discretion of the Indian police! The “satyagraha” ended in a dismal failure as far back as August 1955, because few Goans could be hired to take part in it. Since then, the “peaceful movement” has been carried on by means of terrorist acts perpetrated by agents coming from the Indian Union.

These are the facts. In the face of these facts, the recent moves to lift the “permit system” and the “state of satyagraha” are no more than propaganda stunts to deceive foreign countries.”

In yet another editorial Heraldo warned that Goans should not be lulled into a false sense of security by the lull in Indian Circles, for the removal of "permits" to move across the border far from being dictated by any humanitarian consideration, was itself a tactical move and carried with it greater possibility of infiltration and subversion. 22 Heraldo published another analysis of the removal of travel restrictions by the Indian Government. 23 “The terse press note issued by the government of India reads as follows: “The Government of India has decided to abolish with immediate effect the restriction on travel to and from Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India. To many Goans, on either side, the above,
communiqué came as a relief from the sufferings inflicted on a peace loving people by the Indian Government without the least justification or compunction. It took the Indian Government more than three and half years to come to the realization that the policy pursued was not only puerile and hare-brained but unworthy of any government that has any claim to civilization”.

The paper with its Portuguese predilection and anti-Indian posture presented the Indian action as a tactical move to befool the Goans. It continued in the same write-up: “As a tactical move, the measure has certain well defined advantages to the Indian Government. No one is so gullible as to believe as the Indian Government evidently desires, that the action was prompted by compassion towards the long-suffering Goans. According to the statement made in the "Lok Sabha", the restrictions were removed out of the deference to the wishes of the Goan leaders. As the saying goes, this is too big a pill for the intelligent Goan to swallow. In false pride the "Goan leaders" might pat themselves on the back as a result of the fulsome acknowledgment of this leadership, little realizing that they had been made scapegoats. Indian Government ostensibly imposed the restrictions on the desire of the "Goan leaders" and abolished them at their bidding. At least this is what the Indian government wants us to believe! This leads one to the only logical conclusion that the Indian Government has abdicated its jurisdiction over the 80,000 Goans in Bombay and placed them at the tender mercy of the "Goan leaders".
"That there has been no change of the heart on the part of Indian Government is demonstrated by the sporadic armed raids carried out at the Goa frontier, ostensibly by terrorists though in fact by fully trained Indian Army personnel with arms and ammunition supplied by the Indian Government. This has been proved to the hilt leaving no room even for the shadow of a doubt. If the Indian Government still chooses to deny its association with the acts of terrorism, it must admit its impotence or incompetence to prevent such acts, which is not only moral but the legal duty of any civilized Government."

The Government of India decided to abolish the permit system on travel between India and the Portuguese possessions in India, and notified certain regulations for the convenience of the general public. The Heraldo published the details of these regulations and condemned the Indian Government for the same. It wrote: "On studying the above regulation one is irresistibly driven to the irrefutable conclusion that the Indian Government, after formulating its basic policy on travel to and from Goa, has left its administration completely in the hands of the police. The regulations have a strong smell of having been cooked at Mahalaxmi, from were the Parsi Deputy Inspector General of Police is supposed to decide the destinies of the Goan emigrants. The unhappy draftsman and the confusion of thought are self-evident. Regulations containing information to the "general public", standing orders to the police and the currency regulation are all rolled into one. The regulations have made confusion worse confounded." The write-up continued to point the flaws of the
regulations and difficulties it would cause. It wrote that the wide powers, which the regulations give to the Indian frontier police in effect, nullify the abolition of restrictions on travel to and from.

The paper not only condemned Indian actions but also went to shower praises on Portuguese Government for its so-called Goan friendly measures. It wrote: "Our readers are aware that a sum of over Rs. 35 million has been allocated for various projects to be carried out during the next six years in Goa, Daman and Diu. Like the previous development plan, which terminates at the end of this year, the present plan has nothing to do with the Indian blockade. Such plans were on the cards as part of the normal effort of the whole nation towards better economy. Suffice to say that the plans are made for the entire nation and not only for Portuguese India. But though not specifically planned for the purpose, some of the projects carried out under the current plan, (1953-1958) fitted in admirably-providentially, we might say with the condition created by the Indian Union. For instance, the airport of Dabolim and the airstrips of Daman and Diu which had been planned before the Indian blockade came, deserve to maintain links with the outer world." Then the write-up enumerated other development plans (1959-1964) including the equipment of the Port and the Railway and water supply to schools and hospitals, agriculture, and stated that the government proposes to obtain the result in the shortest possible time.
In order to placate the public the write-up concluded “we are earnestly engaged in improving our internal economy so as to benefit every sector of the population, particularly those who live by manual labor. Besides the National development plan, there are various local projects, for example improvement of the fishing industry (the scheme is well under way); industrialization of coconut, a naval yard, etc. Determination to see these projects through is not lacking. Nor is money, for which we do not depend on foreign loans. All that may be needed is a little patience, for time is an inevitable factor.”

The lifting of the boycott of ships touching Goa was received by Heraldo\textsuperscript{24} in the following tone, “The recent turns in Indian attitude towards Goa does not relieve - on the contrary it enhances-the impression of the forces, which we have been witnessing since 1954. The latest news is that the boycott of ships touching Goa "will be lifted from May 23", if the recommendation of the Bombay Port workers union is accepted, presumably by the other units of the all India Port and Dock workers Federation. At the time of writing, we do not know exactly how the land lies. But it does not matter; we wish to record the fact that there is a move afoot to lift the boycott of ships touching Goa. The boycott was started with a big fanfare of trumpets to buttress the infamous economic blockade. The protagonists expected that the boycott would keep every foreign ship from Goa, those dealing a decisive blow to Goa’s trade. But, as usual, there was a slip in the Indian calculations (ambition is all the reason). Lines without interest in Indian trade-and therefore beyond the reach of Indian
boycott-plied their ships to Goa! Thus, the boycott was defeated, even as the rest of the economic blockade was defeated. All that remained—and will remain forever—of these coercive tactics is another big black blot on the name of the Indian Union. Indian propaganda is that boycott was "successful in operation, though not in effect...”

Some time later *Heraldo* wrote: "The official Indian radio announced on Monday morning, June 9, that the Indian government was considering the restoration of the coastal shipping between Bombay and Goa. The disclosure is reported to have been made by the Indian Communication Minister, Mr. S.K. Patel. Earlier, on June 6, telegraphic communications between Belgaum and Goa, which had been interrupted by the Indian government since 1955 were established. These measures, following close upon the easing of the traffic across the frontier, indicate that the Indian government has fully realized the futility of its efforts to force Goans into surrender. This fact has already been recorded by history and whatever effort the Indian government may now make to undo its misdeeds, the Goans will never forget that the Indian tried their level best, for a period of nearly 4 years to squeeze Goans into submitting to Indian imperialism.”25
Propaganda War

Heraldo, until 1947, printed reports about the political and other developments in India based on reports appearing in Indian newspapers, mainly Times of India or All India Radio. Infact many other local newspapers did the same. But it launched a bitter propaganda war against India soon after its independence. It wrote in an editorial “Occasionally, lest, it should be said that the propaganda is entirely baseless, the Indian Union stages an incursion into Goa. Formerly it was the ill formed satyagraha; now it is the infamous terrorist raids. Whatever the outcome of the attempts, Indian propaganda blares out fantastic reports, involving murders of Portuguese policemen and soldiers by "underground nationalists". Thus after staging a raid on Daman on August 2, Indian propaganda reported as many as six Portuguese soldiers killed and three outposts destroyed. A full account of the raid appeared in our last issue. But there are more amazing aspects of Indian propaganda. In the second week of August, it headlined a story of an explosion, which is supposed to have occurred "last week" in our Sirigao mines with ghastly details of the destruction wrought. The cautious reader, who has followed the criminal exploits of Indian terrorism in Goa, would have detected the fraud. The story of the explosion is six months old and was duly reported by us at the time. It was also reported by the Indian propaganda agencies. The same story is now repeated, saying that the explosion occurred "last week". The purpose of this bluff is not far to seek. In the absence of positive
achievements, Indian propaganda invents fanciful stories. When even fancy
fails, it repeats old stories.”

_Heraldo_ gave another example of its servility towards the
Portuguese authorities when in an editorial it wrote²⁷, “Towards the end of
the last century, certain small minds, tried to insinuate that in Goa there was
a moment against the metropolitans and pointed to the article published by
an apostate priest. The situation was sized up by the late Constancio Roque
da Costa, of Margao, representative of Portuguese India in the Parliament,
who wrote in his newspaper _Universal_ of October 1, 1896, “No Anti-
Metropolitan Movement
We have always maintained and we do not hesitate to repeat it here aloud;
we think that the more important posts in our Indian Province ought to be
held by qualified metropolitans; we want cultured Europeans, with
knowledge of public administration and comparing favorably with the
officials in British India, to go to India on good salaries. We ask that
metropolitans should be sent to "Europeanize" India, by taking with them
the light of Western civilization.”

_Heraldo_ painted a black picture of Indian economy by saying
that the foreign exchange reserves of the Indian Union has sunk to an
unprecedented low. At the same it painted rosy picture of Goan economy.
It wrote: “On the other hand, Goa, in spite of the Indian blockade, has a
balanced budget and has made provisions for development scheme without
either increasing taxes or asking for donations of jewellery. Goa’s foreign
exchange position is comfortable.” *Highly* critical of the Indian declarations it wrote[^28] “Time and again for the last three years, Indian leaders have been promising their people that the Goa problem "will be solved soon". The latest to make this promise is Indian Defense Minister Mr. Krishna Menon... so when, Mr. Menon said recently in Bombay that the Goa problem would be solved "soon", Indian propaganda headlined the statement and there was great pretence of the glee in anti Goa circles, who however did not even realize that it was devoid of any definite meaning and that in the mouth of politicians particularly of the Mr. Menon and Mr. Nehru variety, it means only "I do not know". But there is another aspect of the statement to be considered: When the Indian leaders promise to solve the Goa problem "soon", they implicitly admit that it is they who are trying to solve it—not the Goans. In other words, the Goans do not count, even though New Delhi has hired a few Goan agitators to throw dust in the eyes of the world. But it is also remembered that the Indian leaders promised to solve the Goa problem by "integration into the Indian Union", it is not difficult to see who is at the bottom of all that Goa trouble, who plans to profit by the integration of Goa and what is the ultimate fate reserved for Goans.”

The Indian and Portuguese Governments threw barbs at each other and the propaganda was also carried out by the press. *Heraldo* wrote[^29], “Indian propaganda has of late poured a number of stories of "violation of Indian territory by Portuguese troops and police of Goa and Daman, together with the comment that Portugal is trying to provoke the Indian
government into action. In other words, Indian propaganda would have the world believe that, notwithstanding all the difficulties of defending Portuguese India, Portugal is foolish enough to provoke the Indian Union! What for? Indian propaganda gives no answer but it is not difficult to see through the game. This simple though stupid logic, which Indian propaganda seeks to foist upon the world, is that the Indian government would be justified in taking arms against Portuguese India on the plea that such action becomes necessary to safeguard the inviolability of Indian territory! Of course, Mr. Nehru and defense minister Mr. Menon would shed a few crocodile tears and tell the world that they could not help resorting to violence in defense of their legitimate interest, even though they stoutly pledged nonviolence!

Goa cannot be another Hyderabad. Even apart from the verified and easily verifiable fact that it is actually the Indian Union that is violating Portuguese territory by sending armed raiders across the frontier, no one in his senses believed that Portugal can have any interest or advantage in violating Indian Territory. Portugal is not unaware of the difficulties of an armed conflict with the Indian Union. In his speech of 30 November 1954, Salazar ruled out the usefulness of war when he said: "The smallness of the territories and the weakness of the local resources, the disproportion of strength, the length of the line of communication, the distance to bases and supply points-for all these reasons a war in India would serve no useful purpose for us, would be inglorious for the union, and what is worse would have no conclusion, that is to say, no peace, it is inconceivable that any
Portuguese government would one day be found to recognize the spoliation.

In another issue *Heraldo* wrote\textsuperscript{30}, "Indian Congress Party meeting at Gauhati passed a resolution reiterating its objective of integrating Goa into the Indian Union. The resolution is couched in language which is stock-in-trade of political propaganda and takes it for granted that the Goans want integration. In this context it is not difficult to see why the Congress is passing resolutions and why congressmen are specifying about the eventual annexation of Goa. Faced with a triple crisis, the ruling party finds itself in need of offering a sop to the disillusionment of the Indian people over their own independence. In more than ten years of uninterrupted rule, the Congress has failed to deliver the goods. The people are disappointed over the internal situation. The opposition is clamorous. In such circumstances, the classical method of entertaining the discontented masses is to divert their attention to an external problem. The Congress Party needs the cause of Goa to remain in power, while the opposition needs it to belabor the Congress and come into power. Thus, the case of Goa has become a Peron in the game of Indian politics."

*Heraldo* published many rhetoric accusations against India and condemned it as the promoter of terrorism. It wrote\textsuperscript{31}, "Indirect aggression consists in inciting nationals of another country and providing them with the means to subvert the established order in the interest of a foreign power. Being thus disguised as an internal rebellion, indirect aggression escapes
the censure of the United Nations while the purpose it serves is the same as would be achieved by open warfare... The so-called "case of Goa" is a good instance in point.... the Indian Prime Minister cannot resort to open unprovoked aggression against Portugal. Hence the tactics of setting up and loudly advertising a few Goans—some long since established in the Indian Union, others fleeing from Justice for ordinary crimes—as leaders of an anti Portuguese movement. Thus, when the Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were invaded in 1954 by armed men proceeding from the Indian Union, the world was asked to believe that the attacks were carried out by Goans. Similarly, in August 1954, Indian propaganda made frantic efforts to advertise a "satyagraha" march of 10,000 Goans: the plan was to send Indians across the border, but when foreign journalists arrived to witness the show, the Indians had to be kept off and not more than 50 Goans, mostly jobless emigrants could be persuaded to cross the frontier. In 1955, out of over 5000 pseudo-satyagrahis, who tried to penetrate into the Portuguese territory, not a single one was a Goan. Thereafter the Indian Union tried to promote terrorism in Goa by sending men and explosives across the border or by attacking frontier posts under cover of darkness."

*Heraldo* often wrote about Indian Imperialism and was always critical of India's role in Kashmir. "Leaders, who are familiar with the methods adopted by Indian imperialism against Portuguese India, will not fail to notice how closely alike they are to those adopted against Kashmir. In other words, Indian imperialism is rampant on the subcontinent now trying to subdue the people of Kashmir, now the people of Portuguese
India. It has already subdued the people of Junagadh, Manavadar, Hyderabad and French India.\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Heraldo} also talked about the unfriendly Indian attitude, the transport restrictions and economic blockade of Goa by India.\textsuperscript{33} "Hoping to drive the Goan emigrants in the Indian Union to despair, Indian Government cut them off from their homeland, from their wives, children and parents and prevented them from sending money to their dependents in Goa ...Three years of cruel harassment of Goans, however, convinced the imperialists of New Delhi of the futility of that policy".

\textit{Heraldo} wrote\textsuperscript{34} in a derisive language about the decision taken by the National Congress (Goa), established in Bombay, to stop "satyagraha" against Goa. "The decision of the "National Congress (Goa)" coming as it does at this late stage, can therefore be no more than a propaganda stunt. The "National Congress (Goa)" and other anti Goa organizations, set up in the Indian Union, have long since been carrying on terrorist activities in Goa and Damao in lieu of the so-called "satyagraha"."

\textit{A Vida} almost kept itself away from taking a stand either for or against the freedom movement and in fact did not have many references to India. Matters dealt with therein included more general topics such as age, employment, \textit{communidades}, education and religious matters. Politics, or counter propaganda against India's policy i.e. merger of Goa with the Indian Union did not occupy much space. It neither lauded nor condemned
India’s position, and as in all cases the matter was cleared by press censorship.

But Heraldo became, as it were, a mouthpiece of the Portuguese government to condemn India and to convince Goans that their interest would be best served by remaining with the Portuguese government. In an editorial it wrote 35: “The traditionally intimate demographic, economic and financial intercourse between the Metropolis and Portuguese India has been steadily increasing in recent years. If the situation created by the Indian Union has brought more metropolitans to Goa, most of these receive their pay from the Metropolitan Treasury and spend at least a large part of it in Goa—and an undoubted help to local trade. Apart from this, the number of Goan officials in the metropolis and other Overseas Provinces far exceeds the number of metropolitan officials who receive their salaries from the Goa Treasury; and the amount of the salaries is far less than those drawn by the Goan officials in other Portuguese lands.” It enumerated the projects completed and planned by the Portuguese government for the welfare of Goa and how it was spending huge amount on different schemes. It wrote that the overseas ministry donated cold storage chambers, launchers, fishing tackle, etc. and gave large financial aid to the last Development Plan: “These are only a few of the facts worth knowing. They reveal beyond a shadow of doubt that Goa is not a case of economic and financial colonialism, since it is Goa that draws substantially upon the Metropolitan Treasury… Today, thanks to Salazar, the Metropolis is
financially strong, and, having the wherewithal, it gives generously without so much as bothering to announce its bounty."

_Heraldo_ often quoted from Indian newspapers to justify its claims that conditions in India were not good either in terms of literacy, financial condition, democracy, housing problem in Bombay, dependence on foreign loans, the food situation, the lack of leadership, Communist successes, violence and crime, riots over linguistic redistribution of the states, the agitation over language issues communal riots, inflation and apathy of the people. The papers quoted included _The Examiner of Bombay_ (a Bombay Catholic Weekly) and _The Times of India_. Apart from conveying to Goans the dark picture of India, _Heraldo_ was also planting fears of religious insecurity in the minds of the Goans if it were to be integrated into India. Highlighting some anti-catholic demonstrations in India in an editorial it argued that the Church was in danger in the Indian Union.

**Towards Liberation**

As the years passed the tension between the Governments of India and Portugal mounted and there was increasing irritability between the two as well as the nationalists on both sides of the border. This was reflected in the Press.

_Heraldo_ blamed India for this and published the following under the byline of Phoedrus saying that the graph of tension over Goa was a
function of New Delhi, "The graph began to rise in February, 1954, when
the press in Bombay received orders to publish front page dispatches with
startling headlines, about supposed anti Portuguese disturbances in Goa.
The dispatches were shown as sent from Goa. The first propaganda blast of
the Times of India, on 11 February 1954, gave colorful details about a
meeting of 2000 people, said to have been held in the small fishing village
of Chapora. Those 2000 people were supposed to have taken an oath to
offer "Satyagraha" against Portugal. Actually nothing at all had happened!
The dispatches, it may be added, continued as long as the Indian consulate
was in Goa. Then they ceased!"

The paper squarely blamed Indian government for what it called
the terrorism against Goa. It wrote: "August 1954 to August 1955 was the
period of the so-called "satyagraha marches". They came from the Indian
Union, made up by Indians and led by Indians. The Indian Government,
while ostensibly disclaiming responsibility gave the "satyagrahis" all
couragement, even to the extent of threatening Portugal with "dire
consequences" in case the so-called "peaceful invaders" were interfered
with. The climax came on 15 August 1955, when over 5000 Indians tried
to cross into Portuguese India. Portugal dealt with them in keeping with
international law. The frustrated invaders demanded from Mr. Nehru the
"dire consequences" which he had promised, and created an unprecedented
pandemonium in Bombay. The Indian government called off the
"Satyagraha" marchers, which accordingly ceased. The intelligent student
of the "case of Goa" will not fail to draw his conclusions from these facts.
Then came the phase of terrorism. The "Azad Gomantak Dal" and the "National Congress (Goa)"-with headquarters in the Indian Union, as we saw above-became the protagonists of this movement. Terrorists crossing into Goa had the protection of the Indian frontier police who actively aided their "Goa Liberation work". The terrorists attacked frontier outposts and, when chased away, fled back into the Indian Union. Indian propaganda reported their activities as heroic exploits of "underground Goan nationalists"-even to the extent of giving as facts purposes which were frustrated by the timely action of the Goa police. From the above brief outline of the tension over the "case of Goa"-based on facts which cannot be contested-it may be seen that the graph of tension rose and fell according as the Indian government decided to step up or call off the anti Portuguese campaign, whether false propaganda, "satyagraha" or terrorism, all carried out from the Indian Union and advertised to the world as activities of Goans.

For effect, the Indian Government has hired a few persons of Goan origin-most of them Indian nationals living in Bombay. But there could be no better evidence of the Indian government's hand than the fact that those hirelings as well as the Indian politicians insist that the case of Goa cannot be "solved ", unless the Indian Government adopts more "positive" measures, they mean armed action, which the Indian government is reluctant to take both because of its own precarious internal situation and because it wants to keep up its appearance of pacifism. In other words: "the
case of Goa "is a function of the Indian government's will, not of the will of the Goan people."

_Heraldo_ frequently covered also the Dadra and Nagar Haveli controversy. It was very prompt in reporting, and commenting upon, what was happening in India. It reported that the parliamentary secretary for external affairs Sadat Ali Khan revealed that the Indian Union has decided to sanction a "limited trade" with Goa from April. Lisbon and New Delhi severed diplomatic relations in 1954, and since then, there had not practically been any commerce between Indian Union and the State of Portuguese India. It wrote that the decision to restore the trade was the last action the Government of India which was involved in a policy of making the economic blockade of Goa progressively soft. 'In regard to offering us the gift of lifting the restrictions about the commerce no one is unaware that this measure is not taken on account of love for us, but because these restrictions brought in insurmountable losses to the Indian commerce above all in surrounding border areas. Their pitiless blockade failed squarely - we shall return to this subject as soon as the space allows it to us - as it leaves scope for continuation.'

_Heraldo_ analyzed every statement of the Indian leaders relating to Goa. In the name of Phoedrus, an article examined whether Goa could survive as an autonomous state. "Would full autonomy be a solution for the so-called "case of Goa"? We wish to face this question squarely, because the idea of full autonomy for Goa is being canvassed in Bombay by
the agents of Indian propaganda. What is meant by full autonomy? Surely not administrative decentralization which Goa enjoys already subject only to the fundamental unity of the nation and solidarity among all its past. What Indian propaganda means by full autonomy is obviously Dominion status with the right to secede from the Portuguese Republic. Can Goans accept this proposition? In theory, Goans, as citizens of dominion would be full masters of their future—they and they alone would be able to decide whether to continue as a Dominion of Portugal or to become an independent nation or to merge with the Indian Union. However, all this is mere theory.”

The editorials and other articles in the Heraldo consistently argued against Goa being separated from Portugal. The same article cited above wrote: "An independent Goa is a utopia. It is just not feasible without outside economic aid. From whom? Moreover, what guarantee would there be of aid without strings? The ultimate controller of Goa would be not Goans but some outside power holding the purse strings - independence would be a mockery-a slavery.

The other alternative of a dominion with the right to secede from Portugal would not be feasible either. When Portugal considers Goa as an integral part of the nation on the basis of equal footing with any metropolitan province, it makes no sense to ask Portugal to give Goa the lower status of a Dominion. Moreover, Portugal cannot logically accept such a proposition to the detriment of its unitary structure. Colony may be converted into a Dominion; a province may not. Portugal has always
regarded Goa as an integral part of the nation... Dominion with the right of secession from Portugal, can have only one result: the Indian Union would contrive by means of bribes, blockades, satyagrahas and other known pressure tactics to force Goans to exercise the right of secession in her favour, that this, in favor of merger, with the Indian Union.”

The article referred to above warned Goans that they should not fall in the Indian trap and that they would lose their identity in case of Goa’s merger into India. It wrote: “The so-called full autonomy for Goa, canvassed by Indian propaganda with the help of its usual cat’s paws, is nothing more than a trap set for Goans. Full autonomy would mean absorption of Goa by the Indian Union by two stages. The direct merger stunt having failed, the Indian Union is inclined to try the indirect method. But the ultimate aim is unchanged, namely, absorption of Goa. Which means liquidation of Goans as a community because the Goans cannot hope to survive as a community once they are dissolved in the flood of 370,000,000 Indians.”

The paper quoted what Nehru and other Indian leaders uttered about Goa whether in or out of Parliament. It wrote: “The Indian leaders have never ceased to demand the merger of Goa. In fact, no other option has been so much as mentioned, in the Indian Parliament—not even by Mr. Nehru. Yet, speaking to Goans on June 4, 1956, Mr. Nehru said that he would be satisfied with "Goa minus the Portuguese". This is what Mr. Nehru said to Goans, as if trying to stimulate an ambition to form an
independent Goan nation. But the same Mr. Nehru speaks a different language in the Indian Parliament and in the all India Congress sessions. What does it show? It shows that Mr. Nehru is trying to lead Goans into a trap. "Goa minus the Portuguese" means Goa exposed to all the wiles and tricks of the Indian Union. If the Portuguese flag should be removed from Goa, the Goans would be just pawns in the Indian game-helpless before the dictates of Indian imperialism."

As the year 1961 unfolded, the nervous tension over Goa was visible in the press on both sides of the border. The press reported on the actions and speeches and comments of the leaders involved in the "case of Goa" and also generally supported their respective Governments. Propaganda through the press and by the press continued to grow shrill as the year passed. Heraldo wrote 39, "The Indian press certainly inspired by the government has been insisting each time in a more forceful language, that the military action should be undertaken against Goa. And the Indian leaders, instead of as it should be their duty, opposing, have contributed to sustaining the tension, and are trying to encourage and divulge which they are aware, are not based on facts or realities.....The Indian Government calls itself a great defendant of UN Charter. I believe, the use of military forces is not the means foreseen by the charter to solve any disagreement that may lie between points of view of the various governments. The government of India affirms that it is pursuing a peaceful policy and solely through peaceful methods. On this point I do not deem that the belligerent attitudes assumed by it may reconcile with such policy.
The Indian government declared repeatedly that it has always abided by the decisions of international organizations. In this line of thinking we hope that the government will abide by the decision of International Court of Justice dated 12-4-1960, which was favorable to Portugal, in regard to the issue of Portuguese territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The Indian government proclaims itself defendant of self-determination and people's independence. We feel that the annexation of Goa by Indian government does not conform with those lofty concepts and it would be no more than a violation of the charter of UN and the principles of morals and international conduct. Above all the Indian Government proclaims that people's desires should be fully respected. Now, the inhabitants of Goa have demonstrated through centuries, their determination that they are and will remain as Portuguese—that the prime minister himself affirmed on 6th September 1955, that he would not tolerate the Portuguese in Goa even though the Goans desired their permanence.”

Heraldo kept a vigilant eye on what was happening about Goa at different fora in or out of India and commented upon the same. On December 8, citing reports from Lisbon it wrote,40 “Reports coming from various sources have been received in the last days and according to these reports—the Indian Union must be preparing for an aggressive action against Goa. Indian warships have been moving at Goan ports and military forces have concentrated in the areas adjoining Goa borders.” On December 10, 1961, Heraldo reported,41 “A complaint made by Portugal was put
before the Security Council of UN against Indian Union which intends to annex Goa Daman and Diu forcibly what amounts to a threat to peace and safety. An official note from overseas ministry was received by us as follows "the organs of information, dependent on the government of India, have launched a campaign which is aimed at confounding international public opinion, regarding aggressive policy which was adopted by that government towards the Portuguese State of India."

The *Heraldo* rebutted the reports published in Indian newspapers that Portuguese troops are authorized to shoot down anyone who contravenes the hour of returning home; that Portuguese soldiers crossed the border of the Indian Union and fired shots against its population, that churches in Goa and Diu are used as police stations; that Portuguese frigates with thousands of persons on board are anchored at a distance from Daman and so onwards. It wrote that there is perfect unity among the Portuguese, and that there has been no aggressive act on their part in provoking the Indian Union. "As against this, our territory has been illegally over flown by planes, which have yet remained unidentified, and concentration of troops and tanks are taking place near our border. At the same time, warships of Indian union crossed on the limit of territorial waters of the Portuguese...Our authorities did not reply to any provocations but it is necessary to realize that this situation can involve serious consequences."
Heraldo on 10th December 1961 published an official communiqué from the armed forces-headquarters sent by the Information department of the State of Portuguese India, "It is informed that on 7th, 8th, and 9th December, fire was opened from the Indian Territory near the border outposts of Patradevi, Focupato and Polem. There were no casualties on our side, the garrison is maintaining the fullest calmness and not counter firing. On the night of 8-9 one military vehicle was damaged by a trap which was laid on a road and one of the occupants was seriously injured."

Martires Lopes in a long article in Heraldo criticized the policies of Nehru. He wrote, "At the start of the so-called "Goa case" Mr. Nehru declared saintly that the movement of liberation of Goa Daman and Diu should start from within, not from outside for expressing sovereign wish of the people. The Goans inside as well as outside have shown eloquently, through its press, and in large-scale gatherings in all the talukas, their unconditional loyalty to Portuguese sovereignty. The Indian Prime Minister turned furious like a lion, and did not conceal his bad temper feeling sorry that one of his Goan adherents declared that economic blockade was motivated as a reprisal against press policy and popular gatherings in Goa. When the crime at Dadra was committed Mr. Nehru washed his hands off, affirming in open parliament that he came to know about the case through the press. Time, acts and facts came to reveal however that it was an ambush, cowardly prepared to their ends which cannot be confessed. And his mask fell down when in one stroke defying the verdict of the international court he sought to annex to his territory what
others had stolen. On the other hand, he said in the Indian Parliament that he would not permit the "satyagrahis" to enter Portuguese territories of India; months later on, the same Nehru said in the same Parliament that he could not prevent Indians from invading our territory. Mr. Nehru proclaimed to the world his political ideology of Panchashila that is the five principles of peaceful coexistence; in the meanwhile, the world saw that the same master encouraged terrorist acts in the border outposts of our territory and even the involvement of Indian police. Mr. Nehru, right from the beginning of his crusade, declared that he would never use force for absorbing the Portuguese parcels of India, and yet...declared that he would not exclude the idea of taking over Goa Daman and Diu on the strength of arms. Where does coherence lie Mr. Nehru?"............

The article went on to refute the charges levelled in the press and in the Indian Parliament against the Portuguese government in Goa and stated that Portugal did not derive any material interest not even one paisa, on the contrary, it was spending large amounts, with the sole objective of seeing that India Portuguesa was progressive in the fullness of its aspirations, that the administration of the land was handed over to the sons of the soil. It also enumerated beneficial measures adopted by the Government in Goa. After giving rosy picture of the Portuguese government, the article described the poor conditions in India. "But if an impartial observer crossed the border of Goa, Daman and Diu, he would witness a depressing image in the Indian Union of Mr. Nehru, where the majority of the people do not have a level of life befitting human dignity.
There is neither shelter nor habitation where one can feel the atmosphere of a home. They are leading a fluctuating life, at the mercy of everything and everybody, sleeping in the fields, or in the jungle, where the wild beast poke their human flesh on the foot paths from where the police picks up early morning dead bodies for the morgue.” The write-up went on and on to paint a very dark picture of Indian conditions and concluded that “This means that only 13% of the urban population drinks potable water; the rest from pools from dirty streams of the rivers and here the backward situation of Nehru's country can be conceived.”

The article went on to say that Goa was inalienable from Portugal and that no power could disturb the Portuguese empire. “In the face of this image so clearly differentiated neither the explosive politics in the UNO nor the weapons of Mr. Nehru nor the barbarian preachers in Africa shall be capable of breaking up the Portuguese world, which wearing the impenetrable shield of its spirituality will know how to face the attacks of the enemy however powerful may he be.”

The Goans believed that St. Francis Xavier was a protector of Goa and had saved the State earlier from an attack by the Maratha ruler, Sambhaji, when Goa was in a vulnerable position. The people of Goa once again put the fate of the land in the hands of the saint when large number of people as reported by *Heraldo* went to Old Goa. The daily reported, “Once again as in all serious and threatening occasions we are journeying to the feet of the Saint, to pray for his valuable protection for the peace and
calm in this land of which he made himself the defendant. We shall go on 14th instant, Thursday, at 5.30 dawn, from the Matrix church at Panjim square and there will be mass at the saint's tomb at 8 o'clock. Only a humble and a penitent heart is acceptable before God and hence before the Saint. We are going repenting our faults and trusting in the great importance of the Saint, who remained in Goa to protect and defend us."

On the 14th of December, the Heraldo reported46 "The threats and provocations are stirring up the "war of the nerves" and creating a tense climate.

Vasco Garin handed over to the Security Council of the UNO a letter in which he conveyed that the Portuguese Government has obtained confirmation that Indian Union admits the eventual annexation of the state of India. Important movements of naval units near the territorial waters of Goa were noticed. The assault plan, the letter says, would comprise an action by five frigates, the cruiser "Mysore", and the aircraft carrier "Vikrant". Air strikes are foreseen. The Defense Minister said on 7th instant that Air Force was alerted gathering five squadrons. Trains were requisitioned for transporting troops to Goan borders and big columns of troops are found, their men totaling 30,000. The letter describes next the violations of air space and tells that the merchant ship carrying goods and passengers on its way to Goa was overflown by an Indian military plane. The Liberation Movement of Goa, decided to launch terrorist operations in the Portuguese State of India and ordered 500 commandos to sabotage all that is possible for them, so was declared at Belgaum city 15 km from Goa
border, by an informer of that movement. As per the statement, which was read by those informed, it was decided to start sabotage activities in order to prevent in Goa a genocide of Angolan type. According to the same statement the decision to launch terrorist assaults was taken on last Sunday, by the leaders of the Liberation Movement.”

Almost the whole of page 1 of Heraldo contained reports related to the impending threat to Goa. One can feel the sense of anticipation through the columns of the paper. On December 15, 1961, Heraldo reported, “Goa prayed on knees before the holy relics of its protector and defendant Saint, begging for peace. Yesterday at dawn countless faithful walked up to the Basilica de Bom Jesus in pilgrimage chanting and paying to beg the protector saint and defender of Goa St. Francis Xavier, peace to this land, which is threatened by Indian Union. Those included his Excellency the Governor General, Vassalo e Silva, His revered Excellency the Patriarch, Dom Jose Vieira Alvernaz, high official entities of big business and industry and vast number of people.” The paper gave details of this pilgrimage in one and a half columns. Almost full page was devoted to the Indian threat and war preparations by India.

In the same issue of Heraldo it was reported, “During dawn yesterday the following events took place- A terrorist group attempted to attack a police station at Margao but was repelled. The Indian Union forces stationed at Araundem fired in the direction of the river which separates that territory from ours, near Quiranpanim. Blasts of shots were fired and
red rock was seen near Polem post. One Indian plane over flew at low height from the ship "Lurio". Five jet planes arriving from the sea overflow Goa territory. Replying to some questions from journalists about the action which the Government intends to take in the case of an attack by Indian Union, the Governor General, Vassalo e Silva said, "we shall fight with all our strength, clearly aware of disproportionate numbers, recollecting the famous phrase of Francis I in the battle of Pavio: ‘We may lose all, except the honour, and this honour is Goa continuing to be Portuguese.’" 49

Heraldo reported England’s stand as it was reported by the BBC, 50 “At the last hour (BBC at 18:30 hours) England holds that it is committed to abide by the treaties to support Portugal in the event of an attack by India against Goa. Foreign office declared yesterday that it is accepting any Portuguese proposal so as to send impartial observers. It said further that the threat of possibilities on the part of Indian union against Goa, caused high apprehension in London. The Portuguese Ambassador at Saint James, met Lord of the Privy Council to discuss the topic. England hopes that tension between Portugal and India may not aggravate, both parties refraining themselves from any provocation.”

Heraldo reported on the increasing skirmishes and build up of tensions based on BBC, Voice of America and All India Radio broadcasts. It wrote 51, “An attack against Goa will be a great shock to the world and will bring in most serious consequences, declared state secretary for commonwealth Duncan Sandys. The British and American governments through their ambassadors in India brought to the notice of the Indian
union, their apprehension as to the use of arms against Goa. England he added is united with Portugal by various treaties since 1373, but its intervention will arise only in the case of an armed conflict and it is not committed in regard to hostilities, which may occur against India. The British government hopes-official sources reveal, that India will not take recourse to arms, and gave the impression that requested Portugal to avoid any gesture, which may be interpreted as a provocation. BBC correspondent in New Delhi informed that the British High Commissioner and the American Ambassador brought to the notice of Indian government apprehensions of their respective governments in regard to the use of arms against Goa.

In the meanwhile, in New Delhi texts were published in regard to replies to the letter of the Portuguese government, sent to the president of the Security Council, concerning violations of Portuguese territorial waters on Goan coasts by Indian Naval units and aerial space by Indian planes. India rejected allegations of protest by Portuguese Government saying that it seeks to cover its "aggressive maneuvers" in Goa ridiculing them as "malicious and baseless".

On the contrary, "Portuguese planes have flown provocatively over Indian Territory-it is alleged in India's reply that the Portuguese have made belligerent preparations, bringing in large reinforcements. The Indian government, the reply says further, has taken serious note of the firing by Portuguese soldiers, against a merchant ship and repeatedly and openly
fired like skirmishes. Any consequence that may arise shall be entirely Portuguese responsibility.”

It is clear from these reports that the local papers definitely reflected the growing anticipation of action from India after its independence in “the case of Goa”. While some papers as referred above were sympathetic towards liberation movement but could not come openly in its support under the prevailing circumstances and a few others were non-committal perhaps for the same reasons; papers like Heraldo chose to react with sycophantic pro-Portuguese propaganda. Heraldo consistently persisted in its vituperative attack on Government of India and its policies towards ‘Goa Issue’ and called those involved in the liberation movement ‘Indian agents’ and ‘terrorists’. It continued publishing in exaggerated form darker side of India describing how Indians in general and Goans in India in particular were suffering under poverty. At the same time it never failed in showering praises on Portuguese government in Goa. The Press was silent when the curtain fell on December 19, 1961.

**Reaction to Liberation:**

Most papers welcomed the military action after the Portuguese surrender. *A Vida* exulted on the liberation of Goa and reflected the general mood of the people who rejoiced at the termination of the Portuguese rule over Goa. The following editorial is an example of its
stance. ...."All the Portuguese lineage and vanity, pride, down the four and half centuries which had been exacerbated in these last years collapsed within less than 24 hours. The discouraging lapse of time which they (some people) were whiling away in Vasco de Gama would lead them to look into their own hearts and beating their own contracted chests. On the other hand from the north to the south of Goa often heaving a sigh of relief, the Goan population indulges in merry-making to celebrate the victory. It is the triumph of right over abuse of power, human dignity, inequity and barbarism painted in white color. It is this victory that is being celebrated peacefully in spontaneous manifestations of enthusiasm and joy of the old and the young boys and girls. It seems that from nature itself up to their souls of men was gained a new life. Multitudes of people join happily in comradeship and brotherhood in the squares of cities and towns; jubilant groups of people, moving in cars and Jeeps and pedestrians track in train the roads of cities and villages. Small boys and girls, students of private schools are organizing marching in procession all of which is far fetched from staging parades forcibly under orders of those in power to do so and transportation in carriers provided by regedores (the village administrative authority) and police stations.

But what we are now face to face with is not these physical ruins only, which are calculated as the damages consequent upon Portuguese domination. More serious are the economic ruinations, the moral depressions, and social injuries. In a few lines it is possible to summarise the line of action, which is imminent. In the economic field we were
victims of a sort of politics which were an absorption which was centered only in the interests of Portugal and the bureaucracy at the service of Portugal and to the service of the land, lastly, this economic war against the people of Goa was centralized in the conduct of Board of External Trade, coupled with economic theories which were eccentric and propagated in the Information Bulletins. Also the taxation policy, which weighed down with all brunt on a defenseless population was based on an immoral doctrine, which was not possible to combat because the press censorship would not allow it. The multi-secular ruination of Agricultural Communities and all our old social organizations as well as of the Governance are the more obvious symptoms of the damages which have been caused in the course of centuries as a result of the conquest by Albuquerque.

The Portuguese Government was through centuries exploiting alcoholism. As said by Roque Correia Afonso the entire country was transformed into a “licensed tavern”. The Portuguese Government had no scruples in undermining the health and morals of the people for no other interests than accrual of their incomes. The illiteracy revealed that our country was among the worst world indices. The new system of primary education initiated four years ago and implemented in an unique incompetence came to worsen the situation mainly because of the quite wrong pedagogic doctrine on which it was based. Its aim was to teach the Portuguese language, the disregard of regional languages was full. In moral and civic spheres imminent task is among the more grave and serious. The Portuguese turned us into a boneless people. Servile obeisance was
instituted as a ruinous grass among the most ruinous qualities. Restoring the civic temper of our people is one of the most urgent problems faced by the country. Just by contemplating it, this hour of our civic victory turns sour. The Police instead of a body for protection of the people and properties had become a means of harassment and intimidation; it had caused destruction in the morale of the people and its sense of discipline, the bureaucracy and the police have been up to now the more undisciplined because of abuse of power."

_A Vida_ not only expressed and reflected public jubilation over Indian victory but also offered its pages to the Indian army for conveying messages to the people and authorities necessary to maintain peace and order. It wrote,\(^{53}\) "The events dropped on us in a fantastic hurry. The surprising rapidity of the Indian army's advance, the immediate collapse of the of opposition from the Portuguese troops resulted in the situation that the last 36 hours became an occasion for festive rejoicing all over Goa. The Portuguese are disarmed, expelled from the position of predominance that they have been occupying for the last four and half centuries. The Indian Army saved the population of Goa from the approaching catastrophic situation. A delay of a mere 24 hours could have resulted in complete chaos through the break down of the administrative machinery. Great are therefore our reasons for gratitude towards the Indian troops. No less deep are the reasons why we owe them the most serious cooperation, in Goodwill. A sector in which the cooperation must be frank, prompt and effective - it is in the matter of the policing of our towns and villages, in
keeping watch over the possessions of the citizens and the public property. In no other sector did the chaos that followed the abandonment in which the fleeing Portuguese left us has been so great and so ominous.

Our columns are at the disposal of the authorities for intercommunication between them and the population. To begin with, the authorities wish to be made public that any help needed by families and individuals should be at once and without delay communicated to the police headquarters in Margao or to any police station in your neighborhood. There is however a sector in which street watch by persons of goodwill is required by the authorities. The Portuguese troops while abandoning their camps had left behind enormous quantity of ammunition, guns, pistols, jeeps, cars, typewriters, radio sets, cutlery, furniture, safes, crockery, stationery and a variety of other articles. In the wanton and indiscriminate blowing up of Quepem Bridge by the Portuguese, the roofs of all public buildings collapsed. That night the safe of the finance department was rifled by so far unknown thieves. The authorities therefore seriously warn those in possession of this military property that they must within the next eight days surrender the same to the police authorities and take a receipt from them. If such persons fail in surrendering such property voluntarily within the time limit prescribed, the military authorities would have to make a search of any of the suspected premises and the holders of such property will have to deliver it to the officer in charge and defender would be punished with a fine or imprisonment or both according to law. These are
the rules that the military authorities desire us to be made known to the public."

*Heraldo* appeared to vacillate between showing support for the new regime and continuing its support for the previous administration. It had been so vocal in its support of the previous Government that it appeared ridiculous when soon after liberation the paper began to applaud Nehru for the liberation of Goa writing that earlier the paper had to support the Portuguese because of the prevailing censorship. However, by January, 1962, the paper again showed its negative attitude towards the new system and its appreciation of the Portuguese regime in a number of articles. It questioned the motives of the new system while reminiscing fondly about the policies and life under the previous Government.

A retrospect into the historical process of the liberation movement in Goa while summing up the chapter reveals that many Portuguese language papers adopted an anti-Freedom stance, since they felt that the Goan way of life would be affected. The English weeklies especially the Bombay based Goa press like *Goan Tribune*, *Free Goa*, were pro-merger and anti-Portuguese. The *Heraldo* started by Antonio Maria de Cunha in 1908 fought for the emancipation of Goans but became a pro-Portuguese paper later under its editor Santa Rita Vaz, who after liberation of Goa went to Portugal. The *Heraldo* of 2nd April 1957 criticized Pandit Nehru’s speech in the Indian Parliament, where he mentioned the inevitable integration of Goa with the Indian Union. The editorial decried Nehru’s speech and
termed it as hollow, vain and arrogant. In the editorial of 26th June, 1957 titled 'The Fraudulent Indian Propaganda', Heraldo carried yet another criticism of the Indian government.

Due to censorship constraints, the newspapers within Goa were not able to satisfy the need of the readers for real news. The people tried to meet this need by buying papers published from outside Goa. However, the government imposed bans on their entry too. There were many papers published by Goans in Bombay and many of them upheld the cause of Goa’s liberation. The most aggressive of them in the beginning were Ressurge Goa (Wake Up Goa) of Telo Mascarenhas and Free Goa. Through the columns of Free Goa T. B. Cunha attacked the Church and the Portuguese administration for not granting freedom to the Goans. T. B. Cunha also started a Konkani newspaper Azad Goem. His book Denationalization of Goans was banned by the Portuguese government as he attacked the colonization and lusitanization of the Goans. The Goan Tribune at first edited by Aloysius Soares and later by Lambert Mascarenhas exposed the lie that Goa was a province of Portugal and Goans Portuguese. The fortnightly was circulated abroad and kept the international audience informed about the conditions prevailing in Goa.

The Goa Liberation Council was formed in 1954. The Goa Liberation Council did not adopt any particular ideology and was to be automatically disbanded as soon as the goal of liberation of Goa was achieved. The Goa Liberation Council upheld the cause of Goa’s liberation
by invoking the right of self-determination for the people of Goa. The Liberation Council was determined to throw Portugal out of Goa by counteracting the Portuguese propaganda on the internal front. This it did with a measure of success through the Goan Tribune, a fortnightly magazine, which came into existence following the formation of the liberation Council, with Mr. Aloysius Soares as its Editor-in-Chief. The Goan Tribune developed a wide readership both among Goans in India and abroad and reached Indian parliamentarians, important politicians, leading men in public life and influential international parliamentarians and statesmen. “In time the Goan Tribune became the mouthpiece of the entire Goan freedom movement and presented Goa's case internationally. Its coverage of leading events received acknowledgement from the press of many countries. The Angolan revolt was soon to blow-off the lid of Portugal's volcanic colonialism.”

The arrest of the leaders of the Civil Disobedience movement during 1946-47 created a lull in Goa and the centers of action shifted outside Goa. The movement again got momentum after the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954. The National Congress (Goa), Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti, the Azad Gomantak Dal, the Rancour Patriotica, the United Front of Goans, the Goan Peoples’ Party, the Goa Liberation Army and Quit Goa Organization adopted different methods including violence and engaged themselves in brave, risky and valiant fights to free Goa from the ruthless Portuguese rule. The publications of many of the parties set up to fight for Goa’s liberation gave voice to the wishes of
the people which would not be tolerated in the daily Press. The *Azad Gomantak Dal* (AGD) set up a secret printing press and the popular "*Jwala*" Bulletin was printed for wide circulation. The bulletin was published in three different languages and political matters, featured therein, often captured the imagination of the people. "The range of distribution machinery of the organization had spread right from Bicholim in the north to Canacona in the south." 57 Among the popular clandestine literature issued and distributed by "Quit Goa" were "*Jowala*" and "*Quit Goa*" a cyclostyled regular bulletin in Marathi, English, Konkani and Portuguese, edited by Janardan Shinkre. Another ingenious method used by "Quit Goa" was the prototype publication of the Portuguese daily "*Heraldo*" with nationalist messages and news which caught the credulous and many unsympathetic subscribers unaware. "Quit Goa" Organization, vowed to fight with every means the fascist Portuguese domination, carried out several armed raids inside Goa and succeeded in instilling fear into the unwilling police personnel and mercenaries of the Portuguese intelligence.

Meanwhile, Portugal became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in a joint statement Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, and Mr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister, stated that Goa was an overseas province of Portugal. The statement angered Indians, who condemned it. In the existing circumstances, they interpreted this statement as interference of NATO in India’s internal affairs. They feared that NATO’s colonial members such as Portugal would make use of the organization to cling to their colonies. India saw a new
danger in this regional defense pact. Indians thought that in any future world war, Goa would become a base of operation and any such step would drag India into that war. At the same time, Indian public had become restless and critical of the Government over the slow pace of freeing Goa. The Indian authorities could not ignore the wishes of the people for long. Ultimately, when the Portuguese resorted to shooting at Indian ships and fishing craft and trespassing into Indian territory in November 1961, the Government moved troops into Goa. In a swift action Indian troops entered Goa on 18th December 1961, and liberated Goa without much resistance from the Portuguese colonial Government on 19th December, 1961.

It is seen that the press had been quite alive to the movement for liberation of Goa having either a positive or negative stand towards it. While a few papers, like Avida, supported the movement, they were careful in not irritating the authorities under the circumstances and under the strict press regulations including censorship, and others kept up a non-committal stand. But the papers like Heraldo took a bold and clear anti-Indian and pro-Portuguese stand. Heraldo consistently continued its vituperative attack on everything Indian condemning government of India and its policies towards ‘Goa Issue’. It went on publishing stories to paint rosy picture of the functioning of the Portuguese Govt. in Goa. Its negative attack on India and positive praises of the Portuguese had only one motive of arousing public mind against the liberation movement and continuation of the Portuguese rule which it considered best in the interest of Goa. It called the liberation movement ‘terrorism’ and those talking of it ‘Indian
agents' 'terrorists' 'hirelings' of 'Indian Imperialism'. Its editorials and other articles aimed at arousing public sentiments including religious, communal and regional feelings against any thought of 'liberating' Goa and its 'usurpation' by India. It published day-to-day happenings in India and elsewhere concerning 'Goa Issue' and conveyed to its readers that Indian Imperialism and its 'Goan stooges' will never succeed in breaking the unbreakable bond that existed for more than four centuries between Portugal and Goa.
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26 'The Tactics of Bluff', *Heraldo*, August 19, 1957, p. 1


29 'Too Big a Pill', *Heraldo*, September 23, 1957, p. 1


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37 'Not on account of love for us', *Heraldo*, March 5, 1961, p. 1


39 *Heraldo*, 7-12-61, p. 1

40 *Heraldo*, December 8, 1961, p. 1

41 *Heraldo*, December 10, 1961, p. 1

42 *Heraldo* got this information from Voice of America, BBC and All India Radio. *Heraldo* and many other papers of Goa freely quoted from and based their comments on reports appearing in Times of India, Voice of America, BBC and All India Radio.

43 *Heraldo* December 10, 1961, p. 1

A retrospect into the history of the press in Goa reveals that the press was alive to various issues that affected Goan life, society, culture, religion, or body politic from time to time. Apart from the editorials, several contributing writers got their articles published in periodicals, newspapers or booklets etc. that highlighted matters of public concern. A critical reading of these published materials shows that more often than not the relevant issues were presented and discussed by the editors and writers with a particular purpose of public opinion formation, public awakening or for influencing the government and its authorities in favour of, or against, the subject matter of the write-up. It is found that the press gave equal importance to the writers expressing for and against the matter of controversy. The issues like emigration, education, government policies, problems of women, food, price rise, conversion and reconversions of people and many such issues got adequate coverage by the press and it would be worthwhile to present here how the press dealt with some of them.

**Emigration**

Emigration has been a part of Goan life for centuries. The outward movement of the population was due to a number of factors but