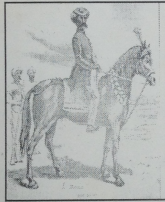


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Goan Struggles & Sacrifices to Freedom

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Editor's Note

The Portuguese occupation of Goa far from trade had a crusading element. Their religious policies did not allow them to expand. It took 277 years to occupy hinterland areas after their occupation in 1510 CE. The revolt of the people of five villages in Salcette in 16th Century is Asia's first revolt against a European power.

In 1654, Bishop Matheus de Castro (Mahale) from Divar, who was ordained priest in Rome in 1630 had invited Adil Shah and the Dutch to liberate Goa. It is also argued that King Shivaji had a striking distance to oust Portuguese, but he retained them to extract arms and ammunition which was used against the Moghul in North India. Interestingly, Tipu Sultan had supported the rebellion of the locals against Portuguese in 1788.

Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, a Congress worker, a revolutionary, who later laid the foundation of Rashtriya Swamsevak Sangh in 1925 was in close touch with freedom fighters like Dada Vaidya in Goa. They had planned to lift the supply of arms and ammunition from English ship strayed in Arabian Sea. The Western nations remained silent on Satyagraha in mid-1950s to liberate Goa, whereas premier Bulganin supported it. Pakistani leader H. S. Surhawardy was invited to Goa by Portuguese government to draw the international mileage at the fag end of the colonial rule.

Nonetheless, the Goan freedom struggle indirectly encouraged the first War of Independence in 1857. The historians have had been partial to this unique freedom struggle of the 'Gaokaries' or village republics unparalleled in the colonial history of the world.

GOAN STRUGGLES AND SACRIFICES TO FREEDOM

By Flaviano Piedade Francis Dias

(The author is a freedom fighter and journalist based in Goa)

“But for its three obstinacies Portugal would not have been a nation—political obstinacy, of D. Afonso Henriques; Maritime obstinacy of Infant D. Henriques and Literary obstinacy of Louis De Camoes”, —British Statesman, Austin Chamberlin.

“The frantic struggle of the Portuguese to find a sea route to reach India is said to be for the trade. But the important part of the struggle had a crusading element. And therefore if this struggle had not received blessing of the Catholic Church, it could have been called a mere piracy”, —British Historian, M. Collis.

“Only Nationalism can take us out of this intolerable position, out of this fictitious atmosphere, the consequences of the abject subjection into which we have fallen and give us a stable and natural basis for a new culture”,---Tristao de Braganza Cunha.

Probably no where in the world people living in a tiny territory of a country like Goa, had to struggle and sacrifice for centuries for their rights, liberties and freedom from the colonial rule of a European power.

The Goan struggles began the day the Portuguese entered the territory and occupied the City of Goa, in the name of their king in Europe, in the year 1510. For the next four and half centuries, the Portuguese faced resistance and struggles in different forms.

These struggles include: 1) The continuous retaliations by local rulers to stop the Portuguese attempts to control the Indian Ocean and to occupy main points on the West Coast of India to control the trade. 2) Asia's first revolt was by the people of five villages of Salcette, in the southern part of this territory in the 16th century. 3) Repeated revolts by dispossessed local chiefs. 4) Mutinies or attempts at rebellions by the armed forces. 5) Awakening amongst the Catholic converts including priests 6) The struggles for democratic rights and home rule 7) The entry of Goan Hindus into the public life and struggles following declaration of the Republic in Portugal. 8) The struggles for civil liberties on Gandhian principles. 9) The revolutionary armed actions for freedom. 10) Support by Indian political parties and people in mass Satyagraha. 11) Support from Afro-Asian colonial leaders and the Communist Party of Portugal (CPP) in Portugal and finally; 12) The Indian Government's Army Action to liberate Goa from the fascist forces, bowing to the Indian public opinion and the demand of the leaders from Afro-Asian colonial leaders.

In the following paragraphs, I have taken up the events chronologically, date-wise, to bring before the readers the happenings that took place in each period. They may be looked at in the categories shown above.

THE INVASION BY THE SEA

Unlike earlier invasions on India from northern Himalayan mountain passes, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to enter India by the sea, for 'trade and to search Christians' (as Vasco Da Gama told people on reaching India). Their 'search' led them to stay on to capture important centers to control the sea trade and to spread the Roman Catholicism, as directed by the Pope.

When the Portuguese entered the Indian history, Adil Shah, a Muslim Sardar of Bijapur ruled Goa. Taking advantage of the

people's hatred against the Muslim ruler, Afonso de Albuquerque took help and support of Timmaya (Timmoja) Naik and captured the Goa City. He promised to hand over the territory to Timmaya and to protect Hindus against the Moors. But the territory was not given to Timmaya. Hindus were initially humored for some time.

India has a long history of invasions. In the Hindu India, the Islamic Conquests began from the year 962 in the northern. But in the Deccan, the Mohammedan State was set up by the Bahamanis (1347-1527) which later split into five kingdoms, the largest being that of the Adilshahi of Bijapur. Both these dynasties ruled Goa, Bahamanis from around 1248 to 1369 and again from 1472 and 1498. The Adilshahis ruled from around 1498 to the Portuguese conquest of 1510. The Hindu Raja of Vijayanagar ruled Goa from 1378 to 1470.

COLONIALISM & GOAN VILLAGE REPUBLICS

Basically the history of India is the history of the people following 'Varna and Jatis' and developing forms of Hinduism. At settlement levels 'village republics' or 'Gram Swaraj Samstha' governed people. The Greek historians, who came to India with Alexander, have written about these 'republics' and the fight 'Alexander the Great' (as western historians called him) had with these individual village republics, in addition to the ruler, King Pores.

The Kshatriyas in these village republics guarded the borders, the people, temples and other places of worship. Kautilya's Artashastra, written in the Fifth century, also mentions about the Gram Swaraj Samstha. The rulers changed but the Gram Samstha remained.

In Goa these village republics were known as 'Gaukari'. The Portuguese renamed them as 'Comunidades' as they knew of similar primitive societies before feudalism in Europe. These

Gaukaris were controlled by different castes of original settlers, in different villages. Even after conversion to the Roman Catholicism, the Gaukari institutions continued with their ‘varna-jati’ (castes). In fact the Portuguese and Missionaries took advantage of the Varna and Comunidade system to collect revenues to the Government and the Church.

The Portuguese believed that the ‘Chatur-Varna’ or the caste system was a sort of class system that existed in feudal Europe. They named the system as ‘casta’ and the word ‘Caste’ came into English language to denote the Indian Varna-Jati system. They took advantage of the caste system to set up their kingdom in India. It is this system, historians believe, brought “no sense of unity, only exclusiveness”. ‘While Hinduism was a common faith and gave to India a cultural identity, caste was fissiparous, dividing the Hindus into a multitude of special interest groups jealous of their functions and fearful of those outside their community’.

How this division cost the country dearly, can be seen from the social history, from ancient period to the coming of the Europeans. Under Varna system, Brahmins were supposed to protect the religion and Kashtriyas the territory. No wonder the present Dalit organizations accuse these forward castes of failing in their duties and allowing the invaders to become rulers.

The Portuguese took advantage, initially, of the creed divide, and managed to have the Hindu Vijayanagara that had ruled Goa before Adil Shah, as a powerful ally. They also got support of some Hindu Sardars, including Timmaya, (Timmoja) and their armies to enter Goa City. The local Hindu leaders too wanted the Portuguese to invade Goa to get rid of the Adil Shahi Muslim rule.

GLOBAL SCENARIO THEN

If the castes were the dividing factors in India, the struggle to spread religions— Christianity and Islam, and to control the world trade divided the world then. The kings that had accepted Christianity as their faith rallied around the Pope. For them, he was not only a leading light to show the path to heavenly kingdom but was also the lord of their worldly kingdoms. The Pope became the ‘supremo’ of the Christian world uniting the Christian kings and feudal lords, against Islam that had made inroads even in Europe.

Pope Urban II proclaimed the first Crusade at the Council of Clare in November 1095. The Muslims replied to these Crusades by declaring ‘Jihad’. However behind the religious wars, were also the worldly trading interests of the European Christian kings and the Arab Muslim merchants. Having received the Pope’s blessings, the crusaders captured Jerusalem and set up several Latin states in the east ‘around whose fortunes an immense amount of the history of the next two hundred years was to turn.

But with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in year 1453, a twist came in the world history. The land route to the East came under the control of Muslims and the Indo-European trade went under the control of the Arabs. The European kings and merchants wanted to change the situation. The only alternative was a sea route if they were to reach India and the East to regain the trade. The incentive for the search of the sea route became a challenge to the Portuguese and the Spanish kings and navigators.

Pope Nicholas V on January 8, 1454 granted the Portuguese king Afonso V an exclusive right to all countries that might be discovered by his subjects from Cape Non on the East Coast of Africa and India. Portuguese Prince Henrique, the grand master of the Order of Christ, assured the Pope that ‘salvation of the conquered people will be his sole object’. The Bull of Pope

Alexander VI in 1493 made it obligatory to propagate the Catholic Religion in new lands discovered by Portugal and Spain.

CONQUESTS, RE-CONQUESTS

Vasco Da Gama, a Portuguese navigator, took up the challenge and managed to find the sea route to India when he reached Calicut on May 7, 1498. Dom. Francisco De Almeida was appointed on March 25, 1505 the first Viceroy of India, with 'a pompous title though his real supremacy was mostly naval and on land just limited to small fortresses built in Cochin, Cannanore, Anjedive with total area of few acres'. He took the work of clearing Indian Ocean of Mohammedan fleets and succeeded after the battle of Diu in 1509. He set up his residence in Cochin as the seat of the Portuguese in India.

Simultaneously to control the sea trade, Afonso De Albuquerque conquered Hormoz in Persia in 1507. His nephew, Capt. Antonio de Noronha landed at Panaji and captured a fort and put Turkish defenders to flight on February 16 (or March 1) 1510 and Malacca in Southeast Asia in 1511. All the three centers captured from Muslims, brought the sea trade under the control of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean.

But the earlier ruler of Goa, Adil Shah, did not give up. He came back with his army on the stormy night of May 17, 1510 and defeated the Portuguese forces on May 23, 1510 and re-captured Old Goa. Albuquerque pulled out and sailed away to Anjedive, then to Honnavar and later to Cannanore. He reorganized his forces and with 1000 men and 28 vessels carried out second assault on Goa on November 25, 1510, the day of the feast of St. Catherine. He succeeded in the reconquest of Old Goa, the neighbouring islands and peninsulas.

After killing over 6000 Muslim soldiers and residents, he rounded up over 450 women and distributed them to Portuguese soldiers in 'marriages'. He settled them with 18000 'reis' to buy a house and land. He also nominated them to various offices. Capt. Rodrigo Rebello de Castello Branco was left with a garrison. He also appointed them as revenue collectors. He set up a mint and issued coins for use in the conquered lands. Satisfied with arrangements he informed his king about his achievements and then sailed to Malacca.

When Adil Shah learnt of his departure, he sent Pulad Khan who managed to capture Banastarim fort and Ponda, Bardez and Salcette Talukas. Albuquerque returned in 1512, and managed to recapture Banastarim. But Bardez, Ponda and Salcette remained with Adil Shah.

Once again, Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar, a powerful ally of the sea invaders, captured Talukas of Salcette, Ponda, and Bardez in 1518 and handed them over to the Portuguese who could not retain them for very long.

The Portuguese initially did not interfere with the religious practices of Hindus. But the situation changed after Don Joao III became king of Portugal in 1541. He issued an order to demolish all temples in the Portuguese territory in India. The work of evangelization began as promised to the Pope even as the Portuguese defeated Ibrahim Adil Shah's forces at Ponda and Bardez, Ponda, Salcette came under their rule once again in 1543.

The setting up of the Inquisition in Goa in 1560 to deal with the heretics amongst the Roman Catholics changed the situation abruptly. Many newly converted Catholic families and Hindus left Goa and migrated to neighbouring territories. Some of them reached South Kanara and even far off Kerala.

Soon there was an uprising in Salcette and an Adilshahi captain with his unit came to defend the Hindu rebels. Ultimately the Portuguese Governor intervened and the rebellion was quelled.

EVANGELIZATION BOOMERANGS?

The Portuguese and the missionaries launched a drive for evangelization with added vigour. The Governor ordered that those who oppose missionaries would be punished. An order was also issued to demolish temples in Salcette and Bardez. Resistance followed.

The struggle between Adil Shah and the Portuguese continued. On December 13, 1571, an interim peace treaty was signed between Adil Shah and the Portuguese. The treaty was sent to Portugal for the King's ratification. Meantime Salcette and Bardez Mahals remained with the Portuguese. Adil Shah's envoy Zahir Beig went to Portugal to discuss the clauses of the treaty with the king. He wanted Salcette peninsula to be left with Adil Shah and religious liberty to Hindus. But that was rejected. Zahir came back and ultimately signed the treaty on October 22, 1576. With this treaty, Tiswadi (Ilhas), Bardez, Salcette (including Murgaoon) came under the Portuguese rule and were called Old Conquests (Velhas Conquistas).

The attempts of the Portuguese to expand their territory continued and for this purpose they resorted to various tactics. Often they fought or signed treaties with Sawants of Kudal, Desai of Sanquelim-Sattarim, Ponda Saudekar, British and Marathas. It took them 277 years to bring under their control New Conquests (Novas Conquestas). They managed to extend their rule to Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona Talukas by 1733 and Pednem, Dicholim and Sattarim by 1788. The Portuguese did not rule all the Talukas, which now form part of Goa, for 450 years, as believed by many Goans and others. Their religious policies did not allow

them to expand. There was resistance in many areas. Commenting on the historical situation in his booklet 'Portuguese India' Dr. T. B. Cunha, father of Goan Nationalism, stated that the grand plan of conquest of the Portuguese did not succeed. "One of the chief reasons of not succeeding in their aims was their religious fanaticism and intolerance that gained them great enemies in a country which was no less religious than themselves."

According to Fr. Cosme Jose Costa, SFX. of Pilar, "*From 1510 to 1760 therefore the Evangelization of Old Conquests took place. But by persuasive methods the Portuguese officers did not succeed in the work of conversion, on the contrary, the missionaries encountered stiff opposition from the Brahmins. From 1541, laws were promulgated to obtain a type of coercive conversion. Repressive methods were used only in the Old Conquests of Goa not elsewhere in the Portuguese domains.*"(Padroado and Propaganda).

This explains why temples still exist in New Conquests. Some temples in the Old Conquests were shifted to their present places in New Conquests that were not under the Portuguese rule at that time.

STRUGGLES BEGIN

The Goan struggles passed through many phases. In the early phase, the feudal Muslim ruler Adil Shah from whom the Portuguese had captured Goa made attempts to recapture the territory. Throughout the 17th century the Portuguese and the Adil Shah fought several times. The Portuguese manipulated the Hindu support. The Portuguese got a setback when their Hindu ally, Vijayanagara was defeated by a group of Muslim kingdoms at the battle of Talikota in 1565 and its capital was ransacked. Adil Shah had an upper hand for over a century until Mughals annexed

Bijapur kingdom in 1686. The Portuguese again gained courage and tried to expand their territory.

But Marathas came on the scene. Shivaji (1627-1680) challenged the Moghals and tried to establish his kingdom, which kept him busy. Shivaji had captured Ponda fort from Adil Shaha in 1675 and decided to capture Goa. But before he could take up this expedition, he died. His son Sambhaji also later tried to take over Goa. He had to go back due to arrival of the Moghuls in the South. However, the Marathas overran most of Portugal's possession to the north of Goa from 1737 to 1741. The Muslim ruler of Mysore, Tipu Sultan (1782-1799), also became a threat to the Portuguese, the European historians state.

The British, who were busy creating an empire of their own, occupied Goa from 1799 to 1813. This was done under the pretext of Napoleonic wars in Europe. Against these changing historical events in Europe and India, and socio-cultural reality in India wherein only the Kshatriyas were supposed to fight and guard the territory, the invaders had upper hand. Their superior fire arms also provided them advantage over local kings and chieftons.

PROMISES TO KEEP

However on their side, the invaders too had their impediment as they had to keep the promises given to the Pope by their kings to propagate the Catholic Religion in all new lands discovered by them. To keep the promises, the Portuguese had to allocate large funds which were appropriated for services and maintenance of religious orders. Referring to this situation, European Historian Frederick Charles Danvers states:

“Amongst the difficulties that beset Portugal in her communications with India, by no means the least was the obligation placed upon her by famous Bull of Pope Alexander VI,

to propagate the Catholic Religion in all new lands discovered by her, as a condition of being allowed to hold them on conquest with the Papal sanction and benediction. To this end priests of different orders accompanied the several expeditions to India and large funds were appropriated for their services and maintenance. Ultimately, at an early date, violent measures were adopted with the view of forcing the people to embrace the Catholic faith.”

The violent measures adopted to force the people to embrace the Catholic faith proved detrimental to the Portuguese colonial interests. They could not move beyond Old Conquest for over 250 years. There was resistance from people everywhere. According to Fr. Cosme Jose Costa, SFX, coercive measures were used in only in Old Conquests from 1510 to 1760 for Evangelization. He further states: ‘But by persuasive methods the Portuguese officers did not succeed in the work of conversion, the missionaries encountered stiff opposition from the Brahmins. From 1541, laws were promulgated to obtain a type of coercive conversion.’ (Padroado and Propaganda in the East p. 11). Things also changed in Portugal and the Jesuit Missionaries were driven away from Portugal and colonies.

The methods adopted by the Portuguese-Missionary combine brought a bad name to the religion that preached ‘peace on earth’. People, who ran away from Goa and migrated to Southern India, carried horror stories of religious persecution. Even today some people believe that coercion was needed then for conversion. Others blame the thinking of the era that ‘the faith of the ruler was the faith of the ruled.’ The British, who came much later to India, discouraged missionary works in the areas they had captured. But they used the religions to divide people and continue their rule.

FIRST REBELLION AGAINST COLONIALISM IN ASIA

The Portuguese invasion, occupation and religious policies had left people angry and frustrated. There were violent reactions in Kashatriya dominated villages. But it was the Varna system that had made people of other Varnas submissive. Under Varna-Jati system only Kshatriyas were supposed to fight and defend the village. They were supposed to fight for their Gram Samsthas (Village Republics) temples, and other religious places. The Brahmins were supposed to stand for people's religion. Against this situation, the people hardly had any choice but to flee with gods and goddesses and settle in other areas where invaders could not reach them. But defiance did come. It was from the Goankars of five villages—Assolnam, Ambelim, Velim, Veroda and Cuncolim, popularly known as AVC. Being situated across Sall River, at the extreme end of Salcette, they had topographical advantage to fight. The Portuguese attacked these villages several times. The ships that were ordered into Sall River to bombard indiscriminately, destroyed houses, temples, orchards, and standing crops. The invaders failed to keep the war code of those days in the East that the wars must be fought on the battlegrounds, leaving the settlement areas and people out of fight. Probably this was the first time in Indian history that villages were bombarded and civilians were killed by the invaders. Hundreds of people died and those who lived took shelter in Adil Shah's areas across the mountains in Fatarpa and beyond.

The five villages had five 'Gaukari' (republics) of their own. Later the Gaunkars and their leaders, chieftains (*budvonts*) refused to pay the tributes and taxes. The record shows that the Portuguese dissolved Gaukaris of Veroda and Velim in 1567 and threatened to dissolve those of Ambelim-Assolnam and Cuncolim. This was a challenge to the village republics and their system. The Gaukars held a meeting and decided to accept the challenge.

In Cuncolim, the villagers began their rebellion challenging the Viceroy by stopping his messenger coming on horse back from Cochin to old Goa which was the capital that time. They took away his letters and asked him to report to the Viceroy of their defiance. Their 'no tax' campaign continued. The gaunkars of five villages raised the banner of rebellion and took up arms to fight the invaders, even though Adil Shah, ruler of Goa had surrendered Salcette to the Portuguese.

The first European invader of India faced the first revolt in the 16th century, much before the First War of Independence in British India in 1857. The invaders had attacked their Guakarīs, the village republics (gram swaraj samstha) and destroyed temples. The gaunkars rebelled to safeguard their village republics (gram swaraj samstha) and their religion (swadharma). From their 'gram samantha' they were maintaining their temples and providing payments to those who provided services to the villagers. The attack on the Gaukari (now called comunidade) was an attack on their total existence. (The Greek Historians who came to India with Emperor Alexander, described Gram Samstha as India's '*Village Republics*'. Apart from fighting King Porus, Alexander had to fight these small village republics). The kings had come and gone, but the village republics remained.

The Portuguese and missionary attack was unique in the history. It was an attack on Gram Samstha (Gaukari) and religion. The very life style of the people was attacked and this can be seen from the dissolution of the Gaukarīs, apart from destruction of the temples.

The Portuguese moved into Salcete after 1543 to collect tributes when Salcette and Bardez came under the Portuguese crown. The Gaukaras refused to pay the tributes, resorted to no tax campaign. They even killed a tax collector, (Esteveao Rodrigues) at Assolnam.

This first ever struggle in India lasted for several decades and has been described by the British historian, Frederick Charles Danvers thus:

“During the time that Dom. Antonio de Noronha was Viceroy of India, several members of the body of Jesuits went to the island of Salsette, and entered upon a campaign for the conversion of the heathen in those parts; but as the people refused to accept their teachings, the Viceroy, with the view of compelling them to resign their own religion, adopted the extreme measures of destroying all their pagodas. This was strongly resented by the people and they, in retaliation, took up arms in the year 1559, and wrecked all the Catholic churches.

Having done this they refused to pay anymore tribute to the Portuguese, and endeavored to free themselves from the presence of the Catholic priests by commencing a system of persecution against them. Friar Rudolphus de Aquaviva who had gone to preach in the village of Cocolii (Cuncolim) was set upon by the people, who first cut off his legs, and then his head. Friar Francisco Aranna, who accompanied him, was first pierced through with a spear, and then stuck full of arrows; whilst his other companions were slain in various manners.

In retaliation for these murders, the Viceroy sent Gomez Yanez de Figueyredo, the commander of Rachol, to punish the people of Salsette, which he effected in a most ruthless manner. He made a promiscuous slaughter of the inhabitants, destroyed their dwellings, and leveled to the ground every temple in the neighbourhood.

Having discovered the leaders amongst those who had killed the Friars, he made such horrible examples of them that many of the natives fled in terror from the island. After this Figueredo erected a number of new churches in the land, and set crosses on the

summits of all the hills around. These events occurred in 1583, and shortly afterwards five ships arrived from Portugal, under command of Antonio de Mello e Castro, who brought with him Friar Vincent de Fonseca, a Dominican who had come to succeed Friar Henri de Tavoro in the archbishopric of Goa.” (The Portuguese in India, Vol. I p. 52).

The leaders of villages were 16 chieftains, representing different ‘Vangods’ (gotras/clans). They were in fact called into the Assolnam fort with a promise of safe return, to settle the pending issues. The promise was given to Adil Shah, former ruler of Goa in whose territory the people of these villages had taken shelter. The Portuguese killed 14 out of 16 chieftains. Two of them jumped from the fort rampart into Sall River. One escaped to North Kanara and the other came to the villagers to tell tragic story.

The people of these five villages remember with pride their martyred leaders who organized and fought their long battles and died defending their village republics, freedom and faith. The Portuguese had confiscated their Gaukaris (Comunidades) and made people landless. The Comunidades of Cuncolim and Veroda were formed into the “Condade (county) de Cuncolim” and handed over to the officer who put down the rebellion. The comunidades (Gaukaris) of Velim, Ambelim and Assolnam, eventually came to the Jesuit society. Later the Portuguese Government took them over when the Jesuits were driven away by the Marquez De Pombal, Minister of King Jose (from 1750 to 1777). The Government sold these comunidades to different organizations, including Karambolim Comunidade and some individuals. The comunidades were not restored to the Gaukars again.

The people of Cuncolim fought a long legal battle after Goa’s liberation in 1961 and managed to get their comunidades. People

of Assolnam, Ambelim, Velim lost their lands and everything forever. After these long drawn battles, the Portuguese issued secret directives to the administration not to employ persons from these villages. The proud landless villagers became submissive and some of them accepted the mercy of the Christ's religion. The Church records call them murders. Being Kshyatrias they sought jobs in the police and armed forces but were refused and hence some of them migrated to other villages. Others preferred to migrate to British India to join the merchant navy ships or to princely states to join their armies. Some of them took English education rather than the Portuguese and picked up office jobs in Bombay. But they understood the Portuguese and the missionary anger. Several youth joined the later period patriotic struggles. They were in the Satyagraha movement as also in the armed actions.

RISE OF NATIONALISM

During the next phase of the struggles, which began from 1600, the Portuguese faced many other problems from surrounding areas. The Dutch resorted to a blockade of Goa and many areas remained for next 70 years in their hands from 1603.

Within Goa, the Portuguese educated people were also showing their resentment. Most Rev. Matheus de Castro (Mahale) from Divar, was ordained priest in Rome in 1630 and when he completed his doctorate he was sent to Goa as Apostolic Pronotary, but the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa did not acknowledge his powers or even take him seriously. He went to Rome and he was appointed Vicar Apostolic to Mogul Emperor. He set up his Basilica of Holy Savior in the Bijapur area. He set up places of worships in Banda and Vengurla areas. But the Archbishop of Goa did not accept him as Bishop. According to Jesuit Historian Teotonio R. de Souza, Bishop Castro invited Adil Shah and the

Dutch in 1654 to liberate Goa. He addressed a Pastoral Letter to Bamans of Goa (*Speculum Brachmanorum*). He told fellow caste men not to be like sheep but real leaders of the native population against the oppression of the foreign rulers.

He was the first Goan Bishop but outside Goa. (Inside Goa things did not change for Goan clergies. Till Goa's liberation in 1961 the Portuguese clergies alone were made bishops in Goa, whereas 25 Goan clergies became bishops and even one of them was ordained a Cardinal outside the Portuguese territory, mostly in other parts of India).

In 1668, Shivaji (1627-1680) resorted to a campaign to expand his kingdom around Goa. The Marathas occupied villages of Assolnam, Velim Cuncolim and tried to keep these areas under their control. The Portuguese accepted terms of the Maratha king. But due to the death of Shivaji, the Portuguese were able to organize themselves and take over Bardez and Salcet except the three villages across the Sall River.

The same year, the Portuguese King handed over the Bombay islands to the British Queen as a dowry. The East India Company took over these islands in 1668. Sambhaji son of King came to the very gates of Old Goa in 1683. But, had to withdraw as Moghul forces attacked Maratha kingdom.

STRUGGLES OF EDUCATED CLASSES

Within Goa, the Portuguese educated people started fighting for the loaves and fishes of offices. The Catholic 'Bamons' did not like the importance given by the Portuguese Government to 'Mestizos' (descendants of mixed marriages brought about by Albuquerque) because of their presence in the army and the police. The better-educated Bamons resented this treatment. They took support of the decree of Marques De Pombal that 'baptized Asians

and Europeans were to have the same legal and social status, since His Majesty does not distinguish between his vassals by their colour but by their merits'. Fr. Caitan Francisco Couto of Panaji and Fr. Jose Antonio Gonsalves of Divar, two better educated priests, who were making claim to be bishops, went to Lisbon to plead the case of Bamons. They joined the palace intrigues in Portugal to curb mestizo power in Goa. Abbe Jose Custodio Faria (1756-1819) who had made name in Lisbon in the field of scientific hypnotism tried to help the Goan priests duo. Because of Abbe Faria's involvement with the French Revolutionaries, they learnt about the methods used by the rebels for overthrow of a Government.

Unhappy with the slow movement of the Portuguese Princely court, they lost hope to get justice to the educated Bamons as against the Portuguese descendants who had greater sympathy due to the racial considerations. On their return to Goa, they tried to organize 'an armed conspiracy' in 1787 to overthrow the Portuguese rule and to set up a Goan Republic' with the aid of the French in India and Tipu Sultan of Mysore.

On the line of the French rebels, they chose disgruntled Bamons from the army, amongst clergies, and professionals. The date and time for the action were fixed. But the secretary of the Aldona Comunidade, Antonio Eugenio Toscano betrayed them by giving advance information to the Viceroy.

Amongst the arrested leaders of the conspiracy were Fr. Coutto, and Fr. Gonsalves. In all 47 conspirators were arrested of which 17 were priests, seven army officers and other important Bamons. Although the Conspiracy has been named, as of Pintos, there were only two Pintos from the Portuguese army and a priest from Candolim.

Commenting on the Conspiracy, Goan Historian Carmo De Noronha in a booklet published in 1994 states:

“Those who headed and embodied the leadership of the conspiracy, as admitted and asserted, in the sentence, were Fr. Gonsalves and Fr. Couto. This (Pintos Conspiracy) fabrication and historical bluff calls for a correction and to re-establish the historical truth. The event should be, in future referred to as ‘Conspiracy of 1787 in Goa’.”

According to Mr. Carmo De Noronha the record of the proceedings shows that there were only two Pintos from Candolim convicted as military men, a third one hailing from Saligao was acquitted. One more person from Candolim, a priest, who along with other priests, were deported to Lisbon. But they were all of lower ranks, Mr. Noronha asserts.

CONSTITUTIONAL ROYALTY

The French Revolution of 1789 changed the character of Europe. It inspired other revolutions. In Portugal it came little later, and King Dom. Joao accepted demand for the Constitutional Royalty on July 3, 1821. In Goa too, the Portuguese army officers and some Goans demanding democratic rights, arrested the Governor General. However he managed to escape to Bombay (Mumbai).

The new regime introduced elections with limited franchise in Portugal and colonies. With the election, the conflicts sharpened, amongst the Portuguese educated— Mestizos and Bamons; between Mestizos and Europeans; and between Bamons and Charades, (the Kshatriya caste amongst the Catholics). During this period, there were rebellions of Ranes, and soldiers too.

By this time another European power, the British, started expanding their kingdom in India. The British forces entered and occupied Goa in 1799 and remained in the territory till 1813. This had its effect on the social life of Goa.

Large-scale migration of Goans, mostly of the Catholics, began to other parts of India and British Africa. This changed the outlook of people to a great extent. The colony of Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1822 providing inspiration to many educated Goans in Goa to demand greater political power. In the first election in 1822, a Catholic Bamon leader Bernardo Peres Da Silva (1775-1844) was elected a deputy to the Portuguese parliament.

In a sudden change, there was civil war in Portugal and the liberals won in 1828. Joaquim Antonio de Aguiar who became Prime Minister in 1834 banned all religious orders in Portugal and colonies. The order came into force following year. The Goan clergies who were playing second fiddle to the European in the Church hierarchy, got opportunities to fill some vacant posts.

First time a Goan clergy, V. Rev. Paulo Antonio Dias da Conceicao from Cavellissim was elected Vicar-Capitular of Goa Archdiocese in 1835. The diplomatic relations between Portugal and Rome were cut off. Same year Bernardo Peres Da Silva, former MP from Goa was appointed Governor of Goa. Angered by the appointments, the Mestizos rebelled and deposed Peres. In a reign of terror let loose for some time in Goa, several Goan Catholics were killed by the Mestizo army officers.

Later in the municipal election in 1854, a Mestizo, Joaquim Garces Palha, was beaten to death on November 4, in the church square at Divar. The fight between Bamons and Mestizo continued. In the municipal election of Salcette, the soldiers fired on the unarmed people on September 21, 1890 at Margao, killing 23 persons and injuring several more. The Mestizos tried to take revenge against people of Divar for killing their man.

ARMED REVOLTS OF KSHATRIYAS

After 230 years of their occupation of the City of Goa in 1510, the Portuguese were able to take over Sanguem and Sattarim Mahals from Wadkars in 1740 with the help of Ranes holders of the hereditary estates (Mokashe) in the Sattarim Mahals. The Portuguese promised to keep their rights to their estates. But later tried to take over their estates. Ranes and people of Sattarim revolted.

Between 1775 and 1882, Ranes revolted 14 times against the Portuguese to take back their lands and to liberate the Sattarim Mahal itself from the occupational forces. But they failed due to lack of able leadership. In spite of failures they made several attempts again and again.

In Pernem taluka, there was revolt of Kaloo Shenai Korgaonkar of Korgaon to drive out the Portuguese from Pernem Mahal. There were revolts by Desais of Uspa (1814), Desais of Zambaulim, Durga Bai Sardessai (1817) and Kuxtoba (1869-71).

In 1788 once again attempt was made to set up what was called “Uma Nova Republica” (A New Republic) by educated classes. Of total 56 leaders, 47 were arrested. The priests amongst them were sentenced to life and others were given death sentences. Amongst those escaped to Mumbai was Fr. Diogo Caitan Couto. Those sentenced to death included 15 officers of the Portuguese army. Tipu Sultan had supported this rebellion.

Amongst the well-known later revolts of Ranes, was one of Dipaji Rane. The Portuguese who had believed that they have come to the east on a ‘civilization mission’, issued a declaration, making it compulsory for men to wear pants and women ‘choli’ when moving in the village squares and bazars. The poor, who could not even afford proper food, were unable to buy clothes to come in the village markets to sell their farm products or buy articles of daily

needs. (The order was probably in the style of Maria-Antoinette of France who asked Frenchmen to eat cakes if they had no breads). The Portuguese Government also tried to take over people's land in New Conquests.

Unable to bear the injustice, people joined Dipaji's revolt in 1852. The Portuguese retaliated by 'withdrawing all the rights of the people (whatever they meant) of Dicholim, (Bicholim) Phonda, Hemand-Barshem, on the charges of helping Dipaji Rane. Unable to suppress the rebellion, the Portuguese were forced to send, one of their officers, Jose Pailio De Oliveira Pegade, who had in the past good relations with Dipaji Rane. Listening to Pegade, he decided to meet the Governor but before that he kept three sons of Pegade as a guarantee for his safe return. He knew what happened to brave chieftains of AVC in the 16th century who were invited for talks and treacherously killed in Assolnam Fort. As agreed, when he went to meet the Governor, he was denied entry into his palace on the pretext, that he had not brought his other rebel collaborators with him.

Soon the Governor's Council realized the mistake of sending away Dipaji and when the Governor was in Portugal and they were in charge, decided to declare amnesty to Dipaji Rane and all his rebel colleagues. In addition, the Council honoured him with the honorary rank of an Army 'Capitao' (Captain). He was taken in a procession through Dicholim (Bicholim) town. Thus a peace was restored which lasted for next two decades. But other struggles began with Army revolts in Volvoi in 1870, and in Mashel. There were revolts by other Kshatriyas like Kushtoba and Shamba Desai.

The Portuguese, at that moment, were also facing revolts in their African colonies. An order was issued from Portugal asking to send army units from Goa to Africa. The Goan soldiers refused to go over-seas to foreign lands. They said that their religion and the

caste forbade them from going to lands across the seas. Their request not to send abroad was rejected and the soldiers revolted in 1871.

The leadership of the revolt was taken over by Dada Rane Advaikar. A Goan Catholic priest Fr. Francisco Xavier Alvares who felt that the religious feelings of the soldiers should not be hurt, supported this revolt, and Dada Rane's action in his newspaper. Fr. Alvares was arrested and deported .for supporting Dada Rane. His newspaper "O Brando Indian" (The Gentle Indian) was suppressed for criticizing the Government and the bureaucracy for highhandedness.

Believing that the people were helping the Dada Rane, Capt. Gomes Da Costa, a Portuguese, tried to terrorize the people. Angered by the harassment, Baba Sawant with his forces from Hemand-Barshe came and joined Dada Rane. Ultimately the Portuguese sought the help of Sri Shankaracharya of Shikeswar Mutt and managed to persuade Dada Rane to agree to come to terms. A general amnesty was declared.

But again there was trouble when a Portuguese army officer shot down a cow and soldiers in turn shot down the officer on the parade ground. The Government arrested Dada Rane and others in this case even though they did not have any connection with this incident. They were court-marshaled and deported to colonies of Africa and Timor. Thereafter, there were two more revolts of Ranes in 1812.

When Goan Kshatriyas were fighting armed battles in Goa, in British India, educated people and journalists formed the Indian National Congress at a meeting in Mumbai in 1885.

STRUGGLE: THE LAST PHASE

Much before formation of the Indian National Congress, a Goan elected member of the Portuguese parliament, Francisco Luis Gomes (1829-1869) ‘in a letter to the French poet Lamartine on January 5, 1861, laid down a rationale for an independent India. Referring to Indian civilization he said:

“I am proud to belong to a race that wrote Ramayan and Mahabharat and discovered chess... I demand liberty and light for India”.

As in other parts of India and the world, the newspapers played an important role towards social and political awakening in Goa. The newspapers helped the educated classes to understand the events and issues of their time. In fact, much before the Republican Revolution in Portugal, a Portuguese gentleman, Thomas Marao Gracias Pailes who was known as Baron of Kumbarjua, started a Marathi-Portuguese periodical in 1872 for ‘the upliftment of the Hindus in Goa’. The newspaper began as a monthly and was later converted into a weekly. Mr. Yeshwant Naik Dhanaith and Mr. Atmaram Sukhtankar were looking after its Marathi section and Mr. Gracias Pailes himself its Portuguese section. He brought a Marathi printing press from Mumbai for his newspaper. He urged the Government to start Sanskrit and Marathi education in Goa.

There were other journalists and public men who tried to mould public opinion and the Goan society. Luis de Menezes Braganza, (1878-1938) who was called ‘the greatest of them all’ (O maior de todos), and ‘Tilak of Goa’, demanded home rule for Goa and supported the struggle for the Republican form of Government in Portugal. He was a rationalist and followed the tradition of great French authors, Voltaire and Rousseau. His journalistic writings and social actions awakened the younger Portuguese knowing generation to march towards nationalism. He started his writing in a Portuguese newspaper ‘O Nacionalist’, ‘Pracasha’ and continued

to do so later in the first Portuguese daily in Goa 'O Heraldo' (1900) and his own paper 'O Debate'.

The Portuguese belief that the Hindus converted to Catholicism will support their kingdom in Goa, proved wrong. After early armed fights by the rulers and Kshatriyas, it was the educated Roman Catholics, priests and others, who led the political and constitutional struggles against the Imperialists. Referring to this situation, Mr. Jaganath S. Sukhthankar, a freedom fighter and well known author, in his Marathi book on Goan struggles-"Portuguese Rajyavattitil Swatantraya Ladhachi Panem: 1510-1947", states: "Hindu Society had been doing social and educational work to some extent, but it had not given to it a combination of political ideological struggle, openly. The organized political work amongst them actually started only from 1928".

PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC & HINDUS

The main reason for this change was the revolution in Portugal and setting up of a Republican form of secular Government after a Revolution on October 5, 1910 on the famous principles of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity.' The effect of this change was felt in Goa and other colonies immediately. Several Catholic leaders, in public life supported the Revolution, inspite of the opposition of the clergies, and the religious fundamentalists. Luis de Menezes Braganza and Antonio Xavier Gomes Pereira were leading lights of the Republican movement in Goa. The clergies and other Catholic leaders argued that the Portugal was a Catholic country and since the Catholics were also in majority in Goa, there was no need for a Secular Republic and separation of the Portugal from the Roman Catholic Church. They relied on the official Census figures of Catholic population in Goa which was 51.71 per cent in 1900 and 51.68 per cent in 1910 at the time of the Revolution in Portugal. But the republican movement which was on lines of the French Revolution, wanted a separation of the State from the

Religion and not the continuation of the constitutional royalty. Mr. Menezes Braganza supported the demand of the Portuguese radicals for the Republic form of Government and equality.

No doubt, the Republican secular Government in Portugal, helped Hindus in Goa to come into the main stream of public life. They got an impetus due to the secular Republic to launch many newspapers to awaken the people for social change. The Hindu population did not take the Portuguese education seriously before the Revolution in Portugal. This can be seen from the statistical figures of the period. There were no Hindus in Normal School in 1910-11. But there were 16 students in Normal School out of 61 in year 1920-21. Similarly before the Republic there were 23 Hindus with Lyceum qualification. The number went up to 85 by 1920-21. In 1910, there were only two Portuguese educated Hindu doctors in Goa. By 1920-21 the number went up to 14.

With the Portuguese education, mostly amongst the Hindu Saraswats, their number in the Government service also increased. Earlier, mostly the Catholic Bamons dominated the Government service with few Charades here and there. With the separation of the State and the Religion, the Goa Governor issued an order stating that ‘there was no control of any religion on the Government and hence people should live in harmony.’

The newspapers played important role once literacy spread. Most of the newspapers of that time were bilingual, Marathi and Portuguese. Amongst the Hindus, Dr. Purshottam Shirgaonkar and Mr. Govind Pundalik.Hegde Desai took the lead to guide the people. Dr. Shirgaonkar launched his newspaper ‘Prabhat’ in 1911 and Mr. Hegde Desai used to write for it. Later Mr. Hegde Desai started his own newspaper ‘Bharat’ in 1913 and continued it till 1949 even under difficult conditions of press censorship. The paper

gave Hindus information of the rising Indian nationalism and social issues in Goa.

The effect of the changes in the world and India also had its effect on Goa. The rise of socialist movement, formation of the first international workingmen's association in 1864 by Karl Marx and publication of the 'Das Kapital' in 1867 had tremendous effect on Goan students, particularly Catholics in Portugal and other parts of Europe and India.

The take over of the Indian movement by the leaders, Bal-Pal-Lal (Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai) at the Congress session at Surat in 1907 also helped Goans in India and Goa to understand the intensity of the rising nationalism in India.

The Indian freedom struggle opened a new page when Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi returned to India in 1914 after a great Satyagraha fight against racialism in South Africa. The Socialist Revolution in Russia and its support to the cause of the colonial people, led to new hope in the Afro-Asian colonial countries.

The Portuguese Republican Government announced an advisory council to Goa Governor in 1917 but it came into existence from July 1, 1918 with nine Government nominees and 10 elected representatives of the people. The people welcomed this step. The political revival in the adjoining Bombay Province of the British India with the dawn of Gokhale-Tilak era helped Goans Hindus. They read 'Kesari' the Marathi newspaper of Tilak. But Lokmanya Tilak died on August 1, 1920 and Gandhiji took up the leadership of the struggle for freedom.

The Goan Catholic students in Mumbai, Panaji, Margao and other cities, influenced by the students' struggles in India tried to

influence people in their villages in Goa. Juliao Menezes, a medical student, was one of them. He started a youth club--- ‘Club Juvenil’ and opened a public library in his native village Assolnam in 1922. It was a meeting place of all patriotic students and youth from villages of Assolnam, Velim and Cuncolim particularly during school-college holidays when they returned home. The library was raided by the police. The Portuguese Government in 1938 suppressed the club. Before that to create public opinion against Dr. Menezes some fundamentalists were used to break a cross in the public place in Assolnam to brand him as “communist”.

After his return to India completing his post graduate degree in Medicine in Germany, he went to Bombay and set up his clinic and started the Gomantak Praja Mandal in 1939. He also launched a weekly in 1942 in English and Konkani and named it ‘Gomantak’. The Portuguese agents to set up the British police against him called him ‘nazi’. Strangely, he was ‘a communist’ in Goa and ‘a nazi’ in Mumbai’ according to the fundamentalists. (The Portuguese agents always called Goan Catholic nationalists as Communists to instigate the people against them).

In Germany Dr. Menezes had met Ram Manohar Lohia who was also doing his doctorate in Economics from 1929. Together, they tried to organize Indian students and youth in Europe. They even went to Geneva in 1930 and staged a protest at the League of Nation against the appointment of a Maharaja of Bikaner as India’s representative who was giving wrong impression of India under the colonial system.

NATIONALIST CENTER

The Goan Catholic students in Portugal influenced by the world events, and freedom struggles in India, tried to link themselves, like Francis Luis Gomes to their Indian heritage. They formed the

Indian Nationalist Center (Centro Nacionalist Indian) and 'Partida Indian' in Lisbon in December 1925 with its aim as 'liberation of India from foreign rule'. Amongst 28 members of the Center included Telo de Mascarenhas, Antonio Furtado, Adeodato Barreto, Santano Rodrigues, Fernando Costa, Drustonio Rodrigues, and Paulino Dias. The Center members wrote several books on India in Portuguese and sought support of the Portuguese and other intellectuals to the Indian Freedom struggle. Some of them even changed their names and took their Hindu ancestral surnames to show that they were Indians.

Tristao de Braganza Cunha who was also a student leader at the Sorbonne University, in Paris inspired the Center members. In France, Mr. Cunha along with other Asian activists, like Chou En Lai and Ho Chi Minh had formed Anti-imperialist League and were active amongst other intellectuals in France. Francisco de Braganza Cunha, brother of T. B. Cunha, who was a professor in Paris, had close relations with Russian leader V. I. Lenin during his exile in Germany. Another Goan, a student in the German Art Academy, Antonio Piedade de Cruz of Velim also helped by Francisco de Braganza Cunha to unite Goans in Europe. After the Russian Revolution, Lenin appointed Francisco de Braganza Cunha, professor of Indology at the Moscow University. (He left Moscow, when Stalin came to power and came to Paris).

JALIANWALA BAGH & GOAN PATRIOTS

The massacre of an unarmed assembly in Jalianwala Bagh, Amritsar, in 1919 shook Indians everywhere. When the British tried to cover up this disgrace of the mass killings in Europe, T. B. Cunha exposed the British duplicity and brought the truth before the French people in his articles in French newspapers. He was regularly contributor to French papers, the 'Clarite' and 'L'humanite' on Indian struggles. He wrote a biographical study of Mahatma Gandhi in French when the Jalianwala Bagh massacre

had changed Gandhiji into ‘a revolutionary, one of a kind that people had never seen before’. As a humanist and thinker Mr. Cunha was able to gain the respect and friendship of men like Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse and other personalities in French intellectual life.

The massacre hardened Indian struggle, and the Indian National Congress adopted in 1920 its famous resolution of non-cooperation and gave a call to boycott the legislatures, law courts, schools, and to give up British titles. The Congress also declared its aim as ‘Purna swaraj’ by peaceful and legitimate means’. The Goans residing in Mumbai, Pune, Belgaum and other places in British India, joined the Indian struggle. The situation in Portugal and colonies including Goa, changed when a counter-revolution took place on May 28, 1926 in Portugal and the fascist regime of Salazar-Carmona came to power. Portugal remained a namesake democracy. Later the civil liberties were withdrawn and pre-censorship on newspapers was introduced. The colonies right to send their representatives to the Portuguese parliament were withdrawn. The rights were restored only 1945. But Portugal came under one party rule of— ‘Uniao Nacional’ of Dr. Antonio Oliveira Salazar.

RETURN OF T. B. CUNHA

Dr. Tristao de Braganza Cunha who had joined the Indian struggle in Europe with his association with the Anti-imperialist League, returned from Paris to Goa in 1926 and took up the work of organizing his people. He formed the Goa Congress Committee (GCC) with its aim as “liberation of Goa and its merger with India.” He sought the GCC affiliation to the Indian National Congress (INC). At the session of the INC at Calcutta, presided over by Motilal Nehru, Dr. Cunha was elected on the AICC. This was the first time that any Goan political organization had affiliated its struggle with the Indian political party. In Paris since

he was already with the Indian patriotic movement it was possible for him to join Goa's struggle with the national struggle.

Several newspapers in Goa criticized and opposed this step. They demanded to know the names of the delegates who attended the Congress session. T. B. Cunha did not give out the names of the delegates for the sake of their security. Even his own name was not disclosed in the Indian newspapers. The articles that he wrote in the Indian newspapers were in his pen name. This was because of the conditions in Goa.

But Goans outside the Portuguese territory openly joined struggles against the British Raj. They took part in the boycott of the Simon Commission in 1927, Dandi March of 1930, and other agitations right up to 1942 'Quit India' and the struggle thereafter. The well known amongst the Goans was a Buddhist scholar, Dharmananda Kosambi, whom Gandhiji selected for individual 'salt Satyagraha' at Shiroda in Konkan. He was also in-charge of the Maharashtra Congress Committee's Satyagraha camp at Vile Parle, Mumbai. Other prominent leaders in the Indian struggles were Peter Alvares, Chandrakant Kakodkar, Divakar Kakodkar, Dr. Mascarenhas, Narayan Janardhan Manjrekar and his entire family in Mumbai and several others in other parts of India. They were arrested and sentenced to jail terms.

The rise of another fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini, in Italy strengthened rightist forces in Europe. The relation between the Government and the Pope were strengthened. Mussolini on behalf of the king of Italy negotiated and Cardinal Gasparri on behalf of the Pope to create the Vatican City State out of a tiny portion of 108.7 acres of Rome. Following the footsteps of Mussolini, Dr. Antonio O. Salazar, the Portuguese dictator signed a 'concordat' (an agreement) with the Pope ending bifurcation between the Portuguese state and the Catholic Church which was

established in 1910 after the Portuguese Revolution in 1910. This had a lasting effect on the Catholics in Portugal and colonies including Goa. The circumstances after took over by the fascist and fundamentalists, forced the GCC to work under ground in Goa.

Another set back came to Goan struggle in 1934 when its parent body, the INC decided to de-recognize all its committees outside British India including the princely states. The GCC also lost its affiliation.

Taking advantage of this situation, the Portuguese authorities kept watch over Goans in Bombay. Many Goan youth active, in Indian struggles in Mumbai, used to write about Goan situation in the newspapers. The Portuguese Consul General had complained about an article by Carlos da Cruz on the Portuguese administration in a Mumbai's Goan newspaper 'Anglo-Lusitania' to the British Government.

Realizing the situation in Goa and the attitude of the British Government to Goan leaders in Goa, it was decided to move to Mumbai, Peter Alvares was in Visapur jail for participating in an individual Satyagraha. They waited for his release. A meeting was held at artist A. P. Da Cruz studio at Churchgate in 1936. The GCC decided to continue Tristao de Braganza Cunha as its president (in Goa) and Mr. F. X. Gracias was appointed its secretary in Mumbai. Other members of GCC in Mumbai included Peter Alvares, Vithal Mayekar, J. P. Lobo and Chiktoba Sakholkar. For technical reasons, it was called the branch of the main committee in Goa.

The GCC decided to work with the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee while carrying on its work on Goa's liberation front. The GCC's difficulties increased when the Portuguese Fascist Government withdrew civil liberties in Portugal and colonies in 1937. Several newspapers coming from other parts of India were

banned. The 'Prakash', a biweekly owned by Luis Menezes Braganza was closed for not publishing a Government circulated bogus news about a bomb attack on Dr. Salazar. The Government made the bomb attack to ban the Portuguese Communist Party. Later the Fascist Government brings 'Acto Colonial' and Mr. Menezes Braganza opposed it in the Governor's Council and outside. Ultimately he resigned from the Council.

During the World War II period, acute food crisis affected Goa; the Government introduced rationing dividing the population on 'caste-class basis' in ration distribution. There was great discontent amongst the people. A delegation of the Goan leaders in Mumbai and other parts met Mahatma Gandhi and sought his advice. He told them to learn from the birds that migrate to areas where they food. Several Goan families migrated to the British India. Dr. T. B. Cunha published his booklet on 'Rice Problem in Goa' and followed it up with other publications.

After the 1942 'Quite India' agitation, the British Government banned the Indian National Congress. With this order the GCC also became an illegal body in British India. Anticipating a raid on the GCC office at Topiwala Mansion in Girgaum, Bombay (Mumbai) the Goan leaders removed the records and files at night to a safe place. Mr. Sukhtankar has given extensive description of the period in his book.

Taking advantage of the Defense of India Act of 1939, the British Government at the instance of the Portuguese Government took action against the publisher of the booklet 'Denationalization of Goans' of 1944 and his deposit was confiscated and the booklet was suppressed. The matter was challenged in the High Court where it was held that there was nothing objectionable in the booklet.

With the lifting of the ban in 1946 on the INC and other affiliated parties like the GCC that had gone underground decided to elect its new committee openly with the Goan youth in Mumbai. Dr. T. B. Cunha remained its advisor from Goa. The new Committee consisted of Dr. A. G. Tendulkar as president, Mr. Marcilon Almeida of Assolna as its General Secretary, Mr. G. G. Palekar as its treasurer and Mr. Peter Alvares, Mr. George Vaz, Mr. E. Dias, Mr. J. S. Sukhtankar, and Dr. Luis Monteiro as members.

Mr. Peter Alvares, who was arrested for participating in the 1942 movement, was released at that time The GCC, which was also banned in 1942, adopted the 'Quit Goa' resolution on March 3, 1946 as it could not do so earlier.

But main question before the GCC was about the follow up action that could be taken to implement the 'Quit Goa resolution. It was felt that since Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was to visit Mumbai; a delegation should meet him to discuss the issue. Listening to the delegation consisting of Mr. Anna Mayekar, Dr. L. J. D'Souza, and Mr. Jaganath Sukhtankar, Pandit Nehru advised them to hold a larger Goan delegates conference inviting underground persons from Goa. The conference was fixed for November 1946. A reception committee was formed with Dr. L. J. de Souza as chairman and Mr. Marcelon Almeida and Mr. J. S. Sukhtankar as secretaries and Mr. Vaikunth Nevreker as Treasurer. Mr. Tristao de Braganza Cunha and Prof. Armando Menezes were appointed to prepare the manifesto for the conference. Realizing that the movement is about to start, several Goans wanted to join the struggle. But they were from the left movements and did not want to join the Congress.

Seeing the enthusiasm amongst the Goan Youth in Mumbai who were not prepared to come with the Congress, Mr. Cunha advised them to form the Goan Youth League (GYL) on line with the

Bombay Youth League. Many Goan Catholic Youth in colleges, professions, trade unions, cultural fields joined the League. A meeting was held under the chairmanship of T. B. Cunha by the youth and the Goan Youth League was launched. The founder members of the GLA were Joaquim Dias, George Vaz, K. S. Lad, J. S. Sukhtankar, Divakar Kakodkar, Beatrice Menezes Braganza, and Chandrakant Kakodkar.

The GCC and GYL started working for organizing the Conference. However the events that followed in Goa, overtook the proposed action of the GCC and the GYL.

DISCONTENT INTO A REVOLUTION

Often a single event has changed the course of the history, of a territory or a nation. The event might not have been planned; the circumstances and discontent explode it into a revolution. That is exactly what happened in Goa in 1946.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, leader of the Congress Socialist Party, had come with his friend Dr. Juliao Menezes to his house in Assolnam, in South Goa on June 10, 1946 for a short holiday. He needed rest after his release as a last political prisoner of Quit India movement from Agra jail on April 11, 1946. During his stay in Assolnam, several persons met him and spoke about the situation in Goa. Dr. Lohia had some idea about situation in Goa in general as he had discussed the issue with Dr. Menezes when they were students at Berlin University. In Assolnam they met several local leaders who spoke about the situation in Goa. He was shocked to learn that Goa did not have civil liberties unlike other parts of British India. Dr. Lohia decided to defy the ban on public meetings.

On June 15, both the friends went to Mormugao and met more people there. Then they went to Panaji on June 16 and discussed

Goa issue with the some people. They came back to Margao on June 18 and from their hotel room went to the main City Square where four to five thousand people had gathered. Even before they could address the people shouting slogans of 'Jai Hind', Capitaio Miranda along with some policemen surrounded them and told they cannot address the people without prior permission. Dr. Lohia told him that he wanted to break the fascist law against the Civil Liberties and he would address the people 'here and now'. They were arrested on the charge of launching Goan people's uprising and taken Margao Police station and then to Panaji. People tried to continue the meeting. The police baton charged them. Some persons were arrested amongst them were also some women. The police baton-charged the people and asked to go away.

Next day (on June 19) there was total 'hartal' in Goa. Shops and markets were closed not only in Margao but also in other towns like Panaji, Mapusa, Mormugao, Kudchodem, and Dicholim, Ponda and even in some villages. Spontaneous 'prabhat pheris' (dawn rallies), processions and meetings were held in different parts of Goa. In Panaji, a big street procession went round the town and demanded Dr. Lohia's 'darshan'. Dr. Lohia advised them to have faith in 'satya-ahimsa' and to continue their work peacefully.

Dr. Lohia was released and sent out of Goa on June 20, as he was 'a British subject'. Dr. Menezes was also released and allowed to go to Margao and his home in Assolnam before proceeding to Bombay.

The Margao Satyagraha meeting had an electrifying effect not only in Goa, but all over the country. Most newspapers gave the news prominently with comments by the prominent leaders. The newspapers also condemned the Goa's Portuguese fascist Government editorially. Supporting the Goan struggle in his

newspaper 'Harijan', Mahatma Gandhi said that Dr. Lohia had done the right thing.

Two meetings were held in Margao, addressed by Tristao de Bragaza Cunha, Purshotam Kakodkar, and Ms Shirali on June 20 and Upendra Talaulikar, Dinisio Rebello addressed second meeting on June 21. Another meeting was held in Ponda on June 22 addressed by Laxmanrao Sardesai, Evagrio George, Sansis Orzario, Dr. B. D. Sukhtankar, and Upendra Talaulikar. Another meeting was fixed at Margao on June 30 to be addressed by T. B. de Cunha and Ms Berta Menezes Braganza but they were not allowed to hold the meeting but beaten up and arrested. Later released at Chandor.

In Mumbai a mammoth meeting was held by the Congress Socialist Party on June 30 at the Chowpatty sands where Dr Lohia announced that if the Civil Liberties were not given to Goans immediately, a movement would be launched for total independence.

With the support declared by Mahatma Gandhi, the youth felt the need of an organization to continue the struggle. So long the Goa Congress Committee and the Goan Youth League were in the movement. Hence some workers felt that the GCC should lead the movement. But when this issue was taken up with Dr. Lohia, he was not in favour of the GCC and said that an organization would come out of the struggle.

In Goa, 'an organizing committee' was formed to set up permanent organization. Those who were nearer to Dr. Lohia formed Goa National Congress. But the organizing committee formed Gomantak Congress. Meantime the Goa administration after consulting Lisbon decided to suppress the struggle. Dr. Cunha was arrested by the police on July 9 followed by Bhaskar Bhandari and Upendra Talaulikar. Meantime Dr. Marcelo Caitan, Portugal's

Minister for Colonies announced on July 16 that Goa was not a colony but a province of Portugal.

The Military Court tried Dr. Cunha and on July 24 sentenced him to eight years of jail, deportation and loss of citizenship rights for 15 years. He was the first victim of the suppression. The Court also sentenced Mr. Bhandare to six-month's jail and fine of Rs.900/- and Mr. Talaulikar to three months jail and loss of citizenship right for 15 years.

The INC leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, condemned the brutal sentence on T. B. de Cunha. At a meeting in Margao on July 28, Adv. Vincenzo Joao Figureto and Adv. Jose Inacio Loyola made a demand to the Portugal's Colonies Minister to honour his announcement that Goa was a province of Portugal by a proper constitutional change and rights. Reacting to the happenings in Goa, the AICC passed a resolution on August 11 condemning the repression in Goa and the deportation order against Dr. Cunha.

The Goan leaders decided to have a permanent organization and held a two-day meeting at Londa on border of Goa, on August 17 & 18 and formed the National Congress (Goa) after merging Gomantak Congress and Goa National Congress. Adv. Laxmikant V. Prabhu Bhembre was elected its first president. The NC(G) decided to continue the satyagraha movement and being a president, Mr. Bhembre offered Satyagraha after writing a letter to the Governor on Sept.16. Mr. Purshottam Kakodkar who was arrested earlier, was sentenced by the Military Court to nine years jail and deportation on September 27.

Dr. Lohia tried to return to Goa on September 29 by rail but was arrested at Collem. He was kept in custody and on August 8 banned from entering Goa for the next five years. Dr. Lohia decided to launch the struggle from Belgaum by sending batches of

10 satyagrahis each at 10 day interval. Thus he wanted about 1,000 satyagrahis to enter Goa by November 26.

Following this decision of mass satyagraha, the entire NC(G) Working Committee led by its president Dr. Rama Hegde courted arrested at various places in Goa on October 18. By December 28, 1946 in all eight batches of satyagrahis courted arrested in different parts of Goa. The major event of that year was formation of an action committee by Mayem Village, following a meeting addressed by the Socialist leader, Mr. Nath Pai.

In Mumbai, a two-day political conference was held at Sunderabai Hall on January 21 & 22, 1947 presided over by a Goan Gandhian from Jabalpur, Dr. George Da Silva. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chatopadhyaya inaugurated the conference attended by hundreds of delegates.

A CALL TO ARMS

Seeing the lull in the satyagraha movement, and continuous rejection of people's demand for the civil liberties by the defiant Portuguese Fascist administration, 17 freedom fighters led by Mr. Vishwanath Lawande, formed a new organization, the Azad Gomantak Dal (AGD) at Cuncolem near Ponda, on April 23, 1947 to launch an armed struggle. Mr. Lawande also kept his connection with the NC(G).

Arrests continued all over Goa on the eve of the anniversary of Dr. Lohia's satyagraha movement in Margao on June 18, 1948. In Mumbai, the June 18, 1948 was observed as 'Revolution Day' by Goan freedom fighters. This tradition was continued by Goan freedom fighters in Mumbai, Pune, Belgaum and later in Calcutta and other cities till Goa's liberation. The newly formed AGD led its first armed attack on the Government treasury at Mapusa on

July 21, 1947 under the command of V. N. Lawande and Dattatreya Deshpande.

Even as Goan patriots were busy with their struggle, the British decided to end their rule in the Indian subcontinent creating two independent nations— Pakistan on August 14 and India, that is, Bharat on August 15, 1947. Several Goans who had gone for jobs and on business to Karachi and other cities in Pakistan were trapped because of riots. This writer's father, who met with an accident on a duty, was admitted to a hospital in Karachi. No news was received for nearly two years. He was air lifted by the Indian armed forces to Ambala Cantonment and the family members were informed officially. His neglect in the Karachi hospital cost him his eyes.

The turmoil of partition left Goan issue on the back-burner and the activities of the NC(G) satyagraha had a set back. The British leaving India had no effect on the Portuguese fascist rulers. The AGD carried out a raid on the van of Banco Nacional Ultramarine, (the Portuguese monopoly bank), carrying cash at Porvorim in December 1947. There were large scale arrests including those of Adv. P. P. Shirodkar, Dr Mayekar, Dattatreya Deshpande, Narayan Naik and Prabhakar Sinari.

In March 1948 the NC(G) president Adv. Jose Mario Furtado and several others were arrested in South Goa. Taking advantage of the situation in India, the Portuguese police boldly raided the AGD cell at Mateen, Sawantwadi, in July 1948 violating international border and held Mr. Lawande and others in custody. All of them were detained for 15 days in the Sawantwadi jail by the Indian police.

The Portuguese authorities continued arrests of political activists inside Goa. The frustration that came in the struggle, led some activists to form different parties. Those who were active in the left

fronts formed Goan People's Party having its connection with the CPI.

Attempts were made by organizing a Second Political Conference in Mumbai on January 7 & 8, 1950 presided over by Dr. Ubaldo Mascarenhas, a veteran Goan INC leader of Mumbai. The socialist leader Peter Alvares moved a 'Quit Goa' resolution.

The Portuguese Government reacted by banning over 40 newspapers coming into Goa from Mumbai, Pune and other parts of India. Once again attempt was made to enthuse the political workers and the second session of the NC(G) was held at Londa. Several workers from Belgaum, Dharwad, Goa, Mumbai attended the session and elected Dr. J. Carvalho from Goa as president and Mr. V. N. Lawande as secretary.

A group broke away from the NC(G) and formed a new party naming it as United Front of Goans. Leaders of the UFG were Francisco Mascarenhas, J. M. D'Souza and Waman Desai. By now the Socialist leader, Peter Alvares who was busy in trade union movement with the All India Railwaymen's Federation, returned to Goan struggle and asked the leaders to be prepared for a struggle inside Goa. He visited border areas and met Goan activists and his Socialist Party men in Belgaum, Karwar, Sawantwadi and other areas. He entered Goa clandestinely and met nationalists.

He met Goan college students in Pune and Belgaum and persuaded some them to use their holidays in Goa to spread the message of struggle. He urged them to donate at least a year for the nation. Those who agreed, he send them to their own villages as if they have come for summer holidays and continue to remain and work for the NC(G). Work being of clandestine nature of spreading the message about the likely satyagraha, the underground workers

were told to be careful and not to get arrested at all cost. Time has not come to get arrested.

It was a difficult time and getting workers for the NC(G) was almost impossible. Since each worker was supposed to develop his cell in his own village and surrounding areas without raising suspicion, it was possible to work underground for a longer period. They were supposed to meet influential persons and if these contacts were found safe and reliable, they were asked to give them literature from time to time and cultivate them. It was found that some Portuguese communists, left sympathizers and anti-fascist in Panaji tried to help the Goan movement.

This writer came into Goa for annual college holidays and remained to do underground work. The area given was the Velim village with Margao as the center where Mr. Alvares occasionally used to visit very secretly. The literature was left at particular places to be taken away very secretly and distributed to 'friends'. In January 1951 the NC(G) decided to send satyagrahis inside Goa.

When the NC(G) was slowly trying to build its under ground organization inside Goa, the Portuguese secret police PIDE was active in Goa and also in Mumbai to collect information and to trap Goan leaders. One of such plot was hatched by the PIDE supported by their Goan agents in Mumbai. It was decided to invite some Goan leaders for talks with authorities in Daman. Leaders of the United Front of Goans fell for the bait. Francis Mascarenhas, Waman Desai, Raja Mudras went to Daman and took with them the Indian Express newspaper photo-journalist, Mr. S. Ferdinand, who was a foreigner. The moment they entered Daman they were arrested handcuffed and dumped into a dark jail cell. The news created huge commotion in Mumbai when it was known that the PIDE agent Capitaio Rompa, had trapped the leaders. The photo-journalist being a foreigner, diplomatic circles in New Delhi too

raised their voice. The Indian Government took up the matter at the diplomatic level. The arrested leaders were released later with the order from Portugal.

By now things started changing as Mr. Alvares who had build up network of the NC(G) inside Goa, was elected President of the party at the seventh conference in Mumbai in 1953. His leadership gave the NC(G) a new life and pushed the movement further. He organized a conference at Vazrem village where a decision as taken to restart the Satyagraha movement.

To raise funds of the struggle Peter Alvares with the help of the NC(G) workers in Mumbai, his Socialist colleagues and important citizens in Bombay (Mumbai), organized Ms Lata Magueshkar night, a grand musical program at Brabourn stadium. The Cine Music director Mr. C. Ramchandra and his orchestra provided the music with Lata at the mike.

The souvenir and the show raised substantial amount that helped to set up offices on the border and to provide funds to the NC(G) work inside Goa. Late Mr. G. G.Palekar who was treasurer of the NC(G), coordinated the funds with this writer as an office secretary of the Free Goa Aid Committee.

Even as new life was being given to the satyagraha action inside Goa, the news of Dr. T. B. Cunha's release in early 1954 on parole was received with great hope. He was arrested and deported to Portugal, in 1946. His stay was restricted to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. The constant watch on him by the Fascist secret police and some Goans in Lisbon made his life difficulty. But the Portuguese left and the Portuguese Communist Party came to his help. They managed to get him a passport which helped him to escape to France on September 4, 1954. After staying with his brother for some time, he came to India.

The growing enthusiasm of the NC(G) underground workers had brought in important persons in the movement in Goa. At a party, Dr. Pundalik Gaitonde protested when a speaker referred to Goa as 'the overseas province of Portugal'. He was arrested, leading to a largescale reaction, police searches and arrests. The Government of India protested against the Portuguese atrocities even as Dr. Gaitonde was deported to Portugal to undergo jail sentence.

At this moment another elitist organization was born in Mumbai of Goan professionals which was named Goa Liberation Council. At the same time some youth came together and formed 'Quit Goa Organization'.

In 1954 another important event took place in Portugal itself. The Portuguese Communist Party at its underground conference supported Goan struggle and demanded self determination to Goans and asked the Portuguese Government to negotiate with the Indian Government the Goa issue. The Party had also supported the Goan movement in 1946 following Margao satyagraha on June 18.

On July 21 night the United Front of Goans volunteers numbering about 20, led by Francis Mascarenhas and Waman Desai entered Dadra and by July 23, 1954 liberated this small enclave, surrounded by territory of Gujarat, creating commotion in the Portuguese circles in Goa. There were protests from the Portuguese.

MASS SATYAGRAHA ACTION & REACTIONS

On July 22, 1954 the NC(G) president, and the Socialist labour leader, Mr. Peter Alvares, announced a mass satyagraha on Goa borders on August 15, 1954, India's Independence Day. The

Government of India, announced a ban on Indians joining the satyagraha.

The Portuguese Government in Goa organized a protest meeting in National theatre, Panaji, in the name of Salazar's fascist party, 'Uniao Nacional' on July 22, 1954 afternoon. The Goa's Governor General presided. Worried about the NC(G) satyagraha of August 15, 1954 Portugal send a protest to Indian External Ministry, threatening that the consequences would be very bad. On July 29, even as this diplomatic war was on between India and Portugal, the Azad Gomantak Dal liberated Naroli on July 29.

With the AGD commandos marching on Silvassa, capital of Nagar Haveli and the announcement of the Satyagrha by the NC(G), 47 Goan Catholic clergies, under their signatures appealed to the faithful to assemble at the feet of St. Francis Xavier to pray to protect the territory from the Satyagraha of August 15. Rallies were also organized and prayer meets were held in Goan towns for those who died in the defense of Dadra.

The Muslims held a meeting in a Masjid in Margao on August 2, that year and speakers announced they would fight till their death against "*the aggression announced by Peter Alvares of the NC(G)*". The Portuguese Government announced entry permits for non-Goans to enter Goa.

Even as these protests were going on in Goa, the left party, Goan People's Party led by George Vaz and others liberated Khandwel and part of Nagarhaveli in separate actions, on August 3.

One more protest meeting was held in Goa on August 5, this time by 27 Portuguese primary school teachers at 'Clube Nacional', Panaji, to express "their sorrows over the liberation of Dadra". The

AGD liberated Nagar Haveli and took into custody, several Portuguese police and took over their arms on August 10.

Meantime, the GPP leader, George Vaz, his party volunteers and local warlis population who had entered the territory, were rounded up by the AGD leaders and kept in village Patel's (Regidor) custody. In Goa, the Portuguese Patriarch organized 10-kilometer walking pilgrimage on Aug.13 1954 starting at 5 a.m. from 'Paaco Patriach', Altinho and reaching Bom Jesus Basilica to pray "to save Goa from satyagraha organised by the NC(G) leader Mr. Peter Alvares.

The Portuguese Government followed this up with public meetings in all the talukas of Goa. The night curfew was announced in some areas. The armed forces number was increased to 10,000 including over 2,500 African soldiers. Non-Goan workers in docks and mines were ordered to leave the territory. The police followed this up by arresting large number of persons on the eve of the August 15 1954 Satyagraha.

GOANS ONLY

With the ban announced by the Indian Government on Indians joining the Goa border Satyagraha on August 15, only three batches of the NC(G) limited to Goan volunteers entered from three points into Goa.

The first batch was led by the NC(G) General Secretary, Mr. Anthony de Souza with 19 satyagrahis and entered Goa from Pollem, the second batch led by Mr. Mark Fernandes with 13 satyagrahis entered from Patradevi and the third batch of 15 satyagrahis led by Mr. Alfred Affonso went to border fort of Terekhol.

The satyagraha at Terekhol Fort proved historic as strangely the fully armed Portuguese police force laid down their arms before

the unarmed satyagrahis and left the fort. This was followed by a mass satyagraha by Goan residents in Parsem village. All satyagrahis were arrested.

In a historic event in the liberated Nagar Haveli, Dr. Cunha, President of the Goa Action Committee, hoisted Indian national flag at Silvasa first time after centuries at a function held on the India's Independence Day, on August 15, 1954, organized by the AGD.

To prove their 'victory' over the peaceful unarmed satyagrahis, the Portuguese Government tried to use religions and held "a thanks giving service" at Bom Jesus Basilica, Old Goa on August 16, 1954 for saving Goa from Goan satyagrahis. They followed this up by a meeting in Sattarim on August 17 of Muslims who declared their faith in the Portuguese rule. A telegram came from one Mohamed Khan to the Governor General on behalf of the Muslims. To complete the circle, 'a Satyanarayan Puja' was held at Manghueshi Devasthan with the Government giving a special permission to Hindu employees to attend the puja.

Inspite of this propaganda offensive, a batch of volunteers offered satyagraha at Ponda on August 26 and another one at Diu on August 27. A courageous youth, Narmad Prasad Sharma, offered satyagraha in front of the Governor's Secretariat, Panaji, (Palacio de Idalcao) itself on September 6, 1954. The police resorted to large scale arrests all over Goa through out the month. The Goan struggle took a new turn.

Most Goan Political parties started moving away from the satyagraha movement. The GPP which had succeed in the armed action inside Nagar Haveli, decided not to support the satyagraha movement. The AGD also opposed the Satyagraha movement thinking that armed action alone can succeed. The Government of

India and the Bombay Government declared their opposition to the mass satyagraha. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru advised people not to cross the Goa, Daman and Diu borders. But all Indian political parties, other than the Indian National Congress, supported the satyagraha. The CPI, to which the GPP looked up for its Marxist ideology, also supported the Satyagraha movement. The Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (Free Goa Aid Committee) which was formed before the NC(G) satyagraha of August 15, 1954, was now converted into Goa Vimochan Samiti (Goa Liberation Committee) and a date for the mass satyagraha was fixed for August 15, 1955 the Independence Day of India.

With the atrocities against the satyagrahis, some important members of the NC(G) got out of the organization and formed an armed action group to meet the Portuguese challenge. The High Command of the Goan Liberation Army was formed and it consisted of Urcelino Almeida, Augustus Alvares (brother of Peter Alvares), Shivaji Desai, Jaisingh Rao Rane, Madhav Rao Rane, Balkrishna Bhonsle and others. In the shortest possible time the GLA had 57 commandos trained. They carried out 20 armed actions over a period inside Goa. Balkrishna Bhonsle and seven others became martyrs in these actions.

The AGD too continue to carry out several armed actions between January 1955 and 1957 including attack on the Cuncolim and other Police stations. In Cuncolim, over 100 persons were taken into custody and nearly 200 houses were searched. Raids were carried out in the neighbouring villages and night curfew was imposed for the first time.

Following attack on the Assonora police station, Bala Raya Mapari and several others were arrested. Mapari was severely beaten and tortured to death to extract information. He became the first Goan martyr.

Meantime the NC(G) under the leadership of Peter Alvares held satyagraha in villages like Dhava, Pednem, Pirne, Kaisuva, Shivolim, Canacona, Majali and in towns like Mapusa, Margao and Panaji.

The announcement of the mass satyagraha by Indians on the Independence Day was not liked by some Goan leaders. A section of the NC(G) too opposed involvement of Indians as announced by Peter Alvares in proposed satyagraha on August 15, 1955 on the Goa borders. A parallel NC(G) was announced under the presidentship of Dr. Laura D'Souza who declared that she would lead a batch of satyagrahis herself.

In the fast moving events, the official NC(G) of Mr. Alvares, elected Mrs. Sudha Mahadevshastri Joshi of its Pune Branch of NC(G) as its president. Even before the parallel NC(G) could act, Mrs. Joshi offered satyagraha along with Ms Dandekar, octogenarian social activist from Pune, at Mapusa on April 6, 1955.

With the NC(G) president, Mrs. Joshi in jail, the Goa Vimochan Samiti (All Party Goa Liberation Committee) sent its first batch of 68 Indian-Goan satyagrahis under the leadership of Senapati Bapat (Pandurang Mahadeo Bapat) and Nanasaheb G. Gore, a socialist leader and the Secretary of the Vimochan Samiti, on May 18, 1955. They entered from different areas and the batch of Mr. Gore reached Panaji. No need to state that the satyagrahis were beaten up by the police and sent to the custody.

The batches of satyagrahis continued to enter Goa and the Portuguese continued to beat them up and send them to custody. The sixth batch which entered on June 25, 1955. A youth

Amirchand Gupta was cruelly beaten to death by the police at Kiranpani station.

Meantime the AGD commandos attacked several places including Aldona Police post, blew up bridge No. 128 between Sanvordem and Kallay and a mine at Surla in Bicholim taluka was attacked and explosives were taken away. Attempt was also made by underground workers to blow up the railway tunnel No.10

The AGD commandos, Roque Santan Fernandes, Joe Viegas, Prabhakar Vaidya and Prabhakar Matha who were going for an action were betrayed by 'a friend'. They were fired at by the police to kill them but escaped with serious injuries on July 2, 1955. Viegas escaped and reached Mumbai.

The trial of Roque Santano Fernandes and others by the Military Court became famous in Goa and outside due to courageous stand taken by Mr. Fernandes. The Goan judge, Mr. Quadros, who tried them and sentenced them to long harsh sentence, received as book bomb. But he escaped with minor injuries. All the prisoners, were released by the Indian Army on 19th December 1961 after Goa's Liberation.

Next day, on July 3, 1955, the Portuguese police killed Nityanand Saha and Baburao Thorat two young unarmed satyagrahis at Patradevi.

INDIANS FROM ALL STATES JOIN SATYAGRAHA

As the day for the mass satyagraha of August 15, 1955 started drawing, the Portuguese police became panicky. They entered Savoï Verem and arrested the regidor (police patil) Padmakar Savoikar and his daughter Sharda Savoikar and beat them up. Fifty more persons were arrested as one Custodio Fernandes, a police informant, allegedly shot dead by the underground workers of the AGD. A night curfew was imposed in the village. 'Agent'

Monteiro, a notorious policeman, with 40 others ransacked the village houses for over a month.

The Portuguese atrocities continued. A well known landlord, Rajaram G. Kundaikar, of Kundai committed suicide on July 28, 1955 as he could not bear the pressure of the authorities to sign a nomination against his wishes for the proposed new political status for Goa. This exposed the pretences of the Fascist Government's attempt to show that Goa has a democratic status.

The AGD celebrated Nagar Haveli Liberation Day when its commandos on August 2, previous year liberated the Portuguese enclave in Gujarat. This year they liberated two villages in Mayem and Surla and put up Indian National flags in several places in Goa to mark the occasion.

The Portuguese Army Chief General, Barros Rodrigues who had arrived in Goa from Portugal "to meet the threat of the entry of non-violent unarmed satyagrahis on August 15, 1955" The army units, armed to the teeth, were stationed all along the border. They were provided with machine guns, grenades and automatic weapons received from the NATO to fight the Communist countries.

Inside Goa, the police became panicky and shot dead Krishna Shawba Shet of Pomburpa after tying him to a tree. They wanted information of the satyagrahis. Another youth Salharam Yeshwant Shirodkar of Ekoshim who tried to escape swimming across the river to reach the border, was shot dead.

On August 15, 1955 thousands of Indians from all nooks and corners of India marched into Goa unarmed with only the National Flags in hand. They wanted to show their solidarity with Goans suffering under oppressive fascist colonial rule when people in free

India were enjoying the fruits of freedom since August 15, 1947. It was one of the massive satyagraha after Salt March of Mahatma Gandhi.

The satyagrahis led by leaders of different political parties entered from Aai, Dodamarg, Netarde, Karwar, Aronda, Swantwadi (Banda), Anmod, Castle Rock and Kankumbi inspite of the ban placed by the Government of India and The Government of Bombay State. The use of trucks, buses and other vehicles to reach border was not allowed. Yet 3150 volunteers selected to enter Goa, walked from Belgaum and other centers to the border points marked for them. More and more people joined them on the way.

At Banda on the border, the main point of satyagraha, 642 volunteers stood in batches shouting slogans— ‘Jai Hind’, ‘Bharatmata ki Jai’, ‘Kabhi Nahim, Kabhi Nahim— Bharat Goa Alag Nahim’. They were led by Com. Vishnupant Chitale, leader of the Communist Party of India and Mr. Vasanterao Oak, leader of the Jana Sangh.

Even as the unarmed satyagrahis crossed the border, the Portuguese troops fired at them at close range from inside the Goan border with machine guns and modern rifles. Both the leaders fell on the ground along with several volunteers. Luckily Com. Chitale and Mr. Oak were only injured but several others died on the spot. Seeing the massacre, the leaders standing on the Indian soil that included Keshavrao Jedhe, Javantrao Tilak, R. K. Khadilkar, S. M. Joshi, Com S. A. Dange stopped the satyagrahis.

But they could not bring back the dead and injured as the firings continued. Ultimately the foreign pressmen came to their rescue. They shouted at the Portuguese soldiers that they had visa to enter Goan territory and they would like to take the bodies. Slowly they

lifted the dead and injured and handed over to Indian volunteers to taken them into Indian territory.

Acting immediately, the Goa Vimochan Samiti leaders decided to withdraw the satyagraha. They told the satyagrahis that the aim of the movement has been achieved by exposing the Portuguese brutality.

On August 17, 1955 Nehru informed the Parliament that “in all 4202 satyagrahis belonging to all political parties and cherishing different ideologies entered into the erstwhile Portuguese Territory of which 22 were killed on the spot and 225 were injured in the firings”. The number of dead went up to 29 as some more persons taken to hospital died. Two persons died inside Goa. The greatest savagery was seen at Castle Rock and Banda Patradevi borders. Several bodies were found in the jungles later.

Inside Goa, the Portuguese Army officer, Maj. Homers Olibes, boasted to journalists in Panaji thus: “Our brave eight men faced and fought 2070 Indians at one border point out of nearly 3,600 who had entered into Goa.” When he was reminded by foreign journalists that he had not given figures of casualties, he tried to evade the question. But when insisted, he said they found only two bodies. This was reported by Mr. Homer Jack, American pressman. No Indian journalists were allowed to enter Goa.

In Daman and Diu too several persons who offered satyagraha on the borders, were arrested beaten up and some jailed and others pushed out of the territory.

On return from the border, Dr, T. B. Cunha wrote in his newspaper, Free Goa on August 25, 1955: *“It was an act of cowardice based on fear. It was the natural reaction of the worshippers of brute force which was unable to understand that there are people who do*

not retaliate violence with violence even when they are in a position to do so. We were there in the presence of two opposite ways of thinking and of two conflicting methods between which no conciliation is possible”.

The patriotic forces realized that there was no conciliation was possible between the fascist government in Portugal and the Indian Government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The satyagraha opened the eyes of the world leaders to methods of the fascist regime in Portugal and colonies.

Apart from the Afro-Asian leaders, the USSR's premier Bulganin said that the Portuguese presence on the Indian soil was a shame to the civilized people and he assured Indians of support of Soviet people to fight colonialism and oppression. The Western nations remained silent.

The Government of India closed down the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi and withdrew its Consulates General from Goa. The Goa border was sealed and the satyagraha movement was banned. The Portuguese ships entering Indian ports were refused facilities. All India Port and Dock Workers Union announced boycott of the Portuguese ships and urged workers in other countries to act similarly.

There were protest all over India and the Portuguese Consulate in Bombay was attacked by the people. There was police firing at the State Government secretariat in Bombay, when people demanded lowering of the Indian national flag in respect of those who laid down their lives on the Goa border. The satyagraha had awakened the nation to the fact that the Independence of India was not complete as long as vestiges of colonialism remained on the Indian soil.

The Goans in Bombay held rallies and street meetings to protest against the Portuguese brutalities. Large number of women came

in the street to support the Goan struggle. The Goan Women's Convention held in Bombay in October 1955 demanded immediate liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. Mrs Indira Gandhi presided over the Convention. The Indian National Congress, thus openly supported the Goan struggle.

The Goans in Bombay organized a huge rally and invited then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru who advised the Roman Catholic Church and Portugal to understand the signs of the changing times. But the Portuguese representative at the United Nations Organization, continue to talk about the 'moral reasons' for them to remain in Goa. He said that Goa, a province of Portugal, would be defended and the Portuguese would die in Goa with honour.

To show its intention to continue in India, the Portuguese fascist government inaugurated the Legislative Council (Conselho Legislativo) formed after a bogus election to show to the world of a fictitious autonomy in the name of farcical Political Statute (Estado Político).

The next step of the fascist government was to be friendly with Pakistan, India's not so friendly neighbour. Pakistan's leader H. S. Surhawardy was invited to Goa. Seeing no effect of non-violent movement on the fascist government, the armed action groups like AGD, GLP and RP intensified their armed actions. Several Goans died in actions including Balkrishna Bhosle, Suresh Anant Kerkar and Camilo Pereira of GLP and Mohan Pednekar of AGD during this period.

Meantime the Portuguese Military court sentenced December 29, 1956, Mohan Ranade and 25 others to different jail terms ranging from 8 to 26 years' R.I. However, the Portuguese received a set back when its case on the right to passage to its liberated enclaves,

through Indian territory was rejected. Yet, the Portuguese Government tried to show that it had won the case and held celebrations. People had to listen to the BBC, and the AIR to know the truth. Such were the ways of the fascist.

By this time the Portuguese colonialism had become an internationalise. The Afro-Asian Conference representative met at Cairo on December 26, 1958 and took up the issue of countries in these areas. In November 1957, Prof. Lucio Rodrigues became the president of the NC(G). The All Goa Congress Committee, the policy making body of the NC(G) met in Mumbai on April 19, 1958 and decided to withdraw the Satyagraha Movement. In July 1958, Prof. Rodrigues resigned as the president in huff stating that he was not getting cooperation from the members. The next Afro-Asian conference, held in Mumbai from December 2, 1960, urged the Government of India to take effective steps to liberate Goa.

ATTEMPT FOR AUTONOMY & ARMY ACTION

In a desperate attempt to persuade Lisbon to relinquish its hold on Goa and voluntarily confer 'independence' on the region was made inside Goa by some local leaders on December 16, 1961. 'A monster petition' was proposed by these leaders and signatures were being collected from prominent citizens. It was to be cabled to Dr. Salazar on December 18. But it could not be dispatched as by then as it was too late. By then Indian Army had marched into Goa. (Indian Express, Mr. Mankekar). A similar attempt was made earlier and some freedom fighters too had fallen for it. Dr. T. B. Cunha's newspaper had called these leaders traitors.

In a quick action, Goa was liberated by December 19, 1961. All the three forces, Army, Navy and Air Force, participated in the "Operation Vijay". The USSR, Afro Asian Countries hailed the liberation. Some of the so-called democratic countries in the West supported Portugal's stand.

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