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GOA: Years of Struggle & Liberation



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Note from Guest Editors

It gives us great pleasure to present a special issue of Janata to mark the 75th year of Goa Liberation Movement which resulted in freedom of the men and women of Goa on 21 December 1961 from 450 years of foreign rule. It is a matter of special jubilation for us as it coincides with 75 years of Janata weekly which was founded in 1946 by the leading lights of the Indian freedom movement.

Each year the people of Goa celebrate 18th June as 'Goa Revolution Day' because the socialist leaders Dr. Rammanohar Lohia and Dr. Juliaon Menezes offered Satyagraha for civil liberties on this day at Madgaon in 1946, which generated unprecedented protests throughout Goa. It gave courage to the enslaved men and women of Goa. They found their voice. They began uniting with courage of conviction to end the colonial rule. It got accelerated when Dr. Lohia returned after three months and defied the Portuguese rulers again on 29th September 1946. He was kept in Agwad Fort prison till 8th October which attracted nation-wide attention. Even Mahatma Gandhi found it necessary to write to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa in support of the epoch-making initiative of Dr. Lohia. He said, 'The injury done to him [Dr. Lohia] is injury done to our countrymen in Goa and through them to the whole of India'.

Janata is pleased to present a number of historical documents and essays in the first section of this issue. It includes writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Lohia, Dr. Menezes and Shanti Naik to make us better informed about the origins of Goa Liberation Movement in 1946.

It was followed by a second cycle of Satyagraha which began on 15 May 1955 under the banner of Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti. This was an all party body headed by the veteran Congress leader Keshavrao Jedhe with N. G. Gore, Jayantrao Tilak and Vinayakrao Apte as secretaries. The Samiti was assisted by Kamladevi Bhagwat and Mahadeo Shastri Joshi. Batches after batches entered Goa for several weeks. N. G. Gore, Senapati Bapat, Shirubhau

Limaye, Atmaram Patil, Tridib Choudhary, Rajaram Patil, V. G. Deshpande, Dr. Nandedkar, Jagannathrao Joshi, Dajiba Bhandari, Madhu Limaye, Vasant Rao Oak, and Madhu Dandavate were among the leaders of these batches. Most of them were sentenced by the Portuguese Military Court for several years. Some of them were deported to the prisons in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies in Africa. Mass Satyagraha of 15 August 1955 was its high point when more than 3,000 peaceful freedom fighters from Goa and all over India courted arrest under very trying circumstances. The Portuguese Raj resorted to brutal Lathi-charge and unprovoked firing at many places resulting into several deaths and large scale injuries. It remains a mysterious fact that the Government of India made no moves about the sufferings and sacrifices during this period.

After six years of the second wave of peaceful civil disobedience, the Government of India initiated military action in Goa on 17th December 1961. Goa got freedom from 450 years long foreign rule. The Portuguese rule ended on 19th December with the surrender of the Portuguese Governor General at Panaji. The second section of this issue presents the accounts of this phase by some of the prime-movers, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Jayantrao Tilak and Madhu Limaye.

The last section of the special issue is an endeavour to present an overview as well as the contemporary concerns of the people of Goa, one of the leading small states of the Republic of India.

We wish to convey our great appreciation towards the team of Janata weekly, including Dr. G. G. Parikh, Neeraj Jain and Guddi for their cooperation. We hope that this will prove to be a meaningful effort towards underlining the significance of Goa Liberation Movement - a fascinating chapter of the Indian struggle against imperialism and colonialism; a turning point in democratic nation-building in India; a mile-stone in Goa's quest for decolonization, democratization and development.

**Anand Kumar
Qurban Ali**

Between Satyagraha, Diplomacy and Military Action: Liberation of Goa from fascist rule of Salazar

Anand Kumar

‘In Goa, for a vast span of years there has been no shadow of civil liberty. No meetings can be held and nothing can be printed even a wedding card, without police permission. A month ago Dr. Lohia broke this ban and addressed meeting. Since then, the people of Goa have woken up from their slumber and repeatedly tried to hold peaceful meetings. The Portuguese administration is trying to suppress this popular movement with methods of cruelty after the Fascist pattern.’

- Jawaharlal Nehru; Press statement, 20 July, 1946¹

‘Goa today is a foreign sovereign state. Kashmir is a part of British India Empire and the Maharaja is an Indian.’

- Sardar Patel (Letter to Sir C. R. Reddy, founder of United National Party and Vice Chancellor of Andhra University during 1926-30), 16th August 1946

‘We Goans have never lost sight of our unity with the Indian nation and have done our part in the past in almost all the struggles of her freedom. This great tradition got crystallised in its finest in our struggle of 18th June and thus opened a glorious chapter in our history. Dr. Lohia, its initiator, was to us the messenger of Mother India. He brought us the values of Gandhian thought and techniques and gave a new colour to our national spirit. Truth and non-violence gave a fight in a unique way to a tyrannical fascist power. The pent up emotions of a cultured and essentially national people rose in a wave of sublimity assailing almost all the strata of our society both big and small, literate and illiterate, giving a new meaning and lustre to their life. The Portuguese Government were shaken to its foundations and their morale broken down.’

- Laxmanrao Sardesai² (Goan Political Conference, Bombay; 7th June, 1950)

‘As far as I know the world regards it (Goa) as a Portuguese province. It has been Portuguese, I think for about 400 years.’

- John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State (Press conference, 6th December 1955)³

‘In fact, he (Dr. Lohia) was the first national leader to feel the undercurrents among Goan populace on these issues (multi-linguality, multi-religiosity, and overwhelming proximity of Maharashtra and Karnataka) which keep haunting even today after 75 years...Dr. Lohia’s ‘Open Letter to Goans’ he wrote somewhere in December 1946, within five months of his association with Goa. It’s not a mere letter but a well-defined ‘Agenda for Goa’, which Goans can implement even today, 60 years after its liberation.

- Sandesh Prabhudesai⁴, 18th June ‘21

+++

Goa is a microcosm of Indian civilization. But it has been also the longest held part of India which underwent most intense colonization and denationalization during the European expansion since the sixteenth century. The Portuguese explorer Vasco de Gama arrived at Goa via Calicut on 7th July 1497. By 1510, Alphonso de Albuquerque captured most of the territory of Goa which became the start of the expansion of the Portuguese rule in India. Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Goa was under the rule of Kadambas for centuries, followed by the sway of Bahamanis, the Vijayanagar Empire and the Adilshahi dynasty of Bijapur. There were several revolts between 1555 and 1912 by the Goans against the Portuguese rule. The Ranis continued to fight intermittently for over 150 years. The Pinto rebellion, supported by a section of the Roman Catholic priests, took place in 1787.

The modern Goan freedom movement is held to begin on 18th June 1946 when Indian socialist leader Dr. Rammanohar offered Satyagraha for civil liberties. He was arrested along with Dr. Juliao Menezes, put behind the bars and later deported from Goa for challenging the Portuguese rule. It lit the fire of freedom and ignited the

1. Kunte, B. G. (Ed.) (2007) Goa Freedom Struggle vis-a-vis Maharashtra (Bombay, Government of Maharashtra) p. 56
 2. Chairman’s speech, Reception Committee of Goan Political Conference at Bombay held on 7th June, 1950. It was inaugurated by eminent socialist leader and a hero of ‘Quit India Movement’ Shri Jaiprakash Narain. See, Kunte, B. G. – Ibid, p. 149
 3. See; AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY CURRENT DOCUMENTS 2 (1954-55) p. 2294
 4. See: Lohia, Dr. Rammanohar (2021) Preface, Action in Goa (New Delhi, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia Research Institute) p. xii

imagination of people in Goa and the Goans elsewhere.

It is a matter of great joy and pride that there is celebration of 75 years of Goa Liberation Movement and 60 years of Goa's freedom. It deserves attention of students of colonialism, fascism, anti-imperialist movements, freedom struggles and nation-building as Goa was the first post in Asia to be colonized by the European expansionists and the last part to be made free. It has many significant lessons about power as well as limits of Satyagraha and efficacy of non-violence in face of a fascist regime. Thus, the Goa Liberation Movement has been a unique saga of complex intertwining of nationalism, civil disobedience, international diplomacy and army action.

Such a glorious occasion may inspire self-confidence and selfless cooperation to go further to realise the great vision of building a vibrant democracy with justice and happiness for all. Trivialising the celebrations of the liberation movement by turning it into an occasion of 'blame-game' and search for 'villains' must not be encouraged in any way. For example, accusing Jawaharlal Nehru and keeping silent about the fascist regime of Salazar and NATO for the painful delay of long fourteen years in the liberation of Goa is not appropriate. It is nothing but to live in denial of the complexity of international relations during the era of Cold War. It is not prudent to ignore the following facts:

- a) The policy of peaceful negotiations was certainly fruitless with the fascist regime in Portugal but did result into amicable merger of the French India (Pondicherry).
- b) It created international support in favour of the Indian endeavour to liberate Goa. Portugal failed to demonize India as 'aggressive militarist, anti-Christian, particularly anti-Catholic, and hypocritical expansionist'⁵.
- c) The Soviet Union used veto power in the U. N. Security Council to thwart the effort of Portugal and the NATO countries to get India censured for the army action of December 1961.
- d) In the long run, we got satisfactory dividends as the U. N. Declared Goa, Daman and Diu as part of India on 16th August 1962.

Spark of Satyagraha – Lohia in Goa in 1946

Goa Liberation Movement originated seventy five

years ago with mesmerising defiance of ban on public meetings by socialist leader and freedom fighter Dr. Rammanohar Lohia at Madgaon on 18th June 1946. His arrest was protested by the crowd of local people who had assembled to listen to the hero of 'Quit India' movement. They challenged and defied the Portuguese police with slogans of 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai', 'Jai Hind' and 'Dr. Lohia Zindabad'. These slogans became the battle cry in a matter of few weeks all over Goa. It electrified the people of Goa and the neighbouring districts for the next several months which motivated a new generation of freedom fighters. People began to refuse to shout 'Viva Portugal' and collected courage to say 'jai Hind'.

It is interesting to point out that there were striking similarities between the aim and methodology of Gandhi in Champaran in 1917 and Dr. Lohia in Goa in 1946. Gandhi and Lohia both offered Satyagraha and followed the path of civil disobedience to eradicate fear of the oppressors. They both aimed at highlighting the plight of the common people. Both established contacts to get a first-hand understanding of the ground realities. They purposely defied the local authorities and got arrested to create and cultivate courage among the oppressed people. Both communicated with the local activists as well as highest authorities of the respective colonial administrations with a set of constructive suggestions.

Unlike Gandhi, Lohia did not get any cooperation from the higher authorities of the Portuguese India. He was arrested by the Portuguese for the second time and kept in solitary confinement at Agvad Fort Jail. Later he was deported and a ban of five years was put on his entry into Goa. He was also advised by Gandhi ji and Jawaharlal Nehru to desist from continuing his civil disobedience. It is appreciable that Dr. Lohia obeyed the national leadership while taking enough care about the needs of greater upsurge for liberation. He presented a 'road-map' for furthering the mobilization for civil liberties in the towns and villages of Goa. He encouraged formation of an inclusive platform with a manifesto for 'new Goa' and a new strategy.

Dr. Lohia went around Belgaum, Karwar, Ratnagiri, Kolhapur and Sawantwadi addressing over one lakh people and covering more 1000 miles. He attended the need of cadre building by initiating training sessions for volunteers. He contacted the activists of the Indian national movement among the Goans and the others in

5. Nehru, Jawaharlal – Statement in Lok Sabha on Goa, August 25, 1954

the region. He aimed at intensifying the involvement of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leadership. He presented a comprehensive 'analysis of the situation' to contextualise the diversities of languages, religions, castes and classes among Goan people. He suggested an eight point democratic socialist strategy with focus upon establishing peoples' Panchayat and organising peasants' Morchas for moving forward to achieve the liberation of Goa from several centuries' old grip of Portugal.

The Lohia approach emphasised two things : 1) No need to worry of the Goan identity after freedom from Portugal as it will be decided by themselves, and 2) the need of building the movement from below by reaching the poor and very poor. He underlined the value of Konkani, Marathi and Hindustani languages in defining the Goan identity. It made people aware of the organic links between the Goan ethnicity, major religions of Goa, and Indian nationality. He urged to engage the youth, women and rural masses to make it a mass movement for a democratic future. Later, a small handbook titled 'Action in Goa' was brought out in January of 1947 and was circulated all over Goa. He made effective use of various platforms and the media for educating the masses of Goa, the Goan migrants in Maharashtra and Karnataka, and the people of the neighbouring districts. He suggested to 'aim to create five thousand resistors who have gone through the fire of repeated arrests and beatings and to make every adult Goan an alert democrat'.

This unique episode was preceded by the efforts of Dr. Tristao de Braganza Cunha who had established Goa Congress Committee in 1928. It was rejuvenated in 1939 when Netaji Subhas became the president of Indian National Congress. He also initiated Goan Youth League in 1945 at Bombay. There were significant contributions of other freedom fighters like Babla Sinhal, Berthe Menezes, Laxamrao Sardesai, Narayan Bhombhre, Bhasker Mohe, Roque Sequeira, Basant Kare, Evaquio George, Karapurkar and Narayan Naik. It also provided ground for organizations like Azad Gomantak Dal, National Goa Congress Committee and Goa Peoples' Party.

Later, the flame of freedom movement was kept alive through camps, conferences and establishment of units of a new forum called National Congress (Goa). There was holding of first political conference inaugurated by

Kamladevi Chattopadhyay on 1st June '47. The second political conference was held on 7-8th January '50 and inaugurated by Jaiprakash Narain.

Gandhi on liberation of Goa

The civil liberties' initiative of Dr. Lohia in Goa was supported by Gandhi ji. There were letters from Dr. Lohia to Gandhi ji on 13th July and 10th October in '46 and on 23rd February in '47. He also arranged for a meeting between Gandhi ji and a delegation of the Goan freedom fighters led by Purushotam Kakodkar and Ivagro George. There were several statements and a letter to Governor General of Portuguese India between 30th June 1946 and 29th August 1946 by Gandhiji. It included his condemnation of the arrest of Dr. Lohia (30th June), criticising the court martial of Dr. T. B. Cunha (12th August), concern about Purushottam Kakodkar's hunger strike in jail (25th August) and Dr. Lohia's letter to the High Court judge (13th October).

Gandhi ji wrote soon after the first Satyagraha of June 18 that, 'In free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese government of Goa to recognise the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British government.'⁶

In his statement of 13th October '46 in the context of the arrest of Lohia in entering Goa to offer Satyagraha a second time, Gandhi ji went further and said, 'The injury done to him (Dr. Lohia) is injury done to our countrymen in Goa and through them to the whole of India.'⁷

Making of Nehru's approach about Goa

It is true that Jawaharlal Nehru had a very limited exposure about the complexity of the Portuguese India, particularly Goa till he became part of the interim government during 1946-'47. It was reflected in his much quoted statement of 1946 that, 'Goa was a small pimple

6. Harijan, 30 June 1946

7. All these statements and letters of Gandhi ji are included in Action in Goa by Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. The letters of Dr. Lohia to Gandhi ji are published as appendix of Ganesh Mantri (1996/ 2021) Goa Mukti Sangharsh (Gwalior, ITM University).

on the beautiful face of India and it would not take much time to pinch after India gained its independence.’ There was no reference of Goa in his writings between 1946 and ’53 except a line about Goa together with Pondicherry.⁸

At the same time, Dr. Lohia kept Jawaharlal Nehru well informed about his efforts since his second deportation in October, 1946. He presented a set of constructive suggestions to facilitate the liberation of Goa. At least four letters of Dr. Lohia to Jawaharlal Nehru are available about the Goan challenge. They were written on 10th October, ’46, and 23rd January, 10th March, 19th May and 21st August in ’47⁹. It is also significant that Nehru had responded to Dr. Lohia’s letter after his second deportation from Goa by a telegraphic message:

‘Your letter of 10th October received and action being taken upon it. Please refrain from going to Goa or taking any precipitate action.’

It was followed by the following letter of 15th October:

‘My dear Rammanohar,

I am dealing with the matter officially. In view of this fact it is not desirable for you to return to Goa at present. Obviously the approaches must not conflict with each other. I do not, of course, want to restrain you forever. We are taking steps to appoint a consul in Goa who could carry out our instructions more effectively. I understand that Gandhi ji has asked you to come here. That would be helpful for all of us.’

In this context, Nehru also wrote to Vijaylaxmi Pandit on 14th 1946, the Indian representative at the United Nations Organisation (and his sister): ‘In Goa Lohia has been recently arrested just for crossing the border and is now in solitary confinement. I am moving in this matter, but this is a round-about process and will not achieve results soon. Meanwhile, of course, the agitation in and outside Goa will continue and will have our support.’. It was soon after she, as the Indian representative, had successfully opposed the application of Portugal for U. N. Membership on 8th November ’46.

A reading of Lohia – Gandhi – Nehru correspondence makes it obvious that Lohia found Gandhi supportive and Nehru unsure about the civil disobedience for Goa’s

liberation. Lohia had reported to Gandhi ji in a letter of 21 August 1947 that it was not correct on the part of Gandhi himself to mix Goa and Pondicherry because the French were keen on reconciliation and the Portuguese are heading for a clash. He further informs that the endeavours of ‘Pandit Nehru’ were nothing except the efforts of Sir Girija Shankar Vajpayee, an I.C.S. who was serving the British Raj till independence, which were harming the national interests in several cases.¹⁰

To be fair, Nehru appeared to be inclined towards diplomatic negotiations for a peaceful transfer of the India territories in possession of France and Portugal. Lohia had written to Nehru in the letter dated 19th May, 1947 that, ‘To men in authority I guess, the beginning of every Satyagraha appears petty. And surprisingly these petty things cause widespread opposition.’ He also shared this assessment with the activists of the Goa Liberation Movement. He wrote in his famous ‘Open Letter to Goan People’ in December, 1946, ‘You are expecting me to enter Goa again. I would have normally done so but I must wait. Mahatma Gandhi and our Foreign Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have wished that I should not enter Goa just yet. I do not have to tell you how much you owe to Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Nehru would take some time before the diplomatic exchanges with Lisbon are over.’¹¹

It may be relevant to add Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, also considered Goa a foreign sovereign state.

All party Satyagraha for liberation of Goa

The second cycle of Goa Liberation Movement was around the all India Satyagraha in 1954-’55 by an all party Goa Vimachan Sahayak Samiti (GVSS). It attracted several thousand men and women from Goa and rest of India. These were led by eminent leaders of major political parties including Congress, Communist Party of India, Bharateeya Jan Sangh, Praja Socialist Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Kisan Mazdoor Sangh and Revolutionary Socialist Party. The Portuguese regime responded in brutal ways including firing, Lathi-charge, arrests and deportations.¹²

8. Limaye, Champa and Qurban Ali (Eds.) (2021) – Goa Liberation Movement and madhu Limaye (Gwalior, ITM University) p. 144

9. See; Mantri, Ganesh (1996) Goa Mukti Sangharsh (Gwalior, ITM University) pp 184-6; Kinte, D. B. (2007) Ibid, p.

10. Mantri, Ganesh – Ibid, p. 183

11. Lohia, R. (1947/ 2021) – Action in Goa, p. 85

12. See for further details ; Mantri, Ganesh (2021) Goa Mukti Sangharsh (Gwalior, ITM University)

Ultimately, 3000 Satyagrahis entered Goa on 15th August 1955 which included 1700 in Goa, 1249 in Daman and 81 in Diu. The Portuguese army opened fire at several places killing 49 Satyagrahis including 28 Goans. 630 persons were arrested including 454 Goans. But the Satyagraha was suspended as the Government of India put a ban on anyone entering Goa from the Indian side.

India closed the Consulate Office at Lisbon and asked Portugal to shut their offices in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. It also imposed an economic blockade of Goa. The government got oriented towards use of diplomatic channels. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had already visited Soviet Union in June 1955. It was followed by Portugal ruling out any negotiations on Goa with India in July 1955. Then there was first ever visit by the two top most leaders of the Soviet Union – Bulganin and Khrushchev – in India during November – December, 1955. They openly endorsed the Indian stance about Goa which must be decolonized.

On the other side, it was resisted by a meeting and joint statement of the foreign minister of Portugal Dr. Paulo Cunha and the U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on 30th November 1955 claiming Goa to be ‘the outer province of Portugal’. The US Secretary of State had already told media in August 1955 that he considered Goa as a province of Portugal for the last 400 years. Portugal also succeeded in becoming member of the United Nations Organisation on 19th December 1955. Both sides became totally antagonistic and India began diplomatic manoeuvres to isolate Salazar and Portugal in Afro-Asian domain. A resolution by 43 Afro-Asian countries was presented at the U. N. In 1960 calling for independence of ‘colonies’. There was a significant improvement in the Indo-U.S. relations after a visit of Nehru in November, 1961. The rest is history.

Goa today

Today, Goa has become the global destination for people looking for sun, sea and peace. In India, it is known for good quality of life. It is also known for the presence of a vibrant network of eco-sensitive civil society. It has experienced a great transition from being

‘the outer province’ of a stagnant Portuguese colonial order to a small state of a market-mediated democratic nation-state. An overview of the last 75 years since the first spark of Satyagraha in 1946 and 60 years of decolonization after the military action in 1961 indicates that rapid industrialization, urbanization, deforestation, land acquisition, migration and tourism have changed the look of Goa beyond expectation of the freedom fighters.

Geographically speaking, Goa is a state with an area of 4,240 sq. Kms. on the south west coast of India within the region as the Konkan, and separated from the Deccan highlands by the Western Ghats. It is surrounded by Maharashtra to the north and Karnataka to the east and south with the Arabian Sea forming its western coast. It is India’s smallest state by population which was 14, 58,545 with 973 women per 1,000 men and 87% literacy in 2011 census. It is a multilingual¹³ and multi-religious¹⁴ state which made Dr. Lohia predict in 1946 that ‘Goa and the four districts (Ratnagiri, Sawantwadi, Belgaum and Karwar) can, if they so choose, become to the south a model of the Indian outlook as distinct from the provincial outlook.’¹⁵

Economically, it is leading the smaller states with 2.5 times more per capita income than the national average. The economy of Goa is sustained by ever growing tourism. There is significant share of agriculture, mining and fisheries. The wave of ‘new economic policies’ saw establishment of 16 Special Economic Zones’ (SEZs). But there is growing concern about the need to move in the direction of eco-friendly and sustainable economic strategy.

Socially, the women of Goa are better placed than rest of India. But they are still awaiting improvement in their life which is infected by domestic violence, reproductive health problems and malnutrition. Similarly, the youth of Goa feel restive about the educational facilities and job opportunities.

There is limited presence of the Scheduled Castes (1.8%) and the Scheduled Tribes (0.05%) in Goan society. But, the deprived caste groups are a significant constituent as the Hindus and Christians both have

cont'd... on page no. 13

13. Konkani is the official language of Goa with 66% speakers. There are 10.8% Marathi, 7.6% Hindi, 5.6% Kannada and 2.82% Urdu speaking persons according to the census of 2011.

14. The religious composition of the people of Goa was the following in 2011 : Hindus – 66%, Christians – 25%, Muslims – 8.8%, Others – 0.49%.

15. Lohia, R. (1947/2021) Ibid, p. 81

Looking back at the Goa Liberation Movement

Qurban Ali

On the occasion of the 75th Anniversary (Platinum Jubilee) of the starting of the liberation movement of Goa, it is heartening to know how this small territory, under the occupation of mighty Portuguese for more than 450 years, was liberated, got independence, and merged with the Indian Union. While India attained independence from the British Raj on 15 August 1947, Goa was still languishing under the four-and-a-half-century-long Portuguese rule. Even after Independence, pockets of the country remained under foreign rule. The French gave up Pondicherry, but Portugal continued to challenge India's claim on its coastal enclave of Goa. International opinion failed to convince the Portuguese Government to change its stand.

The Portuguese were among the very first to colonise parts of India and were the last to leave. Goa was liberated from Portuguese rule on December 19, 1961, by the Government of India through military action - 'Operation Vijay'. But before that, armed guerrillas, satyagrahis, journalists, and even film artists fought for Goa's independence. Famous playback singer Lata Mangeshkar also contributed to this fight. She performed at a concert on 2nd May 1954 at Hirabaug in Pune to help the revolutionaries raise money to buy arms to free Goa and Dadra and Nagar Haveli from Portuguese rule.

In fact, Goa's Independence Day should be 18th June, when Dr. Rammanohar Lohia started the movement for the liberation of Goa in 1946, not the 19th of December 1961, which marked the beginning of the end of Portuguese rule in India. Dr. Lohia had visited his Goan academician and writer friend Dr. Juliao Menezes for a medical examination in Bombay, when Menezes invited Lohia to his house in Assolna, Goa. Accepting the invitation, Lohia arrived in Goa and stayed at the residence of Menezes, where the two stalwarts discussed the situation prevailing in Goa during that period and decided to defy the ban on public meetings imposed by the Portuguese Government. This was the first civil disobedience movement against the then 435-year-old Portuguese rule. While Lohia was arrested and the movement quashed, it inspired Goans. People began to meet, organise and strategise.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Goa was under

the rule of Kadambas for centuries, followed by the Bahamanis, of the Vijayanagar Empire and the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. According to the veteran freedom fighter who also participated in the liberation movement of Goa, Madhu Limaye, "it is not as if the Portuguese did not meet with any resistance from Goans. There were several revolts, beginning with the one in 1555 and they included several Rane rebellions. The first occurred in 1755. The Ranes continued to fight the Portuguese intermittently for over 150 years. The Pinto rebellion took place in 1787. Pinto was supported by a section of the Roman Catholic priests. The modern Goan Freedom Movement began on 18 June 1946 when Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, on a private visit to Goa, was so enraged by the total eclipse of civil liberty in 'Portuguese India', that he at once decided to hold a public meeting at Margao in defiance of the Portuguese authorities, who were much baffled by this outburst of non-violence."

Lohia's arrest created a sensation, although it seemed a nuisance to Nehru and Patel. But Mahatma Gandhi, who was then alive, reacted differently. Gandhi not only justified Lohia's defiance of the prohibitory orders, but he also said that Lohia had rendered a 'service to the cause of civil liberty and especially the Goan'. He made it clear that the little Portuguese settlement really existed on the 'sufferance of the British Government'. In Free India, Goa could not be allowed to exist as a 'separate entity' in opposition to the laws of the free state.

Without a shot being fired, Gandhi hoped, Goa would be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free Indian state. He admonished the Portuguese and asked them to recognise the 'signs of the times'. Gandhi advised the inhabitants of Goa to shed the fear of Portuguese power just as the people in other parts of the country had shed the fear of the 'mighty British Empire'. He said that differences of religion among the Goans "should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual himself or herself to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects."

Rammanohar Lohia had lit a torch which the Goans could not allow to be extinguished except at their peril. Although Gandhi's politics probably differed from his,

Lohia, Gandhi said, had commanded his admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. It was because of Lohia's initiative that the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on Goa at its meeting held on 12 August 1946. "Goa has always been and must inevitably continue to be part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people", the Committee declared. Lohia also helped to found the National Congress, Goa, to organise peaceful resistance. Lohia was again arrested on a train on 29 September 1946 and was kept in solitary confinement in Aguada fort. Gandhi in his speech at his prayer meeting held on October 2, 1946, praised Lohia for his learning and supported his action. "Let us see what steps Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has donned the crown of thorns, and Lord Wavell take to see that this high-handedness on the part of the Goa authorities is stopped." Again, Gandhi's intervention secured Lohia's release.

After Mahatma Gandhi's powerful defence of Lohia, Jawaharlal Nehru could not keep quiet. Nehru wrote to Krishna Menon on 6 October 1946 about Lohia's arrest and the heavy sentences that had been passed against Goan patriots. He was 'moving' in the matter, but, in his usual indecisive way, said that it was a 'roundabout process' and would not achieve results 'soon'. Meanwhile, of course, the agitation in Goa would continue and would have their support, he wrote. Lohia wrote to Nehru to find out whether the latter was inclined to act in the matter. Nehru advised Lohia to refrain from taking 'any precipitate action'. Their approaches must not conflict, although Nehru clarified that he did not want to 'restrain him forever'. Lohia went to Delhi and had consultations with Gandhi and Nehru. The struggle continued.

According to Madhu Limaye, "Nehru in his early years as Prime Minister was as concerned about establishing his reputation in international affairs as an apostle of peace, a new avatar of Emperor Asoka as he was to assert his anti-colonial stand..... Nehru's pacifism was of no use in fighting back the tribal invasion in Kashmir. The Army had to be sent to Srinagar. In Junagarh, a show of force by volunteers was enough to make the Nawab and his entourage run for life. But in Hyderabad, a full-scale military action had to be launched and the power of Nizam's Razakars and his army destroyed. It is a measure of the utmost insignificance of the issue of Goa in the eyes of Nehru that in the first volume, of his speeches covering the period 1946-49 there is one solitary reference to Goa and Pondicherry to

the effect that the Government desires a peaceful solution to these problems. In the next volume of almost 600 pages relating to the years 1949-53, there is nothing! The most considered and extended discussion of the problem of Goa was in Nehru's statement in Lok Sabha on 25 August 1954. After affirming Goan's right to freedom and its union with India, Nehru said that the Government of India would 'not be provoked into thinking and acting in military terms'. Nehru held out Goa as one of the brightest examples of their 'tolerance' and 'patience', and also as evidence of their desire to follow a 'broad idealistic policy' in a speech on 21 December 1955. There was a 'peaceful approach' to world problems, and they could not adopt a different attitude without 'violating that major approach' of theirs, Nehru told Lok Sabha on 21 March 1957". The military action was started finally at midnight of 17-18 December and everything was over in a day.

The second phase of the Goa freedom movement, in the true Gandhian way, started as Satyagraha in 1955-57. It was resumed under the leadership of Anthony D'Souza, followed by Smt. Sudha Joshi. People from other parts of India also joined. Prominent among them were P. Kakodkar, L. Bhembre, Dr. J.I. Loyola, Dr. Rama Hegde, D. Deshpande, Dr. V. Mayenkar, P. Shirodkar, G. Ticlo, T.B. Cunha, Peter Alvares, N. G. Goray, Kaka Deshmukh, Shirubhau Limaye, Ishwarlal Desai, Keshav Goray, Dinkar Sakrikar, Madhu Limaye, Madhu Dandavate, Vinayak Kulkarni, Bhai Vaidya, Tridib Chaudhry of RSP, Rajaram Patil of CPI and Jagannath Rao Joshi of Jana Sangh. Several others also participated in this second phase of the liberation movement of Goa from May 1955 onwards. They received savage sentences - imprisonment or forced exile and many of them were sentenced to 10+2 years' imprisonment. This phase ended with the massacre of 15 August 1955, in which people like Karnail Singh, Hirve Guruji, Pannalal Yadav, Aminchand Gupta, and others fell to Portuguese bullets. Most of the freedom fighters of Goa liberation were given amnesty, on the intervention of the Pope, and were released unconditionally in 1957. But many Goan patriots continued to languish in jails.

Their agony was ended in December 1961 When India's armed forces entered Goa. The operation was organised on a grand scale, but there was no resistance worth the name. Of course, the Army does things in a systematic way, and obviously, it could not have taken chances. In November 1961, the Portuguese provoked India by firing at Indian steamers and fishing boats,

killing one fisherman. They also tried to pull out villagers and take them hostage. Krishna Menon, the then Defence Minister prevailed upon Jawaharlal Nehru that it was time to use force. 30,000 Indian troops with full air and naval support were sent to fight, and in less than 48 hours, Goa was liberated from Portuguese rule. All operations ceased by 19 December 1961, when the Portuguese surrendered.

According to Madhu Limaye, "the attitude of Jawaharlal Nehru towards Goa was hypocritical. He dismissed the problem in 1946 as 'a pimple on the face of India' which would disappear without a struggle or surgery. He has been strutting on the international stage these last few years decked out in the plumage of peace. But his claim as a peacemaker is bogus, for the Indian state has used force both in Kashmir, whose Maharaja had acceded to the Union as well as in Hyderabad where the ruler had refused to do so. And yet he maintains that the methods other than peaceful must be ruled out completely. The use of force in Goa would mean giving up the whole roots of our policies and our behavior".

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their own hierarchical caste system. There are three disconnected worlds in caste-terms: socio-economically well-to-do upper castes and dominant castes, moderately empowered middle castes, and marginalised 'Bahujan Samaj'¹⁶.

Similarly water management, vanishing fish, poor health of the rural population, increasing problems in the mining sector, public transport deficiencies, waste recycling and an invisible circle of chronic poverty need urgent attention.

Politically, Goa was a site of perpetual political instability. There were 14 governments in 15 years between 1990 and 2005. In recent times, it has been experiencing growing encirclement by a deadly combination of money power and political opportunism. It seems to be becoming a good case for experimenting with further democratic reforms to break the vicious circle of 'power through money and money through power'.

To sum up, Goa Liberation Movement was initiated by the desire to become part of the Indian nation. It was motivated by the twin dreams of freedom and democracy. It has resulted into coming out of a dark cave of colonialism as Goa acquires a place of honour in the large framework of the post-colonial Indian nation-state.

This was not only the attitude of Pt. Nehru. Even "Iron man" (Lauh Purush) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was also of the view that "Goa was a foreign sovereign State". In a letter to his friend Sir C. R. Reddy on 16 August 1946, he said: "I am glad you appreciate my attitude towards the Goa movement but your comparison about Kashmir is out of place. Goa today is a foreign sovereign State. Kashmir is a part of the British Indian Empire and the Maharaja is an Indian. Pandit Nehru has not started the movement in Kashmir and he wanted to go there to defend his comrade who was being tried in his capacity as President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference".

Goa has completed 75 years of its liberation movement on June 18 2021 and on December 19, 2021, it will complete 60 years of its liberation from Portugal's colonial rule and integration into the Indian union. It should be the endeavor of all those who believe in the unity and integrity of this great country to pay their sincere homage to the freedom fighters of Goa.

But like the rest of Indian people, they have to engage further for realising the dreams of those who suffered for and struggled for liberation. Jai Hind! Jai Jagat!

16. Mani, Kalanand and Frederick Noronha (2008) 'Caste, an old story seldom told', Picture Postcard Poverty (Goa, Broadway Book Center) pp 45-6

समाजवादी विचार संकल्प

बदलाव का समाजवादी

समागम

१२-१३ जुलाई, २०१९, दिल्ली

के अवसर पर प्रकाशित

संपादक : कुरबान अली

प्रकाशक : रमाशंकर सिंह

लागत मूल्य : २०० रुपये में उपलब्ध।

संपर्क : जनता ट्रस्ट - ७७३८०८२१७०

(पोस्ट का खर्च अलग)

Documents

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia on Goa*

"I came to Goa with no intention beyond getting to know the land and its people. I had heard about you and counted some of you as my friends. I had also known how an alien rule had tried to tempt and force you into a soulless culture and heard that you were deprived of your civil liberties. But my surprise was great beyond measure when I actually saw under what kind of rule you lived.

"People have come to me and told me their tales of sorrow, sometimes tinged with anger at the helplessness to which Portuguese have reduced your Population. You cannot form organisations. Not to talk of political organisations like the Indian National Congress, even organisations, for study or sport or village uplift, require previous sanction of the Government and must obviously work under police watch. You cannot hold meetings. Not to talk of political meetings, even social and private gatherings, require permission and come in for police inquiry. You cannot issue publications. The Censors make your newspapers dull and uninteresting and these tell you almost nothing about the country of which you form a part. For 18 long years you have lived under such laws."

"You have a new Governor General. He seems to be a very hopeful man. He has made clear his intention to preserve the sovereignty of Portugal over Goa. A very brave intention indeed in these days when all kinds of sovereignties are tumbling into dust especially such sovereignties as are practised by a small and alien people over a large and awakening people. The little kingdom of Portugal had better get worried about preserving its own sovereignty and removing such inroads as have already been made by its northern neighbours and others, and yet Portugal rules over Goa and I shall not satisfy myself with ridiculing the fact that such a little and far away kingdom should rule over a part of my country.

"It is indeed true that Portuguese rule will not be worth a guesswork of a day's purchase, once British rule is ended. That again can be no consolation to anybody. Only they can use freedom who have wrested it, who have suffered the sorrows and felt the joy whilst striving for it. Still I am not asking you today to overthrow Portuguese

rule that will come in its own time. This meeting is held with a very limited purpose. It is an invitation to you to speak and act as if these laws did not exist. Even if we cannot at once attain our freedom we must at least think and speak of freedom, and build up the strength of an organization to strive for it. The Republic of Portugal is guilty of infamy of ruling over an alien people; will it add to this infamy by seeking to perpetuate barbaric laws of thought control? These laws must go and go they will soon, for an awakening people cannot be suppressed in their effort at self-expression. It is no argument to say that Portugal itself has few civil liberties. One may consider the laws under which the Portuguese live as bad and harmful, but she must not forget that they are not a conquered people. When to the crushing weight of a foreign rule is added control of thought and speech the spirit of man is in danger of dying out.

"A conspiracy has sought for decades to turn Goa into an Island of Imperialist safety where the law has proved inadequate, a whole chain of papers from Karachi over Bombay to Goa, and other agencies are instilling into Catholic Christians an unreasoning hatred and fear of Hindusthani Nationality. A recent circular called for the withdrawal of Catholic children from private and secular schools. Religious agencies openly proclaim their aim to bring the dominating Portuguese and the dominated Goans together, to make the Goanese take pride in Portugal, and even in its conquest and rule over Goa. Until recently the Government of Goa held celebrations to which the people were invited on the day that Goa was overrun. The powerful protest raised by your great leader Menezes Braganza and other leading leaders frightened Government but these scandalous celebrations are kept up by others. They also spread fear among Goan Catholics that their jobs are secure under Portuguese or British rule and with Indian rule insecurity will come. This is a libel on Goanese talents. If Goanese work on Indian ships, in Indian offices and elsewhere in Bombay, Karachi or Calcutta it is a reward for their talents and not their faith. The state of Free India will recognize

*Action in Goa - Dr.Rammanohar Lohia (Bombay, 1947)

talents and make no distinctions of caste or creed. Such deliberate instilling of fear can have only one purpose, to take the Goanese away from the flow of national life and you can imagine what loss that means alike to Gomantak and the rest of Hindusthan. One knows so little about Goa but one should at least know that where the voice of man is stifled and his action shackled and fear chokes him, there the voice of God cannot be heard.

"The Hindus of Goa are sorely provoked by such fatuous remarks from church dignitaries as are there still, "Hindus in Goa-Test them hard." And yet I shall say to them, "No matter what foes beset our part and guide us into byways we have to batter out of the existing material a common Hindusthani Nationality of which Christians and Muslims and Hindus shall be equal members. Regain that vitality that does not permit Indian nationality to be split up into caste or faiths and that regards all Indian homes as pure. Among the Hindus of Goa are large numbers of Maharastrian descent with whom the glorious tradition of Lokmanya Tilak and of Satara must be an intimate experience. They are the natural fighters for freedom and, therefore, the creators of a Hindusthani nationality who will shatter the social and cultural barriers which a decaying and caste-ridden country had put up. Vitality is the enemy of castes."

"A debate goes on amongst you whether Free Gomantak should become part of Karnatak or of Maharashtra or should form a province by itself. There is no harm in continuing the debate if it does not heat up the debaters so much that they lose the capacity to work together. Gomantak is still to be freed like the rest of Hindusthan and free Gomantak shall form part of the state of Hindusthan. These two great tasks have an urgency that should bind all progress-loving Gomantakis into an unbreakable bond; no matter what other opinions each may hold and propagate.

"Shall Konkani or Marathi be the language of Gomantak? Such debates can be carried too far and are evidently an expression of the fact that you are not allowed to debate about the vital problems that face you. Konkani and Marathi are after all allied languages and the growth of one cannot harm the other. Gomantak is also luckier than its neighbours whose languages are fixed. It can become for the south the repository of Hindusthani, our national language. Gomantak is in fact lucky in other ways. What was once the cause of battles and suffering and sorrows can be turned to advantage. Streams of diverse hills have met in your land and you are in a better

position than others to create that new Indian who adores his history and is yet acutely aware of the needs of the present and is devoted to the State of United Hindustan.

"Gomantak is a beautiful country, rich with possibilities. As the train carrying one into your land winds its way through the hills one has hardly recovered one's wonder and yet sees again from another aspect the magnificent height, what could not be done with it? It could give motor-power for renewed and thriving village industries. It could bring well-being into the life of every Goan. And, not the least, for miles around it, could your land give shelter to those from far and wide who seek rest and beauty, a real meeting place for the people of Hindustan. However, such bringing together of hills and waters and plants and man into a unity as in the Tennessee Valley Authority of America is impossible unless a free people undertake it. Dudhsagar must hide its power and only half reveal its beauty until Hindustan is free.

"And yet there are quite a few things which you can and must undertake at once. You must revive village industries and khadi and establish new ones. You must stop this racket in rise which enables the government and its servants and others to take a looting profit out of the food of the people. These are semi-starved and semi-naked people in Goa. It is true that the middle-class people in Goa is large, the gap between the rich and the poor is not as big as elsewhere. But the poor and the very poor are here as anywhere, the landless labour in the villages, especially those away from the coast, the women and men who carry loads, the labour on the railways and the men and women who live in holes near the great port and other installations are in need of public workers who will awaken them to improve their condition.

"It is these who form the bulk of our population. Organise them and help them to improve their condition. What use it is when we say that our people number 40 crores or those of Gomantak 5 lakhs plus a lakh outside, unless all these are awakened and sturdy? A programme that makes a nation and its State must necessarily be a programme that awakens and improves the poor and the very poor. And Gomantak is, I understand, better-placed than others for the promotion of co-operative farming, that will add to the food of the people and improve the peasantry. Already, large pieces of land are owned by shareholders' companies and, through adequate compensation or other means, these could be turned into co-operative farms.

"All this and other things need to be done. But

Gomantak must first have civil liberties. There have been in the past cases of imprisonment and the Gomantaki spirit has tried to keep itself alive in various ways and there is no dearth of numerous groups of men, although unconnected, all over Goa, who are fuming at the slavery that holds them in its thrall. Out of your renewed effort to secure civil liberties and your resolve to speak and act as though you had them, will, I hope, arise a broad-based organisation, which, with its subsidiary and allied organisations, will undertake:

1. To weld the Gomantakis, Catholics and Hindus and others into a common Hindustani nationality.
2. To do honour to the National Flag and enable the people to sing their national songs.
3. To encourage growth of Konkani and Marathi and to spread Hindustani.
4. To train the youth into social and co-operative ways through volunteers' corps.
5. To safeguard the peasantry and revive village industries and Khadi and train village workers for these.
6. To organize and awaken railway and port labour and the poor.
7. To stop rackets in rice.
8. To promote co-operative farming.

Needless to add, such an organisation will make impossible the return, through force or fraud, of unrepresentative Goanese to elected and local Government bodies.

Gomantak is a part of Hindustan and that Portugal rules over it as Britain over the rest of the country is an accident and a bad dream and will pass. The United State of Hindustan will come. Our people are creating it. We have come into the last stages of creation. Negotiations between our leaders and British leaders are just an incident. Our hopes and fears are not connected with these. Our hope is the strength of the people, which is ever piling up and which will create the state, no matter what trials we may yet have to face. Meanwhile, people of Gomantak, think freely, speak freely, write freely and act to build up organised strength."

"Three months ago, on 18th June, the people of Goa began their action to think and speak freely. When I was deported I made a promise to them to be back within three months. I had hoped that mean while they would acquire enough strength and win their rights. But the Portuguese Government has proved even more unwise than I expected. In any case, I must keep my promise and I am on way to Goa except for a little detour.

"The Portuguese Government in Lisbon and Goa has during this period issued a large number of press notices. I thought them a bit too ridiculous to take note of them. The kind of brotherhood that the Portuguese claim to

have established can be seen from the Colonial Act which classifies Goans into the two groups of assimilated and unassimilated. Whoever heard of brotherhood between alien rulers and their subject peoples? With the Latin desire for neat laws, the Portuguese have in fact legalised the existing division, one class of citizens composed of the conquerors and, another of conquerors and their associates. This division is also reflected in rationing. At one time, there were as many as four classes of ration cards depending on the status of the holder.

"As to Goa being an Organic part of the Portuguese empire, the only proof of it came nearly a year ago when Portuguese Hindustan sent a representative to the Portuguese Parliament. In Cuncolim, Velim, Assolna and other villages, elections could not be held for want of election boards, but the Government announced the results of a voting that did not take place, and the three or four elected member in the Legislative Council at Nova Goa are chosen by a constituency of about sixty persons. Every male Goan has to pay a military tax of Rs. 4 per year up to the age of forty.

"If Goa has a comparatively large middle class, Portuguese surely have not made it. This middle class is there because Goa is part of Hindustan. The Goans in Goa number five lakhs and those in the rest of Hindustan over a lakh and these work on ships and in offices, in hotels and the free professions and it is their earning that make the Goan middle class. And these earnings the Portuguese Government taxes away to support its tinsel pomp, so that taxation per head in Goa is twice as high as in Hindustan. The poor live miserably in the four feet high hovels of the beautiful port of Marmagoa or like the almost naked peasantry of the interior. And what is the culture on which Portugal lays claim to Goa? Is it the hideous statue of the priest in Panjim caught in the act of mesmerising a prostrate peasant or the bulletin of the archbishop denouncing Indian on the North-west Frontier and elsewhere as ' savages? To claim the forty-five per cent Christian population of Gomantak as Portuguese is blasphemy, for Christians and Hindus alike are Goans and part of common Hindustan nationality to which I have seen them responding in equal measure.

"But these are all wider problems and we shall solve them in good time. For the present, the movement in Goa is or securing the right to publish. Instead of conceding these rights which only a primitive Government can withhold the Portuguese Government has inflicted savage sentences of ten years on persons who have done nothing

beyond attempting to hold public meetings. This must now end. The Goans must have their civic rights. They will have them.

"The civil resistance in Goa has brought to the fore the question of all foreign possessions in our country. It was rather unfortunate that the Congress Working Committee should have, while denouncing Portugal, handed a good conduct certificate to the French, for let us not forget that, whatever opinion the Governor of French India may choose to express, his position is no more important than that of a district magistrate and in actual practice, he still has the power to issue arrests or ordinances and his legislature is composed of equal representation from the French and the Indo-French and from the Indians many hundred times their numbers. We shall be well advised to call for full reports on the Portuguese and French possessions and check them up before taking our decisions.

"I cannot say what the Provisional Government or Constituent Assembly may do in this matter. As Congressmen, we strive to destroy all pockets of imperialist safety. We work to bring Goa or Pondicherry back into the main current of national life. As we struggle to destroy the atrocious laws of the Portuguese and the French, we also end the the alien influence over them of the Indo-Russians to which they have through the Communists of France and Portugal been victims. We have to keep an eye on all alien holds in the country, including ideological holds. Meanwhile, Goa must have its civic rights. The struggle must sharpen to achieve early victory."

I am reporting to you on the events of the past five months and will also tell you what you should do now.

The action, started on the 18th June, has grown. Over five hundred arrests have been made. A number of these are repeated arrests of the same person. It shows that some among you are not only enthusiastic but are also acquiring depth and determination. Some young persons have been beaten up on the roads and inside police stations and have stood that well. Recently peasant marches numbering several hundreds have been taken out from seven or eight villages over a distance of some miles and the right to hold meetings has in practice been already won in some villages. The movement has with commendable speed spread among the masses; among those arrested and beaten up are peasants and Harijans alike as students and learned men and, of course, Christians as also Hindus. Meanwhile the people on

this side of your frontiers have taken up your struggle as their own and will continue to do so. They are checking smuggled trade particularly in drink and are thus causing loss to Portuguese income and saving the populations on both sides of the frontier from the evils of excessive drinking.

What are we fighting for? **The immediate aim of our movement is to win the right to assemble, to organise and to publish. But it will be a mistake to understand this aim narrowly. Basically, our aim is to create a new Goa, where every single Goan is a worthy and a happy citizen who tries to acquire the, dignity of full democracy and is willing to live and, die for a free and united Hindustan.**

What is full democracy? For Goa, this means that five lakhs must really be five lakhs. Everyone of: you must become alive and ready to take your part intelligently in ruling yourselves. All Hindustan is trying for "Such a democracy. Forty crores must really be forty crores. Happily the canvas in Goa is small and the experiment in full democracy has been boldly undertaken. Your movement, barely five months old, is seeking to remove in one sweep such barriers to full democracy as caste or arrogance of position and learning or servility of poverty and illiteracy. Some of you have heard me say that the peasant and the butler or the cobbler are as worthy; as the trader or the advocates. Education -or riches

are not a qualification for democracy. What qualifies a person in democracy is his willingness to live and die for it. Halankar, the tailor, and Gurudas, the peasant, are as fit for democracy as Loyola, the barrister, and Bhembhre the teacher. Sometimes the poor and the unlettered are better fitted for democracy, for they see in their daily life the need for' it, and are either willing to achieve it or die in the attempt. Democracy means end of foreign rule. It means the forming of Panchayat Raj. But it means far more - the creation of the democratic mind in which every person is a Raja. In this world of massive national power, no Brahmin, no rich man can be a Raja unless the peasant or the fisherman is at the same time a Raja of equal worth. To be a Raja, each one of you has to strive. This cannot come to you as a gift from above. You have to take part in the movement and suffer and achieve strength in order that each one of you five lakhs Goans may become a Raja.

The movement is also qualifying you to become the first creators of the, Free State of Hindustan. Your land together with the neighbouring districts of Savantwadi,

Ratnagiri, Belgaum, Karwar, is ideally suited for the overthrow of the present rule and the creation of the new peoples' State. Its hills and remote villages cannot be subdued by the foreigners' arms. The Hindu Muslim division does not weaken this area. So, that when all Hindustan rebels against foreign rule and may take some days or weeks to complete the rebellion, your area can complete the rebellion on the day that it starts and set up the provisional government of the Indian Republic. This Azad Hind Government can then help ' the rest of Hindustan to complete its rebellion. Some men have made a distinction between the bigger problem of Indian freedom and what they have called the smaller problem of Goa. This distinction is a mistake and a counsel for inaction. For, towards the solution of the bigger problem of Freedom, the people of Goa and the neighbouring districts can, if they so choose, play a part worthier than that of others. Destiny has cast upon you the role of the first creators of Free Hindustan. It is up to you to play this, role or to lull into inaction. In its possibilities, the Goan struggle is the biggest thing happening today in Hindustan. You must now acquire strength in the sense of full democracy, so that you may ' achieve these possibilities when the time comes.

But a premature rebellion can be a wasted effort and is sometimes dangerous. My messengers have brought me news how some of your warrior tribes like the Ranés and other young people feel about the present struggle. They are enraged at the sight of crowds being beaten up by policemen who can be easily disarmed but they keep aloof. I can understand their rage but I cannot understand their keeping aloof. No one need tell me that the Portuguese are weak and their might a foolish show. We the people of Goa and of the neighbouring districts together can perhaps blast the Portuguese out even in an immediate all-out struggle. But it would not be right to attempt that yet. The British cannot tolerate an Indian Republic even on such a small territory as Goa. They will crush it and restore it to the Portuguese or bring it under their direct rule. This may of course lead to an all-India crisis and the British may try to dismiss the Nehru Government and the Goan rebellion can thus become the starting point of all-India struggle for freedom. To the young Goans whom such a dream inspires I say, "you must continue dreaming this inspiring idea but express it through acts related to the present struggle. Goa and its neighbouring districts must not hustle all Hindustan into a premature rebellion; they must grow stronger

than they are, for to create a Republic you need great strength." The time for a Free Goa would come when all Hindustan out of its own considered will rebels against foreign authority. You have to get ready for that rebellion, mentally and organisationally. Such a rebellion may come very soon, so soon that some of you may regret having talked about it without preparing for it through taking part in the present struggle. Whoever goes through the fire of the present struggle gets ready for that rebellion. I invite those who are inactive because of their wish for violence to take part in the present struggle so that they may better face an armed conflict when it comes. Those who are keeping aloof today are failing to equip themselves with bravery of an enduring kind. It is easy to strike in a fit of enthusiasm, but, difficult to persist in face of reverses. Even in an armed conflict, determination and persistence areas necessary as initial enthusiasm. The present struggle is teaching you that you need such a training Your hands and feet and, what is more important, your minds are being trained not to run away in the midst of losing battle. The present struggle is teaching you the art to continue waging a war even if you lose all the battles in it excepting the last. If you learn today not to run away but to suffer cheerfully when the police arrest you or charges you with batons and rifles, you acquire this art. No young Goan should now be heard saying that he will take part in the go an struggle when it is an armed rebellion. I will in that case say that he is trying to avoid action and suffering. Furthermore, no land can today rise high through the bravery of a few hundreds. I want every single adult of the five lakh Goans to be a Rane who is also politically awake. Armed conflict today will not bring this about. If I am asking Goans in their thousands to go through the fire of arrests; and beatings and worse without flinching and without striking back, it is with a view to turn the whole of Goa into the land of the brave and the determined.

Then there are some young men who would like to have sabotage, to cut wires or to burn. I understand that some government records and a few windows have been burnt. Such sabotage has no meaning at any time. Even the most effective types of sabotage would have no meaning in Goa. When it is possible for us, of course at a later stage, to overthrow Portuguese rule, we should not blindly copy the methods followed in the rest of Hindustan were British might is superior. We should instead try to acquire strength of mind and of organisation to destroy Portuguese rule at the time when

all Hindustan rebels against foreign rule. The present struggle is giving you that strength of purpose and organisation. Furthermore, acts of sabotage undertaken now will confine the movement to the one hundred or less brave soldiers and turn the mass of the people into silent if sympathetic spectators. We want the people to act and not merely see. I should also like to tell such young people as are keeping aloof from the struggle on the ground that there is no sabotage in it; that the yearning for sabotage is sometimes the desire to escape the suffering of imprisonment and beating. I should finally like to warn anybody wanting to do sabotage to desist from such attempt for that would surely kill the movement or at least limit it to a small number.

The present struggle in Goa is an open movement. It is a movement of five lakhs. It must, therefore, be a peaceful movement, so that every adult Goan can take part in it and become politically awakened. Already Goans in the remotest villages are acquiring the beginnings of political awareness and we have to mature it by intensive and more massive peaceful action. If anybody wants to know the results of what this movement in barely five months has achieved, I merely point to the Goa as it was as it is to day.

Some persons are saying that the Portuguese will sooner quit Goa than grant civil liberties. That is good. If that is so, we will make them quit through our present movement when we acquire the strength for it. The aim of the movement is indeed to win civil liberties, but the methods followed are those of mass awakening and action, short of violent rebellion. You are free to follow all possible methods of peaceful action. Furthermore, why should Goa be put on a par with Portugal which is after all a free country and can have such laws as it chooses, while in Goa to the tyranny of slavery is added the infamy of thought control. In attempting to remove this infamy, we are gaining strength so that, if necessary, we shall try to remove the tyranny altogether.

I salute you for all you have done in the past five months but you should not congratulate yourselves. You have yet a very great deal to do. After my first arrest you rose in an elemental upsurge, but by the time I was arrested the second time you had slowed down. After my second arrest and expulsion, I met your political workers and we decided that a fighting organisation must have fighting committees. No committee was to last more than ten days and it was then to engage in an open defiance of the law, and thus set an example for others to follow. No one was to be allowed to become a leader in Goa

unless he was prepared to do what he was asking others to follow. This was done and the movement has gone deep into the masses. An unfortunate development has however taken place again. Attempts are being made to set up a permanent or a shadow committee of people who would try to lead the movement without openly taking part in it. Among the reasons advanced for a permanent executive is the need to maintain continuity.

I had made it clear that continuity is maintained by the programme and its fighting character and, also, by the fighting committees. Another reason is the ability to negotiate. It is good that people who earlier kept away from the movement have grown so conscious of its power as to think of negotiating in its behalf. And what is there to negotiate? The present movement goes into another phase as soon as the Portuguese release political prisoners and concede civil liberties. But, as long as Purushottam Kakodkar and Frank Andrade, Loyola and Ram Hegde, Evagrio George and Mayekar Cunha, George Vaz and many others like them stay in prison and the people of Goa are not permitted to assemble and organise, no power on earth can stop the movement or diminish its intensity. Let no unauthorised person think of negotiating in its behalf. And, if it comes to that, why cannot a fighting committee negotiate? If a peasant and a motor driver, a basket-maker and a young student are good enough to brave police assaults and to court arrests, they are also good enough to decide policies. Under the full democracy that we are striving to create in Goa, ability should, not be confused with learning. Every Goan, young or old, learned or illiterate, has only as much ability for democracy as he has the, capacity for action and suffering.

Let me repeat a warning which I have often given. Organisation goes with action. The National Congress of Goa was born in action. It is still, more or less, a top body functioning with no other authority except such as comes to it from action. Through action, you have succeeded in creating a few hundred determined men and several thousand others actively interested, and I hope, that you, the people of Goa, will continue with this, no matter what else happens. A mass organisation is born out of mass action. The determined men spread all over the land and the actively interested masses, two requisites for an organisation, are created on the field of action. And action, let me make clear is not individual or even batch satyagraha undertaken once in ten days, but it is daily and continuous mass Satyagraha expressing

itself through peasant marches and rice demonstrations and non-payment of taxes as much as through speech-making and marches and processions.

I would like you to find out your own organizational level. I will continue to take part in your movement in which I take pride and which concerns me more than it does any other person. I am confident that the few hundred determined men so far formed by this movement will be able to turn the National Congress of Goa into a fighting mass organisation in spite of all initial difficulties that they have to face. If I were not so confident, I would have attempted myself to remove such men as would like to be leaders without accepting the incidental risks or as would want the movement to go slow or kill itself.

I am withdrawing outside workers who never numbered more than ten at any time. I have never wanted Satyagrahis from outside Goa and I have had in the past to reject many requests. The few workers that we sent in were meant for propaganda and organisation. The Portuguese have made a distinction between Goans and outsiders, a distinction which should never find favour with any set of Goans. I know that the mass of the people have enthusiastically received those whom the Portuguese call outsiders and given them warm-hearted assistance. After all, I, an 'outsider', lay claim to be more of a Goan than any other Goan alive and I know that the people of Goa recognise this claim not only for me but in varying measure for any other 'outsiders' who are with the Goan fight. Thousands of non-Goans are willing to take part in the Goan fight but the time for that is not yet come. Goa must learn to stand on its own legs. I am putting you and the more determined workers on your trial. You have to show that without any outside workers amongst you, you not only can continue the movement but can intensify it. You must also destroy this distinction between Goan and outsider so that nobody will ever dare to raise it again. I must however make it clear that I do not for a moment accept the distinction between Goans and "outsiders" and that many hundreds of your neighbours will step into the Goan fight when that is necessary, no matter what the Portuguese or some even amongst you might say.

Goa is a part of Hindustan and you the people of Goa can assert this claim by intensifying the work that these outside workers have done. Do not be disturbed at their withdrawal. I want you to prove by your work that these have not worked in vain and, in any case, they can

step in at a moment's notice. While withdrawing workers that I sent in, I also request the others who have gone in without my knowledge or consent to withdraw. I wish to test the results so far achieved and I trust that the people of Goa will pass the test and burn up forever the distinction made by the Portuguese and others between a Goan and a non-Goan.

"The determined men of Goa must turn the National Congress of Goa into a fighting organization and not allow anybody to slacken the movement. I will follow the effort with keen interest and be of such help as I can. And I will continue to tell the people of Goa what they should do. Let me here clear a few misconceptions before I outline my programme. Firstly, the people of Goa are not at all lazy or slowmoving and they are as brave and yearning for freedom as the rest of Hindustan. I proved that in June and I proved it again in mid-October. Only that Goan will accuse the Goan people of inaction who wishes to sit quietly at home. Secondly, the progress of the movement in Goa will not be a repetition of the pace as in the other parts of the country. The Goan people have thought and felt with the rest of, Hindustan in its struggles of the past twenty-five years. They will in action come up to the general level in the next two months or so. The pace will naturally be fast. Thirdly, the Portuguese have begun calling the movement a loafers' or a basket makers' movement. I take that as a great achievement. So long as the movement was restricted to the townspeople and the educated, it was not much of a movement. The effort to create a new Goa must necessarily be made by those whom the Portuguese call loafers, the peasants and basket-makers and fishermen and motor drivers and railwaymen and thousand others who make the mass of Goan population. The more of these defy Portuguese laws, the longer we have gone towards creating a new Goa. Fourthly, the Portuguese are no more savage in their repression than the British. It is true that they have given long and hard sentences going up to nine years, but the British have been very much worse, and, in any case, long sentences do not matter, for they will have been expelled out of Goa in the near future. It is true that the Portuguese are beating up boys and girls on the road and inside police stations, but the remedy against that is the people of Goa should throw up thousands of girls like Jivan Karapurkar and boys like peasant Devidas, Harijan Rohidas and student Bal. It is also true that the Portuguese do not feed prisoners, sometimes not at all and always inadequately, and jail conditions are vile. But the people

of Goa can change all this by resisting in their thousands outside as well as inside jail. Halankar and Mayekar and Deshpande did not receive food from outside, and went on hunger-strike. That is the true resister who changes jail conditions, not by bowing to them, but by pitting himself against them even at the risk of his life.

What then shall we do now? You already know that to do Satyagraha you do not have to go to a town nor do you have to enlist yourself anywhere. Anyone of you can defy the Portuguese law anywhere, at any time and in any form. Some days back a villager Pedne Mahal came to me. He knew nothing except that I had been twice arrested and that a movement for Goan Freedom was on. After my second detention in Aguada, the spirit moved him sufficiently to make him leave his home and he had since been wandering from village to village with the message of freedom as he understands it. And I think he understands it as well as many others who are educated and of the towns. I have something to add. This brave villager and any other like him should give their message also to the towns on their way. A crowd easily collects itself and, no matter whether anybody listens or not, the message can still be given. No one should avoid arrest. This is an open movement. Its purpose can be achieved only if Goans in their thousands learn not to be afraid of arrests and beatings.

The people of Goa must not place too heavy a burden on their National Congress. This organization is young and has to work under conditions of illegality. It cannot reach every village nor every person. I have placed before your political workers the two programmes of Satyagraha and Gram Panchayat. I am now placing these programmes before you. I urge everyone of you to act in its terms. Each one of you must become his own recruiting officer and propagandist and organiser. Each one of you must learn to defy Portuguese laws and suffer arrest and beating and worse.

SATYAGRAHA PROGRAMME

Mass Resistance: -The target of two hundred resisters a week must be speedily attained. When one person is arrested while attempting to make a speech, others should successively follow him. The technique of squatting processions in the face of police obstruction and lathi charge should now be introduced.

Peasant morchas on the political issue with political slogans as also on the demand for non-payment of tax and rent should be taken out from village to village.

These fraternity marches will create a feeling of unity and strength. Groups of villages must also march to the administrative. town with a view to defy the law.

Rice and Other Foodstuffs: demonstrations, demanding cheap-priced and regular rations and removal of customs dues on rice should be arranged particularly in the towns.

Picketing of Drink Shops should now be organised. Women should be drafted for this purpose. Simultaneously, toddy-tappers as also tree owners should be persuaded to make Gur instead of toddy.

Students should not pay military tax or scout-tax nor attend scout parades. Go on strike if forced. Striking students should form batches of five each and move into the villages.

Campaign against Stamp revenue and lotteries.

We must keep in mind the aim of the entire people going on strike, with a view to causing paralysis of administration. In order to be able to do that, arrests must increase manyfold and the number of villages and towns and sections of the population trained to demonstrate in face of police action must increase.

Propaganda Units should move about from village to village, rousing the people into action through meetings, national songs and slogans. These units may comprise of one speaker, one singer and two or three recruiting officers and organisers. They could also take up one-act plays on rural problems and on the struggle.

GRAM PANCHAYATS

The Panchayat shall be formed on the simple declaration "We the villagers of - - - freely decide to form our Panchayat inspired by the principle of Gram Raj. We shall settle our disputes amongst ourselves and shall not go to court. . . We also decide not to use stamp paper. We shall also refuse to pay rent and tax at the next harvesting season when we are so advised by the National Congress, Goa. Meanwhile we pledge our support to the Satyagraha Campaign and decide to take part in it. For these purposes, we decide to elect our executive consisting of We also decide to form a volunteer Corps of all able bodied men and invite women to join its women's branches. We will work against the drink evil."

Care should be taken in the election of the executive which shall consist of all castes and classes of the population. From among the Seva Dal, Satyagrahis in batches of five each should be recruited and sent into the satyagraha campaign of the town of the Mahal.

Units of five determined men willing to undergo all risks and execute all orders should be formed. The leader of such units should be sought out on the basis of his potential strength to lead the village in a time of crisis.

Immediately two villages in each of the frontier Mahals of Pernem, Satari, Quepem, Sangem, and Cancona should be selected and organised into Panchayats for the purpose of non-profit sale of foodstuffs. The distribution is to be on the basis of fixed and equal rations.

In addition to these programmes, your political workers will help you to organise your various sections and unions, railwaymen, motor-drivers, peasants, students, fishermen and others. These unions cannot naturally work very openly. You will, therefore, have to achieve great unity and express tolerance to one another. You must also work fast. If you carry out these various programmes in the next two or three months, a situation will have been created in which, with the weapon of the general strike, you can force the Portuguese Government to concede you your liberties or to quit. But I must once again warn you that action is primary and organisation secondary. Unless you act now, every one of you, motor driver and peasant, railwayman and student, and in your thousands suffer arrest and beating, no organization will come into existence and the dream of a whole people on strike will stay empty.

What do we gain when we win? Obviously, civil rights are not an end in themselves. They are needed so that you may end your rotten administration and black-marketing and improve your land. You have to pay customs dues on rice. That will go. You do not get your rice and gur regularly and at control price. You will get these. Out of your produce in rice and other crops, the government and the big bhatkar take away more than half. This must end. To extract large revenues from you, The Portuguese make you pay for stamps on all occasions and souse you with the drink. This must end too. And the railway man who works more hours than he ought to and the motor-driver whom the police today treat with contempt and all others will acquire a different dignity with the obtaining of the right to assemble and organise.

These ills you will remove. But there are also positive tasks waiting for you. I had told you in my Margaon speech about the beauty of your land and its resources. You could build parks and resorts so as to be a rest and culture centre for the south. You could produce enough electrical power to set up numerous large and small industries. You could make of your agriculture a

co-operative task, for which you have a tradition, and you could thus show the whole of Hindustan the way to happier and prosperous living. But all this will have to wait until we have succeeded in ousting the Portuguese.

There are other positive tasks which must be undertaken at once. I have met your basket-makers and toddy-tappers and a large number of peasants. I am arranging for experts in village industries and spinning to go in your midst and to work out improvements and suggest new lines. After we have won, this constructive activity will increase manyfold.

Some of your intellectuals are worried about the future of Goa and its integration with the rest of Hindustan. They probably fear that Goa will be merged in one of the neighbouring provinces. Let me make it clear that it will be for the people of Goa to decide whether to form a province by themselves, or in free consultation with neighbouring districts to shape a new province, or to merge with any of the existing provinces. Neither Poona nor Hubli would wish to or be allowed to dictate. Again, no matter how small a province, its representation in the Senate of Hindustan will probably be equal to that of any other province, although, in the House of Representatives, the basis of representation may be the population and, even so, a minimum will be guaranteed. I cannot understand how any Goan can be so depraved as to wish for a sickly representation in Lisbon rather than the glory of equality in the Republic of Hindustan. Once the people of Goa have civic rights, they can decide these questions. I know their decision. Goa has been and will continue to be a part of Hindustan. It has been the destiny of Hindustan and every part of it to prosper when united and to decay when disunited. All those people who are trying to confuse the present struggle for civic rights with the larger problems of freedom and integration do so out of the fear that they can impose their view only as long as the voice of Goa is not permitted to speak.

I dream of a new Goa with its neighbouring districts. I dream of this area, not only as the first creator of the Republic, but also as the centre of Indian unity in the south. Other provinces are old and, if age has a certain maturity, it is also rigid. Goa and the districts on its frontier are not so rigidly fixed. Their language, Konkani, than which I have not heard a sweeter one, will be only too happy to be supported by Hindustani. And "Jai Hind" has for this area become a cry that, I am sure, will never meet with a rival or even a supplement. Goa and the four districts can, if they so choose, become to the

south a model of the Indian outlook as distinct from the provincial outlook. But what are my dreams worth unless I succeed in communicating them to you, the people of Goa. My home is in the area of the Ganga and the Sarayu and, however far I may stay, I hope to die where I was born. But I also hope that you will, realise my dreams and it is my ambition to shape the mind of young Goans to the little extent that I can.

Ratnagiri, Sawantwadi, Belgaum and Karwar have accepted your struggle as their own. I am not unknown to the youth of these districts and the bonds of the great adventure of 1942 unite us. They have started dreaming of themselves together with you as the creators of full democracy and of the Indian Republic. Sustained by this dream, they are selflessly serving your cause. At the moment, several hundred men are watching your frontiers to stay the hands of the smuggler and the black-marketeer. The Portuguese are describing this as the attempt to starve you. In reality, it is an effort to starve the Portuguese revenue of the gains of bribery and the drink trade. It is the effort to weaken the Portuguese and thus help you in your fight. Demand with all your strength that the Portuguese Government and smugglers cease their nefarious trade in the food of the poor. Meanwhile, the young men of your frontiers will try to organise non-profit trade with some of your villagers. Its success will depend on your determined co-operation and your willingness to resist, for the Portuguese will assuredly try to spoil this good work. For, will not such a trade be a visual proof of the great evil of the customs barrier and of corruption that burdens you. Already, some of these young men have been beaten by the Portuguese and one of them has been shot in the leg. But such evil deeds will further steel their resolve to be of help to you. These men are always loyal to a great cause and know how to be brave. You owe them a duty. Anyone in your village found spying on them or otherwise hindering them in their work should be treated by you as an outcaste. These men will also organise training camps for you and hold public meetings on your frontiers which, I am sure, you will attend.

These four districts and you are the instruments of great force. Let not idle questions of religion and, of, what is now styled, personality confuse you. The blood that flows in my veins is the same as that of Frank Andrade and Evagris George, Loyola and Roque Menezes. It is these men who are protecting the Catholic religion as a national asset and not those who have ranged themselves

with the Portuguese or are neutral. I repeat again that the Republic of Hindustan will be secular and will give equal protection to all religions. And, as to this question of a distinct Goan personality, I do not understand it. If what is meant is the relation of Goa to Europe, I have only to say that the one window looking out on Portugal is a narrow-peephole and the sights are not at all lovely to see. New Goa will have numerous windows looking out on the rest of Hindustan and the whole wide world. And what is this personality in Goa today, caste-ridden among Hindus as well as Christians, individualistic or poverty-stricken. The personality that we are striving to create is caste-less, for whom religion is truly an affair between itself and its God, where butler and, brahmin, peasant and cobbler, aya and rich woman, all lose their castes and merge into one mighty endeavour, the fully democratic personality. I know that the vast majority of Goan Catholics understand this. I am prepared to take a plebiscite of Catholics alone and abide by their verdict. But I should like to urge upon the Goan Catholics, particularly, the poor, the peasant, the fisherman, the student and such like, that mere sympathy with the present struggle will not help you evolve this fully democratic personality. No matter what your traditions and upbringing have been, you must throw yourself into this open defiance of the law, into peasant marches and rice demonstrations, for that will give you a new strength and dignity.

I have a word to say to the women of Goa. You have taken some part in the Goan fight but I also know that your men-folk have dragged you back. Do not listen to them. What is commonly known as dishonour, if suffered for one's land, becomes an honourable act. Unless you act now, how can you qualify yourself for full democracy, in which every woman is a Rani and every man a Raja. To the Goan Policeman and armyman, I say that your conditions and state of mind is not unknown to me. For the present I ask you not to beat your own countrymen, and I will know how to reach any subsequent messages to you.

I had so far desisted from issuing an appeal for money. But a struggle needs money and I had neglected this aspect. I now urge every Goan, inside and outside Goa, to give to the struggle until it hurts and I also request non-Goans to contribute with the awareness of the great tasks before us. Aside from large donations that the well-to-do might make, I suggest that every Goan sets aside one day's earning in the month. I should like

to set before the Goan the example of Dr. E. De Mello, not a rich person, who without any approach from me has donated Rs. Ten Thousand. All the contributions may be sent to Dr. D. G. Naik, Camp, Belgaum. Accounts will be open for inspection by donors. Committees are being set up in Bombay and elsewhere and, when finalised, separate appeals will be issued. I should like to add that the recruiting of Goan Satyagrahis, from Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, even as a symbolic act, is as important as the raising of money. Any resister wishing to take part in the struggle may report himself at Belgaum for necessary instructions. I urge upon these important centres of Goans outside Goa to assist in the renewal of their people.

I should like to warn young Goans against malice and poisonous tongues. In a state of immaturity and where groups form themselves, tales of defalcation and spying are bandied about. Shun people who spread such tales about each other. At the same time, I should like to impress on everyone that, to be honest is not enough, you must be able to prove your honesty by submitting accounts with their purposes and, also, by showing that the expenditure could not have been less. Again, the young men of Goa and the four districts might remember that they have to operate in the midst of old jealousies and, aside from parties, Congressmen including Socialists are laid low with the disease of groups and sub-groups and yet smaller groups. In this struggle of Goa and the neighbouring districts, the aim is high. To create the Republic is no easy task. This struggle has thrown up ardent spirits like Babla Sinhbal and Berthe Menezes, Laxmanrao Sadresai and Narayan Bhombhre, Bhaskar Mohe and Roque Sequira, Basant Kare and Narayan Nayak, Evaqio George and Karapurkar and a hundred others who have left their studies or their trade. I ask them to keep their minds unsullied by petty jealousies. We shall not tolerate groups to form themselves. Only so can we realise our aim to create five thousand resisters who have gone through the fire of repeated arrests and beatings and to make of every adult Goan an alert democrat.

You are expecting me to enter Goa again. I would have normally done so but I must wait. Mahatma Gandhi and our Foreign Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have wished that I should not enter Goa just yet. I do not have to tell you how much you owe to Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Nehru would take some time before the diplomatic exchanges with Lisbon are over. After that, and I trust that it shall not be more than two or three months, before I shall be free to do as I please. Meanwhile, it is as well

that I am not reentering Goa just yet. I should like you to get over your desire for a personal sensation about me. Your movement has taken deep roots and you must make it irresistible. When I went to you the second time, you were unprepared. Let it not be that when I come to you the third time, you may still not be as prepared as I would like you to be. Cast away the idea that you would show your strength when the Portuguese arrest me again. Instead, acquire that strength which will enable you to receive me in your assemblies and organisations without the Portuguese being able to do anything about it. You can have that strength if you work out the programme I have placed before you. In any case, I am continually assisting you in your work. With awareness of your role as creators of full democracy and of the Indian Republic and as the centre of the Indian outlook in the south, go speedily ahead in your task. Look not to Delhi nor U.N.O. for your deliverance; your freedom lies in you. Five lakhs of full democrats can shake the Portuguese into submission. Get arrested, get beaten, suffer bullets, but take out your morchas and demonstrations and refuse to pay taxes. Goa was the first gate of Europe into Asia. We shall smash in Goa the supremacy of Europe over Asia.

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Gandhiji on Goa*

DR. LOHIA'S CHALLENGE

I

It would appear from newspaper reports that Dr. Lohia went to Goa at the invitation of Goans and was served with an order to refrain from making speeches. According to Dr. Lohia's statement, for 18 years now, the people of Goa have been robbed of the right to hold meetings and form organisations. Naturally he defied the order. He has thereby rendered a service to the cause of civil liberty and especially to the Goans. The little Portuguese Settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape its bad manners. In Free India Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free State. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free State. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely upon the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognise the signs of the times and come to honourable terms with its inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.

To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they should shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental right to civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual, himself or herself, to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.

New Delhi, 26-6-'46.

LETTER TO THE GOVERNOR - GENERAL OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

II

[The following is the text of Gandhiji's letter dated 2nd August, 1946, to H.E. Jose Bossa, Governor General of Portuguese India, in reply to his letter of the 18th July

1946, which has already appeared in the Press.]

Dear Friend,

It was kind of you to write to me in reply to what I had written in 'Harijan' about Goa affairs. I suppose you know that I have visited Mossainbique, Delagoa and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purposes. Indeed I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves. Nor does the history of the Portuguese Settlement in India prove the claim set forth by you. Indeed, what I see and know of the condition of things in Goa, is hardly edifying. That the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof, not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.

Every account, received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India, confirms the contrary view. I suppose, the report of the sentence by your Court Martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far off Portuguese Settlement, is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact, that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile?

Though the politics of Dr. Lohia probably differ from mine, he has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for Independence, until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect. He has lighted a torch which the inhabitants of Goa cannot, except at their peril, allow to be extinguished. Both you and the inhabitants of Goa should feel thankful to the Doctor for lighting that torch. Therefore, your description of him as "stranger" would excite laughter, if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers, whether they come as philanthropers or as governors exploiting the so-called weaker races of the earth.

*Action in Goa - Dr. Rammanohar Lohia (Bombay, 1947)

You have talked of the abolition of caste distinctions. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more, terrible than the system "caste" has been added by the Portuguese rulers.

I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views; on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself wholeheartedly for civil liberty and if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own government, and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such Government.

Yours etc.

M. K. Gandhi.

Goa

The Goan authority are going on merrily with their 'humanizing' activities by gagging the people of Goa. The latest instance is that of their 'court martial' sentencing Shri Braganza Cunha to eight years and deporting him to a far off Portuguese settlement in Africa for the crime of daring to assert his elementary right of civil liberty. Well has the Working Committee passed a resolution in condemnation of the policy of the Goan authorities which stands in striking

contrast to the action of the French Governor who has encouraged the people to throw in their lot with the people in British India.

Sevagram, 12-8-'46

Goa

The following telegrams have been received regarding Shri Kakodkar's arrest and imprisonment:

"Purshottam Kakodkar arrested in connection recent Satyagraha movement Goa. In spite being political prisoner imprisoned dingy ill ventilated cell in company criminals awaiting trials for murder robberies. Food supplied most ordinary insufficient being half normal meal. Expressed willingness to work for his meal. Also pleaded on behalf his other unfortunate companions in cell for better treatment. In respect food authorities turned deaf ear. He is on hunger strike since last three days. Authorities' attitude arrogant offensive."

"Purshottam Kakodkar fifth day hunger strike. Condition precarious. Allowed see persons under guard.

Attitude authorities unconcerned."

If the charges attributed to the Goan authorities are true, they reflect great discredit on them. It is to be hoped that the civil resisters of Goa will not be cowed down by any ill-treatment, however, grave it may be.

A WAIL FROM GOA

Shri Purshottam Kakodkar in the course of a Hindi letter dated 12-8-'46 to Gandhiji from Panjim Prison, Goa, describes how, while he was talking with a friend on the main road, he was arrested at about 9 p.m. on Friday the 9th August by one Mr. Figardo, a Portuguese Police Official of Madagaon. On the 10th ; at 'about 10 o'clock he was brought under armed police escort to the Marnlatdar's **kutchery**, where he was interrogated by the Mamlatdar. In the course of examining him, the Mamlatdar lost his temper, used foul language and threatened "to do him to death." The same evening he was brought to Panjim Prison. According to his narration, food is served there twice a day, at noon and at night. Every time, it consists of rice, literally a handful, with little **dal** splashed on it, and a couple of spoonfuls of vegetables in addition to one or two **papads**. This is called "half ration", **adha khana**. When he drew the attention of a Portuguese Police Official to it, he was told that it was according to the rules and that he had no authority to give more. Even this provision is for 'beggars', not for those who have the emans.

Shri Kakodkar proceeds.

"I took this food at midday today, although it was altogether inadequate. I have not committed any offence against society, yet have been made a compulsory guest of the Government. Whom can I ask to send me food from outside? I do not feel justified in sitting here like a drone and eating food provided by the labour of others. I am going to tell the authorities that I am prepared to work and that they must provide me with proper food."

Referring to conditions of jail administration, he says that sometimes, for hours, no watchman appears on the scene. The fault is not the watchman's but of the administration. The result is that prisoners who are locked up in the cells cannot attend to even the morning appointments regularly. For instance, when he gets up at 4-30 a.m. no watchman is anywhere to be seen and so he has to wait till 7 or 7-15 a.m. when alone he can answer the call of nature. Shri Kakodkar adds that he is suffering from piles which have flared up since his arrest owing to

starvation, sleeplessness and too much chillies in the food
 Pyarelal
 New Delhi, 1-9-'46

IV

"With reference to Mr. Gandhi's short commentary on Goa in the 'Harijan' of the 18th instant, where he gives the so-called "contrast" between French and Portuguese authorities, we have to state the following for your knowledge and publicity purposes:

"There is nothing more out of place as a comparison between French India and Portuguese India. The objects, administrative methods and the goal are absolutely dissimilar in their essence. The recent integration (1816) of the French possessions in India in the French Colonial Empire and its setbacks, have nothing in common with Portuguese India which for more than 400 years, has been benefited by the Portuguese administration, completely identifying its destinies with the Motherland.

"If the inhabitants of French India wish to identify their destinies with Free India (what has yet to be ascertained), the same does not happen in Portuguese India where the totality of the inhabitants wish to continue under the beneficial action of Portuguese administration 'which has been the cause of its material and moral progress to the point of Goa, 'being the pride of, the Portuguese colonizing effort and part and parcel of the Mother land.

"These being the facts based on historical data, we trust you will publish the relevant corrections in your paper."

This letter to the Editor of the 'Harijan' from the Head of the Government Information Bureau, Nova, Goa, makes sorry reading. It is an example of the truth of the proverb, "Comparisons are odious." Surely, there is not much to choose between French and Portuguese imperialism. The hands of imperialism are always dyed red. The sooner imperialistic powers shed their imperialism like Ashoka the Good, the better it will be for the groaning world. One may be pardoned for giving credit to France, where credit is deserved as it is in the case of French India, assuming, of course, the truth of the newspaper version of the statement of the Governor of French India. Moreover, it is ridiculous for the Head of the Government Information Bureau to write of Portugal as the mother land of the Indians of Goa. Their mother country is as much India as mine. Goa is outside British India but it is within geographical India as a whole. And there is very little, if anything, in common between the

Portuguese and the Indians of Goa.

I have read also the contradiction of my statement about Shri Purushottam Kakodkar. I must adhere to it in spite of the contradiction of the Portuguese authorities in Goa. Here is what his wife says in her letter dated 24-8-'46:

"Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, Secretary of the Goa National Congress, was arrested while talking to a friend on 9-8-'46 by the Portuguese authorities. On the 10th he was removed to Panjim (Nova Goa). On the 11th and 12th, he was kept on half rations. When he learnt that the authorities were deliberately underfeeding him, he went on hunger strike on the 13th and was still fasting on the 20th.

"The Portuguese Government is undeterred in its policy and up till now (24-8-'46) no attention has been paid to the written request sent in by Shri Kakodkar for adequate food supply to himself and other prisoners."

I ask the Portuguese authorities whether they would allow a representative from the 'Harijan' to meet Prisoner Kakodkar and ascertain facts for himself?

New Delhi, 29-8-'46

LOHIA AGAIN

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia's letter to the Chief Judge of the Goa High Court deserves more than passing attention. I copy it below from the daily press:

"At the time of my arrest, I had not, so far as I know, violated any Goan law. I may have been intent on doing so but that is irrelevant. The police officer at Collem walked into my compartment, asked me no questions and put me straight away under arrest. International law, as it stands today, probably empowers the Portuguese Government to arrest and deport anyone whom they consider an undesirable alien but they are surely not empowered to hold him in prison unless he has actually violated some law. The Portuguese Government have in the past declared me as alien and taken up their stand on a provision in International Law with regard to me. They owe me an apology and damages for illegal imprisonment or else they must give up their attempt to apply International Law as between Goa and the rest of Hindustan. Furthermore, between September 29 and October 2, they kept me in a cell, which has probably as much ventilation as just keeps a man alive. They owe me an added apology and, damages for this kind of treatment.

"I continue to be held in solitary confinement,

although under better conditions and I am not taken out of my cell except for bath and I am held incommunicable. These add to the illegality of my imprisonment."

Let no one laugh at Dr. Lohia's presumption in asking for damages. If he had power behind him, the Goan authorities would quickly apologize and offer to pay damages. It is not an unusual thing for big powers to ask for damages and obtain them for injury or insult done even to insignificant subjects. Dr. Lohia is not a

little man. Well, India has a National Government. I am sure they are as sensitive as any can be. I should not be surprised if they have lodged their protest and asked the Goa Government to mend their manners. Anyway, let the force of public opinion be behind the National Government and the injured Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. The injury done to him is injury done to our countrymen in Goa and through them to the whole of India.

New Delhi, 13-10-'46

Gleanings from the Goan Struggle

J. Menezes*

India is one and indivisible. What better proof one can have than Goa? Four hundred and fifty years of Portuguese rule have failed to make the Goans forget their mother country. The foreign rulers and the Catholic church combined to change the whole character of the people. Strange language and alien religion were forced on them. Years of foreign type of education moulded their thoughts and life into a pattern most suitable to their masters. But the urge for freedom cannot long remain suppressed. Goa has awakened and wants to be free of the foreign rulers. Repression and censorship have failed to cow down the people. Dr. Lohia's recent visit brought into limelight the freedom struggle that is being waged inside Goa.

The giant of GOA has at last woken up from his deep slumber. Goa has been under the heel of Portuguese Imperialism for about four and a half centuries. It is, however, a distinctive feature of the Hindustani culture which has evolved through millenniums of lived experience of a highly sensitive and deep-thinking people, that the worst that its enemies have been capable of doing through centuries of deliberate violence is no more than to besmirch the surface of its life. Not one string in the warp or woof of the ages-old pattern of life has snapped for all the violence and oppression that the foreigners have brought to bear on it. And Goa is essentially a part of Hindustan.

SEVERE REPRESSION

For over eighteen years GOA has groaned under

the severe repressive laws, more severely enforced, on every kind of freedom of the people. "You cannot form organisations", said Rammanohar Lohia, the Congress Socialist Leader, launching the freedom struggle of the Gomantaks, at Marmagoa. "Not to talk of political organisations like the Indian National Congress, even organisations for study or sports or village uplift require the previous sanction of the Government and must obviously work under police watch. You cannot hold meetings. Not to speak of political meetings, even social and private gatherings require permission and come in for police enquiry. You cannot issue publications. The censors make your newspapers dull and uninteresting and these tell you almost nothing about the country of which you form a part."

Ram Manohar Lohia, the Congress Socialist Leader, arrived in Goa in the evening of the 10th June, 1946, to study conditions there. Lohia has taken a keen interest in Goan affairs throughout his public career in India. As early as in 1938 when the Gomantaks made their first, albeit abortive bid for achieving their freedom, Lohia had said, "Goa is a part of us and we cannot allow her movements for Freedom and Unity to be suppressed with such wanton ferocity."

A STIR IN THE COUNTRY

Lohia spent a comparatively quiet day on the 11th June. But by then the news of his arrival had spread like wild fire all over the country. The presence of this revolutionary in Goa had a chastening effect. From the

*Action in Goa - Dr. Rammanohar Lohia (Bombay, 1947)

12th June, Lohia had a stream of visitors every day. They came to him, angry but hesitant. They wanted the present regime to end, they were fed up. But doubts about their strength to smash the state armed to the teeth weighed them down. On the 13th June, Lohia took the decision for the people to launch direct action against the repressive laws in force, for direct action alone, according to him, could dispel hesitancy. Among those who visited him were largely young men, teachers, clerks, small traders, a policeman or two, mechanics and workers. Nearly one hundred and fifty people had sought his interview up to the time of his arrest.

REVOLUTIONARY SLOGANS

A private meeting of workers was held in Panjim, the capital town, on the 18th June. The meeting was a gigantic one and overflowed into the road. After Lohia had addressed the gathering, young men in the audience put a barrage of questions to him. They asked him about the Cabinet proposals, about the Congress and the Congress Socialist Party about Goa's place in the united free Hindustan that is to come. This gives us an indication of the keen interest that the youth of Goa displays today in the affairs of the parent country, even though ruled by an administration notorious for its obscurantism. Then the story went round that the Governor General of Goa had motored past the place of the meeting thrice to witness the strange new things that were reported to be happening. The people were actually emboldened by this story and started parading the roads and streets shouting revolutionary slogans.

At about 4-15 p.m. that day Lohia and the writer arrived in a victoria at Marmagoa in order to address, a public gathering in front of the Municipal building, in contravention of the obnoxious law against freedom of association. Just as we were getting down, Captain Miranda, the Administrator, rushed to the victoria and requested us not to get down, but return in the same victoria. We did not pay any attention to this request, but descended from the victoria and proceeded towards the gathering.

Three or four Goans came forward to garland Lohia. Shivering with excitement and deeply perplexed, Captain Miranda whipped out his revolver and pointed it at the Goans who were coming forward, garlands in hand. Lohia acted quickly. He caught hold of Captain Miranda's hand in which he held the revolver. The hand was still

shaking like a palsied hand. Lohia asked him to be calm, brushed him aside and proceeded to make his speech in defiance of the order of the Administrator.

At this stage, the Commissioner of Police arrived on the scene and took both Lohia and the writer into custody. We were then taken to the police station. Dr. Lohia was kept in the station while the writer was placed in a cell, guarded by a soldier.

THE PRESTIGE INVOLVED

The Police Commandant then had a long interview with Dr. Lohia. He told Lohia that the Portuguese administration would be only too pleased to allow him to tour the length and breadth of the country and make any number of speeches and talk to and mix with the people as he liked only if he would formally seek the permission of the administration. Lohia was definitely not willing to do this, as he considered it humiliating for any free man to act in that manner. The Police Commandant also discussed with Lohia several other problems of the people, such as the high price of rice and other cereals, the question of release of political detenus and prisoners. The Commandant assured Lohia that the administration was anxious to concede practically all the demands of the people for freedom of association, speech and publication, but naively said that this could not be done immediately because the question of the prestige of the administration was involved.

MORE COURT JAIL

After the arrest of the two speakers, several others came forward to break the law and court imprisonment. Several boys followed us into prison. The total arrests at the end of the day were twelve, of which one was a girl named Kumari Vatsala Pandurang Kirtane.

The Police Commissioner, Figueriedo, also questioned the girl. He asked her why she shouted JAI HIND, to which Vatsala Kirtane replied that if VIVA SALAZAR brought pride to his heart, JAI HIND gave her the spirit to fight for her freedom.

After Kumari Kirtane was arrested a procession of about forty women was taken out in front of the Police Station. Embarrassed by this new situation the Police released the girl. But she refused to go out of prison until the administration had conceded all the demands of the people. Ultimately, she had to be bodily thrown out of the prison.

LOHIA ASKED TO CALM THE CROWD

The news soon spread far and wide and Marmagoa became a seething mass of humanity. Thousands of people gathered here and there and went in processions shouting slogans. Afraid of serious breaches of the peace, the Police Commandant requested Dr. Lohia to address the people and ask them to return home peacefully. Lohia went out and addressed them in both Hindustani and English. Soon, however, the Comandant began suspecting that Lohia, instead of advising them to give up the struggle, was actually inspiring them to continue the struggle relentlessly. He was soon taken back to the station.

The authorities feared that the people who had collected in Margao in very large numbers might attempt to break the jail, for they were shouting and screaming for the release of Dr. Lohia and the writer. Therefore, in spite of pouring rain, both of us were taken out and motored to Panjim, the capital at midnight.

The news of the arrest went round the whole of Goa and towns and villages alike observed complete hartal on the 19th June. That morning, over six thousand people assembled in Margao and paraded the streets incessantly shouting revolutionary slogans, in spite of the fact that by the Portuguese troops armed with even machine-guns had been posted all-round the town. The people were for once determined to do or die. By afternoon, the authorities began to feel that, after all, discretion was the better part of valour, and finally decided to release Dr. Lohia and the writer. They however, dared not let out Dr. Lohia in Goa territory.

LATHI CHARGE OUTSIDE THE PRISON

At about four o'clock that evening, Dr. Lohia was taken out of the Panjim station. Though the Goans had no well-knit revolutionary organisation to guide and conduct their struggle, it is amazing that both on the occasion of our transfer from Margao to Panjim and Dr. Lohia's transfer from Panjim for being released, the people of Panjim were well-informed of these police moves and large crowds had assembled to pay homage to Dr. Lohia. The police had to lathi charge the people assembled outside the prison to clear the way, but they refused to disperse and came on the police in waves. Then Dr. Lohia was appealed to by the authorities to request the people to disperse. Dr. Lohia refused to do so. With great difficulty

he was taken to Aumode which he reached at 7-30 p.m. but it was then found that the road to Castle Rock from there was unpassable, and Lohia was unwilling to go to Belgaum. The police car therefore had to head back to Panjim, reaching there at 10-30 p.m. The following morning, he was taken from Panjim to Collem with a police party headed by Lieutenant Terente Riberio, a Portuguese officer. He was finally set at liberty at Collem.

LIKE ARJUNA BEFORE WAR

In order to bring out the spirit of the Goan people the writer would like to mention but one or two significant incidents. A few minutes before Dr. Lohia launched the freedom struggle of the people, a group of people, headed by a school teacher and poet, approached Lohia. They appeared very much perplexed but stern and even grim. They faced Lohia and said that they felt like Arjuna before the war had begun, confused in their minds as to their duty and wanting to know how and when to act if they must. Lohia told them that they should not fear and that action would dispel all doubts and hesitancy. This school master-poet is reported to have since resigned his job and joined the freedom struggle.

While Dr. Lohia was in custody, a young boy of Panjim stole into the station at night-fall, and told him, "I am with you. All Goans are", and marched out boldly.

THE POLICE VIOLENCE

On the 19th, during the demonstrations at both Margao and Panjim, several people received injuries at the hand of the police and the military. In one instance a small group of people seized a rifle from the hands of a soldier and threw it on the ground contemptuously.

The police used violence on people, but the people continued to wage the struggle relentlessly. One of the leaders of the resistance movement, Vishwanath, was manhandled by the police and put in prison. Probably he is still there. Among those who were arrested and released and continue to lead the struggle are E. F. George, Manpad J. Shah, Dr. Bhembhre, and Mahimkar.

A miracle has happened in Goa. The fate of the, Portuguese rulers is written on the wall. They must go the way all Imperialisms are going.

Goa's Struggle for Independence

Shanti Naik*

[The struggle for Independence in Goa goes on. Dr. Rammanohar Lohia the moving spirit behind the whole movement has recently toured all the area round about Goa. In this article specially written for us Smt. Shanti Nayak, who accompanied him gives a first hand account of the whole tour in this article published in Bharat Jyoti, November 1946.-Editor].

After eight days in the dark cells of the Agwa-DeFort, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was deported from Goa for the second time. The Portuguese Army officials took him to the frontiers and issued a ban on his entry into Goan territory for five years. Any news about Lohia spreads like wild fire in Goa. Leaders, workers, one and all flocked round him at Belgaum. A meeting was arranged and two hundred workers came all the way from Goa to attend it. Lohia wanted to break the ban immediately, but the Goan people would not allow him. They pleaded for six weeks' time. All the ways and means were explored by which to intensify the struggle and make it a struggle of the masses.

GANDHIJI'S MAGIC WAND

Gandhiji wired to Lohia "You must re-enter Goa. See me before doing so." The National Congress of Goa was striving to do its best without material help from outside, but it could not reach the masses as it was not allowed to function legally. Thousands gathered and resisted and suffered lathi charges in Panjim, Margao Mapuca and elsewhere when Dr. Lohia was arrested. But the anger of the masses could not be organised into a proper movement of resistance. The ban on Civil liberties ' was broken by thousands. People were ready. But Lohia was not happy. He wanted thousands to court arrest, face lathi-charges and even worse. He was pained at the indifference of a section of his friends. And all of a sudden his gloom vanished as if by magic. The magician was Gandhiji and the wand his telegram.

QUIT GOA

Quick decisions were taken and a general call. was given to all Goans to offer satyagraha individually and

collectively wherever and whenever they chose. Lohia suggested hundreds of ways in which Satyagraha should be offered. "Waving Gandhi caps or shouting Jai Hind is Satyagraha in Goa. Take up the problems of the peasants, of the railway workers of the dockyard workers, fishermen and the toddy tappers. Make them feel that the struggle is their own. Do not beg for outside help. The spirit of resistance of the Goans themselves must rise. Do not be misled by the attempts of the Portuguese Government to disrupt your ranks. It is wrong to say that the Christians are not with you. Cunha, Loyola GeoVoz and Evagrio George, are all Christians. Hindus, Moslems and Christians must fight shoulder to shoulder and win freedom for all. The slogan of civil liberties in effect means 'Quit Goa,' if you work and; organize and fight on proper lines." All were listening intently; each one offered himself for any eventuality. The central Committee of the National Congress of Goa, Dr. Hedge its President, Bhembre the Secretary, Warekar, Mayekar, Laxman Rao Sardesai, the famous writer, and Karapurkar all offered Satyagraha and a hundred persons from Goa went with them to jail on the 18th, which the Goans celebrate as the day of the rebirth of Goa. Dr. Lohia 'is now lovingly called "the father of new Goa". Another committee was formed which in turn would offer Satyagraha after ten days. So many committees have been formed in advance and there is a constant flow of satyagrahis of all ages, creeds and religions. The workers went back reassured and Lohia's message reached all nooks and corners of Goa.

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

Before seeing Gandhiji, Lohia wanted to meet as many people from Goa as possible; so we arranged a tour of the frontiers, the Belgaum, Karwar and Ratnagiri districts, and Kolhapur and Sawantwadi States. We covered more than one thousand miles and spoke to more than a lakh of people.

More than ten thousand people greeted Lohia at Belgaum when a meeting was arranged to give a sendoff to the Centr.al Committee of the National Congress of

*Action in Goa - Dr. Rammanohar Lohia (Bombay, 1947)

Goa who were shortly to offer Satyagraha.

Channappa Wali, the 1942 hero of Karnatic joined us in the Khanapur meeting along with his gallant men who are organising the Rayat Spbhas in the Karnatic. The question of economic blockade of Goa was discussed. Lohia's instructions were specific. "We must stop their supplies. We will not stop rice and cloth and other necessities which go into Goa legally; that will harm the people of Goa. But we must stop cattle, butter, fruit and vegetables which are meant for the Portuguese officials and the army and their families, as well as rice and cloth and jagri which are smuggled in and go into the black-market." Channappa was very enthusiastic about this idea. His people would stop these supplies in a week's time. "We will burn the supplies and vehicles of merchants indulging in illegal trade if they do not listen to us. And this won't be illegal or violence either" he said smiling. Padmaraj Bogar a mighty peasant worker compared Lohia to Ram of Ayodhya going to Lanka to deliver Sita from the clutches of Ravana and said we will prepare an army of bandars in thousands and go with you. Lohia patted this spirited peasant and said there was no Sita involved and the whole crowd of five thousand laughed.

JAI HIND MESSAGE

In every meeting we met people who wanted to take morchas in thousands and penetrate the Goan frontiers. Lohia told them, "The time has not yet come. Let the people of Goa rise first. When your morcha goes, similar morchas must come from Goa to greet you and then the whole people will be as one. We must work for that morcha of the Goans first."

We had meetings in Londha and Castlerock very near the Goan frontier. Castlerock had given Lohia a hearty sendoff when he was going to Goa. This time they welcomed him back. It was virgin land and Congress had not reached there, Lohia actually organized a primary Congress Committee at Castlerock. A Railway Guard and an engine driver told us that they were arrested because someone had written 'Jai Hind' on their train. Lohia amusingly referred to the incident in the meeting and pleaded "By all means write 'Jai Hind' on the doors and windows, outside and inside everywhere. Write it with ink and paint or carve it with knives and let us see what the Portuguese Government, does about it."

On our way to Karwar we were stopped at Nandgad by a crowd of five thousand peasants. Two local groups

styling themselves as Maharashtra and Karnatic groups were each trying to be more hospitable than the other. In the meeting again they had a race in pledging their support to Goa. Lohia was not only the hero of Goa to them. He was a symbol of the 1942 movement and they were happy to see him in person.

The Karwar road went through thick forest chiefly of tall bamboos, jackals, hogs and wild cats often crossed the road in front of our car. We were a jolly team, Babu Nayak, Secretary, Maharashtra Kamgar Samiti, Anna Deshpande of the Khanapur Taluka Congress Committee. Shridhar Pai of Karwar District Congress Committee, Nath Pai, Sevalal and student organiser and a very effective orator from Belgaum. Ganpat Walavalkar, Secretary of the Sawantwadi State Praja Parishad and local workers. The beautiful beaches, rivers and forests and the red roads would have inspired poetry, fortunately none of us was, a poet, only Lohia liked to recite old Sanskrit verses.

SWARAJ HAS NOT COME

At Halyal, Yellapur and Kumpta, Lohia addressed huge meetings mostly attended by peasants and fishermen. "I want to tell you very little of Goa. I want to speak about yourselves, Nehru is only a Vice-President. Swaraj has not come. We must prepare for the next struggle. Government forces are the weakest in your districts. When the next struggle comes you can be free in a day, although Bombay and Calcutta may take a longer time. You should organise Panchayats and learn co-operative farming and selling." Worker's meetings were held till the early hours of the morning. Many Seva Dal and student workers offered their services. They were being sent to Goa for organisational work. Goa needs at this stage the services of trained workers who have experience of organisational work. Rashtra Seva Dal has not remained a mere volunteer organisation. It is a political force and dominates the show everywhere. The Seva Dal has reached the smallest village. It was a joy to meet the disciplined hard-working volunteer of a Seva Dal at every place.

We reached Karwar in the evening later than the scheduled time, as we had to cross two big rivers, motor and all, in forty-boats. A big rally of volunteers was waiting and they gave us a guard of honour. We used to speak by turns. Lohia never failed to give us useful suggestions as to how to make the speech effective and about the details of organizational work. He does not

merely criticise but encourages his comrades at every stage. The atmosphere was tense as on the previous day. Eight Seva Dal volunteers who had gone into the Goan territories to inform the people about the frontier meeting had been arrested. Their leader was Francis Fernandes, a youthful vigorous worker, who felt very shy when Lohia referred in another meeting to his courage and said that when he was released from the red fort has was first greeted by kids and his comrades.

THE PLIGHT OF SATYAGRAHIS

The following day we went to Manjali, a village on the border of Goa. Here actually Lohia broke of ban and entered Goa territory. It is very easy to avoid the police of Goa. Most of them are tired of the Portuguese regime, as their salaries are not paid for months together and they do sympathise with the movement of liberation. At Manjali and Sadashivagad hundreds of Goa people had come. The Portuguese Government had closed the frontiers and had issued an order that no one should attend the meetings of Dr. Lohia. Armed guards were posted and all Goans who dared go to the frontiers were kept in custody and beaten. But there are hundreds of ways through which illegal trade goes on through hills and forests and rivers and sea and here the Goa police and for that matter even the Indian Customs Police are ineffective. People of Goa had a will to see Lohia and they came through these secret paths. They told us how satyagrahis including women were being beaten and their hair and eye-brows shorn off. Bal Kakodkar a 14-year-old boy who had offered Satyagraha was arrested and beaten. He was fined and was asked to pay the fine within five days and was released. He took out a procession the very next day. The Police beat him very severely and his hands were swollen three inches thick. He shouted hoarsely that he would offer satyagraha again. Such spirits and courage are rare even in the history of the Indian struggle.

CONSCIOUS OF STRUGGLE

From Karwar we drove straight to Kolhapur. We addressed a meeting at Ankola on our way. We were all tired and the journey was a long one. We went straight to a meeting attended by nearly 15 thousand. At the flag salutation Lohia thought he was fainting, but somehow he pulled through. They promised us a big amount and about twenty-five workers were ready for Satyagraha and any other work. It was surprising to see how the struggle in Goa had caught the imagination of the people in India.

We had to disappoint crodws at many places. Only

at Gadhigalaj, Lohia made a brief speech. We reached Sawantwadi late at night. Next day three meetings had been arranged on the frontier at Satarda Arondah and; Banda. Only a river separates Goa from the rest of India at these places. Before addressing the meetings, we went to the river and on the opposite bank where many Goans had been stopped by the police. Here also the police had closed the frontiers. These people greeted us by raising their hands and we saw policemen shouting at them. In Goa the Army itself does the Policing. In spite of the ban, hundreds of Goans attended these meetings. The very strange and the most satisfactory thing about the Goan struggle is that it has reached the lowest masses in such a short while. Harijans and peasants, motor drivers and fishermen, all came to our meetings and faced risks. They knew what the struggle was about. They had been thinking about it. And they could give us some very important and, useful suggestions about their own problems. Goa has a bright future and when India embarks on the final struggle Goa will lead the people in the round about districts.

THE EVIL OF DRINK

The Portuguese Government has opened cheap toddy and wine shops near the frontiers and thousands of people from the Indian territory visit these shops daily. The percentage of drunkards in Goa is the highest in the world. The Portuguese Government gets more than eighteen lakhs of rupees revenue out of this evil. They are systematically trying to dissipate the people in the nearby districts as England and Japan did to China by encouraging opium-eating. The district Congress Committee and Praja Parishad as well as the National Congress of Goa are taking up the problem immediately. More than ten thousand people no doubt earn their living by toddy tapping but when we gave them the alternative that they should prepare jaggery out of the toddy they were more than happy.

At Satarda we heard the pathetic tale of Warekar's daughter who died the day following his arrest. She was his only daughter and he knew she was seriously ill. But he had offered satyagraha as a member of the Central Committee of the National Congress of Goa, More than five thousand people gathered spontaneously to take the body in a procession to the place of funeral. They wanted to wrap it in tricolor flag but the authorities would not permit it.

They sang National Songs and shouted slogans and

at the pier a huge meeting was addressed by the workers who were wanted by the police, by Evagra George for instance-and they paid homage to the departed and to the courage and spirit of Warekar. The Police looked on. They seemed to have decided not to interfere and many wept.

We addressed big meetings at Vengurla, Shiroda of the salt Satyagraha fame and Kankavali in Ratnagiri district and at Sawantwadi, Kudal and Amboh in the Sawantwadi State. Peasants and Harijans listened intently to Lohia. "Swaraj does not mean that when white people go, their Indian prototypes, industrialists, Zamindars and big businessmen should rule. We want a Praja Raj of the masses where the peasants and Harijans and all those who

work will rule. Every one of you must learn to become a Raja. Be prepared for the next struggle and retain power and conduct the affairs of the state. For power is surely coming to you after the next struggle. You must know that the old state is crumbling and a new one is being built, in which every one of you can become a Raja in the real sense." We could see the lustre in their eyes and a smile on their lips and their sense of honour rising. Lohia knows his ART.

By the time we finished the tour all the bans issued by the Portuguese Government had been broken by Lohia and thousands of Goans. The struggle for Civil Liberties had been won in practice. The greater struggle for complete Independence goes on.

Lohia's letters to Nehru and Gandhiji on Goa

Bombay,
January 23, 1947.

Room P410, Lake Temple Road,
Rash Behari Avenue Post,
Calcutta 29, 10--3--1947.

Address: Jawaharlal Nehru,
1947 Delhi.

My dear President,

Our Consul in Goa was kind enough to meet me while I was near Belgaum. He seems to be a very bright person and alert and had a lot of things to say. Naturally he is inclined as anybody in his position would be to accept the views of those who are in one or another considered educated or influential. For the rest it was indeed a very good choice.

The Consul was rather cut up about the fact that he had submitted to you a series of reports on Goa but that he had received no word of encouragement nor even a letter of encouragement from you. He would be very much encouraged if you dropped him a line. This would at any rate satisfy him although he expects a more positive policy from you and would like to be told what to do. Among the various suggestions that he has probably already made to you, I should like to remind about the need to start a branch of the Imperial Bank in Pangim. There is only one bank operating in Goa at the moment and that is a Portuguese monopoly bank. This monopoly must be broken up and I do not see why the Imperial Bank should not be opened its office down in Goa. The volume of our trade with Goa would justify such a branch. The Consul thinks that this could be done in spite of minor restrictions obtaining.

Another suggestion of his/about a joint conference between you, him and me, permit me to underline; as he said we would each in our spheres of activity and then there could be some coordination. If the idea of such a conference meets with your approval, I will be at your disposal between 3rd and 7th of March. This conference will obviously not be a formal one. I have been rather hesitant about writing you, for I do not know if anything I do has any meaning for you.

As At.
Care Balkrishna Gupta
Marble House
Kalikrishna Tapare St.
Calcutta

Yours affectionately
Rammanohar

P.S. I am also writing to G.D. Birla about the bank, but that is mostly necessary to say anything about it.

My dear President

I have a letter from Under Secretary, Duke. He writes that you and the legal experts do not think much of a demand for apology from the Portuguese Government in Goa. I do not know of any experts in international law, but I feel that there was something in my view of the matter.

In any case now that the Government of India have expressed their inability to do anything with regard to Goa, either in the matter of apology or any other action, may I take it that I am now free to re-enter Goa. This is in view of an earlier letter from you asking me not to re-enter Goa just yet because "the two processes could not be mixed up".

Yours affly
with Jawaharlal Nehru
York Road
New Delhi
Rammanohar

ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज : अंतरिम सरकार के प्रधान और कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष जवाहरलाल नेहरू को
1. राममनोहर लोहिया का पत्र (10 मार्च, 1947)
2. नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नयी दिल्ली

ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज : अंतरिम सरकार के प्रधान और कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष जवाहरलाल नेहरू को
डॉ. राममनोहर लोहिया का पत्र (23 जनवरी, 1947)
सौजन्य : नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नयी दिल्ली

my dear Resident,

I couldn't reply your letter earlier. It was delivered to me on the 15th.

I will be in Delhi about the 1st June, when I will place before you an alternative. Even if that alternative doesn't meet with your approval, I will certainly place your demand before the Nepal Congress.

I am willing to accept that you may be right and I wrong. But an otherwise proper letter was mangled by an ill-chosen word. So men in authority I guess, the beginning of every Sahyagrabh ~~have~~ appears petty. And, surprisingly, these petty things cause widespread opposition.

I once asked you not to allow your irritation with me to influence your judgment on the Nepal affair. I shall continue to attach the greatest importance to your advice.

Yours affectionately,

(19/5/47) P. 410 Lake View Road, Ramanohar Lohia, P.O. Roshabhari Avenue, Calcutta

10 lines of your letter 14 Feb. you have to be more careful. You have not before no hurry. I am not sure you were perfectly satisfied with the letter.

आज बेलगांव में मेरा दूसरा दिन है। अब तक मैं गोवा फिर न गया इसके तीन कारण हैं। एक तो आपको सब बातें बतानी हैं, इस पत्र के अलावा एक अच्छी दफ्त में आपको कल भेज दूंगा। दूसरा कारण पंडित नवाहरलाल नेरु को भेजें दुपे पत्र है। तीसरा कारण गोवा का अन्दर का आन्दोलन है जिसको आप को खोड़ कर बाकी सभी लोगों ने मेरे मित्रों ने भी, मुकसाम ही पड़चाने की कोशिश की है। इस आन्दोलन में सौजता लाना मेरी सख्त कामना ही है और मेरे रोष तो जो है वह है ही।

इस लिखे में तो सोचना है कि मैं अपना काम करता रहूँ। इसका नतीजा निकले या न निकले और लोग मुझे जो कुछ भी कहें। मेरे सामने सिर्फ़ इतना सवाल है कि मैं इन्हीं दो तीन दिनों में गोवा फिर वापस जाऊँ या दो तीन सप्ताह खोड़ कर। मैं आपके पैर दूरा हूँ

रामनिवास, उल्फवाड़ी, बेलगांव, 10 अक्टूबर
आपका राममोहर

Shree this message to the editor of the paper. I am not sure you were perfectly satisfied with the letter.

ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज : अंतरिम सरकार के प्रधान और कांग्रेस-अध्यक्ष जवाहरलाल नेहरू को डॉ. राममोहर लोहिया का पत्र (19 मई, 1947)
सौजन्य : नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नयी दिल्ली

राम बापूजी,
कलकत्ते में मुझे एक मटिया हो गया, काजपुर के एक दफते के बाद फिर यही वापस आ रहा है। अबकी बेलगांव नहीं जा रहा हूँ। गिरफ्तारी के हिसाब से गोआ कुछ रूखा पड़ता जा रहा है। जैसे तो आन्दोलन जाग्रत में पुंच गया है। झूक की निरी से, जिसे मैं आपका भेज रहा हूँ, साफ है कि अपनी सरकार कुछ न करेगी। जवाहरलालजी ने भी लिखा है कि वह और कोमा में फंसे हैं। मैं उन्हें भी लिखूंगा और आपसे भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब मेरे गोआ के अन्दर न जोत का कोई कारण नहीं रह गया।

कलकत्ते में कुछ करो का प्रयत्न तो किया लेकिन नतीजा नहीं निकला। कुछ ऐसी ही जिम्मेदारियां बर गयी हैं। निराले निवासा दुश्किल हो रहा है। मजूर आन्दोलन पर तो हिन्द-रूसी का जुलूम जोर है। मुझे तो एक ही रास्ता दिखाई देता है। चार सौ सौ लोगों को एक कर 1. कम से कम मजरी व 2. चूटनी हो तो इसरा ज्था मिले 3. मजूर संघ के माफिक काम हो, 4 सरकारी या तीस-सरकारी न काम बनें, सभी 20 लाख मजूरों को हिलाने नाम और एक 12वीं सीपूसी बनायी जाए। पहले 4-5 महीने तो 20 में से कम से कम

ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज : महात्मा गांधी को डॉ. राममोहर लोहिया का पत्र (10 अक्टूबर, 1946)
सौजन्य : नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नयी दिल्ली

20 लाख को नहीं करें और फिर इन लोगों के लिखे एक आम दंडाल की तो फिर ही जाए। इस तरह मजूर आन्दोलन बढ़े, राष्ट्रीय बने और हिन्द-रूसियों का भी असर खतम हो। इससे मजूरों में भी जैसे इसी तरह कुछ रंगों की और संगठन की बातें करी हैं। अंगाल की कांग्रेस को अन्दोलन का भी एक उपाय दीखता है। इन्हीं की अवहेलना पर के, सभी जिलों के काम करने वालों की एक सखी सूची बने और इसी एक बैठक हो। शायद इससे कुछ नतीजा निकले।

मेरे काम से कुछ फल तो निकला नहीं है लेकिन लोगों ने अपने काम खड़े कर लिखे हैं। खुद समाजतंत्रियों में से कुछ ने दिव्यी दीधानेदर आरम्भ कर री है। मैं आपका पत्र भी नहीं लिखा और न आप के पास गया ही। सोचा था कहीं कुछ पकड़ मिले तब आऊँ। आप तो भाग में पड़े हैं। नतीजा निकले न निकले, प्रयत्न ही अजेय है। आप के पैर दूरा हूँ

12 फरवरी 1949
कलकत्ता
राममोहर

ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज : महात्मा गांधी को डॉ. राममोहर लोहिया का पत्र (23 फरवरी, 1947)
सौजन्य : नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नयी दिल्ली

74/84 -176
 पूज्य महात्माजी,
 गोवा के श्री पुरुषोत्तम काफोडकर और श्री स्वागो आज आपके पास कुछ भाग्यत्रय ले कर जा रहे हैं। इसमें एक रपट डा. ग्लारियो मेनेजेस ने गोवा पर व्यापक दृष्टि रखते हुए आपके लिये लिखी है। श्री सोहनलाल उग्रहाड़ ने (पता मुल्तान एक्सपेंज, मारवाडी बाजार बम्बई) एक तमगीज ग्रीन बतारी जो आपके लिये है। अगर बम्बई के गरीब और दूसरे परिजनों के गुणार के लिये पचास लाख को कोई योजना बने तो वे पचास लाख रुपये के लिये तय्यार हैं। उनके पैसे 100 आरपी ले बम्बई में मिलाने से नागपुर के लिए उम्मा शर्मा प्राम है। वह रु. 500 दी पेशा दे सकते हैं, दूसरे भी मिलाने की उम्मीद सामर्थ्य है। और नये कि सड़काले के पैसे का कुछ पता भी बरालीयें यह काम जरूरी ही होगा बरालीयें। मैं आज ललंग जा रहा हूँ। आपके पत्र

धूता हूँ।

आपका
 राममनोहर

बम्बई
 13 जुलाई 1946

ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज : महात्मा गांधी को डॉ. राममनोहर लोहिया का पत्र (13 जुलाई, 1946)
 सौजन्य : नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नयी दिल्ली

पूज्य बापूजी,
 गिरारं मंत्रे दिन की दोहराती हैं। लेकिन या तो एक रपट बंद करनी नहीं तो ठीक नहीं। इतना आसान नहीं है।
 नेपाल से विन्नेचर प्रसार कोराला की खबर अच्छी नहीं है। साथ के पत्र से आपको पूरा हाल मालूम होगा और पत्रवाहक श्री दुष्प्रसार उपाध्याय से अगर आप संपर्क करते तो पूरे। नेपाल के प्रधानमंत्री पर आपकी बात का असर पड़ेगा, पंडित जनार्दन लाल नेहरा का तो कानूनी असर इस लिये अभी कम, डा. श्यामप्रसाद मुखर्जी का कुछ ज्यादा पड़े, लेकिन आपके असर से सम्भव है कि विन्नेचर प्रसार मौन से बचे।
 गोवा को आपने पांडिचरी के साथ मिला दिया तो ठीक नहीं हुआ। फ्रांस वाले मिलाप चाहते हैं, पोर्तुगाल वाले बड़ना चाहते हैं। रट गरी पंडित नेहरा यानी श्री गिरजा शंकर बाजपेयी श्री ओशिरो। परन्तु तो जो किमा सो किमा, अब भी बाजपेयीजी कई जगह जेरा को मुकसाम पडुचा रहे हैं।
 मैंने आपका सपना नहीं लेना चाहा। 26 मरीच को नागपुर कुछ दिनों के लिये जाऊंगा। मैं आपके पत्र धूता हूँ।
 22-7-46
 राममनोहर

ऐतिहासिक दस्तावेज : महात्मा गांधी को डॉ. राममनोहर लोहिया का पत्र (21 अगस्त, 1947)
 सौजन्य : नेहरू स्मारक संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नयी दिल्ली

Jawaharlal Nehru's Messages to Dr. Rammanohar Lohia

Telegram to Rammanohar Lohia 1*

Your letter of October 10th received and action being taken upon it. Please refrain from going to Goa or taking any precipitate action.

Jawaharlal Nehru

1*. 15 October 1946. External Affairs Department File No. 27(10)-X/47, p. 15/corr., National Archives of India.

To Rammanohar Lohia 1*
New Delhi
15th October 1946

My dear Rammanohar,

Your letter of the 10th October reached me last evening.

2*. I am dealing with the matter officially. In view of this fact, it is not desirable for you to return to Goa at present. Obviously, the approaches must not conflict with each other. I do not, of course, want to restrain you forever.

We are taking steps to appoint a Consul in Goa who could carry out our directions more effectively.

I understand that Gandhiji has asked you to come here. That would be helpful for all of us. I am going to the Frontier tomorrow morning for a week.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1*. External Affairs Department File No. 27(10)-X/47, p. 19/corr., National Archives of India.

2*. Lohia had said that his arrest on his entry into Goa was contrary to international law. It being "definite" that he would have to go back to Goa, he inquired whether Nehru was inclined to act in the matter.

NEHRU ON GOA & LOHIA

In Goa, Lohia has been recently arrested just for crossing the border and is now in solitary confinement^{1*}. A few days earlier a man was sentenced by court-martial to nine years imprisonment for some technical offence^{2*}.

The Portuguese administration in Goa is terribly corrupt and inefficient. I am moving in this matter, but this is a roundabout process and will not achieve results soon. Meanwhile, of course, the agitation in and outside Goa will continue and will have our support.

1*On his way to Madgoan in connection with the civil liberties movement in Goa Lohia was arrested on the train on 29 September 1946 and was kept in solitary confinement in Aguada fort.

2*On 28 September 1946, Purshottam Kakodkar, who was tried by a Portuguese court-martial for alleged sedition, was sentenced to nine years' transportation.

The foreign possessions in India consisted of Goa, Daman and Diu under the Portuguese and Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam under the French.

As regards the foreign possessions in India, I may draw your attention to the declaration by the Governor of French India that they will abide by the decision of the inhabitants of French India about their future.

There is no difficulty about French India so far as I can see. There is at present a difficulty about Portuguese India, which, I regret to say, is in a deplorable condition at the present moment and has been so for some time past. Obviously, this state of affairs cannot continue long in Goa. It is bad for Goa and bad for the people around Goa, but for the moment I am not aware of any Governmental action about to be taken, because obviously although it is a small bit of India, it raises international issues. If an international issue comes in our way we will have to deal with it, but for the moment we have so many big problems to deal with that an issue which might resolve by itself need not be raised by us as Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru Letter to Vijayalakshmi Pandit about Goa

As you well know, our general attitude is to avoid entanglements with groups, and the two main groups in the world today are well known. On the one side, it may well be argued that a partiality on our part towards Russia will irritate the U.S.A. and its satellites....

Yet obviously too much frankness may break up the best of friendships and one has to draw the line somewhere. These are just vague thoughts I am putting forward before you. The decision always will have to be made by you or by others on the spot. I do not want you 2* or our delegation to become camp-followers of the Russian group; still, less do I want you to hover around the British Commonwealth group.

I was very glad to read your reference to Goa in the U.N. General Assembly. 3 We have appointed Rashid Ali Baig as Consul there because we attach importance to the developing situation there. He has taken charge. It was my intention to write separately to Krishna and K.P.S. But I have written to you at very great length and I have no more time left. I think you had better share this letter with both of them. It is desirable that they should know how my mind is working and what our difficulties here are. All of us, whether here or abroad, have our particular viewpoints and feel strongly about them. We are conditioned by our own experiences and our convictions. Nevertheless, we have to adjust ourselves to each other provided.

1*. As printed in *The Indian Nationalist Movement 1885-1947; Select Documents* (London, 1979), pp. 204-205, edited by B.N. Pandey.

2*. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was the head of the Indian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly.

3*. On 8 November 1946, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, opposing the application of Portugal for admission to the United Nations, had said that civil liberties in Goa had been severely curtailed and people opposing the authorities there were often tried by court-martial and awarded inhuman sentences.

Jawaharlal Nehru in the parliament on Goa*

FUTURE STATUS OF AREA

The Situation in respect of the Portuguese Settlements in India, which has aroused much attention and concern both in the House and the country, has continually engaged the study and active consideration of Government. Internally in the Portuguese Settlements, the opposition and resistance to foreign and colonial rule has gathered momentum. This is an entirely Goan movement, popular and indigenous. It has been countered by the authorities in the traditional but discredited methods of colonial assertion, repression and authoritarian violence coupled

with the denial of the inherent rights of the people to their freedom and self-determination.

The position of the Government of India, and indeed of the people of this country, is well known and hardly needs restatement. Goa and the Union of India form one country. As a result of foreign conquest, various parts of India came under colonial domination. Historical developments brought almost the entire country under British rule. But some small pockets of territory remained under the colonial rule of other foreign Powers, chiefly because they were tolerated as such by the then British power. The movement for freedom in India was not confined to any part of the country. Its objective was the freedom of the entire country from every kind of foreign domination. Inevitably the movement took shape in what was called British India and ultimately resulted in the withdrawal of the colonial Power and the establishment of the Republic of India. That process of liberation will not be complete till the remaining small pockets of foreign territory are also freed from colonial control. The Government and the people of this country, therefore, fully sympathize with the aspirations of the Goan people to free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the motherland.

The policy that we have pursued has been, even as in India under British rule, one of non-violence and we have fashioned our approach and conduct accordingly. This adherence to non-violence means

- (i) that we may not abandon or permit any derogation of our identification with the cause of our compatriots under Portuguese rule; and
- (ii) equally we may not adopt, advocate or deliberately bring about situations of violence. We regard and base our position on the fact that the liberation movement is Goan and spontaneous, and that its real strength lies in this fact.

The Government of India, and I am confident the great majority of our people, have no intention of adopting any policy or methods which depart from these principles, which are the foundations on which our very nationhood rests and which are the historic and unique legacy of Gandhiji and the pioneers of our freedom.

Further, we may never forget that, in our approach and endeavours for our own freedom we were enjoined to eliminate fear. I want to say in all sincerity that the Government do not and will not function in this matter on a foundation of apprehensiveness and fear of probable

*Statement in Lok Sabha, August 25, 1954

consequences of threats, from whatever quarter they may come, or condone, much less approve or support, methods of conduct based on fear. Such methods are opposed to our policy and deny the basic ideas of non-violence.

The Portuguese Government have indulged in reckless allegations and unrestrained abuse of us. Moved by the fear characteristic of those whose strength is based on force, they have sought to amass their military strength on their possessions in India to terrorize the people. They are well aware that they constitute no terror for us.

It is not, however, the intention of the Government of India to be provoked into, thinking and acting in military terms. The Portuguese concentrations and ship movements may well be a violation of our national and international rights. We shall examine and consider these and take such legitimate measures as may be necessary. But we have no intention of following the Portuguese Government's example in this respect.

The Portuguese Government have, in their representations to us and to other countries, as well as in their crude propaganda, indulged in totally untrue and reckless allegations. The purpose of all this is to arouse opinion against us by painting us as aggressive militarists, anti-Christian, particularly anti-Catholic, and hypocritical expansionists. They want others to believe that we want to make Goa an Indian colony.

These allegations are repudiated by the Goan people in the Portuguese possessions themselves, despite the authoritarian regime there and the repression, the censorship and State-controlled propaganda. The Goan liberation movement, however, continues to grow and may well be measured by the increase in violence and recklessness of Portuguese allegations and propaganda. Goans outside Goa, mainly in India and East Africa, have expressed themselves in favour of this movement. They demand the end of alien rule and the reunion of Goa with the motherland.

The Portuguese allegations about Indian hostility to Roman Catholics and the danger to Catholics if Goa joined the Indian Union have been repudiated most emphatically by the Roman Catholics of India and, more particularly, by their eminent leaders. The Catholics in India regard these Portuguese allegations not only as false but as a slur on themselves and their country. They point to the five million Catholics in India, who have absolute religious freedom and enjoy the consideration and respect of the rest of their compatriots. They know that the

guarantees of our Constitution are a reality. Recently, at a widely attended meeting of Goans in Bombay, composed of people of all shades of opinion, mostly non-sectarian and non-party, this feeling found emphatic expression and the falsity of Portuguese allegations was exposed.

I deeply regret that the Portuguese Government should have decided to arouse religious passions to serve their colonial ends. They have failed in this endeavour.

I should like to take this opportunity of stating once again some aspects of our basic approach in respect of Goa, when it becomes a part of the Indian Union :

- (a) The freedom and rights guaranteed by the Constitution of India and which specifically refer to freedom of conscience, worship and practice of religions, will extend in full measure and in all their implications to these areas.
- (b) The special circumstances of cultural, social and lingual relations and the sense of a territorial group which history has created will be respected.
- (c) Laws and customs which are part of the social pattern of these areas and which are consistent with fundamental human rights and freedoms, will be respected and modifications will be sought only by negotiation and consent.
- (d) As we have done in the rest of India, full use will be made of the administrative, judicial and other services, confident that the return of free-dom to and the unity of these areas with the motherland will enable adjustments to be made in harmony with progress and with the desires of the people.

The House knows that recently some Notes have been exchanged between the Portuguese Government and the Government of India. They have been placed on the table of the House. It will be evident from these Notes that the Government of India have stated their position with firmness, clarity and restraint and unprovoked by either the language or the content of the Portuguese Notes. The Government believe and are confident that the House will agree that this is and should be the way of behaviour of governments. I shall refrain from detailed comments on the Notes exchanged except to say that, consistent with their policy of settling differences and resolving problems by conciliation and negotiation, the Government of India promptly accepted the very first offer of the Portuguese Government to co-operate with them on the issue of impartial observation. The Government of India have no objection to this and they have nothing to conceal. They have proposed that representatives of

the two Governments should meet together at once and implement the principle on which they have agreed. The last Note of the Portuguese Government appears to raise some further doubts and difficulties, but the Government of India have intimated their firm desire to pursue conciliation and negotiation and urged the Portuguese Government to enable the conference to begin.

I would like to say on behalf of my country and Government that we have no animosity towards Portugal or her people. We believe the freedom of the Goans, now subject to Portugal, would be a gain for Portugal as well. We will continue to pursue, with patience and firmness, the path of conciliation and negotiation. Equally, we must declare that we would be false to our history and betray the cause of freedom itself if we did not state, without reserve, that our country and Government firmly and fully believe in the right of our compatriots in Goa to free themselves from alien rule and to be reunited with the rest of the motherland. This will serve the cause of friendship and understanding, even as the freedom of India has led to friendly relations between the United Kingdom and India. We would therefore invite the Portuguese Government to co-operate in the peaceful consummation of these endeavours.

The position in respect of the French Settlements happily affords at present a different and more hopeful picture. I believe we may reasonably -feel that we are nearing the consummation of our hopes of a peaceful and lasting settlement, arrived at by conciliation and consent, honourable and satisfactory to all concerned. Exchanges of views and ideas between ourselves and the Government of France have been in progress for some time and they are being pursued with goodwill on both sides. The Prime Minister of France has demonstrated to the world his patriotism and political bold-ness as well as his desire for peaceful settlement by negotiation. I have every hope that we shall before long witness the solution of this problem in the context of the full freedom of our people and of firmer friendship between India and France.

The present phase of this problem is, as I have said, hopeful, but it has not always been so. The exercise of patience and our firm desire to reach settlement by negotiation has justified itself. The House will perhaps allow me to say that this policy of acting with patience and prudence, in accordance with the principles we hold, does justice to ourselves and also yields results.

SITUATION IN GOA - JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I beg leave, Sir, to make a statement in regard to the situation in Goa.

This House and all our countrymen are deeply interested in the problem of the Portuguese enclaves in India. Because of this and the importance of the problem, I have from time to time kept this House informed of developments there and of the policy that Government was pursuing. On the 4th of May last, in a statement in the Lok Sabha, I expressed our concern at some recent developments in Goa which indicated a deepening of the crisis there. During the past two months, there have been further grave developments which have caused anxiety and aroused intense feeling throughout India as well as in Goa.

I should like to remind the House that the struggle of the Goans for freedom and for integration with the Union of India is not a new development. It dates back a considerable time. More particularly, in 1946, the prospect of India becoming independent soon naturally brought hope to the Goans, and they made an attempt to free themselves. This attempt failed. Ever since then, there has been a continuing agitation in Goa, and many Goan patriots have suffered because of this. Eminent citizens have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment or deported. Even an expression of opinion in favour of integration with India or a verbal protest has led to imprisonment, loss of civil rights and sometimes deportation. There is complete absence of civil rights in Goa, and the normal methods of constitutional agitation are forbidden and suppressed. Nevertheless, the movement for Goan freedom from Portuguese rule has continued. The Portuguese Government has often stated that there is no political movement inside Goa. This is a manifestly wrong statement.

About a year ago, the agitation in Goa became more vigorous and demonstrative. This led to greater repression by the Portuguese authorities. A new turn was given to the movement then by Goans within Goa well as outside performing some form of satyagraha. This was largely confined to Goans though, occasionally, non-Goans also participated.

Government was anxious that this problem should be settled peacefully and if possible by negotiations

*Statement on 25 July 1955 in the Lok Sabha

with the Portuguese Government. This was the policy Government had adopted both in regard to the French settlements and the Portuguese settlements in India. As the House knows, this policy met with success, in regard to the French settlements and an agreement was arrived at with the French Government. In regard to Goa, however, the Portuguese Government have consistently refused to have negotiations or even to discuss this matter. On some occasions, the Government of India's notes addressed to the Portuguese Government have not been accepted by them. Nevertheless, it was the firm policy of Government to pursue peaceful methods only.

When satyagraha started within Goa as well as outside, Government had to give careful thought to this new development. In regard to satyagraha inside Goa, the Government of India naturally had no concern. Regarding the entry of satyagrahis into the Portuguese territories, the Government of India's attitude has been to discourage non-Goans from participating in the satyagraha. They also do not look with favour on any mass entry of satyagrahis. In August 1954, a serious situation had arisen but any crisis was avoided because of this policy of Government and the cooperation that people generally gave to it.

Satyagraha, however, has continued ever since then from time to time. On the 18th May, a group of peaceful satyagrahis under the leadership of Shri Goray entered Goa. The Portuguese authorities opened fire on these peaceful men, injuring four of them and later severely beating and manhandling them. Shri Goray and the injured satyagrahis were kept in police custody while the others were pushed out into Indian territory.

Since the 18th May, twelve more groups of peaceful satyagrahis have entered the territory of Goa. These satyagrahis have been treated with considerable brutality. They have been assaulted and beaten till some of them have lost consciousness. It is reported that some of these persons were trampled upon after they had fallen down.

One of the injured satyagrahis, Shri Amir Chand Gupta, was put back into Indian territory in an unconscious state and succumbed to his injuries. Many others were admitted into hospital, suffering from compound fractures and other serious injuries. Another group of satyagrahis led by Shri Jagannath Rao Joshi, on the 25th June, was also fired upon, resulting in injuries to two satyagrahis.

It is reported that another person Shri Maparia, Goan, who was not a satyagrahi also met his death because of

the severe beating he had received.

Since May last, about eight hundred satyagrahis have entered Goa in different groups and at different times. Of these, nine have been detained and the others have been thrust back into Indian Territory often after a beating. Among those detained are Shri N. G. Goray, Shri S. P. Limaye, and a member of this House, Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri.

Some of those in custody have been brought for trial before a local military tribunal. Up till now, so far as our information goes, 122 Goans, most of whom are resident in Goa itself, have been sentenced to terms of rigorous Imprisonment ranging from one to twenty-eight years. They have been denied the status of political prisoners and are being treated as common criminals. Thirteen Indians have also been sentenced to terms of imprisonment of eight to nine years.

According to our information, the satyagraha conducted chiefly by Goans as well as some Indians, has been completely peaceful, but some violent acts have been reported as having occurred inside Goa. The Portuguese authorities have stated that these violent activities have been carried out by Indians and by armed personnel from India. This is completely untrue. The satyagrahis have no connection with this and no armed personnel of India has crossed the border. These petty acts of violence are apparently done by some odd individuals within Goa itself as a result of desperation following the repressive policy of the Portuguese Government.

The Portuguese Government have repeatedly stated, firstly, that there is no movement inside Goa and, secondly, that such as there is, is not indigenous and is organised and initiated in India. While it is true that in recent months some Indians have participated in the satyagraha, the movement has been essentially a Goan movement. This is borne out by the fact that in the course of last year about 2,500 Goans have been arrested and subjected to great physical and mental suffering. Even now, about 450 Goans are still in custody.

The Portuguese Government, in their propaganda in Goa and abroad, have laid repeated stress on the religious and cultural aspect of the problem. Their claim is that Goa is a part of Portugal, a claim which is manifestly absurd.

According to Portuguese official statistics published in 1951, out of a total population of 6,38,000 in the Portuguese enclaves, all but 1,438 persons are of purely Indian origin. These are hardly distinguishable in language, customs and manners from their brethren

across the border. Sixty-one percent of the population profess the Hindu faith and about thirty-seven per cent are Christian Catholics. There are also some Muslims. Only a small percentage of the total population can read and write Portuguese, while the common languages are Marathi, Konkani and Gujrati.

No religious or cultural question arises in Goa. It is well-known that there are many millions of Christians who are nationals of India, most of them being Catholics. It has also been repeatedly stated by Government that the religion, customs and languages of the people of Goa will be respected and protected.

The Government of India had opened a Legation in Lisbon in the hope that this might help in bringing about direct negotiations with the Portuguese Government over the question of Goa. But, on the continued refusal of the Portuguese Government even to discuss this question, the Government of India felt that there was no advantage in keeping the Mission which had ceased to be of practical utility. The Government, therefore, withdrew their representative from Lisbon in July, 1953 and closed their Legation there. Even so, the Government of India hoped that it might be possible to achieve a negotiated settlement by peaceful means and they took no steps for the closure of the Portuguese Legation in Delhi, which has continued to function here. A proposal was made last year for representatives of the two Governments to meet together without any prior commitments. Even this was rejected by the Portuguese Government. In view of this as well as because of recent developments, the Government of India have come to the conclusion that the continued functioning of the Portuguese Legation in Delhi, in existing circumstances, serves no useful purpose. They have accordingly decided to ask for the closure of this Legation. A note to this effect was personally given this morning by the Foreign Secretary to the Portuguese Charge d' Affaires. The closure of the Legation will take effect from the 8th August, 1955.

As will be evident, the Government of India have exercised the utmost patience and restraint in dealing with the situation in Goa, in spite of the strong and natural feelings of the people of India and Goa. In accordance with their general policy, they will continue to seek a peaceful settlement and will welcome negotiations with the Portuguese Government. No one who knows anything about the past history of Goa and India, the geographical and cultural affinities, and the wishes of the people of Goa and India, can doubt that Goa is an integral part of

India and must inevitably become a part of the Indian Union, while preserving its cultural and other interests in accordance with the wishes of the people there. The Government of India hope that in spite of all that has happened, the Portuguese Government will reconsider their policy and will make a friendly response to their proposal for a negotiated settlement.

The Government of India are firmly convinced that only peaceful methods should be followed and they do not approve of any action which would encourage a resort to violence.

There is one other matter, Sir, which I should like to mention. It really is not directly connected with the statement I have made. In this morning's newspapers Members, no doubt, have seen a news item to the effect that certain railway services to Goa have been suspended. That is a result of an entirely different course of events. What has happened and the position there is that in regard to the railway services the Indian Railways run the services within Goa under a contract with a British Railway which apparently deals with it on behalf of the Portuguese Government. Now, there are two ways of running this railway. There are shuttles—Indian trains—that go to the border and shuttle trains on the other side of the border which serve the other side. In addition to this, there were through-trains going. Now, it was discovered by our railway people, about two months ago or more, that in that small space between the two shuttle services some obstructions had been placed which might be in the nature of mines. The Railway engineers reported this: this was on either side of the Sanvordam railway station. This matter was reported to the Portuguese authorities.

Also another odd thing happened. The permanent way staff of the railway who normally attend to the maintenance of the track were asked by the Portuguese military authorities not to attend to these tracks on this place in between. So, this matter was brought to the notice of the Portuguese authorities and they were asked to remove this interference or give an assurance that there was no danger to traffic passing over this section of the railway in Goa. Intimation was also sent to the British Railway which is supposed to be in charge of this. No reply was received within the time stated. This through-railway service has been stopped, because it passes through that little area which was supposed to be dangerous, but the shuttle services on both sides continue. That is, the Indian Railway system still runs a shuttle on the other side, and of course, on this side.

It became incumbent to stop the through services going over that part of the Goan territory which was supposed to be mined as it was dangerous to passengers and others.

Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada): With your permission may I make a submission? It is going to be a very curious submission. Inspired by our Prime Minister's speech the other day, I have written a stirring poem on Goa in Hindi.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I know what his request is.

Shri Chattopadhyaya: I would like to recite it.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. We do not read any poems in the House. We treat the business of the House with more seriousness and not through poems.

The House has heard the statement of the hon. Prime Minister, and I think, looking to the importance that the question has assumed in the public eye, perhaps Members of the House may like to have some discussion or debate to make some suggestion to the Government as to what they think are the steps to be taken by the Government. If the hon. Prime Minister is agreeable, we may have some time for that.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. We have absolutely no objection to such a discussion taking place. I am entirely in your hands in this matter.

Mr. Speaker A day may be fixed as early as possible but that will be according to the convenience of the business; but, as the statement is made today, it is better that the discussion should follow this. We will fix up and then it may be notified in the Order Paper.

FOREIGN FOOTHOLDS - JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

YESTERDAY I made a statement before the House outlining the policy that Government was pursuing in regard to Goa. I must express my deep gratitude to Members who have spoken in this House today of their broad appreciation of this subject and their general acceptance of the policy of Government. There have been some criticisms, but, on the whole, the area of agreement is very large and the area of disagreement limited and narrow.

There is no one in this House who requires any argument in justification of India's claim to Goa. It is obvious. There is hardly any question that has come before this House which had such unanimous approval or agreement. The only questions that have arisen are as

to the steps that might be taken to give effect to India's claim. Even there, so far as I can understand, it is by and large the opinion of this House that the methods should be peaceful.

Now, although it does not require that anything should be said in justification of our claim. to Goa, I shall, nevertheless, venture to mention a few facts, perhaps more for the benefit of others than for Members of this House. There is of course the geographical argument. The Portuguese Government claims that Goa is a part of Portugal. That remark is so illogical and absurd that it is rather difficult to deal with. You are suddenly transported into a land where logic does not prevail. To say that Goa is a part of Portugal is something in the nature of a fairy tale or nursery rhyme about the cat jumping over the moon. It has no relation to facts, and any kind of will, decree or law passed in Portugal is not going to make Goa a part of Portugal.

Reference is made to a number of treaties, more especially to those between the United Kingdom or England as it was then, and Portugal. And there is the NATO alliance. I think it has been made fairly clear by responsible people that the NATO alliance has little relevance to this question. It has been stated that under that alliance, a subject like Goa or indeed any other subject can be brought up for discussion, but that alliance is not by any means compelled to deal with such problems or go beyond its narrower periphery of action. We may, therefore, set aside the NATO alliance.

Then there are these treaties with the various British Governments. I think the first one is dated 1374. These treaties began, as far as I can remember, with an attempt by the then King of Portugal to protect himself against the then King of Castile, that is, Spain. This was soon after the Arabs, or the Moors, as they were called, were driven out of the Iberian Peninsula; and Portugal was rather afraid of Castile which was growing in strength. Some of the later treaties were aimed against the Hollanders as they were called, or the Dutch, who were spreading out. In the course of these treaties all kinds of provisions were made about the right of Portugal to go and raise armies directly in England. A provision in one of the later treaties might interest the House:

"That His Majesty of Portugal, or anyone whom he may depute, shall be permitted to raise and procure in this Commonwealth, that is, England, "soldiers and horses, to defend and secure himself against the King of

*Reply to debate on Goa in Lok Sabha, July 26, 1955

Castile; "And that the military force, which he shall be at liberty to levy, shall not amount to more than 12,000, namely, 4,000 out of each of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively."

Then we come to that famous treaty in which the town and port of what was called Bombaine was handed over at the time King Charles II of England married the Portuguese princess. There are all kinds of references to the port of Bombaine and Colombo, and that is the whole background. I am mentioning these rather irrelevant facts to indicate how that picture of the world completely ceased to exist many hundreds of years ago. After that, there were treaties which were several times confirmed by subsequent treaties. In the treaty by which the town and port of Bombaine was handed over, there was a secret clause. It is that secret clause to which reference is often made, as it was under that secret clause that England promised to help and protect Portugal and her colonies in 1661. It might interest the House to know that in spite of these various treaties, a little before the First World War—I think in 1912—there were actually negotiations between England and Germany for a partition of the Portuguese Empire. The negotiations led to other events including the War. But I merely mention this to indicate what value is attached to many of these ancient treaties. Of course, every constitutional lawyer and historian knows that any treaty or any agreement has to be interpreted in terms of the existing circumstances. If, for instance, Portugal, in terms of that treaty, claims today the right to raise an army directly in England, Scotland or Ireland, I have little doubt that the United Kingdom would refuse to acknowledge that fact, although it is there in the treaty. It is absurd, therefore, to talk about ancient treaties in these terms.

A treaty has to be seen in terms of the historical developments that have since taken place. So far as independent India' is concerned, we are in no way bound by any old or modern treaty between other countries to which we have not subscribed, so that in no event are we concerned with the treaty between Portugal and England or other countries. But quite apart from the fact that we are not bound by them, I am trying to indicate that nobody else is bound by such ancient treaties, because they have to be construed only in the light of later developments. Some of these developments have been startling, like the independence of India. The independence of India was never conceived as the independence of a part of India, or as the independence of India excluding certain areas

which may be controlled by some authority outside India. It is inconceivable that there can be independence of India with parts of India being held by ail outside authority. The House will remember that some 140 years ago, even some time after the United States had established itself as a strong nation, there was the fear of interference by European Powers in the American continents, and this led to the famous declaration by President Monroe of the United States. This was in 1823, and the declaration said:

"The United States would regard as the manifestation of an un-friendly disposition to itself the effort of any European Power to interfere with the political system of the American continents."

That is to say, any interference by a European country would be an interference with the American political system. I submit that in the existing conditions—I place my case quite clearly—the Portuguese retention of Goa is a continuing interference with the political system established in India today. I shall go a step further and say that any interference by any other Power would also be an interference with the political system of India today. That need not be called a particular doctrine; it is just a statement of the present policy. It may be that we are weak and we cannot prevent that interference. But the fact is that any attempt by a foreign Power to interfere in any way with India is a thing which India can-not tolerate, and which, subject to her strength, she will oppose. That is the broad doctrine I lay down. That applies in the existing conditions to the Portuguese retention of Goa. Therefore, for a variety of reasons like national unity, national security and others I need not go into, we cannot possibly accept such interference or such foothold. When a foreign Power has that foothold, it means that it is a foothold not of that country,' but a group of countries with a large number of alliances, and therefore all kinds of possible dangers and. entanglements might arise.

I do submit that the case of India in regard to Goa is as clear as any case that I can think of and it should not require really any great arguments to justify it. But various types of arguments are advanced by the Portuguese Government and they are strange. Therefore, I thought I could venture to repeat what I have said. I am not going into the old history of the Portuguese possession of Goa; but I think many Members will remember that this history is a very dark chapter of India's history. I mention it because Goa is repeatedly referred to as a shining light of European culture. Opinions may differ on what European culture is. But I should like to put

it to Europe and to the countries of Europe, whether they regard the culture represented by Goa today, or even by Portugal, as European culture at its highest and brightest.

The religious argument has been employed. Hon. Members belonging to the Roman Catholic Church have spoken today in this House, and Catholics have spoken else-where. I do not think anything that will happen in Goa is going to affect our broad policy in regard to religious freedom. Hon. Members know how many Catholics have taken part in this struggle of freedom in Goa.

Therefore, let us be clear. From any point of view, there can be only one decision of this question and that is, merger with the Indian Union. One hon. Member said the fact of Goa being part of the Indian Union is not an arguable point. We do not go and discuss with the Portuguese Government whether Goa is to be part of the Indian Union or not. The only thing that we can discuss with them—I have no doubt the time will come when it will be discussed—is the manner of doing it, the legal or other steps that have to be taken. Our approach throughout has been, in the case of both French possessions and Portuguese possessions in India, that the other party should recognize this basic fact, and also tell us that de facto they are part of India. We do not mind if there is some delay. We are prepared to accommodate the other Government concerned in these matters. But, where the basic right is denied, there is no question of argument. Any argument or any negotiation with Portugal denying that right is not possible.

There is another point that I wish to make clear. When we say that this is a matter of special concern to the Goans, it does not mean that the matter is of less concern to other Indians. What was said was in connection with certain types of movement and agitation that were going on. The future of Goa, that is, the union of Goa with India, is a matter of special, intense, equal concern to every Indian including every Goan.

We now turn to the question of what are the methods to be employed. Acharya Kripalani put a straight question whether our Government was pledged to non-violence. The answer to that is no, the Government is not. As far as I can conceive, under the existing circumstances, no Government can be pledged to non-violence. If we were pledged to non-violence, surely we would not keep any Army, Navy or Air Force—and possibly not even a police force. I do not know. One may have an ideal. One may adhere to a policy leading in a certain direction and yet,

because of existing circumstances, one cannot give effect to that ideal. We have to wait for it for some time. Acharya Kripalani reminded us of Mahatma Gandhi, saying that the Polish defence against the German armies might also be called satyagraha. Also Gandhiji defended—not only defended but in fact encouraged—the Indian Army going to Kashmir to defend Kashmir against the raiders. It is surprising that a man like Gandhiji, who was absolutely committed to non-violence, should do that kind of thing. So that, even he, in certain circumstances, admitted the right of the State, as it is constituted, to commit violence in defence. The Government of India, obviously, cannot give up that right in the existing circumstances. Nevertheless, we have made it perfectly clear that we shall use force only in defence and that we shall not provoke a war or start a war or adopt any aggressive tactics in regard to a war. That is our policy.

Some hon. Members opposite talked about a limited war. Goa no doubt is small and India is big, but the idea of a limited war ignores the fact that the world is much more of a unit today, and far more in favour of peace, than it ever was before. I do not say that it is impossible for India or some other country to have a limited war. It may yield results too. But whatever wars may have done in the past, in the present state of affairs in the world, no major war can bring the results aimed at. And if you rule out a major war, then you have to apply the same argument to a small war. Not that a small war is in essence the same as a big war—it is not—but because a small war helps also to keep up the atmosphere which creates a big war. Here we are fighting against these vague ghosts and phantoms which create cold war—sometimes real fears, sometimes unreal fears. If we ourselves move away from that level and think in terms of some kind of police action or limited war, then we are injuring all the larger causes that we stand for, and possibly getting ourselves entangled in great difficulties.

It being admitted and settled that the policy we should pursue is a peaceful policy, it is open to us to do much in terms of that peaceful policy. Some Members referred to economic blockade. Obviously, it is open to us to pursue these policies, and many others.

Reference has been made to satyagraha—both mass. satyagraha and individual satyagraha. The Government of India or any government does not talk of satyagraha in that way. An hon. Member suggested that the Government of India should lead a satyagraha movement into Goa. That, if I may say so with all respect, is a misapprehension

of the functions of government, as if government was an agitational body agitating for somebody and against somebody else. No government will or can perform satyagraha. When I make that statement, naturally I am thinking of satyagraha. in the normal sense. There may be some possible extensions of that move which are beyond my mind at the present moment. But satyagraha, as we know it, has been performed within our country against the governmental apparatus.. But one government performing it against another government is, for the moment, not clear to me.

Therefore, let us not get things mixed up. Many hon. Members who have had the privilege of being initiated into the satyagraha movement during this Goan campaign probably have had no previous experience of it. They have not understood either the technique or the theory of it, always-excluding of course some hon. Members opposite who have-that knowledge.

So far as our Government is concerned, we have nothing to do with satyagraha. That is the governmental viewpoint. Of course, there may be a public viewpoint, apart from the governmental. A party can do so; but the Government can-not conceive of patronizing satyagraha. The most it can do is not to interfere, provided the satyagraha is within certain limits, provided it is non-violent, and provided also that it does not lead to a situation of violence on a big scale. When we disapprove of mass satyagraha, it is not because mass satyagraha itself is wrong, but because the manner of -conducting it is likely to lead to unforeseeable results and large-scale violence. It may cease to be satyagraha, and may be compelled to turn in some other direction. If there were an adequate number of trained satyagrahis, they might perhaps carry on even mass satyagraha in a disciplined way. The House will remember how the archpriest of satyagraha, Mahatmaji, put a full stop to the whole movement and said: "Only one man will go now." Compared to him we -are novices. We cannot pretend to understand the important points of satyagraha. But one thing is clear—that if we want a settlement of this question by peaceful methods, we should not do anything which, though peaceful in itself, leads to violent methods.

There has been a so-called constitutional statute introduced or sought to be introduced by the Portuguese Government in Goa, Daman and Diu. This is being done evidently to create some impression on the people there. This constitutional statute is a very feeble attempt at

local reform. It -gives absolutely no authority or power. Briefly speaking, the position even after this will be that out of 23 seats in a new council which is formed under a very limited franchise, eleven -will be elected, that is, less than half. And even this council -will not have much power. In fact, all power will remain in the hands of a handful of officials. Oddly enough, the position In Goa not only today but even after this constitutional statute will be that they will have less freedom if I may use the word in a limited sense than Goa had under the monarchy in Portugal. They go backwards there instead of there being: some advance in local reforms, opportunities have actually become more and more restricted.

I would again say that we cannot consider these matters from a purely narrow, local or even national point of view. Whether we like it or not, we have become part of an international community which is spread out all over the world. If we remember that, and if we remember that every action of ours has reactions elsewhere, just as other actions have reactions here, then perhaps we shall be able to judge these matters in the proper perspective.

MOTION REGARDING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION - JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I beg to move:

"That the present international situation and policy of Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration."

Nearly six months ago, I spoke in this House on foreign affairs. That was, I think, in connection with the Demands for Grants. At that time, I drew attention to the state of international affairs and I pointed out that the prospect was a very gloomy one...

Now I come to Goa. There is apparently a feeling, and even newspapers in India and abroad have given expression to it, - that there has been some marked or sudden change in our Government's policy in regard to Goa. Further, it has been thought by some people, more particularly I think by some foreign observers that we have made this change because of foreign opinion or foreign reactions. Now, naturally we follow and we are interested in foreign reactions not only about this matter but about every other matter. We want to be wide awake and know what the world is doing and what the world is thinking. We are not isolated. We do not wish to wall

ourselves in.

But I should like to make it clear that whatever decisions we have arrived at have been completely internal decisions in our attempt to follow the policy which we consider right. Nothing that has happened or is being said in foreign countries has in the slightest affected or brought about the decisions we have made.

Secondly, I would venture to point out to this House that there has been no reversal of the policy and that we have consistently followed the same policy throughout and more especially in the course of the last little more than a year ever since certain developments took place. It is true that there has been sometimes a varying emphasis; it is true that at some periods there was a certain laxity in enforcing that policy... (Laughter.) Laughter is pleasant to hear but when it has no meaning, I do not understand.

Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad): Just as this policy has no meaning.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not competent enough to bandy words with Shri Kamath; nobody is competent enough for that.

What are the basic elements of our policy in regard to Goa? First, there must be peaceful methods—let us be clear about that. It obviously is essential unless we give up the whole roots of all our policies and our behaviour. Now, therefore, any person who thinks that the methods employed in regard to Goa must be other than peaceful—it is open to him to have that opinion but there is nothing that I can debate with him or argue with him because we rule out non-peaceful methods completely.

There is no defence of the wrong action of the police or anybody or any official. But if I may say so—I was going to say so a little later - one of the elements in our thinking has been not only what happened in Goa but what happened subsequently in the city of Bombay and elsewhere; the indiscipline, the methods other than peaceful that come into evidence because—I am not blaming anybody—they exhibited a certain atmosphere in the country which was the very reverse and the opposite of the peaceful atmosphere which is so necessary for any peaceful movement of satyagraha, etc. One cannot have it both ways. If one thinks that methods like military methods, or police action as they are called—are necessary or desirable, well, one has them. If on the other hand one feels that peaceful methods are essential then one tries to have them. But to mix them up is to fall between two policies, two chairs, and to be nowhere.

There are, perhaps, some in this House—not too many, but certainly some—whose experience may go back during the last 35 years or so in India's history. When the national movement in India was pursuing, under a great leadership, peaceful methods, whenever we slipped—and we slipped sometimes—the movement was stopped utterly and absolutely, because it was felt by our leader that we must be true to our principle and to our policy and that nothing is going to be achieved by indiscipline and by people diverting themselves from that basic policy either through excitement or anger, or, even if you like, some justified resentment. Whatever it was, one cannot carry on a movement at any time, big or small, unless one is clear about one's policy and unless that policy is followed and some other policy is not included in that policy.

The word "satyagraha" has been used in this connection. I am not the originator of satyagraha nor do I presume to be an authorised commentator as to what it is. But, some of us at any rate have functioned at least for 35 years in a way and in a domain where satyagraha has been ever present. So, we have learnt through trial and error some experience about it. Anyhow, so far satyagraha is concerned it is no business of the Government. A government does not start satyagraha. The most that a government can do is not to come in the way of satyagraha, not to prohibit satyagraha because it is not against their law or their general policy. That is the most a government can do. It is for other people, people other than government to do it if it is not contrary to the law of the country or to the general policy pursued. Therefore, as a government, of course, we do not discuss satyagraha. In some other capacity we might or some people might, consider it.

Now, I would like the House to remember what the basic policy was in the course of the last year and a quarter; that is to say, ever since satyagraha or some kind of satyagraha was talked about. Repeated emphasis was laid, of course, always on peaceful methods. Secondly, emphasis was laid that there should be no mass entry into Goa, or, no mass satyagraha in the form of mass entry. Thirdly, that it should be predominantly the business of Goans. It was about an year ago that was said, and repeatedly said. Later, gradually, what happened was that a number, to begin with relatively a small number, of Indians, non-Goan Indians, participated in the small groups that went in there. The groups were small and the Indians were relatively few. It is true we may be

criticised for allowing this thing to continue. There was no vital principle involved. It may be asked "Why didn't you deny the right of Indians to do it"? It is not that I say that Indians have no right to do it. I am not for the moment talking about satyagraha—Indians have every right to work for the freedom of Goa or, for the matter of that, for the freedom of the North Pole if they want to. Why should I put a ban? But it can come in the way of my policy and therefore I can stop it, but mentally, I do not wish to deny the right, but if it comes in the way of policy or if it is likely to create consequences which are undesirable, then I come in the way or the Government comes in the way; because we thought that the participation of Indians in the so-called satyagraha in any large numbers would produce wrong results, we expressed an opinion against it. When one or two Indians go in, it is not a matter of great significance—it may be, of course—but it was doubtful and so we had to make that point perfectly clear later. Gradually, early in August, or earlier still—on the 18th July—the number of Indians increased somewhat. I want to be quite frank to this House that early in August, that is, let us say, a week before or a few days before the 15th August, we were in some doubt as to what, if any action we should take, because we saw developments taking place which were not in keeping with the policy we had laid down. The policy throughout, even at the end of July, was that there should be no mass entry and predominance was on Goans and not Indians, though there was no strict, rigid barrier between individual Indians going there or not going there. We were much concerned about these developments. We know that large numbers of enthusiastic countrymen and countrywomen of ours were going there in a spirit of self-sacrifice and desiring to help in the freedom of Goa. Whatever our policy or their policy might be, even though their policies might differ, there was no question of our not appreciating the individual motives of those people who went there—or most of them—and that is why on the morning of the 15th August, when I was speaking from the ramparts of the Red Fort here, I said that my mind and heart were full of thoughts for those people on the Goa border. My mind was full of what happened and what might happen to our brave people doing an act, facing a danger. Whether I agree or disagree, my mind and heart will go out to brave men facing danger for a cause. But I was concerned about the consequences then, and we may perhaps be justifiably criticised that "Why do you allow matters to go thus far on the 15th August"? The

criticism might be justifiable. I quite frankly say that my mind was not clear how, having gone that far, to suddenly ask those people who had collected or were collecting in larger numbers against our conscience in regard to the mass entry, etc., not to do so. So, what took place in Goa on August 15 happened. Later, all of us had to give a great deal of intense thought to this position, and as a result of that very careful and anxious consideration, we came to the conclusion that we must lay stress on our basic policies in regard to Goa, again the old policy, but in addition, in the present context, certainly not to allow any doubt about that policy. As I said, it may be justifiably said against us that we were not quite clear, not about the basic policy but about certain developments, certain minor aspects of that policy, and therefore, the people generally might have not been clear in their minds as to our policy. That charge might be brought against us perhaps and I think there will be some slight justification for it, though the basic policies have been completely clear for the last year and a quarter. Anyhow we felt that now it was not right or fair to the public or to ourselves or to anyone who was thinking in terms of going to Goa that we should leave the slightest doubt in our minds; and in the present context we therefore came to the conclusion that no satyagraha, even individual satyagraha, should be permitted. As a matter of fact, it is obvious that—I am not speaking on grounds of principle but about the sheer practical aspect of it—after a big-scale effort was made on the 15th August, going back immediately to individual efforts, efforts of odd individuals, has no particular meaning. It is lost; the significance of it, moral or physical, is rather lost. Hon. Members may have read in the newspapers how the Portuguese have started describing some people as "violent satyagrahis". I do not know anything about them. I believe there are some small groups, or some small group in Goa itself, which have indulged in acts of sabotage like damaging a small bridge or something like that.

Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour): Is there any independent source to verify what the Portuguese said about the satyagrahis?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I just said that reports in the Press have appeared, and I have no doubt those particular reports are correct, that the Portuguese say that "violent satyagrahis have done this and that". What I was venturing to point out was this. There are a number of people, not satyagrahis, —people who do not claim to be satyagrahis at any time, —belonging to some small or big

group who have committed small acts of sabotage. These little attempts of odd individual satyagrahis, although completely different from that, tend to get mixed up with that other thing, or even if we cannot tell the Portuguese mix it up. I was just pointing out the practical aspects; but it is not this practical aspect that I am venturing today to lay stress in this House, but on the basic aspects of this problem. I am asked, "what is the alternative to this kind of satyagraha"? In answer to that, I can also ask my questioner, "what exactly you seek to achieve by the particular methods that you may suggest"? Obviously, problems of this kind do not yield themselves to some sudden and magic remedy. But, as the House knows we have taken a large number of measures, economic, financial and other, which I have no doubt are effective to a considerable extent; and their effectiveness grows with other measures that we may take. These are the normal ways of approaching this problem. Remember that in our considering this, we are ruling out what is called military or police action. We have ruled it out. Then we are considering what other steps we should take. I have no doubt in my mind that the steps we take as well as the general development of the situation must necessarily end in the liberation of Goa from the Portuguese. I cannot fix a date. I do not think any person in this wide world can fix a date for the solution of any of the world's problems. Whether these problems are of Europe or of Germany or of other parts of Europe, of the Far East, of Indo-China or Africa or any other part, no date can be fixed. But the main thing is that the policies pursued should be on right lines. I do believe that right conduct must necessarily lead to right results just as wrong conduct leads to evil results. I have no doubt in my mind about that. I do not think that when we are acting in the international sphere, we can apply some other test.

In Goa, we have a remarkable picture of the 16th century facing the 20th century, of a decadent colonialism facing a resurgent Asia, of a free and independent India being affronted and insulted by the Portuguese authorities of in fact, Portugal functioning in a way which, apparently, to any thinking person, is so amazing in its incongruity in the modern world that one is a little taken aback. It is not the normal opposition of a normal argument or action.

We have watched, may be other Members may have watched, —with interest the reactions of foreign countries to what is happening in Goa. Goa is not only a symbol, small as it is; it was and it has become even

more so a symbol of decadent colonialism trying to hold on. It is something more. It has become an acid test by which we can judge of the policies of other countries. Does any country actively support or encourage Portuguese intransigence in Goa? If so, we know, broadly speaking, where that country stands in world affairs. Or, are there any countries that, without positively and actively encouraging, passively support or acquiesce in this position? We know how those countries stand. Or, lastly do those other countries realise that Portuguese domination in Goa cannot and must not continue, not only for normal reasons and causes, but because it has become an affront to civilised humanity, more especially after the brutal behaviour, the brutal and uncivilised behaviour of the Portuguese authorities there. I submit, therefore, to this House that the policy Government have laid down in regard to Goa is not only a sound policy, but, if I say so, it is the only policy. Minor variations may take place from time to time, but the major roots of that policy must hold good, unless we ought to uproot every-thing that we have done inside the country or outside and our national and international policies and seek some new path which we have no intention of doing. And I submit that this policy which fits in with this larger world policy as well as our national outlook is a policy which will yield results too. It is not merely an idealistic policy, but a practical policy. I trust, therefore, that any doubts about this matter would be removed from the minds of not only Members here but those outside and they will realise that we have consistently followed a policy through this last year. Certainly to some extent it now appears to me, we created some doubts and misunderstanding about it recently, and we allowed the situation to drift a little, and you may blame us for that, but the moment we saw what this was leading to, that it was taking us in a wrong direction, we had to pull ourselves up, and no Government which realised that could refrain, unless it lacked courage, from stopping this evil drift. I think we have shown—the country and the Government—courage in this matter to ourselves and to the world. That does not mean—and I should like this to be clearly understood by people outside India, here it is not necessary—the slightest slackening by our Government in regard to this question of Goa. All that has happened in recent months has made this question important. It may not be a terribly important question because it is inevitable—all the world knows and I am quite certain that people in Portugal know that it is quite inevitable—that Goa has to come to India

and that they will have to leave India and that Goa then necessarily has to associate itself with the Indian Union. But the first thing is the liberation of Goa. If in the normal course this took a little time, it did not matter much. There are many problems which take time. As the House knows, there are bits of Portuguese dominated territory in China, in Indonesia, little bits—Macao, this and that, they continue to be as such. The People's Government of China does not get terribly excited because Macao is Portuguese. Macao will go to them; there is no doubt about it; everybody knows. But they do not get excited. They are not weak in their military strength. It is a small matter for them if they choose to take it, but they do not choose to take it because of their larger policies. There is a bit of Portuguese territory elsewhere too. So, it would not matter normally if a matter takes a little more time or not, but the course of events has made Goa a more important and a more vital issue and to some extent over this issue the iron has entered our souls, the country, and therefore, one has to deal with this matter with all the wisdom and strength that we possess and not allow it to lapse, not allow it to become a static question, and I hope that people in other countries will realise that.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the present international situation and policy of Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration."

Now, there are certain substitute motions. Hon. Members who wish move them may do so.

Shri Raghuramaiah (Tenali): I beg to move:

That for the original motion, the following be substituted:

"This House having considered international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto approves the foreign policy pursued by the Government, which has led especially to the acceptance by many countries of the principles of Panch Shila and to the easing of the international tension, thus promoting the cause of world peace."

* * *

MORE ON GOA - JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

From the very outset our policy, both at home and abroad, has been to solve all problems peacefully. If we ourselves act against that policy we would be regarded as deceitful hypocrites. It would be said that we say

one thing and do another. If it is proved that we have no principles and that we are opportunists, what would be the result? The high reputation that we enjoy in the world today and the weight that our words carry are due to the fact that we adhere to and honour our principles. If we suddenly reverse our policy, the world will get an opportunity to say that we are deceitful, that we indulge in tall talk but that when the time for action comes, we swing to whichever side is winning and at the crucial hour fail miserably.

Shri Deshpande said that most of the people who offered satyagraha believed or were told that they would be backed by the Indian Army. You will realize that if that be the position, the whole complexion of satyagraha is changed. What is satyagraha? It is the fight of the spirit of man against material might. It is a weapon which is very powerful and effective. It causes the enemy to retreat. The satyagrahi is even prepared to lay down his life. The philosophy of satyagraha makes the people brave and courageous and demoralizes the opponent. But when the satyagrahis know that they are backed by the Army, the nature of the entire situation changes and it no longer remains satyagraha.

Shri Chatterjee remarked that the fight for Goa could be finished in a day or two, perhaps in a few hours. It is true that if there were a fight, it would be over in two or three days, irrespective of whether the Portuguese in Goa have 12,000 or 24,000 troops. It is possible that they may inflict still further sufferings on the people whom they are holding down. It has been stated by some Members opposite that after all it will be a minor fight, and that since Goa is small, it will be a petty affair. I want to emphasize, however, that it is a matter of principle. If the points of the Opposition Members were conceded, it would boil down to this: that the big countries of the world have a right to bring the smaller countries under their sway. That is a wrong stand. Once we accept the position that we can use the Army for the solution of our problems, we cannot deny the same right to other countries. It is a question of principle.

When our decision was announced it caused surprise to some people in the beginning. Tandonji has advised us to adopt a middle course between the stand taken by me and that taken by other persons. As far as I think, we have not changed our view to any great extent, though I concede that even a small change on certain

*Reply to debate on International situation, Lok Sabha September 17, 1955

occasions appears to be big. The fact is that the events, the newspaper reports and the statements made by several people had created such an atmosphere in the country that what we said went against that prevailing atmosphere. The people were surprised on that account and not because of our decision itself, for it was in no way against our earlier stand. The people were surprised and some of them were even shocked; but those who thought over it coolly came to the conclusion that it was a right and correct decision. Several Members of the parties opposite also came to this conclusion. They were, however, not prepared to admit it publicly.

Supposing the Government had maintained the previous stand, that is, allowed satyagraha to be offered by a few people from time to time, what would have been the result? What would have those people done, and how long would they have continued it? Several such questions would have confronted us. The question whether our Army should also follow in their wake in any given case or circumstances would also have arisen.

Some people have repeatedly demanded that we should give an ultimatum and fix a target date. We are at this time faced with several great problems in the world—the problems of Taiwan, of Indo-China, of Germany and of Morocco. I am not aware if an ultimatum of that kind has been given anywhere. And who should deliver it to whom and what does an ultimatum signify? Ultimately we come round to the proposition that if the ultimatum is not complied with, the Army has to be sent. It would then mean that the satyagraha was being used as a screen and there was talk of military action and police action behind it. The question also arises what after all is satyagraha. I have stated elsewhere that the ideology of satyagraha is dynamic, but that sufficient research has not been conducted into its nature. How far can it go and what are the limits beyond which it cannot go? I for one cannot answer that question. I can, however, say that at any rate it is not appropriate at the present moment and that it would be a blunder to embark on it at this juncture, because it would be harmful for the country.

You should also take into account the policy and methods followed by Dr. Salazar and his Government; keeping them in view you should consider how fax satyagraha against such a Government and such a person can prove successful. Hence I would respectfully

submit that the resolution was passed by us after great deliberation. I repeat that there is no difference in our previous policy and the present policy, unless it be a very minor difference in emphasis only. Previously we were lax, but later on we thought that this laxity should be ended. Shri Chatterjee has remarked that we have shown weakness and cowardice and that we did not have the courage to send our Army there. I wish to state that the decision taken by us called for much greater mental courage.

WE HAVE PREFERRED WAITING*

I would like to say a word about Goa. Both because of internal developments and the developments in Africa, the question of Goa or rather of Portuguese colonial possessions has become one of the urgent issues. We have little evidence of what is happening in the Portuguese possessions in Africa, but what we have shown that the Portuguese Government has been treating the people there with brutal severity. These, of course, have their effect on Goa. Internally—I speak moderately on the subject—I do not think that the present state of affairs in Goa, that is to say, Goa remaining under Portuguese domination, can continue for long. I cannot fix a date, obviously. All these questions are so tied up with the world situation that we have preferred waiting and exercising some patience, even though it has been rather painful to do so. But we have always been clear in our minds that the freedom of India cannot be complete till Goa becomes part and parcel of India. Sometimes, the question is asked about Dadra and Nagar Havili as to why we do not include it in the Indian Union. There is no obstruction and there is no legal difficulty. It is merely a question of timing it properly and including it. In fact, indirectly we have been functioning there. They asked for officers and we have sent them competent officers and at a suitable moment, they will be taken in because the people there certainly desire this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Even our social and political workers are not allowed to enter there. What is the explanation for this? SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: They are not allowed to enter. As a matter of fact, the Administrator there, whoever he is, decided not to allow the people to enter, and I personally sympathise with him.

*During a discussion on Goa in Rajya Sabha; December 20, 1960

*Some Other Facts Relating to Goa***Did Nehru really delay Liberation of Goa?**

SANDESH PRABHUDESAI, PANAJI. 18 January 2020.
https://m.goanews.com/news_details.php?id=7648

On 15th January, Goa's BJP Chief Minister Dr Pramod Sawant, made a remark that India's first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was responsible for delaying Goa's liberation by 14 years. Is it true?

Goa was liberated from Portuguese rule by Indian army on 19th December 1961, 14 years after India's independence on 15th August 1947 from the British rule. It was a military action and thus called Liberation. Dr Sawant took an opportunity of Army Day function in Panaji and made the following statement:

"Truth be told, India got Independence in 1947, the people of the entire country got the fruits of Independence. But unfortunately for Goans, we had to wait 14 years to taste freedom. The Prime Minister at the time Jawaharlal Nehru was responsible for this. And because of him we got liberation 14 years later. If he had the political will, if he was really concerned about Goans then, and really felt that Goa should have been liberated from the Portuguese then we would have got liberation 14 years earlier. Never mind in 1947. He should have thought about us at least in 1950."

But Dr Sawant is not the first BJP leader who made this statement. On 18th August last year, during his Goa visit for party work, former Madhya Pradesh chief minister and BJP national vice president Dr Shivraj Singh had also made a similar statement.

"Former Prime Minister late Jawaharlal Nehru's "wrong" policies not only led to prolonging of the vexed Jammu and Kashmir problem, but also delayed the liberation of Goa from Portuguese yoke."

And much before this, on 10th February 1998, Prakash Jawadekar, then BJP member of Maharashtra Legislative Council and now India's I&B Minister, had demanded apology from Congress for Goa's delayed liberation.

During the Lok Sabha election campaign, Jawadekar had said:

"If Vallabhbhai Patel's advice had been heeded by the then prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, then Goa would have been part of the Indian Union by 1948 itself.

Therefore, the Congress must apologise for the 14 extra years of Portuguese imperialism that the Goans had to bear."

REMARK COUNTERED

Goa's Marathi edition of Lokmat gathered and published opinions of learned people on this. Few among those were as follows:

Damodar Mauzo, Writer

CM's immature statement needs to be condemned by all. The Sangh Parivar has always been degrading Nehru. Gurunath Kelekar, Freedom Fighter

It's half-truth that Goa liberation got delayed due to Nehru. Nehru did not favour armed action to liberate Goa. He was trying to persuade USA. But when USA sided with Portugal, he sent army to liberate Goa.

Dr Mukul Pai Raiturkar, Social Activist

Goa's liberation got delayed due to international situation. Portugal had approached NATO on Goa issue. Nehru had to struggle to convince the United Nations Organisation that India is not a terrorist state as portrayed by USA. Nehru cannot be held responsible for delayed liberation of Goa.

WHAT GOA GOVT'S BOOK SAYS?

But the most elaborate explanation given in this regard is a book published by Govt of Goa, Directorate of Art & Culture, written by Dr Nishtha Desai, who has attained doctorate by researching on Dr T B Cunha vis-à-vis Goa's liberation. The name of the book is "Liberation v/s Armed Aggression: The Media Response to Goa's Liberation", published in 2011.

Book published by Govt of Goa in 2011

goanews.com has tried to put the facts & official quotes mentioned in the book, in brief, but in a chronological manner, from 1946 to 1961:

1946

* Dr Rammanohar Lohia initiates Civil Disobedience Movement on 18th June 1946 in Madgao, which lit the fire of liberation movement in Goa.

* Congress Working Committee notes the contrast

between the attitude of France and Portugal. France agrees to hand over its colonies in India. Portugal says Goa is Portugal.

People gathered for Lohia's speech on 18 June 1946 in Madgao

1947

* India gains independence on 15th August 1947. Begins negotiations with France to integrate with India the French pockets of Chandernagore, Mahe, Yanam, Karaikal and Pondicherry.

1948

• Congress passes resolution on 18th December 1948 to integrate surviving pockets of colonial rule with India.

1949

* On 4th February 1949, PM Nehru tells the Parliament that the problem of foreign possession would be settled according to the wishes of the people through referendums.

* In a lecture delivered in Lisbon on 'The Rights of Portuguese India', Alberto Xavier dismisses Nehru's idea of a plebiscite. "Our law does not permit it and the Portuguese Govt, based on law, is not disposed to consent to it.

1951

* Portugal amends its Constitution in June 1951, declaring Goa's status as a 'province' of Portugal and not a colony.

1953

* General Assembly of UN classifies 'overseas provinces' as non-self-governing territories (including of Portugal) and only a plebiscite approved by UN would decide its recognition.

* Portuguese delegate to UN maintains that Portugal has no colonies and the constitutional status of the overseas provinces is absolutely equal to the status of European provinces.

1954

* Referendum held among municipal councillors in French colonies of Pondicherry & Karaikal goes in favour of India.

* Portugal approaches a military alliance of countries, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), as the treaty guaranteed the 'territorial integrity of its signatories.

* On 14th May 1954, in Rajya Sabha, PM Nehru warns that neither NATO nor the Anglo-Portuguese alliance concerns any foreign settlement in the country.

* Dadra liberated on 21st July by United Front of Goans, Nagar Haveli liberated by Goan People's Party & Azad Gomantak Dal on 2nd No resistance locally but Portugal through NATO seeks support of USA.

* On 15th August 1954, 47 Goan Satyagrahis enter Goa from Banda, Terekhol and Karwar. 15 Satyagrahis capture Terekhol fort for one day, Portuguese recapture it next day while killing one and wounding 12 Satyagrahis. All Satyagrahis arrested.

1955

* All French pockets integrated with India.

* Portuguese minister Antonio Ferro says Goa is not Indian, but Portuguese, in its stones, in the hearts of inhabitants..... just as such as ours as Lisbon. That is why we shall not renounce Goa.

* On 22nd July 1955, Portuguese council of ministers rules out possibility of transferring Goa through peaceful means.

* On 15th August 1955, over 3000 Indian Satyagrahis cross borders of Goa (1700), Daman (1249) & Diu (81). Portuguese opens fire, kill 49 including 22 in Goa, 28 among them were Goans. 630 arrested, including 454 Goans.

* On 18th August, Govt of India led by Nehru withdraws Indian Consulate in Goa and tells Portugal to shut down its consulates in Mumbai, Madras and Calcutta. Also imposes economic blockade to Goa.

* Premier of Soviet Union Nikita Khrushchev (Russia) visits India, supports Indian sovereignty over the disputed territory of the Kashmir region and over Portuguese coastal enclaves such as Goa.

* Condemning Soviet Union statement, USA Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Portugal Foreign Minister Paulo Cunha issue a joint statement in Washington on 2nd December that Russia is attempting to foment hatred between East & West and Goa is a province of Portugal.

* Portugal admitted to UN as a member on 19 December, same day files a case before International Court at The Hague seeking passage between its

territories of Goa, Daman & Dadra Nagar Haveli of transit for persons and goods including armed forces.

India PM Nehru addressing United Nations General Assembly

1960

* UN International Court decides case of Portugal in April, granting passage for private persons but not for Portugal armed forces between Goa, Daman and Dadra Nagar Haveli.

* UN passes a resolution, tabled by 43 Afro-Asian nations, on 14th December 1960 titled 'Declaration on the Granting of Independencies to Colonial Countries and Peoples'. Portugal pressured further, but remains adamant.

1961

* On 16th August 1961, Nehru tells Rajya Sabha & Lok Sabha that use of Indian Army in Goa cannot be ruled out.

* In October 1961, a seminar hosted in Delhi by Indian Council for Africa urges India to take decisive action to liberate Goa.

* On 13th November 1961, UN General Assembly's Trusteeship Committee endorses a 33-nation move to condemn Portugal's refusal to transmit information about its overseas territories, requests member states to deny Portugal any help to subjugate the people of non-autonomous territories.

* On 15th December 1961, UN General Assembly approves this resolution and calls on Portugal to submit such reports without any delay. 17 nations abstain including USA and Britain.

* On 16th December, USA intervenes & contacts Portuguese ambassador in Washington with a request to negotiate with India.

* On the midnight of 17th December 1961, PM Nehru sends Indian Army to liberate Goa.

* Portugal surrenders, Goa liberated on 19th December 1961.

1962

* On 19th February 1962, Portugal decrees that 'Portuguese India' would continue to have representation in the Portuguese National Assembly, refuses to recognise Indian rule over Goa, Daman & Diu.

* On 16th August 1962, United Nations issues official

notification that Goa, Daman & Diu had become part of India.

On page 44 of the book, author Dr Nishtha Desai observes:

India's position was delicate since she, on the one hand, was publicly committed to world peace and on the other had to deal with an unyielding colonial power. India had won for herself the unique distinction of having won her independence through a non-violent struggle in which thousands of people throughout the country actively participated. World-wide, India was acknowledged as the apostle of peace; 'ahimsa' and 'Panchasheela' being contributions to the political lexicon of the time.

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GOA: Years of Struggle & Liberation

Jayantrao Tilak

Vasco da Gama set foot on the soil of Goa on 7th July 1497. From that day the Portuguese slowly worked to make Goa an integral part of the Portuguese Empire. In 1510, Alphonso de Albuquerque captured most of the parts of Goa. The expansion of the Portuguese rule in India started in the 16th century. The Old Conquest and the New Conquest were added and thus Goa was made an 'Outer province' of Portugal. This and the rest of the history is well-known. Throughout history, Goa has been a part and parcel of India. Geographically, it is united with the rest of India. The whole natural structure of Goa is similar to that of the surrounding territory of India. It is impossible to make out the Goans from other Indians. Even if one goes through the 'short history of Goa, one finds that from the 8th to the 11th century, Shilaharas and Rashtrakutas, and from the 11th century onwards the Kadambas, held the centre stage in the history of Goa. During their inglorious rule of 500 years, the Portuguese rulers made systematic attempts to make Goans to forget their culture and traditions. They brought complete economic ruination for Goa. They robbed and exploited the Goan people and forced upon them the dictatorial rule of Salazar, against which the Goans were bound to revolt.

The Goa Congress Committee in 1946, in tune with the call of the 'Quit India Movement' in the rest of the country, asked the Portuguese to leave the shores of Goa, Daman, and Diu. Thus started the agitation to free Goa from the tyrannical rule of the Portuguese.

For some time, even Pandit Nehru, our Prime Minister fell prey to the false propaganda of the Portuguese that the Goan culture was different from the Indian culture. He no doubts wanted strongly to free Goa from the Portuguese rule. He wanted a leader from within Goa to lead the freedom movement. He failed in his search and ultimately accepted Peter Alvares, a Goan, staying in Bombay, as a leader of Goa Freedom Struggle.

The Secretary of Goa Congress, T.B. Cunha was arrested and detained in Margao for presiding over the meeting of the National Congress Goa where the resolution of 'Quit Goa' was passed. A warrant for the arrest of Massilon Almeida, Secretary of Bombay branch of the Goa Congress, was also issued, and a suit filed

against him in Goa Court. Panditji wanted Goans to fight their freedom struggle first. The Satyagraha could be conducted in the cause of civil liberty. The larger question of Swarajya would await the attainment of it by the whole of India.

Really, the liberation of Goa should have been treated as an integral part of the freedom struggle of India. But in the beginning, Pandit Nehru did not allow the Indian Congress to take part in this movement and to remain aloof giving only lip sympathy. Goa's struggle started taking a serious turn. The Government authorities like Commander Montero took up to brutal attacks on unarmed satyagrahis. The satyagraha then . . . and after was going according to the strict principles of non-violence. Police maltreated the satyagrahis. They even slapped and attacked the women. Satyagrahis were arrested and were sentenced to life. Dr. Lohia's arrest and confinement in Aguada Fort had gained strength and momentum to the satyagraha movement for some time. The brutal behaviour of the Goa police and the heavy sentences inflicted on the satyagrahis took their toll and the number of satyagrahis started dwindling. Anyone, who was found with a Gandhi cap on his head, was sentenced to one month in jail. Goa prisoners went on fast for ill-treatment in jail and for arresting a journalist for possessing a copy of the *Kesari*. Those who shouted the slogan "*Bharat Mata Ki Jai*" were flogged and shaved. Shri Bhembre, Hegade, Loyla and Kakodkar were deported to Portugal. Their condition in Lisbon Jail was very bad. The condition of Goa patriots, who went on protest fast, worsened day by day. After 14 days, Shirodkar was released.

It became practically impossible for Goan satyagrahis to carry on their struggle against the Portuguese repression. Many of them were tortured to death in prison.

Peter Alvares who was accepted as a leader of the Goa struggle by Pandit Nehru came to Pune and requested the leaders of all political parties to join hands with the Goa patriots and help the struggle. Thus, the Goa Liberation Aid Committee (*Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti*) came to be formed under the Presidentship of veteran Congress leader Shri Keshavrao Jedhe. N.G. Gore, Jayantrao Tilak,

and Vinayakrao Apte were appointed as Secretaries. Smt. Kamalabai Bhagwat worked as the office Secretary along with Pandit Mahadeoshastri Joshi.

The first batch of satyagrahis sent by Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti entered Goa on the 18th of May, 1955. Dr. Lohia had broken the ban put on the meetings in Goa on 18th June 1946. The issue raised at that time was whether outside Indians could participate in the freedom struggle of Goa. To that, the Samiti answered categorically that Indians either within or outside Goa had equal right to fight for Goa freedom. As long as the colonial settlements were not removed, India's freedom was not going to be complete. My grandfather Lokmanya Tilak used to say that independence is the birthright of every human being and he should have it.

The batch led by N.G. Gore was of 68 satyagrahis. Senapati Bapat also accompanied the batch as one of the satyagrahis. They entered Goa from 'Ladpe' and proceeded to 'Dicholi'. After they walked some distance, the Goa Police stopped them and started beating them with lathis. Gunshots were fired in the air. Even the aged Senapati Bapat was not spared. He was beaten by a rifle butt. Gore became unconscious. Bapat was thrown in the Indian territory and Gore was taken to Panaji. Madhu Limaye has mentioned in his diary that some days thereafter Gore sent a cable to Jayantrao Tilak to stop the ongoing satyagraha. I came to know the contents of the cable, but actually, the Samiti or myself did not receive the original cable. Shirubhau Limaye is stated to have scoffed at Gore's action.

The second batch was led by Shirubhau Limaye. Batches after batches were sent to Goa by the Goa Vimochan Samiti. Atmaram Patil, Rajaram Patil, V.G. Deshpande, Jagannathrao Joshi, Dajiba Bhkndari, Tridib Chaudhary, Dr. Nandedkar etc., were the successive leaders of these batches. Madhu Limaye's was the 10th batch which had a strength of 100 satyagrahis. He was also beaten and taken to Panaji. This was the same brutal pattern adopted by the Portuguese. To the questions put by the Portuguese officers, Madhu Limaye told that he was there to announce his support to the liberation of Goa and, to take part in the freedom struggle which was conducted non-violently. He told that the satyagrahis wanted to free Goa and merge it with independent India. Madhu Limaye was sentenced by the Portuguese Military Court for 12 years and was put in prison from January 1955. But he was released on 31.1.1957 on the grounds of amnesty.

Acharya J.B. Kripalani came to Pune for Lokmanya Tilak Anniversary. He discussed the Goa issue with the leaders of the Goa Vimochan Samiti. He asked, "How long are you going to carry on this satyagrah, and for what purpose? The satyagrahis are beaten, humiliated, and are thrown back into the Indian territory. You should stop the satyagraha movement now." We told him that Pandit Nehru wanted the issue to be put on the international level so that the world would know the brutal rule of Salazar. That according to him, would facilitate to take the necessary action against the Portuguese rule in Goa. Acharya Kripalani said that nothing would happen, Panditji would not take any action. He would not like to damage his international image which was more important to him.

He analysed the Goa issue in the Parliament saying that there were two ways to deal with the situation—one was to use arms, and the second was to undertake non-violent satyagraha. We were committed to the second. Gandhiji, after Dr. Lohia's arrest 18 years back, had written in the Harijan that we would be able to claim the right of citizenship of a free State without firing a shot.

The President of the Hindu Mahasabha, N.C. Chatterji was then in London. I sent him a cable to London asking him about the attitude of the British on this issue. He wrote to me saying that Britain had no interest in the liberation of Goa. Portuguese were friendly with them. Portugal was their market. They did not intend to disturb their relations with Portugal and oblige India.

It was, thereafter, decided that the Samiti would arrange a mass-satyagraha on 15th August 1955. 3,150 satyagrahis were enrolled. Batches were formed to enter Goa from all sides. No batch contained more than 200 to 500 satyagrahis. The satyagrahis were deployed and were to go by trucks up to Goa borders. I went to Delhi, took Panditji's appointment, and explained our plan to him. He approved our plan. He asked Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Railway Minister to arrange for the transport of satyagrahis from Pune. When I returned to Pune, I found to my surprise that people were offering voluntarily financial aid to the Samiti. I had not seen such a sight even during India's freedom movement. People stood in long queues to offer their help. This was remarkable.

Gadre Guruji a Sarvodayi came to see me in the Kesari office. He said 'Your satyagraha is not pure, neither non-violent, you have hatred against Portuguese

administration in your mind." I tried to explain to him that though satyagrahis were beaten mercilessly, they did not raise even their finger against the police. It was, therefore, a non-violent satyagraha. But, unfortunately, Gadre Guruji was not satisfied.

The foreign correspondents of the London Times, Daily Mirror, the New York Times, and the Associated Press of USA told me that our mass-satyagraha, though a part of non-violent satyagraha, was aimed to corner the Prime Minister so that he should take police action. Although I explained to them the facts, they were not convinced first. But when they saw cruel firing on the Banda border and cold-blooded killings of Karnal Singh, Thorat, and Mahankal, etc., they changed their opinion. Corn. Chitale and Vasantrao Oak led the main batches of satyagrahis entering Banda borders. Both of them were hit by bullets by the Portuguese Military.

Morarji Desai, the then Chief Minister of Bombay state, was against offering satyagraha. He argued that when the Indian Government had an army strong enough to throw the Portuguese out of India, why one should undertake the non-violent satyagraha. He not only showed his opposition to the satyagraha but ordered to stop the vehicles which were to carry the satyagrahis to the border of Goa. The result was that in a heavily pouring rain, the satyagrahis had to walk from Belgaum to Sawantwadi and then to enter Goa through the Banda border. Some entered the tunnel from 'Castle-Rock'. We were trying to avoid their massacre. The batches of satyagrahis were to enter from many points on the border. But, unfortunately, three satyagrahis died in Banda and seven in Castle Rock because of Morarji's arrogance and audacity. The Samiti President was present on the Banda border. He, in consultation with Khadilkar and others, decided to stop the satyagraha. After that, the Samiti, in its meeting in Pune, decided to continue the satyagraha individually. Thereafter, Madhu Dandavate's batch entered Goa.

The leaders of the Samiti went to Delhi to hold talks with G.B. Pant who suggested to us to put an end to the ongoing satyagraha. He said that the Government of India was not in favour of mass or individual satyagraha. "It will not help the cause", he said. This attitude of the Government of India puzzled the Samiti, and consequently, the satyagraha slowly fizzled out. But then the agitation for United Maharashtra was in good form. The Goa Samiti leaders were involved in that agitation. Naturally, the National Congress Goa and the Goa

Vimochan Samiti resolved, in their Bombay meeting, to put an end to the satyagraha.

Nearly after six years, the Government of India made up its mind to initiate military action against the Portuguese rule in Goa. The Indian Army thus entered Goa on 17th December 1961.

In the meantime, I went to the USA. I attended the Press Conference of Dallas, the State Secretary of USA. I questioned him about the Goa issue. His answer was that the USA did not support the freedom movement of Goa as per international norms. Goa was supposed to be one of the outer districts of Portugal, according to the Portuguese Constitution. The USA, therefore, could not interfere in their internal affairs.

USA and UK criticized Pandit Nehru for the military action in Goa. It was sheer hypocrisy of the Anglo-American stand on the colonial question. Knowing that the peaceful method had failed, and, after waiting patiently for years, there was no other way but to eject colonialism from the Indian soil, which India did. The truth was that neither the USA nor the UK made any serious effort to persuade the Portuguese to liberate its colony.

If the satyagraha was illegal and outdated, it was the duty of the whole democratic world to put out the colonial rule. This is how the epic struggle of Goa's freedom was fought. Since I was the Secretary of the Goa Liberation Aid Committee from the beginning, I was closely in touch with the calendar of events connected with this movement.

Although the Goa Liberation Movement could not achieve its object immediately, ultimately in December 1961, the Portuguese rule in India was brought to an end. This movement was not limited to any part of India but had spread to all parts of the country. Several Satyagrahis laid their lives and thousands of them went to prison for their participation in the movement. On 15th August 1955, the mass-satyagraha was launched. Freedom Fighters almost from all the States of India had contributed their mite.

Pune, 10th May 1996

Editors note: Shri Jayantrao Tilak's article is a comprehensive presentation of the story of the Goa Satyagraha of 1954-55 by an authentic leader of Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti. (Courtesy: Goa Liberation Movement and Madhu Limaye, New Edition, ITM University, Gwalior. Page No. xxi-xxvii).

Tristao de Brgabza Cunha (2 April 1891 - 28 September 1958)

Anil Rajimwale*

‘Father of Goan Liberation’ was born on 2 April 1891 in Chandor village of Salcete taluka in Goa. His father was a lawyer, and the family was rather rich. Tristao was educated in ‘Leseve’ in the Portuguese education system, with Portuguese as the medium of education. He went to Pondicherry for higher education, which was under the French rule. Therefore the medium was French. Tristao completed his BA in engineering. He went to Paris in 1912 at the age of 21 to complete his further education.

In France: contacts with socialists

Tristao got admitted in the famous Sorbonne University and got degree in electrical engineering. He came in contact with the world-famous writer Romain Rolland and his group. He made a turn towards the socialist ideology. He also spread the message of Indian freedom movement.

Socialist Party of France was affiliated to the Second International before the First World War. After the War, the majority came out to form the French Communist Party (FCP).

In the meantime, Cunha visited Soviet Russia, where he saw the revolutionary events with his own eyes. He worked as a teacher in Paris to earn his living, at the same time writing in papers like ‘Clarte’ and L’Humanite. L’Humanite was first the organ of Socialist Party and then that of Communist Party and still later it became a daily. He met many literary people, and on the request of some, translated the biography of Mahatma Gandhi into French. Gandhiji was quite popular in France and was respected by French intellectuals like Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland. KM Panikkar once said Braganza ‘was nationalist India’s first ambassador to France’.

Braganza collaborated with Indian patriots in the Pro-Indian Committee of the Information Buro, founded by Romain Rolland. Cunha was also a member of the Anti-Imperialist League.

Foundation of FCP: meeting Ho Chi-minh

French Socialist Party held a crucial conference in Tours, which began on 25 December 1920. Ho Chi-minh,

the future leader of the Vietnamese freedom struggle, was also present. He was studying there and did various odd jobs for a living.

The Congress decided by a three-fourth majority to join Communist International, and a ‘French Section of Communist International’ was formed. The prominent figures of the party included Marcel Cahin, Souvarine, Frossard etc. This section became the FCP (French Communist Party) in 1921. L’Humanite became their paper.

It was here that Dr Cunha met Ho Chi-minh. It was a historic event: one a revolutionary from Goa, the other from Vietnam! They had long talks and worked together in the FCP. In 1921 itself, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was also established. Both FCP and PCP helped the Goan liberation movement.

Return to India

TB Cunha stayed in France for full 14 years, returning in 1926. On return he founded the Comissao do congresso de Goa (Goa Congress Committee) in 1928. At that stage, no attempt to found Communist party was made, as that would have invited aggressive repression.

Cunha was included in the AICC. Goa Congress Committee was affiliated to the Congress, but he felt that it was considered ‘foreign’ and was even disaffiliated from the Congress. This was due to a legalistic view: Goa being ruled by the Portuguese, and not the British. He shifted to Bombay, where a large number of Goans lived. In 1950 their number rose to nearly one lakh. In Bombay, several comrades such as Madkaikar, Narayan Palekar, George Vaz, Mario Rodriguez, Kashinath Tendulkar, etc. stayed and worked. Madkaikar founded Gomatak Hindu Yuvak Sangh, which later became Gomatak Tarun Sangh.

In Portuguese jail

In 1945, TB Cunha initiated Goan Youth League, bringing together the best of the Goans in Bombay.

On 18 June 1946, Dr Rammanohar Lohia gave a call for civil liberties movement, its ground already prepared by Cunha’s long years of hard work. On 30 June, he

accompanied Lohia to a meeting, and was brutally assaulted with bayonets. He carried the marks of the attack for the rest of his life. He narrowly missed being shot. He was arrested at Margao railway station on 12 July 1946, whisked away to an unknown destination, and then lodged in Aguada Fort, a military prison.

Cunha was court-martialled and sentenced to 8 years' rigorous imprisonment. The court proceedings were attended by thousands. The judges had to be taken out in closed cars. Cunha was put in a dark and damp cell, where no light penetrated. He contracted bronchitis, and was shifted to Vasco da Gama to military barracks on Alto dos Alparqueros (Cobblers' Hill). From there he was shifted on the ship 'Lourenzo Marques' on way to Portugal. He was not aware of it till the ship set sail.

In Portugal he was kept for some days in Aljube, and then shifted to the Fortress of Peniche. There he had a serious attack of pneumonia, and barely escaped death. He met some of the finest Portuguese and India democrats and Communists there like Purushottam Kakodkar, RK Hegde, Jose Ignatius Loyola, Bembre, etc. Cunha wrote: "Learned people in Portugal can only be found in jail"! The conditions were most primitive and food and water horrible.

Cunha spent four and a half years there, and was released in an amnesty, but was strictly confined to Lisbon, the capital. Dictator Salazar's PIDE, equivalent of the Nazi Gestapo, was constantly after him. He succeeded in eluding them for two years and escaped to Paris. His brother Francisco Braganza, a prominent Indologist, Cunha lived in Paris.

Back in India

Dr Cunha was back in Bombay on September 4, 1953. A lot had changed in the meantime. Several conflicting groups had emerged in the movement, many running separate offices in Bombay. Dr Cunha undertook to bring them together, as he was highly respected by all, achieving considerable success. With this aim, Goa Action Committee (GAC) was formed with Cunha as the Chairman.

Cunha published a Konkani paper 'Azad Goem'. It was associated with 'Free Goa', a paper brought out by Furtado from Belgaum (Belgaon). Later Cunha was entrusted with its editorship.

GAC had to work in isolation for some time. There was a lot of difference between the character of British

rule and the Portuguese rule, the latter being fully fascist. The leaders of freedom movement were in worst kinds of jail in Portugal, Portuguese West Africa and other places. Some of them were kept in 'Forte Rocadas' in Angola. Among those still imprisoned were: Kakodkar, Bembre, Loyola, Dr RK Hegde, Shirodkar, Guilherme Ticlo, etc, many lodged in Portuguese West Africa.

GAC demanded erecting a cordon around Portuguese territories to prevent smuggling, black-marketing, currency manipulation etc across the borders. Enforcement of the cordon created upset Portuguese communications, helping the liberation movement. The first result of the dislocation was the liberation of Dadra-Nagar Haveli. The Portuguese were unable to send reinforcements against the liberating forces led by the Communists (Goan People's Party) and others. 40 thousand people were liberated by the GPP, 'United Front of Goans' and Azad Gomantak Party.

In these conditions, satyagraha movement was intensified since 1954. Thousands faced indescribable fascist tortures and repressions, and hundreds lost their lives. The 'United Front of Goans' tried to divide and disrupt the movement by preventing and even getting Communists arrested with the help of Bombay's chief minister Morarji Desai. Communist leader George Vaz was arrested by police after Dadra and Nagar Haveli were liberated. TB Cunha was invited to the flag hoisting ceremony, but when he came to know of the arrests, he refused to do so unless they were released. Promise was made and he hoisted the flag. But Morarji Desai government dragged its feet.

Last days of TB Cunha

Cunha died before the liberation of Goa in 1961. He fought to keep the flame of freedom struggle through his activities. Physically he got exhausted, suffering severe respiratory and other problems due to inhuman conditions in Salazar's fascist jails. He got an attack of cardiac thrombosis and died on September 26, 1958. He was buried in the Church of Scotland Cemetary at Sewri, Bombay. He was widely mourned internationally.

25 years later his ashes were shifted to Azad Maidan in Panaji. A postage stamp was issued by government of India in his memory. Several educational institutions have been named after him. In 2011, on the occasion of 50th anniversary of Goan liberation, his picture was unveiled in the Indian Parliament. A main road in Panaji has been named after him.

Goa Liberation Movement and Nanasaheb Goray

Madhu Limaye*

After the death of Nanasaheb Goray (1993), there seemed to be a great turmoil in the Marathi newspapers regarding his role in the Goa Liberation Movement. Many people telephoned me and asked me to explain the truth in this matter. In the Parliament Library the Marathi Newspapers—Loksatta, Maharashtra Times, Sakal, Kesari, Navakal etc. are there. From the last one and one and half year, Samana is also available in Library. But because of the improper health I seldom peep into the library. I do not go there regularly. Therefore, I was not aware of the storm on this subject. Now I know the crux of the discussion or bone of contention, therefore I want to explain the facts.

In the modern times Dr. Rammanohar Lohia addressing a public meeting at Madgaon in 1946, started the Goa Liberation Movement. The police arrested Dr. Lohia and kept him in the police custody. There was reaction of this event throughout the country. Gandhiji himself congratulated Dr. Lohia for raising the question of civil liberties with fearlessness. Because of the intervention of Gandhiji the Portuguese rulers released Dr. Lohia. After that the liberation movement took a new start. Due to the inspiration of Dr. Lohia, Goa National Congress was formed. 1946-47 was the transition year for the transfer of power. So, the Goa movement was a hurdle according to Nehru-Patel. It would have made their position embarrassing. Once again Lohia tried to enter Goa. But the Portuguese officers put a ban on his entry. They immediately externed him. Goa Sattyagrahis were given long sentences. Many of them were deported away from the motherland to Angola, Portugal etc. In these sattyagrahis were Purushottam Kakodkar; Rama Hegde, Bhembre, Loyola, Deshpande, Mayekar, Shirodkar, Ticlo, T.B. Kunha etc. I especially knew Purushottam Kakodkar and Rama Hedge. When I visited Portugal in 1978, Rama Hegde invited me for dinner at his residence in Lisbon. Goa Liberation Movement could not get the support from the Indian Government. So, the movement fizzled out and ultimately came to a stand-still. Even then many patriots from Goa were undergoing the sentences courageously.

In 1954, Socialist Peter Alvares was elected as the President of the Goa National Congress. He tried to revive the movement. Anthony D'souza was the first sattyagrahi. Sanskriti Koshakar Mahadevshastri's wife Sudhatai too joined the sattyagraha. On 9 March, Sudhatai became the President of the Goa National Congress. On 6th April she appeared in Mhapusa and in a small gathering she read out her short speech. After that there were usual scenes of arrests, beating of the sattyagrahis. But India Government's policy was opportunistic. The movement was used as a point on the international stage.

The movement was not picking up. People started thinking, "Goa is an inseparable part of India, then why should not other Indians participate in the Goa Liberation movement. Nanasaheb Goray was very much perturbed by Goa's slavery. So, he announced that "after entering Goa I will start offering Sattyagraha!" Senapati Bapat was a born revolutionary. In every movement—right from the conspiracy of bomb and revolver, to the Muishi sattyagraha he took lead in every movement. He also accompanied Nanasaheb. In all party Goa Liberation Committee under the chairmanship of Keshavrao Jedhe and Jayantrao Tilak, who became the secretary. Keshavrao Jedhe was an old Congress leader. He had left the Peasants and Workers Party and had returned back to the Congress. In fact, this Committee was not an all party committee but mainly of the Opposition parties.

Because of Nanasaheb's announcement it seemed that the Goa Liberation movement would very much strengthened. People became very enthusiastic. Shirubhau Limaye, Jagannathrao Joshi, Tridib Chaudhary, Rajaram Patil and I myself decided to participate in it. The Portuguese Government wanted to dissuade people from doing it. Therefore, they had very severely beaten Senapati Bapat and Nanasaheb. It was on 24th May 1955 they tried to offer sattyagraha in Goa. Portuguese also gave cruel beating to other sattyagrahis. The Portuguese philosophy was that of Turer Prinzip'. The Portuguese Government was of fascist ideology. They believed in detaining the leaders, after beating all the sattyagrahis. The British rulers treated the leaders with respect but

*This article was written by Madhu Limaye after the death of NG Goray in May 1993.

used to give thorough beating to the followers. On the contrary the Portuguese used to beat both of them but after the beating, they used to release the followers and detained the leaders. Nanasaheb, Senapati, Shirubhau, Jagannathrao and myself all of us had similar experience. As Senapati Bapat was very old, he was released immediately.

At that time there was an eccentric police officer called Montero. He was a virtual terror for the residents of Goa and the sattyagrahis. But there were shades of Latin culture in his personality. He offered a cigarette to Nanasaheb after, beating him brutally. Nanasaheb was astonished at his strange behaviour. He asked him, "Just now you have beaten me like a brute and how is it that you are offering me a cigarette?" To that he replied, "I did the first thing as my official duty. Now it is over. It is not proper to smoke a cigarette alone, that is why I am offering you a cigarette." Nanasaheb was surprised at the contrast in his behaviour. I too had similar experience of his strange behaviour. I was very ill when I left Bombay. Many people were dissuading me from going. But I did not listen to anyone. From Poona I reached Aronda. All the sattyagrahis in our batch had not reached till then, so it was decided to enter Goa the next day. On seeing my miserable condition one nice doctor from Aronda gave me injection and made me sleep the whole day. Then I was ready to march at night. We were also severely beaten but except myself all others were released. Kaka Deshmukh told the police that, "I am not the leader of the batch from Marathwada. Madhu Limaye is the leader of that batch also." I did not contradict him. So, he too, was released. There was no news about me. So P.V. Gadgil of Lokmanya published the sensational news of my death due to the beatings of Portuguese with the headline with a question mark. That is why there was a lot of commotion. In Parliament there were exchanges between Nehru and Ashok Mehta. Then right from the Chef-de-Cabinet (Chief Secretary) to Montero, everybody rushed to see me.

The wounds were not healed after the police had given me beating. Montero was a character. After meeting me he said, "It is your good fortune that I was not on duty that day. Otherwise, I would have given you more thrashing." He was pleased with his own words and he had a hearty laugh. But within a second there was a transfer scene! He said in a gentle voice, "I have heard that you suffer too much from Asthma. Take care of your health. I will send a doctor for you." And lo! within a few

hours an old experienced, doctor came to examine me. It was another glimpse of the Latin culture!

While we were at the police headquarters, Jagannathrao Joshi and myself used to meet Nanalaheb and Shirubhau just for a few minutes while going for a bath on the well. Once or twice, we saw Sudhatai Joshi and Sindhutai Deshpande, from a distance. We hailed each other with the movement of our eyes and hands. Once Shirubhau spoke to me when the police were not looking at us. After enquiring about my health, he told me in a soft voice, "After we came here, I had a terrific quarrel with Nanu." "It is no use continuing with the movement. I feel it should be suspended." Nanu said. He has also sent a telegram of some such meaning to Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti, through the Portuguese authorities. On that point we had heated arguments. "You should not do anything without consulting me, that is what I have told him." Shirubhau told me. Before entering Goa for sattyagraha, I had heard some news that Nanasaheb had sent such a telegram. There is no way to know whether the Portuguese Government had sent the telegram to Jayantrao Tilak. Only Jayantrao can clarify this point. During the earlier days of the prison life in Goa once or twice I had a talk with Nanasaheb about the Goa movement. He did not mention the topic of sending the telegram nor did I ask deliberately about it. Nanasaheb did not expect the horrible treatment given to Senapati Bapat, himself or other sattyagrahis. And I think, there was a lurking hope in his mind that after the commencement of sattyagraha, the Government of India will take a strong action: That is why when he appealed to the people to join the sattyagraha he said we would be back by Diwali. I think when he sent the telegram, the chain of his thoughts might have been like this: The Portuguese rule is very cruel and fascist. There is not a tinge of humanity in them. The British rulers had at least some faith in moral values. In England itself the democracy had some stable foundation. There the freedom of individual had progressed. The British rulers felt somewhat ashamed while making lathi-charge on the non-violent sattyagrahis. That is why Gandhiji's technique of civil disobedience became successful in India. But the Portuguese rulers are simply unmoved by the sufferings of peaceful sattyagrahis, the Government of India, is looking at all these incidents without any concern. In such condition what is the use in continuing with this sattyagraha? Of course, this argument could have been refuted. But that is a different thing.

In Goa there was a suave Portuguese officer by name Antonious. Once he mentioned to me about the telegram sent by Nanasaheb but Anton never told me that Nanasaheb had apologised.

Then there was another incident, when the foreign correspondents came to see us on August 12, 1955. Nanasaheb, Shirubhau and myself were called together. I was sitting between them. The Portuguese police were standing outside to create a favourable impression on the foreign correspondents. I remember this meeting (Interview) because among them was Taya Zinkin of the Manchester Guardian. We were knowing each other. Nanasaheb told me, "Have you heard, Sudhatai Joshi has been sentenced for 10 + 2 (if fine not paid) years?" I said, "Yes. I have heard." After that he asked me, "Now what should we do?" I must admit that I did not like his words. I told him in soft voice, "We have undertaken this adventure with an open eye. So, whatever happens, we should face it. We should be prepared for it." He said, "Yes. What you say is correct." At that time also Shirubhau, complained to me about the approach of Nanasaheb. I asked Shirubhau, "Whether he has taken any new step? Any new move?" To that Shirubhau answered, "No. Nanu has not made any new move. Only he speaks sometimes. Maybe it is a part of his open thinking."

On 15th August the movement had reached its peak. Karnal Singh, Hirve Guruji, Pannalal Yadav, Amichand Gupta, Mahankal etc., many persons became martyrs in that struggle. Many people like Sahodaradevi got seriously wounded. Then our government put a ban on the entry of our sattyagrahis in Goa and the movement came to an end. All those who have observed various movements minutely, or have participated in it know it for a fact that many a time there can be difference of opinion on whether to intensify a movement or to control it or to suspend it. Gandhiji suspended his movement after Chourichura. The AIWC members who were outside (not arrested) supported him but people like Motilal Nehru, Chittaranjan Das and other persons who were in jail got annoyed with Gandhiji. In 1933-34 the collective civil disobedience movement was at first changed into individual civil disobedience and later on the movement was altogether withdrawn. A sizeable group in the Congress approved of this decision. On the contrary not only Jawaharlal even Vallabhbai too was not happy over it. If we speak about the recent time, during the emergency period in 1976, Charan Singh was asking Jayprakash many a time to withdraw the movement. And

Atalbehari Vajpayee was agreeable with him. He was of the same opinion. I was strongly against this viewpoint and had conveyed it to J.P. also. But does it mean that Charansingh and Atalbehari Vajpayee were apologising?

Here we will have to consider on another aspect of Goa Liberation (Vimochan) Samiti's guidance was not correct. It was my firm opinion that regarding the cases of civil disobedience, self-defence and appeal against the long sentences does not suit. It is against the spirit of civil disobedience. But the Goa Vimochan Samiti had ill advised the sattyagrahis that they should give defence and should appeal against the long sentences. The Committee had appointed an advocate by the name of Kensaro. Kensaro and the Portuguese officer had tried to bring pressure on me. But the case, the defence and the appeal were all a drama of the Portuguese officers. The intention behind it was to make the public opinion in the world favourable. So, I refused to accept this advice. I told them that I do not accept the Portuguese rule. So, the question does not arise about the advocate, the argument and the appeal. What was the result? Those who gave the defence were given the same duration of punishment and despite the appeal their sentence remained unchanged. So, the advice given by the important leaders of the Goa Liberation Committee was not proper and was humiliating to the sattyagrahis.

Father Carreno of the Dom Bosco institute used to come and meet us. He loved me a lot. He used to bring periodicals like Time, Economist etc., regularly for me. Portugal is a Roman Catholic country. The religion has tremendous impact on the people there. Due to the international pressure and especially, due to the intervention of the Pope we were released unconditionally. Nanasaheb was one of them. If Nanasaheb would have apologised the Portuguese would have released him instantly. Not only this but they would have definitely used his apology to malign the Goa Liberation Movement throughout the world.

Nanasaheb and myself had a lot of differences on various points. But whatever I have said about his role in the Goa Liberation movement is nothing but truth. Nanasaheb did not apologise is the real truth. He also underwent the imprisonment like other sattyagrahis. I hope this public controversy will come to an end after my explanation. After my explanation those who want to hold his opinion, he is free to do so. But he should first obtain the so-called apology letter of Nanasaheb and should publish it. And so far, it is not available, he should keep quiet. That will be much better.

Goa and Non-Violence

Madhu Limaye*

It was recently reported in the Press that the Centre was seriously contemplating to confer on the Union Territory of Goa the status of a State at an early stage. It has already been decided that Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh, both of which are today Union Territories, will be elevated to Statehood. The lesser the number of Union Territories we have the better for the country. In fact, except the Union Capital area, there is no case of keeping any part of the country as a Union Territory permanently. Direct central rule is a kind of tutelage and it does not help foster among the people democratic institutions and habits.

On this anniversary of the liberation of Goa--I don't call it the Independence Day, because the Goans rightly look on June 18 as the Independence Day--I welcome the decision to add Goa to the list of the constituent States of the Indian Union. I however don't see any point in continuing to treat the enclaves of Diu and Daman as part of Goa. It would be a great convenience, from the administrative point of view to let these small enclaves merge in Gujarat the small French territories, except perhaps, Pondicherry, should also be similarly treated, and if consultation with the Government of France is necessary, it should be done.

The islands of Anjadiv and Goa were the first bits of Indian territory to fall under the control of the West. This happened in 1503 and 1510. With Goa as the fulcrum Afonso Albuquerque proceeded to construct a powerful Portuguese sea empire in the East. The acquisition of these islands was followed by the annexation of Salsette and Bardez in 1543. These possessions of the Portuguese were known as the "old conquests." The other areas which were secured by the Portuguese afterwards were called the "new conquests."

The Portuguese were fanatic Roman Catholics and tried to extirpate both the Muslim and Hindu religions in their possessions. They pursued a policy of forcible conversion. The Portuguese also instituted the infamous Inquisition to enforce the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church and suppress heresy and Hindu practices.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Goa was under

the rule of Kadambas for centuries, followed by the sway of the Bahamanis, the Vijayanagar Empire and the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur.

It is not as if the Portuguese did not meet with any resistance from Goans. Nor is it true that Christians in Goa did not participate in the struggle for civil liberties and independence. There were several revolts, beginning with 1555 and they included several Rane rebellions. The first occurred in 1755. The Ranes continued to fight the Portuguese intermittently for over 150 years. The Pinto rebellion took place in 1787. Pinto was supported by a section of the Roman Catholic priests

Among the Goan patriots of modern times was Tristao Braganza Cunha. He was an ardent supporter of the policies of the Indian National Congress. He established a Goa Congress Committee which was affiliated to the AICC in 1928, but since the Congress had, by choice, decided to confine its activities only to British India, and had excluded from its jurisdiction both the native States and foreign enclaves held by the Portuguese and the French, the Goa Committee was disaffiliated.

The modern. Goan Freedom Movement, therefore, is held to begin on 18 June 1946 when Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, on a private visit to Goa, was so enraged by the total eclipse of civil liberty in "Portuguese India", that he at once decided to hold a public meeting at Margao in defiance of the a public meeting at Margao in defiance of the Portuguese authorities, who were much baffled by this outburst of non-violence. Lohia was arrested and put behind bars.

India was then passing through a critical phase. The people were in a ferment. The Cabinet Mission Plan envisaged complete independence, and the setting up of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of its three-tier scheme. Nehru and Patel were thinking in terms of wresting power at the Centre, and to both of them agitations of any kind, whether in the Indian States or the Foreign Enclaves or even the airing of the people's grievances through mass movements in British India, caused annoyance.

Lohia's arrest created a sensation, although it seemed

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a nuisance to Nehru and Patel. But Mahatma Gandhi, was then alive, and he reacted differently.

Gandhi not only justified Lohia's defiance of the prohibitory orders, he said Lohia had rendered a "service to the cause of civil liberty and especially the Goan." He made it clear that the little Portuguese settlement really existed on the "sufferance of the British Government." In Free India, Goa could not be allowed to exist as a "separate entity" in opposition to the laws of the free state. Without a shot being fired, Gandhi hoped, Goa would be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free Indian state. He admonished the Portuguese and asked them to recognise the "signs of the times".

Gandhi advised the inhabitants of Goa to shed fear of Portuguese power just as the people in other parts of the country had shed the fear of the parts of the country had shed the fear of the "mighty British Empire." He said that differences of religion among the Goans "should be no bar to religion among the Goans" "should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual himself or herself to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects."

The Governor-General of Goa was audacious or stupid enough to controvert Gandhi's sage advice to the Portuguese. He accused Gandhi of being influenced by "false and malevolent information." The Portuguese pro-Consul then talked of the "historical truth of four centuries" of Portuguese rule, and the benefits which Portugal had conferred on its colonies. He asked what "moral or juridical principle" gave a "stranger" like Dr. Lohia the right to trouble the peaceful people of Goa who had extended their hospitality to him? Gandhi gave the Governor-General a fitting reply: "I suppose you know that I have visited Mossambique, Delagoa and Inhambane. I did not notice there any Government for philanthropic purpose. Indeed, I was astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and Portuguese and between the Africans and themselves."

Gandhi thought it was quite proper to concentrate at that point of time on democratic freedom. He said that the inhabitants of Goa can "afford to wait for Independence, until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect." Lohia had lighted a torch which the Goans could not allow to be extinguished except at their peril. Although Gandhi's politics "probably" differed from his, yet Lohia, Gandhi said, had commanded his

"admiration" for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on Goa at its meeting held on 12 August 1946. "Goa has always been and must inevitably continue to be part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people", the Committee declared.

Lohia helped to found the National Congress, Goa, to organise peaceful resistance. Lohia was arrested in the train on 29 September 1946 and was kept in solitary confinement in Aguada fort. Gandhi in his speech at his prayer meeting held on October 2, praised Lohia for his learning and supported his action. "Let us see what steps Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has donned the crown of thorns, and Lord Wavell take to see that this high-handedness on the part of the Goa authorities is stopped." "Again Gandhi's intervention secured Lohia's release."

After Gandhi's powerful defence of Lohia, Jawaharlal Nehru, could not keep quiet. Nehru wrote to Krishna Menon on 6 October 1946 about Lohia's arrest and the heavy sentences that had been passed against Goan patriots. He was "moving" in the matter, but, in his usual indecisive way, said that it was a "round about process" and would not achieve results "soon". Meanwhile, of course, the agitation in Goa would continue and would have their support, he wrote.

Lohia wrote to Nehru to find out whether the latter was inclined to act in the matter. Nehru advised Lohia to refrain from taking "any precipitate action." Their approaches must, not conflict, although, Nehru clarified, that he did not want to "restrain him for ever". Lohia went to Delhi and had consultations with Gandhi and Nehru. The struggle continued. Among those who received savage sentences-- imprisonment or forced exile--were P. Kakodkar, L. Bhembre, Dr. J.I. Loyola, Dr. Rama Hegde, D. Deshpande, Dr. V. Mayenkar, P. Shirodkar, G. Ticio, T. B. Cunha and countless others.

Nehru in his early years as Prime Minister was as concerned about establishing his reputation in international affairs as an apostle of peace, a new avatar of Emperor Asoka as he was to assert his anti-colonial stand. Asoka, however, had become a pacifist after annexing Kalinga through a bloody war. He continued to uphold the majesty of the state and warned the recalcitrant elements that "devanam priyah was quite powerful"!

Nehru's pacifism was of no use in fighting back the tribal invasion in Kashmir. The Army had to be sent up to Srinagar. In Junagarh a show of force by volunteers

was enough to make the Nawab and his entourage run for life. But in Hyderabad a full-scale military action had to be launched and the power of Nizam's Razakars and his army destroyed.

It is a measure of the utmost insignificance of the issue of Goa in the eyes of Nehru that in the first volume, of his speeches covering the period 1946-49 there is one solitary reference to Goa and Pondicherry to the effect that the Government desire a peaceful solution to these problems. In the next volume of almost 600 pages relating to the years 1949-53 there is nothing!

The most considered and extended discussion of the problem of Goa was in Nehru's statement in Lok Sabha on 25 August 1954. After affirming Goan's right to freedom and union with India, Nehru said that the Government of India would "not be provoked into thinking and acting in military terms"

Nehru held out Goa as one of brightest examples of their "tolerance" and "patience", and also as an evidence of their desire to follow a "broad idealistic policy" in a speech on 21 December 1955. Their's was a "peaceful approach" to world problems, Nehru said, and they could not adopt a different attitude without "violating that major approach" of theirs, Nehru told Lok Sabha on 21 March 1957.

The military action was started finally in 'the midnight of 17-18 December and everything was over in a day.

As such, an action really necessary? To me it seems that a small-scale police action, say, by a "disbanded battalion", would have done the trick in Goa in 1948. But Nehru then would neither countenance unofficial armed action nor an official one. The Portuguese, meanwhile, fortified themselves. But they were aware of the weakness of their position, they knew that they could not resist the Indian Army; however, Salazar was determined to bring Nehru down from his high pacifist perch. Nehru affirmed that Goa was part of India, but he would not use force, since he was wedded to the ideal of peaceful settlement and negotiations. But Salazar absolutely refused to talk. He said he would yield only before superior force.

The second phase of the Goa freedom movement started in Satyagraha was resumed under the leadership of Anthony D'Souza followed by Sudha Joshi. People from other part of India joined. N.G. Gore, Tridib Chaudhary, Ishwarlal Desai, Jagannath Joshi, myself and many others participated, and were sentenced to 10+2 years' imprisonment. I was not very happy about the way

the satyagraha was conducted. All the time the leaders continued to look to Nehru for strong state action. So, the movement was neither an exercise in pure non-violence nor was it an armed action. The satyagrahis were advised by the leadership to engage lawyers, offer defence and even go in for appeal. There was little Gandhism in all this, and I. absolutely refused to follow this advice. I told the Portuguese Military Tribunal that I did not recognise their authority. This phase ended with the massacre of 15 August 1955. I must pay homage to Karnail Singh, Hirve Guruji, Pannalal Yadav, Aminchand Gupta and others who fell to Portuguese bullets.

We were given amnesty, on the intervention of the Pope, and were released unconditionally in 1957. But many Goan patriots continued to languish in jails.

Their agony was ended in December 1961 When India's armed forces entered Goa. There was no need to offer unconvincing excuses about Portuguese encroachments on the territory of the Indian Union. But Krishna Menon indulged in these fairy tales. To us it seemed enough to say that Goa was part of India and it was our right to liberate it. But Nehru-Menon would not adopt this straight forward line. The operation was organised on a grand scale, but there was no resistance worth the name. Of course, the Army does thing in a systematic way, and obviously, it could not have taken chances. All operations ceased by 19 December 1961. The Portuguese surrendered.

Paul Grimes of the New York Times 'reported: "Well-equipped Indian forces moved forth with precision. Even many of their enemies credited them with extreme care in safeguarding civilian population, preserving historical and religious landmarks and treating Portuguese prisoners."

And yet the Western media led by the "Liberal" Adlai Stevenson, denounced India. Stevenson accused India of double talk and Rajaji echoed him. He said that India's use of force would deprive her voice of moral influence it had exercised against militarism and war in world affairs. This was woolly headedness of the worst kind.

Only the USSR backed India's action fully, as it did in the Bangladesh War.

Lohia sharply criticised Nehru, but not on this bogus ground of the morality of the use of armed forces. He accused Nehru of inaction in the previous 15 years, and, finally, timing the military action to coincide with the Third General Election. Lohia's charge about electoral gain had a basis. Menon's candidature in Bombay had

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A Reminiscence of the Goa Liberation Movement

Madhu Limaye*

The decision to participate in the Goa Liberation movement began to take shape in my mind in the first fortnight of May 1955. I was much disgusted by the attitude and actions of the PSP cooperationists in Bombay led by Asoka Mehta. The fact that Asoka had articulated the young Socialists' ardent desire to leave the Congress and start an independent existence and the complete about turn effected by him after his own defeat in the parliamentary election and the general massacre of our Parliament and Assembly candidates made me extremely unhappy as well as indignant. It was on the May Day—which also happens to be my birthday—that the thought had suddenly crossed my mind as to whether it would not be a proper thing for me to participate in the Goa struggle? Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was the pioneer of the freedom struggle in Goa. Now that the struggle had been renewed—in fact it had been revived in 1954—and N.G. alias Nanasaheb Goray and others had decided to join it, can people like me—admirers of Lohia—keep away from it? Whatever be the motives and methods of Goa National Congress President Peter Alvares and Co.—I disliked their dancing to the tune of the Prince Charming and letting the movement be exploited by him for his own ends—the men and women who were taking part in it such as Anthony D'souza, Sudha Joshi and others were genuine men and women. Must I not show solidarity with them? That is how the new wheel of thought started revolving in my mind.

In the next two weeks, the Party controversy assumed a disgusting form, and the debate in my mind began to take a definite shape. 15 May was our third wedding anniversary. That day my mind was made up. The two of us went out to the beach, and I communicated my decision to her. What a wedding present! Champa, I must say, was brave and did not raise any objection. And so I decided to go.

Acharya Narendra Deva bore great love for Keshav Gore and me. He was suspicious about the motives of P.T. (Purshottam Tricumdas), Asoka and others. Although he maintained cordial relations with Jawaharlal, he never allowed the Prime Minister to exploit him. He was not

a cooperationist. He had advised JP against talks with Nehru in 1953. He was much annoyed with the KMPP merger as well as Asoka's Backward Economy thesis. He conveyed his suspicions about the Bombay group to Keshav Gore, and also wrote to me. If the NE had authorised him, he would have without doubt revoked my suspension. Then I would have gone to Goa in peace. But Asoka made it a prestige issue. Acharyaji was influenced by JP's stand who was cut up—and personally hurt—over Lohia's opposition to co-operationalism and his abrasive methods of controversy. Narendra Deva completely disagreed with JP's bhoodan and Sarvodaya philosophy. But he would not take an open stand against JP. One thing led to another. The UP Party rebelled. Narendra Deva was enraged. Action was taken against Lohia at Jaipur. Narendra Deva was against it, but others prevailed. We heard the news at S.M.'s place on 22 July. He said: "Everything is over." His mind was obviously made up. His sympathy for me dried up. He suppressed his hostility to P.T.—Asoka etc. He not unexpectedly threw in his lot with the two senior leaders—Narendra Deva and J.P., N.G. Goray had already done this.

The Party controversy only strengthened my resolve. Since I was going away to Goa the Asoka group could have shown a bit of magnanimity and given authority to ND to decide the issue. But there was not a shred of generosity in these cooperationists.

N.G. Goray was given a grand send off. he talked in a couple of public meetings about a short and swift struggle: back home by next Dipawali! I did not share his non-serious approach. The Portuguese authorities, however, treated him and Senapati Bapat brutally. Except Nanasaheb the rest were externed. Shirubhau Limaye led the next batch. And so the tempo of the struggle increased day by day. In June 1955 from the Goa Vimochan Samiti sources in Poona I heard that N.G. Goray had written out a telegram and had handed it over to the Portuguese authorities, for transmission to Jayantarao Tilak. I never knew. whether the telegram reached him. Independently also I heard from sources in touch with our Consulate in Goa about it. I did not like NGG's attitude. Gandhiji

used to say: "A civil resister once inside a prison is to be held civilly dead. His opinions have no value. He should desist from conveying them."

After two batches under N.G. Goray and Shirubhau Limaye, Socialist leaders, leaders of other parties—CPI (Rajaram Patil), the Jan Sangh (Jagannathrao Joshi) and the RSP (Tridib Chowdhary)— were given a chance to lead the satyagraha. My turn was to come thereafter.

In July, with the increasing humidity, my travels and the unbearable tension caused by the rift in the Party, my asthma became worse. I was to leave on 23 July for Poona. There would be a send-off function in Poona. From there we would go to Aronda. The satyagrahis were to assemble there and enter the Goan territory in the night of 24 July. But all the satyagrahis did not arrive in time. I was running high temperature on the eve of departure for Poona. Medicines did not help much. My Asthma was also giving me a lot of trouble. Many people had been pleading with me that I should cancel going to Goa. I resolutely brushed aside these suggestions. A kindly doctor in Aronda—A Socialist sympathiser—seeing my resolve and my pitiable condition gave me an injection and some tablets, forced me to eat and put me to bed. I slept soundly and woke up in the evening. I joined the assembled satyagrahis who were having their dinner. I also had a light supper.

We crossed the Terekhol creek. While boarding the boat I stepped on a blade-shaped rock and inadvertently cut my foot., Then commenced our night-long trek through the jungle with a guide. He misled us and the walk continued till the day break. The condition of my left foot was very bad. It bled and became swollen. One comrade, Ibrahim, from Marathwada had applied some Unani medicine—Zinda Tilimat. It gave some little relief. But really not much.

As we neared Perne, we sighted some police jeeps. The police forces soon surrounded us and started beating us mercilessly. A hefty policeman asked me to get into his van and kicked me in the stomach. The pain was unbearable. By an effort of will I jumped into his van. They took us to the local Police Headquarters. They made the satyagrahis sit on the broad steps in two rows. The police also formed into two batches and attacked the two rows of satyagrahis with lathis and rubber truncheons. Many resisters bore the beating bravely, some cried out in pain. Then they took us inside a room where a doctor—or maybe he was a compounder—applied an iodine-like thing to our wounds. Then the beating commenced again.

The Portuguese policemen's wives had collected on the adjoining lawn and were shouting hoarsely, egging their men to beat us. How cruel women can be sometimes, I reflected sadly. When they took us inside for application of iodine again, I angrily told the Police Chief to stop this farce of first aid. "Beat us as much as you like. After you are satisfied then give us first aid."

My outburst put the Chief of the Police to shame and the beating stopped. All the satyagrahis, except me, were bundled into a waiting truck and the truck sped away. "Where are you taking them? To jail"? I asked. The police chief sarcastically said: "We have no space. We don't intend to feed them. They will be taken to the border and, after another thrashing, will be driven away."

I was taken to the lock-up inside the Police Headquarters. It was raining heavily. The rain came through the iron bars. The floor was wet. My body was aching. The clothes were torn and bloodied. I was damn tired. And then a miracle happened. As soon as I stretched myself on the wet floor, sleep stole over me. I slept soundly even in that terrible physical condition. I was woken up by the sound of the opening of a door and the crying of a man. When I opened my eyes, I saw Kaka Deshmukh, leader of Aurangabad batch, which had accompanied me on the night trek into Goa. The policemen slapped him, and he cried loudly. Then they left. I asked Kaka: "Why are you crying"? He said: "If I cry, they will not beat me, out of pity." I said: "This is not proper. You keep quiet. If you cry, they will beat you more. They have perverted minds. They are drunk." He said: "They are asking me whether I am commandant of the Aurangabad batch. (The Aurangabad Radio had announced his name as Leader). I had said, no, I am not. I told them that Madhu Limaye is Leader of both the batches! They will come and ask you. Say yes, so that they will not detain me." I was angry. But I kept quiet. After sometime the Police Chief came with some men and asked Kaka Deshmukh: "Are you also a Commandant"? Kaka vigorously said, "No, No." And then pointing to me, he said, "He is the Commandant, not me"! I took pity on him, and did not contradict him. He was taken away and externed.

From Perne, an escort took me to Mhapuse Police Headquarters. The police officers abused me and one or two kicked me. One chap even spat at me. I invoked the Mahatma's face, and kept absolutely quiet. Then the new police escort put me on a boat. The jutting tongue of the sea or creek was extremely choppy. It was raining.

I said: "Could you give me some water to drink"? "No, this is Goa. Only Cognac, no aqua, no water. If you want water there is plenty in the sea, drink it." There was no way to soften the brutes. So, I suppressed my thirst., On to the main Police Headquarters. There were lots of people in different uniforms: Blue and Khaki. My bloodstained clothes somehow excited their deep savage instincts. Two blue uniformed men gave me kicks. Protest was of no use. Language was a complete barrier to communication. Finally, they walked me to the Armoury or Guard Room and left. Uniformed men came in twos and threes, after duty hours, to deposit their arms. Seeing me sitting there, they became hostile and held out a menace. They would poke my chest with their weapons: "Saiyagrahi"! There was murder in their eyes. More than the excruciating pain in the body, this continuous torture was insufferable. A Goan Policeman in the Armoury seemed to be a nice fellow. With two fingers on his lips, he gestured vigorously. He really signalled me to keep quiet. By 7.30 p.m. the ordeal was over. The Goan policeman asks me: "Have you any money? I will get you something to eat. You must be hungry." My wallet had been seized. But I had in my pyjama pocket a couple of crumpled notes. I fished out a note and gave it to him. He went out and got me some potato sabzi and two slices of bread. And also, a cup of tea. Thus, I assuaged my hunger. And also, my thirst with that cold cup of tea! Ultimately, an Indo-Portuguese, a (a Mestizo or of mixed parentage) police officer, came in and took me away. On the way he said to me in a threatening tone: "Goa no place for politique. Today you rest. Tomorrow we come back and give you a good thrashing"! He opened the barred door of a Cell. Jagannathrao Joshi of the Jan Sangh was inside. He welcomed me. "I was waiting for you since yesterday evening. I was wondering what had happened to you". He gave me a pair of clean kurta and pyjama. (He himself wore dhoti). I have kept it for you." It was very considerate of him to do that. A change was what I needed above everything else. I changed my soiled and stained clothes. When I took off my torn kurta and pyjama, Jagannath Rao was astonished to see the condition of my back and legs. There were contusions and bruises all over. He said: "I have also been beaten, and my finger has become slightly twisted. But your condition is terrible"! He offered me his wooden plank, and unrolled his own dari on the floor. I slept soundly in the night. But Joshi told me the next day that I was obviously in great pain and was making a moaning

sound. I was kept in his cell for two or three days only. In the morning they took us to the well where we saw N.G. Goray and Shirubhau being escorted back to their Cell after bath. We saw from a distance Sudhatai Joshi and Sindhu Deshpande. We hailed each other. The water level in the well was so high that we could fetch water from it with a bucket. Joshi fetched water for me and I bathed. But the injuries continued to cause great pain. A doctor came, applied some medicine. Then I was taken to an office for finger prints etc.

Next day morning Shim was able to talk to me when the police were looking the other way. He bitterly complained to me about "Nanu's (NGG)'s telegram" and his "general attitude." "I almost threatened him and warned him not to do anything without my consent," Shiru told me.

The new cell is crowded. Full of mosquitos, bugs and lice. I tell stories to the young Goan prisoners in the evening. They enjoyed the tales from the Arabian nights. The police come to fetch Goan Youths. They take them to the torture room. The cries disturb our sleep. I am full of compassion. Although they threatened me on the first two days to beat me up again, they, in fact, did not do so. There was no need for torture, for ours was an open satyagraha. The Goan prisoners they were torturing to extract information about the supporters of the violent groups.

On the First of August (1955) the Indian Consul Mani, came over to the Headquarters to visit me. I told him the whole story. He had probably received a telegram from Champa. I told him about my requirement of tooth brush, paste and soap. Also, some clothes. I requested him to inform Champa telegraphically that I was "all right." Mani told me about the telegram on suspension of satyagraha which N.G. Goray had asked the Portuguese to send. He was obviously displeased. I made no comment.

On 2 August the weather was stormy. It rained the whole day without a stop. Pain, No sleep.

On 3 August we were removed from the Central Police Head-quarters. We were kept in a new Hospital building on the Altinho (a hill) turned into a temporary jail. Next day afternoon (4 August) I was surprised by the visit of the Chief-du-Cabinet (Chief Secretary) to the Governor-General. He inquired about my health and told me that news of my death as a result of savage beating by the Portuguese had appeared in the Indian press. I told him to transmit a message about my being "safe, hale and

hearty" to Champa. I worried no end about her. She must have been totally shaken by the "terrible news." The lot of political prisoners' wives is truly pitiable.

The prisoners' wives worried no end about the lot of their husbands in prison. On them now developed the responsibility of running the household and of raising the children. Most freedom fighters' economic condition is pitiable. Their wives are therefore subjected to great hardship and also mental torture. To interview their husbands in Goa, with the disruption of all direct rail and road connections; the prisoners' wives have to undergo a veritable ordeal. Friends and members of the general public extended a sympathetic hand, and that is some solace. My wife, particularly, has to carry trunk loads of books, for my demands are extremely taxing.

The notorious police officer Montero (a Mestizo) came to see me some hours after the visit of the Chief-du-Cabinet. My injuries had not yet healed. He looked at me and roguishly said: "You entered Goa a day after the announced date. I was not on duty then. If I had been there, I would have thrashed you even more severely. That would have cooled your revolutionary ardour." Obviously, he was pleased with his brutal utterance. He laughed heartily. Montero was a queer chap. Within minutes his face changed. With a warmth in his tone, he began to show solicitude for my health. "I learn you are an asthmatic. You take good care of your health. I shall send you a Doctor." And really an old experienced Doctor—a scion of a very old Goan Catholic family—came and examined me. He gave me some tablets.

N.G. Goray also had a similar experience. He was much puzzled by Montero's eccentric behaviour. After brutally handling him and Senapati Bapat, Montero took out his cigarette case, fished out two cigarettes, offered one to N.G. Goray and put the other one in his mouth. Nanasaheb asked him in astonishment: "Only a few minutes before you beat us without mercy, and now you offer me a cigarette! What does this mean?" Montero said: "That was my duty as police officer. That is over. Now I offer you a cigarette as one man to another."

The apparently crazy attitude of many Portuguese Officers could be explained in terms of their Latin culture. They were not devoid of human feelings and did not mind showing it. The Anglo-Saxons were wholly different.

I was kept in solitary confinement in a room 8 by 8 feet. I was locked up the whole day. Only twice they took me out for my morning and evening chores and for bath—in all for 30 minutes! Outside my room hung

a small board: Incommunicado— incommunicable. I received lot of books from N.G. Goray and the Consul. The wounds are healing, but the itching of the body is terribly irritating. There was a visible change in the policemen's attitude after the. Chef-du-Cabinet's visit. They now treat me with great deference!

On 12 August I was taken out. I found seated in a room with N.G. Goray and Shirubhau. Some foreign correspondents came to see us. I was sitting between the two. When Nanaseheb was talking to the reporters Shirubhau again denounced NGG. I anxiously asked him: "Has he made a new move?" He said, "No, he has not. But he talks about the futility of this all." I was not much inclined to talk to the Foreign Correspondents. I talked to a woman correspondent—was it Taya Zinkin?—and exchanged a few words. with her. When Shirubhau was talking, NGG turned to me and said: "Have you heard of the inhuman sentence imposed by the Portuguese Tribunal on Sudha Joshi? What should we do?" I said, "We had entered Goa with open eyes. So, the only course for us is to bear our lot stoically." Goray said: "You are right."

The authorities took me out again—on 14 August, that is a day before the scheduled mass satyagraha—to meet the Correspondent of The News Chronicle. She told me that news about my death in Portuguese captivity had been published in some newspapers on 3 August—she mentioned The Evening News—later Champa told me that the Lokamanya had published the news with a banner headline—and said there was some commotion over it. Some MPs, including Asoka Mehta, questioned the Prime Minister 'in Parliament,' about it. She did not tell me whether the matter was raised in the Lok Sabha or the lobbies or the PM's office. Nehru made inquiries. This explains the visit of the Portuguese Chef-du-Cabinet in Goa.

I was one day taken to the office of the International Police. I was intrigued by the adjective. "International". I learnt that it meant the Portuguese Empire Police as distinguished from the local police. I was produced before the officer-in-charge of investigation. They made me stand before him. I waited for a minute. Then I literally roared. "You had beaten me on my entry into Goa. That is all right. But what is the matter now? You don't even have the decency to ask me to sit down? Is that an expression of your Latin civilization?" The Officer was flabbergasted by my attack. He apologised profusely. Thereafter he was very friendly. Gave me

good tea, quietly recorded my statement and then said: "Good Bye!"

The life in the little cell was boring. I read all the time. I did some exercise also. There never were opportunities to meet other prisoners.

I sometimes heard them singing in their rooms English and Konkani songs. On 3 November I was produced before the Military Tribunal. "You will be allowed to give defence. You can engage a lawyer. Or this gentleman here will plead your case. You can produce witnesses. I replied, "I don't want to offer any defence. I stand by my statement before the police."

I wished to be finished with the whole damn farce of "a fair trial." The Salazar regime wanted to tell the Western World that the trial was fair and "the due process" was meticulously observed!

I learnt there was a discussion among the Indian satyagrahis about offering defence. The Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti advised the satyagrahis to give defence. They also engaged a lawyer called Kesaron. He was a lover of alcohol. I found him always drunk. The idea of defence in a satyagraha was extremely repugnant to me. I outright rejected it. Kesaron and the Portuguese officers used to press me: "You might be transported to Angola or Portugal, if you don't defend yourself. I said: "I don't care, whether I am kept here or sent away." I stuck to my guns.

My comrades who offered defence did not get a lighter sentence.

On 6 January my case came up before the Tribunal. The Bench consisted of one Civilian judge and two military officers in their resplendent uniform. They asked me: "Do you want this advocate to plead your case?" "No thank you. I don't recognise the Portuguese authority in Goa. The territory is a part of India." I said. The Tribunal was scandalised by my reply. The Civilian Judge got up and the officer-members took out their swords. The whole action was calculated to overawe me. But I was only amused. The Court adjourned for a few minutes. Then they came back to the Court room and took their seats. The sentence of 10+2 years was read out. Then the Court rose. The same ritual was enacted, unsheathing of words and uttering of military commands in Portuguese etc. The cheap drama was over in a few minutes and I was taken back to my cell on the Altinho.

On 7 January they gave me a surprise, ended my solitary confinement and put me in the same cell as NGG and Shirubhau. I spent only five days with my

seniors in the Socialist Movement and the Party. We talked a lot, with Shiru, especially, I had a more intimate discussion. I avoided current politics, Party affairs and the split. Shiru is not an intellectual. He does not have much of a formal education. But he is a man of action and quite tough. NGG is highly educated, an intellectual, a good speaker and commands a good literary style. But inside him, I think, there is some weakness. He is not a man of strong will. I pity that an otherwise gifted man should lack this quality: S.M. (Joshi) is superior in this respect.

On 12 January 1956 we were transferred to Aguada Military Jail. Nice view of the open sea. The sea presents a different picture now. It is rough and angry again. In the monsoon days—during high tides on Amavasya and Purnima—wave after wave dashes against the low fort wall, and the white surf rushes through the gaps left in the wall for the placement of guns, and floods the courtyard in front of our cells. I sit on my cot near the door, read and for hours watch the flow and ebb of the turbulent sea. I had last seen the choppy sea when we crossed the creek to go to Panjim from the Mapuca side on 26 July 1955. But I was separated from NGG and Shiru. My companions are Jagannath Rao and Rajaram of the CPI. Jagannath Rao is a nice, cheerful fellow. He gets up early, sings Shankaracharya's Bhaja Govindam and other stotras. He likes sweets. NGG and Shiru have Tridib and Ishwarlal Desai as their cell-mates.

The question of appeal came up. The G.V.S.S. pressed the satyagrahis to go in for appeal. Kesaron also wanted me to fall in line. But I was absolutely inflexible on this point.

One day all my comrades were taken to the Appellate Tribunal. When J. Joshi returned, I noticed he was very sad. I asked him: "What happened?" "Madhu bhau, you were right in refusing to appeal against your sentence. They insulted us. They asked us: "If you don't recognise our sovereignty over Goa and our laws, why have you come in for appeal"? It would have been better if we had decided against an appeal."

Their appeals, of course, were rejected. I was right in following the Gandhian principles in the matter of civil disobedience. It was in Goa that I have realised how profoundly Gandhi has transformed my life, how deeply he has shaped my personality and will.

It is a pity that our comrades here continue to look to the Prime Minister for rescuing them from this captivity. The attitude of Jawaharlal Nehru towards Goa has

Goa Liberation Movement: Some Memorable Moments

Champa Limaye*

May 15, 1955 — our third wedding anniversary. How significant a day this was to be, I had no idea of it. We were both sitting by the sea-side. The surface of the sea was calm as the last rays of the setting sun danced on the near-blue waves on the horizon. There was a calmness all around us, but I was unaware of the great turmoil that was raging within Madhuji's mind.

That evening Madhuji told me that he had decided to participate in the freedom movement for the liberation of Goa. How could the diehard freedom fighters of this country silently tolerate the subjugation of Goa by an alien power? Eventhough Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru considered the Goa issue as insignificant, the freedom fighters had decided to wipe out this last trace of disgrace from the soil of their motherland. From the year 1946, Dr. Lohia and others had initiated the freedom struggle in Goa with the support of the local people. In 1954 the agitation grew very fervent once again. Brave women like Sudhatai Joshi and Sindhutai Deshpande participated in it. In 1955 the now aged Senapati Bapat, Nanasaheb Gore, Shirubhau Limaye and others took charge of the movement. Members of the various opposition parties were also present.

Days sped fast, after Madhuji took the decision of joining the movement. He was touring extensively. It was a crucial period for the Socialist Movement. The Party was on the verge of a Split due to the differences of opinion about the attitude towards the Congress. Ashok Mehta group was propagating a policy of cooperation with the ruling Congress Party and Dr. Lohia, Madhu and several other comrades were opposed to it.

11 July was our son's—Aniruddha's first birthday. Madhuji celebrated it. We invited our friends and relatives as Madhuji was going to participate in the movement. Farewell meetings were held. On the previous night of his departure, we returned from a farewell meeting quite late. The baby was wide awake and was waiting for his father. Whole night he did not sleep nor he allowed his father to sleep. He was playing with him, clinging to him. The following day Madhuji took leave of us from Dadar station. With tears in his eyes the little one threw his arms around his father and held on to him tightly. Perhaps by

intuition he knew about the long period of separation.

In Pune, a farewell function was held opposite the famous Shaniwarwada, which was attended by a very large number of people. From Pune, Madhuji left for Belgaum along with the other sattyagrahis. From there they were to proceed to Aronda on 25th July. Madhuji was running very high temperature on the morning of 25th July. He had been suffering from acute attack of asthma for a month and was hence in poor health. Considering his condition he was advised not to join the agitation. But he remained firm on his decision. Their group consisted of 90 satyagrahis from different corners of Maharashtra. The group from Marathwada was headed by Shri Kaka Deshmukh.

Braving the inclement weather these courageous men headed for the Goa border. It was a dark night in the month of Ashadha. Thunder and lightning reverberated through the night. As they were crossing a valley Madhuji's foot was cut on a sharp stone. His comrades rendered first aid and bound the wound and he hobbled along. Holding aloft the national flag these freedom fighters walked on raising slogans in praise of their motherland and for the freedom of Goa. Their helpers directed them till daybreak after which they briefed them with the rest of the directions and retracted their steps. It was said that these locals were supporters of the Portuguese and hence made sattyagrahis walk all night in order to tire them out by day break.

As the sattyagrahis reached Pedne, the Portuguese police pounced on them with lathis and whips. They were mercilessly beaten and dragged through mud. A kick in the stomach from a military boot and Madhuji found himself being dragged through the mud and dumped into a jeep. The sattyagrahis were treated in the most inhuman manner possible. They were then registered at the Pedne police station.

Later, Madhuji told me that the Christian and Muslim sattyagrahis were often beaten more mercilessly than the Hindus. The Portuguese officers thought that an Indian sattyagrahi was a Hindu. Why should the Christians and Muslims support the Hindus? They hated the former two groups and therefore more severe treatment was given

to them. Madhuji advised the Muslim and Christian sattyagrahis not to reveal their real names. In spite of this, the Portuguese suspected a sattyagrahi once and thrashed him very savagely.

The sattyagrahis were then taken inside the Pedne. Police station on the pretext of treatment of the wounds. But this farcical gesture would be followed by, all being lined and severely beaten again. Many of the sattyagrahis received head injuries. Apparently, some Portuguese women standing nearby loudly encouraged the police in their cruel deed. Here was an example of how cruel and inhuman the tender and loving heart of a woman, can turn into. When the police continued to beat them at intervals in this way, Madhuji stood up in anger and said, "Why don't you beat us up to your heart's content? Why do you pretend to apply balm to our wounds?" Shamefaced, they ceased tormenting these already tormented sattyagrahis.

Later, Madhuji was taken to Mhapusa and the same evening was transferred to Panaji Head Quarters. The whole day he was neither given a drop of water nor a morsel of food. On request of water the Portuguese police sneered, "You only get Cognac and Feni here. Or you could drink all the water you want, from the sea." Being the monsoon season, Madhuji could remain without water for many hours. No doubt he was fed on kicks and blows once in a while. At the Cartel (H.Q.) he was kept in the armoury room. At dusk, as the Portuguese soldiers came in to deposit their weapons, they would rest their stenguns on Madhuji's chest and jeer at him "Oh! Sattyagrahi! Gandhi!" A nerve-racking experience. At that point, Madhuji almost preferred to receive a bullet than going through this torture. Finally all the soldiers left and one brown skinned Goan policeman remained. He had in fact earlier cautioned Madhuji, "Please don't say anything to them or these crazy men might just shoot you down!" On learning that Madhuji was thirsty and famished he provided him with a bun, some vegetable and a cup of tea. The little money that remained in his inner pocket came handy, since all the rest had been confiscated.

After some time he was taken to the police lock-up, a Mistij (half-Portuguese) officer told him, "Goa no place for politic. Today you stay in the lock-up. Tomorrow we may fix you up." Threatening him with these words he put him into a cell. Shri Jagannathrao Joshi was waiting for him there. Till Madhuji was brought to Panaji Cartel he received innumerable thrashings but once inside the lock-up they did not touch him. On seeing his blood-stained, mud-caked. clothes, Jagannathrao immediately

offered a clean khadi pyjama and yellow khadi kurta to Madhuji. His clothes were also badly torn. When Madhuji was changing his clothes, Jagarmathrao noticed that his body had virtually turned blueblack due to the beating. He provided him with a wooden plank to sleep on. Weary Madhuji went to sleep but spent a torturous night moaning in pain.

The sattyagrahis who returned home said that Madhuji was in a serious state. When a wounded Madhuji, soaked in his own blood was taken to the police lock-up, the: worst fears had shaken their minds and the most disturbing rumours were also afloat.

It was the auspicious day of Raksha Bandhan. Visitors to our house from the early hours of the day, seemed to be in grief. We were perplexed. A short while later they began to console me and my son with words of love and sympathy. And then they spoke. The headlines in the Marathi daily Lokamanya said, "Death of Madhu Limaye under imprisonment in Goa?"

There had been no news from Madhuji after they had crossed the Goa border on the night of 25th July. Numerous telegrams were sent but no response was received. It was but natural that this news item be accepted at its face value. It was now my turn to play the role of soothing the people, since an incident had taken place on the previous night. At 11 p.m., Mr. Butani, the 73 year old Principal of our college stood at our doorstep, in the blinding rain. He had just met me an hour ago on his regular visit. He would often spend a few minutes every evening helping me overcome my pain and sharing in my problems. What had brought him back again? Dada was drenched to the skin but his eyes had a special sparkle in them. He smiled and said, "We had a message from the Sachivalaya. The person who had taken the message knows not its importance. On reaching home. I learnt that Madhu is alright. I have come to give you this good news." The anxiety that had weighed on my mind since the day Madhuji left running with fever of 103 degrees heading this group of sattyagrahis, towards Goa on July 25,—suddenly lifted. To me, Dada seemed like an angel at my doorstep!

The day usually dispels the darkness of the night, but here the moonlight was enveloped by dark shadow of doubt and fear, when the day dawned. Ironically I was the one consoling and lending support to all around. To this point I had remained steadfast, but now with the faintest shadow of doubt my courage was beginning to crack. The whole day proved nightmarish for all—relatives,

neighbours and countless friends. A tamilian neighbour affectionately brought food for us and requested me to have something.

Finally, a dialogue took place between Ashok Mehta and Panditji regarding Madhuji's welfare and information about his well-being was gathered from the Indian Consulate in Goa. The same was aired over All India Radio. Peace descended on us, at last. At first a feeling of joy which was soon clouded by unknown fears and doubts. The momentary eclipse of joy had been dispelled but when would Goa emerge from the eclipse of subjugation was the question?

Back in Goa, Madhuji was detained with Jagannathrao Joshi for two days. He was then shifted to another cell which already housed 25 Goan prisoners. The place was fairly crammed yet they very affectionately made place for Madhuji in one corner. At night Madhuji would narrate stories to them. They were soon deeply influenced by his words of patriotism.

After the news item in the Lokamanya and the discussion in Parliament, the Indian Consel stationed in Goa, Shri Mani paid a visit to the jail to meet Madhuji. Later he often extolled the courage and tenacity of Madhuji whenever we met.

On 3rd August, Madhuji and all the others were taken to the Altinho Jail, a little hospital, perched on a hill that had been converted into a temporary jail. Here he was confined to a small room where he remained in solitary confinement for five months, cut off from the rest of the world. His thali of food was merely pushed through the door of the cell. The Portuguese Guard posted outside his cell once tried to communicate with him but failed. Neither could understand the language of the other. Madhuji spent many long hours in reading his books. The young guard too often sat with a book but apparently, never turned a page!

On 4th August the Chef-de-Cabinet (Chief Secretary) visited Madhuji. He mentioned to him about the news item in the Lokamanya about his probable death, hearing which Madhuji was dumbstruck.

What kind of effect did it have on me? His reactions were later on described to me by the Governor General of Goa in a proper dramatic style in the Latin tradition. The Chef-de-Cabinet's visit was followed by a visit by the infamous Montero, an arch enemy of the sattyagrahis. At first he said to Madhuji "Well! You were a day late hence you did not encounter me. I would have dealt with you." Anyway, he later emerged a warm and kind

person. He made enquiries about Madhu's health and on learning that Madhuji was an asthma patient arranged for a doctor to see him. In fact, upto this day his wounds had not been attended to at all. Nanasaheb Gore also made mention of Montero's strange behaviour. Apparently, as a gentlemanly gesture he would offer a cigarette to a sattyagrahi after he had beaten him mercilessly. Users of the Roman language and followers of the Catholic faith, the Portuguese were vastly different from the British—in that, there was a certain humanitarianism in them. The British on the other hand, were a dry, insensitive lot. 15th August 1955 marked one of those great freedom movements which witness to countless sacrifices. People poured in from different parts of the country. Mahankal, Karnal Singh, Hirve Guruji and others became martyrs. Brave women like- Sahodaradevi received bullets and innumerable sattyagrahis like Keshav Gore, Madhu Dandavate were severely beaten.

This was my first visit to Goa. Our friend Kamerkar was to accompany me from Bombay upto the Goa border. From Karwar Shri Sathe, the personal Secretary of the Consel Shri Mani, and Dr. Nanji were also with us. At Majali we crossed the Indian border and entered the No-Man's Land. But none of us was permitted to step into Portuguese ruled Goa. Shri Sathe was to report on his duty and Dr. Nanji was to preside over a meeting of board of directors, hence they were soon granted permission. But why would they grant me entry? —The wife of a freedom fighter—their enemy. Disappointment flooded my mind. Sathe promised to clear me through and carried on. I returned to the Majali Customs Office where arrangement was made for my stay. In the evening the Chief Customs Officer Mr. Pai and his wife visited me and pressed me to stay with them as long I got permission to enter Goa.

The beauty of Karwar—on the banks of the mighty Arabian sea, its blue limitless waters, captivating landscape and lush green forest cover soothed my mind and helped reduce my sorrows. I felt refreshed by the affection expressed by the Pai couple. The following day an officer of the Consel came from Panaji, in a specially arranged car to escort me. Bidding farewell to all, I crossed the Goa border. At the Indian border my luggage had been checked very perfunctorily but in the Portuguese Goa each and every item was singled out for inspection. Since Indian newspapers were banned in Goa, a small sheet of paper found round my slippers was closely checked, but it bore no news about Goa. I had

numerous books on the Communist Party, of which they could barely decipher the titles. They felt threatened by these voluminous books in my trunk. I told them these are critical books on Communism but they could not take the decision on punishing me. They then got into the car. About 10 miles inside the border we came to a village called Kankon. As the car halted outside a police station we were immediately surrounded by a lot of soldiers. Inside, they contacted the Secretariat over the wireless and apprised them of my crime.

The man from the consulate was a young Muslim. I asked him about his opinion on the matter to which he replied, "They are aware in how much esteem the Consel holds you. May be they will confiscate the books and will allow you to proceed." Our car was allowed to proceed after half an hour. Till then they were all thinking that I was a great revolutionary playing the role of Aruna Asafali or so!

As the tension lifted, I Was able to drink in the beauty of Goa, almost as if a curtain had been raised from before my eyes. The lush green lands carpet, the palms swaying to the breeze and the sun's rays peeped through the drops of rain giving the scene an unusual beauty.

On reaching the Consulate I was received warmly by Shri. Mani who immediately phoned the Police Commissioner to arrange for my meeting with Madhuji the same day. I waited at the Cartel for Madhuji with a bunch of flowers. The Police Commissioner Antonious said, "He does not know why I have called for him. Generally we call the detenues for thrashing. I want to give him a pleasant surprise." Every moment of wait seemed like eternity. After the ordeal he had gone through, it almost seemed like a meeting after rebirth. My eyes were brimming with tears and I could hardly see his face clearly. Emotions choked my voice and I could hardly utter a word.

The following day I went to the Cartel. In a short while Madhuji was brought for an interview. Some foreign journalists and reporters who had gathered there wished to interview both of us. They asked me as to how the Portuguese Government had treated me. I was on the horns of a dilemma. If I would have said they treated me well they would have flashed it in the international press. If I would have complained about the treatment I had received, they would have taken revenge on Madhu. So I refused to make any statement. Madhuji told them, "I am not a free citizen as yet. I will give you an interview after my release and will then be able to give you my

opinion on your numerous questions."

Madhuji did not allow them to photograph us together either. His generally neat and tidy appearance and bright countenance seemed dulled by pain and seemed to have lost its lustre. This was the first time I saw him with his sporting moustache.

On the last day I went to Altinho jail for an interview with Madhu. In fact I wanted to see his cell. Next day I was to return to Bombay. Police Commissioner Antonious accepted my request and took me to the jail in the morning. In fact he granted me another interview again in the afternoon. In the afternoon when I reached the Cartel, Antonious was in a drunken state. Accompanied with 3-4 sergeants, he started his jeep. I was taken aback. I soon noticed that we were moving in the opposite direction. On questioning Antonious about the change in the route he told me that they were taking me for sightseeing of Goa. I told him that the Consel had already taken me to various places for sightseeing. In fact along with sightseeing he had taken me to many patriot families. Antonious then said, "Let us go for shopping. Goa is a free port." "No thank you. I don't want to do shopping." I said. To which he suggested that we at least have some drinks together. I firmly refused him and told him, "My husband is in jail and hence I am not interested in such things. Besides that I am a teetotaler. I don't drink. Please take me to the jail or let us go back. We will enjoy when Goa will be liberated and my husband would be free."

He then changed the route and brought me back to the jail. That was an unforgettable experience—an isolated jungle area, 3-4 Portuguese soldiers and a young woman alone. But if God wills it, one can escape safely from any situation. Later, I came to know that Antonious was a very decent person, a thorough gentleman. His gesture was out of hospitality, that he wanted to shower.

A few days later the Portuguese Government chargesheeted the Goa sattyagrahis. On this, the Poona-based Goa Vimochan Samiti appointed a lawyer called Kesero to fight their cases. All submitted their petitions to Kesero with the sole exception of Madhuji. Kesero asked me to help convince Madhuji to change his decision and take the assistance of a lawyer. To which I told him in lighter vein, "If I coax him to take up a lawyer he will divorce me at once! It is sheer impossible to try and make him alter his decision, which is based on the principles of a sattyagrahi,—no advocate, no argument and no appeal. Besides that he dislikes anyone's interference."

When Sudhatai Joshi was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment many leaders were shocked. When Madhuji's reaction was sought, he told them that since they had joined the sattyagraha movement with their own will they had to accept things courageously and that this result was expected.

Madhuji was brought before the military tribunal on 3rd November 1955. The Tribunal consisted of two military officials and a civilian judge. They granted Madhuji the permission to present a witness and employ a lawyer for his defence. In this way a pretence of a fair trial commenced. Madhuji told them, "Goa is a part of India and we don't require anyone's permission to set foot here. My statement before the police earlier remains the same. I have no intention of altering it." Mentally he thought to himself—"why don't they get over with this farcical exercise?" The utter mockery of the Law under the Fascist regime of the Portuguese was there for all to see and Madhuji had taken upon himself to expose it all.

On 6 January 1956 Madhuji was presented before the Tribunal once again. The Judges asked him, "Do you feel any repentence?" To which he answered, "Repentence! What for? I do not recognise your rule at all." At which, the judges immediately rose to their feet. Then the guards drew their glittering swords from their scabbards. This was to create atmosphere of terror. The judges then withdrew for a private discussion. On emerging they announced a 10 year sentence and penalty, failing to pay which would result in an additional imprisonment of two years.

Kesero enquired if he wanted to make an appeal. Madhuji did not allow him permission to do so. Kesero told me Madhuji runs the risk of being deported to Africa or Portugal and in that case we would not be able even to see each other. I told Kesero that I could not change what was to be. If Madhuji had made up his mind, it was final.

After the sentence was announced, Madhuji was kept with Nanasahab Gore and Shirubhau Limaye, but later on they were separated. When the 12-year sentence was given, a fat Portuguese guard, whom they had nicknamed 'Ganapati' danced with glee and teased Madhuji saying, "Your son will be in college by the time we release you." On 12 January they were all taken to Fort Aguada. Jagannath Joshi, Rajaram Patil and a rich Goan named Furtado were also in Madhuji's cell. The latter taught Madhuji Portuguese till he was moved out of that cell.

Madhu began his stay at Aguada fort in a cell which was facing the sea. During the monsoon, the mighty

waves lashed against the stone walls of the fort. The sea water would sometimes find its way into the yard through the chinks in the wall. Madhuji was much entertained by this play of nature. He loved to enjoy the might of the sea. His days at Aguada Fort were peaceful since he had also regained his health, by sheer will power. He spent most of his time in reading. His friends communicated with him through a secret coded language of theirs. Those days India was going through a great many upheavals. The agitation for a united Maharashtra was on the peak. The new Socialist Party was formed under the leadership of Dr. Lohia at the Conference in Hyderabad. Madhuji kept himself informed about the international events through the foreign newspapers. For the national news too, he had to rely on the foreign press and letters that he was receiving from the friends. Due to the closure of the Indian Consulate in Goa all communication was through the Egyptian Embassy while the Portuguese worked through the Brazilian Embassy.

In February 1956 I went to Goa with Aniruddha. My Brother-in-law, Mohan accompanied us. Little Aniruddha was to meet his father after 8 long months.

I requested the Governor General for a written note granting me permission to meet Madhuji. But he promised me that he would contact the jail authorities and that I would have no difficulty in meeting him.

In the afternoon we crossed the river Mandovi and reached a village called Betti Vere from where we took a taxi for Fort the Aguada. At the fort we were told that the families of the local prisoners were visiting their relatives in the jail and being foreigners we could not be allowed on that day. When I informed them that the Governor General had granted me permission, they asked me for a written statement and said they had no intimation from the Governor General whatsoever. They had infact informed Madhuji about our proposed visit and he was anxiously awaiting our arrival inside, from early morning. The interpreter took a sadistic pleasure in causing us mental torment. The interpreter had earlier been deported from Bombay as alleged spy and now he was taking his revenge on us. The next day I conveyed the day's happenings to the Governor General through the Egyptian-Consel and we were granted written permission to meet Madhuji the following day. The meeting of the father and the son after such a long gap was a touching scene, The next day also the interpreter created lots of problems about the language. He told me not to speak in Marathi but to use only English in our conversation.

I told him I cannot speak English. To that he retorted, "I know you are a professor. You can speak English. If his mother comes I will allow her to speak in Marathi." Then he rationed our time to half an hour. I told him I have come after eight long months. I can't come every week. But he did not agree. Next day the Governor General gave them strict warning not to disturb us but to allow us to talk to our heart's content, as he saw my point.

In October 1956 I went to Goa again with our friend Vinayakrao Kulkarni. The Goa agitation had subsided. In Maharashtra, the agitation for a united Maharashtra was hotting up. The new Portuguese interpreter was good-humoured unlike the previous one, who took devilish delight in tormenting us. The new interpreter on the other hand, used to ask me jocularly, "Don't you have anything personal to say to your husband besides news about political parties, leaders, conferences, resolutions etc.?" To which I asked him, "How does one speak about one's personal feelings in the presence of so many? And he is more interested in knowing all the developments in the Party and in the Indian Politics." The new interpreter gave us more time and they even played with Aniruddha affectionately. Madhuji used to take him inside to meet the other friends. Aniruddha used to captivate their hearts by his enchanting smile with dimples on his cheeks. They all enjoyed his company. While we were coming back his hand was injured in the bus. A Portuguese soldier took him in his lap and started singing a lullaby to soothe him. Perhaps he was remembering his own baby far away in Portugal. At Karwar there was no room available in the hotel, where a person occupying a room voluntarily vacated it for me. It was a pleasant surprise, compared to the nasty treatment I had formerly received at Belgaum in the previous trip at the hands of the Government officials. I returned from Goa along with the Egyptian Consel to Belgaum. The officials refused to take cognisance of our presence. They had no sympathy for the Sattyagrahi's family or a little baby. They were just not concerned and lacked human feelings. On the contrary the wife of the Aguada Jailer used to fondle Aniruddha lovingly and offered him chocolates. This rogue used to offer her the paper rapped around with a charming smile and used to enjoy it.

Days flew fast and the Goa issue began to fade in the minds of the people. Since the agitation had quietened down considerably now, only the families of the sattyagrahis and their friends were involved. It was the month of January 1957, when Father Kareno, a spanish priest came to our house with some wonderful news.

The Indian prisoners who were held as state prisoners in Goa were to receive international amnesty and all were to be released soon. Our joy knew no bounds. The news spread around rapidly. On February 1, an Italian journalist met Madhuji and informed him about the international Amnesty.

On the morning of February 2, at about 4.30 a.m., young Aniruddha woke me up and said, "Wake up, ma. Let us go to Belgaum. Father is free, let us go to bring him home." It is said that, the going on in the mind, usually reflects in one's dreams.

But strangely enough, the early morning AIR news bulletin announced that, "The Indian prisoners have been released and they have been brought to the borders of Goa." That evening Madhuji's friend Bandu Gore accompanied Aniruddha and myself to Pune. Next morning thousands of people had gathered at Pune station to receive the sattyagrahis. At Bombay V.T. Station a sea of humanity greeted the sattyagrahis with love and respect. Happiness and relief was writ all over the faces.

My personal association with Goa, in fact, ends here. The final story of Goa is indeed, noteworthy. The freedom movement of Goa initiated by Dr. Lohia had witnessed countless sacrifices of unsung heroes who valiantly bore the cruelty of the rulers.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had adamantly, continued to speak of peace as the only solution. But he finally conceded and the Indian army was sent into Goa on 19 December 1961, to retrieve this piece of Indian soil from alien rulers. Even after the Portuguese were overthrown, the Central Government continued to impose restrictions on the entry into Goa. Madhuji had himself, finally, to resort to sattyagraha to end the permit system, required to enter Goa.

Despotic rule of Salazar came to an end in Portugal on one wintry night and a new era of democracy was ushered in. Later Mario Soares, leader of the Socialist Party of Portugal took over as the Prime Minister. He welcomed the freedom of Goa and extended a hand of friendship towards India. In June 1978 the Socialist leaders of Portugal invited Madhuji to Lisbon. The Portuguese Government and Parliament gave a rousing welcome to this leader of the Goa Freedom Movement and a Socialist comrade. His visit heralded the end of a dark era of despotism and slavery. It was a testimony of the fact that a 500 year old enmity between India and Portugal, driven by despotic rule had come to an end.

This was no doubt a happy exchange that took place in the aftermath of the Goa Liberation struggle.

Relevance of Goa Liberation Movement Today

Anil Rajimwale*

Goa is small but its contribution to the glorious history of liberation movement is huge and unique. It stood up to a mighty fascist colonial power, Portugal, whose colonies spread wide over Angola, Mozambique, Macao, Sao Tome and Principe Islands etc, mainly in Africa. Goa is 3702 sq km (1429 sq miles), Daman 72 sq km and Diu 40 sq km. Along with Nagar-Haveli they constitute 112 sq km (43 sq miles).

During 1940s-50s, the population of Goa was around 6 and half lakhs; today it is around 14 lakhs.

Why 'relevance'?

What is the relevance of Goa liberation movement today? It is unfortunate that the people in general and new generations in particular know very little about Goa's liberation struggle against the Portuguese rule (as also about Pondicherry freedom movement against French occupation). This is a sad commentary on the political and intellectual leaderships. Most people do not even know that besides the British, powers like Denmark, Holland, Portugal, France etc ruled parts of India till as late as 1961. Besides Goa, names of Daman, Diu, Dadra-Nagar Haveli, Anjediva etc are hardly known or not at all. People have not heard about Chandernagar, Yanam, Karaikkal, Mahe, etc under French rule, their fight for freedom and their martyrs. Tranquebar (or Tharangambadi in Tamilnadu) under Denmark is unknown.

Therefore as patriots and nationalists, we must know the glorious struggles and sacrifices of Goa, Dadra Nagar-Haveli, Daman, Diu etc.

The other side of relevance is the continuation of their heritage, dreams and problems they set before us to solve after freedom. This is no easy task. We need to know the problems and struggle to solve them.

'Goa Liberation Movement and Madhu Limaye'

Publication of *Goa Liberation Movement and Madhu Limaye*, edited by Ms Champa Limaye and Sh Qurban Ali, is a timely contribution. It has been brought out to commemorate the 75th anniversary (Platinum Jubilee) of Goa liberation struggle.

Socialists and Communists, as also a wide range of other political and non-political forces, played a great role in the united liberation movement of Goa, fighting shoulder to shoulder.

A bit of history:

Portuguese arrival and revolts

The Portuguese first arrived in India in Calicut in 1498 led by Vasco da Gama, and to Goa in 1510, with Albuquerque at the head. Albuquerque led the attack on Goa from Anjediva Island in 1510. Anjediva remained in Portuguese possession till 1961. Portuguese also captured Bombay but later gave it away in dowry to the British Queen. We will not go into details.

Constant revolts and large-scale killings marked the Portuguese rule throughout. Daman and Diu were ransacked and burnt many times. Albuquerque informed the King about 6 thousands having been killed. Population of five villages of south Goa including Assolna, Cuncolim, Ambelin etc revolted; their leaders were killed in the nearby Fort.

In 1787, Goan priests organized a revolt along with Goan sections of the Portuguese Army, known as 'Revolt of the Priests'. Portuguese authorities called it the 'Conspiracy of the Pintos'. The priests aimed to establish 'a new republic'. Revolt was brutally suppressed. 47 were taken into custody. Those sentenced to death were tied up to horse tails and dragged through the streets, their hands were cut off and then they were sent to the gallows, corpses were cut into pieces and displayed in different parts of the town.

The courageous Ranes, a warrior Goan people, revolted from 1755 to 1912. Their names became legends: Babu Rane, Dipaji Rane, Custoba Desai, Dada Rane, Father Alvares, Morio and Gill Savant etc. Some of them were sent to the Princep Islands in Portuguese West Africa, for ever.

In 1834, Bernardo Peres da Silva, nominated and then overthrown by the Portuguese within 18 days, escaped to British India. He formed a Provisional Government of Daman, Diu, Nagar-Haveli, administered them for 2 years and set up a small naval force. The fleet was sent

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to capture Goa but was destroyed by powerful storms.

In mid-1920s, some of the Goan residents in Portugal formed Indian Nationalist Centre, including students. They proclaimed the right of Portuguese India to merge with India. They established paper *A India Nova* and published many books, among them *A Civilizacao Indiana*, *A India e os Indianos*, *A Mulher Indu*, ('Indian Women') etc. Dr Telo de Mascarenhas published autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi and novels of Tagore into Portuguese.

Goans also took part in India's freedom from British rule.

Portugal was a monarchy till 5 October 1910, when democracy was established, which continued till 1926. In 1926, president appointed Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar as prime minister. Salazar went on to become one of the most infamous and brutal dictators in history, lasting till 1974. This was the kind of colonial power Goan patriots had to face. Every semblance of democracy was destroyed and political and civil liberties crushed brutally. Almost all the political parties were crushed.

The distinctive nature of Portuguese dictatorship left its own mark on Goa. In British India, there at least was some semblance and limited evolution of democratic institutions. Indians carried on long struggle for greater representation and extension of voting rights. Elections of limited nature took place in 1937, 1946 and on other occasions. This was some base to build on and expand in post-independence India, including as Indian Constitution.

No elections took place in Goa and practically no genuine political parties existed. Every opposition, even dissent, was crushed with brute force. No meetings, movements, petitions, strikes etc were possible within the Portuguese Indian territories. It was absolute despotism, a typical fascist Portuguese colonial rule.

Salazar ruled Portugal, Goa and other territories with the help of PIDE, the military intelligence patterned on German Nazi Gestapo.

Struggles for freedom

A National Congress Committee was formed in Goa way back in 1928, led by Dr Tristao de Braganza Cunha, popular as Dr TB Cunha. It was affiliated to the AICC. But later AICC decided to restrict itself to British India, and exclude the princely states and enclaves under other powers. NC (Goa) continued its own separate activities, though consulting the Congress and other organizations in British India.

In Goa and Bombay, Gaon Youth Leagues and Gomantak Tarun Sangh, organized by Palekar, Madkaikar, Cunha, etc were very active during the 1940s. Youths were special target, and used to be beaten black and blue. Portuguese police made special whips with Hippopotamus hide, one lash of which brought out the whole skin!

Around 1946, Dr Rammanohar Lohia visited Dr Juiliao Menezes for medical examination in Bombay. Dr Menezes advised him to come to his house in Assolna, Goa, to rest. There, they discussed Portuguese rule in Goa. People came to know of Lohia's visit, met him, describing situation in Goa. On 15 June 1946, both of them organized a small meeting. Another one was held on 18 June (1946), which entered history as the day of inauguration of Goa liberation, a 'Revolution Day'. Lohia gave a call for civil disobedience. Its grounds were prepared by Cunha's years of hard work.

They both entered the area in a horse carriage, as Portuguese authorities moved in. Dr Lohia was about to deliver his speech when he was arrested. He was expelled from Goa. Dr Cunha took over the proceedings. He was from Congress, later to join Communist Party of India, which was Goan People's Party in Goa. He was beaten with bayonets; these and other marks he carried for the rest of life.

Cunha narrowly missed being shot. He was arrested at Margao railway station on 12 July 1946, lodged in Aguada Military Fort, ultimately being court-martialled and deported to Portugal for about 8 years of most brutal prison life. There he met many Indian revolutionaries including Loyola, RK Hegde, Bembre, Purushottam Kakodkar, etc. Many of them were sent to Angola, Mozambique, Princep Islands, and of course to prisons in Portugal.

Cunha wrote: "Learned people in Portugal can only be found in jail"!

Gandhiji regarded Goan struggle as part and parcel of that in rest of India. After 1946 movement in Goa, Gandhiji wrote: "In free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free state. Without a single shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive the rights of citizenship of the free state." (*Harijan*, 30 June 1946, quoted in Goa's Freedom Struggle, Selected Writings of TB Cunha, p393) Prophetic words indeed!

Movement intensifies after India's freedom

India's independence in 1947 provided added

impetus to the freedom struggle in Portuguese Indian territories. National Congress (Goa) was reorganized. Its leaders, and others, like Pandurang Shirodkar, Vinayak Manekar, Guilherme de Souza Ticlo, Karapurkar etc were sentenced to long terms and deported to Angola.

Dr Cunha was back in Bombay on 4 September 1953. He initiated formation of Goa Action Committee (GAC) and was elected its Chairman. Cunha published a Konkani paper 'Azad Goem'.

In 1954, after another satyagraha, Anthony D'Souza was sentenced to 28 years' RI, some others including women to various long terms.

Up to this stage the movement was mainly carried by the inhabitants of the Portuguese enclaves. But as repressions intensified, the movement took acquired an all India nature.

Liberation of French India including Pondicherry (1954) deeply impacted Goans, and led to increased international pressure on Portuguese rulers. Salazar dictatorship took absurd stand that Goa was a province of Portugal, and therefore question of its 'freedom' did not arise. It refused to relent even after Dadra and Nagar-Haveli was liberated volunteers in 1954, in which Communists and Socialists played a crucial role.

Dr TB Cunha pointed out that the Portuguese used unpatriotic Indian businessmen against India by promoting massive smuggling, almost a backbone of Goan economy. Weak, legalistic and contradictory positions of Indian government delayed liberation. Some even considered Goa as separate from India, needing no intervention. Nehru hesitated; the 'Iron Man' Sardar Patel as Home Minister did not show the same initiative over Goa as he showed over princely states.

Around 1950s, gradual changes took place in government's policies. Border facilities were withdrawn to curb smuggling as well as the Portuguese military activities. Borders were cordoned off.

India government in its first '*aide memoire*' to Portugal on 27 February 1950 suggested opening of negotiations, insisting upon the principle of reunion of the territories with India. But Portugal did not respond. India broke off diplomatic relations.

A strong Note of Protest by government of India to Portuguese government in early 1950s clearly asserted India's right to Goa and other 'Portuguese territories', they being integral to India.

Morarji Desai, chief minister of Bombay at the time, played a most condemnable role. He tried to prevent satyagrahis reaching the borders, to divide the movement

and create political misunderstandings among them. His police even arrested and beat up many satyagrahis. Morarji government stopped buses and transport to Goa, causing satyagrahis great inconvenience.

Portugal had stationed more than 10 thousand troops at the time in Goa and other areas.

Evagrio George in his *The Goa Case* (1961) presents the case of Goa Campaign Committee. George took a leading part in 1946 movement, was arrested in 1947, court-martialled and sentenced to 5 years' RI and solitary confinement in Aguada Fort. After release he crossed borders into India escaping through jungles to avoid re-arrest.

He describes succinctly how Salazar redrafted Portuguese Constitution, replacing the word 'colonia' (colony) by 'provincia ultramarina' (overseas province) to mislead the world. Portugal proclaimed "State of India" ('Estado da India') in 1951 to counteract the rising freedom movement.

Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti and Great Satyagraha

In June 1954, all-party Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti was constituted with Keshav Rao Jedhe as president and NG Gore as general secretary. It included personalities like VD Chitale, RK Khadilkar, Atmaram Patil, Mrs Indutai, etc. PSP and CPI collaborated closely. Nana Patil, Peter Alvares, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and others played active part. Women handed over their ornaments for the cause of liberation.

Nehru tried to dissuade the satyagrahis in 1955. However, 1960 onwards, he began to contemplate some kind of military action. Ajoy Ghosh (general secretary of CPI), SA Dange, other parties and leaders criticized the compromising role of Indian government.

First batch of 68 Satyagrahis led by Senapati Bapat, a Gandhian, and NG Gore, a socialist, entered Goa on 12 May 1955. On 11 June 1955, a batch of 126 communists from different parts of India entered Goa, facing brutal repression and leading to martyrdom of Aminchand Gupta. Calling upon all parties to strengthen the struggle, CPI pressed Nehru government for "direct action".

CPI organised another mass Satyagraha on 3 August 1955, with Portuguese fire killing two communist leaders, Baburao Thorat and Nityanand Saha. Undeterred, around 500 communist volunteers, along with almost 2,600 volunteers from other parties, again entered Goa on 15 August 1955 led by VD Chitale. Portuguese authorities opened fire, leading to death of 22 marchers.

Samiti organized some of the most memorable satyagrahas in August 1955, which became an indelible part of our history. In memorable display of unity and cooperation between various political forces, thousands of Satyagrahis from Kashmir to Kerala, and from Bengal to Rajasthan converged on Goa. They constantly streamed in from all parts and corners of India, offering peaceful satyagraha in typical Gandhian style of resistance. They faced brutal beatings and unprecedented and indiscriminate firings without resorting to counter-violence. Large number of satyagrahis cutting across party lines achieved martyrdom. They were trampled upon by boots in most brutal manner, beaten, tortured cruelly, their skins peeled off. It is an unprecedented saga of great courage and sacrifice. Hats off to them!

Hundreds were maimed for ever.

Volunteers from PSP (Praja Socialist Party), Communist Party of India, Forward Bloc, National Congress, Gomantak Dal, Goan People's Party, Goan United Front, Jan Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, and from mass organizations like AISF took active part.

Among the leading figures of this memorable movement were: Madhu Limaye, SA Dange, KR Jedhe, VD Chitale, Senapati Bapat, NG Gore, CK Chandrappan, Gulam Sheikh, VR Oak, Jagannath Rao Joshi, Raja Ram Patil, Malini Tulpule, SM Nandedkar, Abdul Qadar, Sheikh Kaka, GL Reddy, Krishna Mense, SG Sardesai, GL Reddy, SG Sardesai, etc.

Rajaram Patil led an independent group of 86 satyagrahis earlier than others, crossed Terekhol river and rushed upon Terekhol Fort peacefully. What followed was a glorious resistance.

Rajaram Patil and his associates, five in all, hoisted Indian Tricolor on Governor General's House on 18 June 1955, the 'anniversary day'.

After the massacre of 15 August, government banned Satyagraha mobilisations. Satyagraha leadership also decided to withdraw the movement, as it was leading to increasing and unnecessary loss of life.

Goan Political Convention on 2-4 October 1959 laid down further course of action. Outstanding figures like Kakodkar, Madkaikar, Rev O'Mascarenhas, RK Hegde, SG Lad, Curio Afonso, Narayan Palekar, Gerald Perera, George Vaz, Sucheta Kripalani, Frank Anthony, besides others contributed.

Jawaharlal Nehru said on 13 August 1960 that "The story of Goa's fight for freedom is one that all of us should remember. The struggle of course goes on and will go on till success comes to it." (Message to Dr TB Cunha

Memorial Volume)

The intensified movement and firmer government position led to the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu by Indian Army on 19 December 1961 under 'Operation Vijay' after a 36-hour battle, involving air, sea and land forces. 22 Indians and 30 Portuguese were killed, and 4668 were captured. After liberation in December 1961, Goa and other territories step by step got integrated with India.

Goa was placed under military administration of KP Candeth as Lt Governor. It was replaced by civilian government on 8 June 1962.

Soviet Union and China strongly supported Indian action, while US, UK, Pakistan and of course Portugal condemned it, even termed it as 'aggression'.

Status of Goa

Through Constitution 12th Amendment Act, Parliament on 20 June 1962 conferred status of Union Territory on Goa, Daman and Diu with effect from 20 December 1961. First general elections in Goa, Daman and Diu were held on 9 December 1963 under adult franchise to elect 30 members of the first Legislative Assembly. Democratic process started. Late Sh Dayanand Bandodkar became the first chief minister of Goa, Daman and Diu. The first Assembly session took place on 9 January 1964.

'Goa status Referendum' was held on 16 January 1967 to decide its future within the Indian Union, offering people a choice between continuing as UT or merging with Maharashtra. Results were binding on central govt. People of Goa voted to continue as UT.

It was the only referendum to have been held in independent India.

On 30 May 1987 Goa was converted into a full-fledged state with Assembly. Daman and Diu were separated from Goa and converted into UT.

There were heated debates in Goa regarding merger issue, opinions being seriously divided. There was a strong opinion for merger with Maharashtra, across party lines. But Referendum and subsequent events made Goa a separate entity.

On 26 January 2020, UT of Daman and Diu was merged with Dadra and Nagar-Haveli to form a single UT.

There also was a campaign for a special status for Goa, because of its distinctive character.

Problems after Goa's liberation (1961)

Portuguese fascist colonial rule left behind an utterly shattered economy and political structure. Almost everything needed rebuilding and reconstruction.

At liberation, economy of Goa was in crisis, trade had seriously declined, with practically no industries. Agriculture was in doldrums. Not even tourism was in existence, for which Goa is famous. Education was disrupted, and the people migrated to nearby Bombay and other places for work as well as for education.

Goa has long been neglected by the Indian political forces and its socio-economic problems under-estimated. Rightwing forces have been trying to disrupt its unity. Among the common educated people also there has been an attitude of indifference. While the attention of the country was concentrated on reconstruction of Indian economy, Goa, Daman, and Diu got little attention.

Goa has a rich variety of cultures and traditions, which are distinct in many aspects. If you go to Goa you will be struck by the fact that the architecture of temples and churches are so similar: sometimes it is difficult to separate them. Indianness and western culture constitute one seamless unity. Western clothing and way of life are not something confined to privileged few of the upper rich. They are part and parcel of the working people.

Goa has its own distinct identity. It is this seamless unity and identity that rightwing reactionary forces are trying to destroy, at least weaken. Sangh Parivar is trying to impose uniformity in the name of 'Hindutva' in an aggressive manner. Thankfully they have not succeeded so far, but the threat remains.

Goa contains Goans, Konkanis, Maharashtrians, Kannadigas, Gujaratis etc. The languages include Goanese, Marathi, Konkani, Hindi and Portuguese too, though with dwindling number. There was a widespread movement for Roman script for Konkani, a major language in Goa (Romi Konkani), demanding equal status with Devnagari script. 'Tiatr Aficionados' (theatre activists or fans) were an influential group in this movement.

It is nice to see in Goa a lot of Portuguese impact on life, architecture, culture, art, and common life. This provides richness and variety, imparts a distinct feature and should be preserved.

Environment and development

Central Empowered Committee, a Supreme Court appointed panel, has recommended cancellation of double

tracking of railway line from Castle Rock in Karnatak to Kulem in Goa. It has also recommended use of the existing transmission lines instead of constructing new lines for Goa-Tamnar project. Besides, the Committee has sought environmental clearance for 4-laning of NH4 along Goa and Karnatak.

These decisions have come as a relief for environmentalists and concerned people, who have been campaigning for protection of Mollem National Park and Bhagwan Mahaveer Wildlife Sanctuary. Goa is covered with thick forest and has rare fauna and flora, particularly along the Western Ghats. Deforestation is doubly injurious to Goa's already degraded nature. Its fragile environment is a massive concern because of mining, indiscriminate applications and uninhibited tourism.

At the same time, Goa needs economic development and well-being. There has been much conflict over mining of coal and metal ores etc. The workers have demanded continuation of extraction, while others, including environmentalists demand immediate its stoppage. It is a ticklish question.

Rightwing and communal offensive

It is unfortunate that the rightwing BJP-led or sponsored governments are trying to obliterate the distinct composite Indian, Goanese and Portuguese characteristics of the region, and impose their uniform 'homogeneity' on the people. Aggressive communal 'Hindutva' (not Hinduism) campaign is trying to impose uniform symbols, deities, and worship and cultural practices. Pressure campaign against Christians is on. While there is nothing wrong in professing and practicing genuine Hinduism and Hindu religion, efforts to curb and destroy others are condemnable.

Rightwing ideological machinery is trying to tinker with the annual Dr DD Kosambi Memorial Lectures in the University and all over Goa. Deliberate interference with and irregularities in timings and content of programs are increasing. Government of Sangh Parivar cannot at once do away with it, as DD Kosambi is universally respected and accepted. Giving it a communal color now, they are changing the topics and contents. Dr DD Kosambi was a famous Marxist historian and scholar, and therefore is a target of Sangh Parivar.

There are numerous examples of such tinkering with a society which has not known communal and such other conflicts. Goa has many problems, but violent conflicts on such lines are not known. Goa is generally

a peaceful place, and Goans are peace-loving and soft-spoken, living seamlessly. They are rich culturally and very hard working. It is unfortunate that the rightwing is trying to crack up and divide their life. This is nothing but continuation of colonial legacy rather than heritage of freedom movement.

As part of their well-thought out nation-wide campaign, RSS-BJP are smearing Nehru's image, using his weak points on Goa. No doubt, India government delayed army action in Goa till late. But Nehru and Indian freedom struggle's heritage is being distorted by those who did not fight for India's freedom.

Without justifying Nehru, one needs to point out that armed annexation of Goa was contemplated only after all diplomatic efforts failed. Portugal was a founding member of NATO (which considers an attack on a single member state as an attack on all of them). The moment India became independent, Goa's issue was raised in the Security Council of UNO (United Nations Organization, now United Nations). India had to take on big western powers, and the fight was to convince international community that Goa belonged to India.

US through a resolution in Security Council declared India an aggressor nation. The problem was tackled with

the help of Soviet Union who vetoed the resolution. This facilitated the armed action in Goa.

Great relevance

Goa is India's richest state with highest GDP per capita – two and a half times that of the country – with one of its fastest growth rates: 8.23% (yearly average from 1990 to 2000). Tourism is Goa's primary industry, receiving 12% of foreign tourist arrivals in India. Goa though small is very important. It needs a real balance between economy and ecology. It needs continuation of legacy of freedom struggle.

Such a state is under threat from vested interests, divisive and rightwing forces. They aim to distort and obliterate legacy of freedom movement and fighters. Rich heritage of liberation struggle against Portuguese fascist colonialism needs revival. Story of political, economic and ideological struggle of liberation must be taken to the masses, particularly to the youth, so that they are not misled.

The flame of this struggle must be kept alive to build a vibrant Goa to fulfill the dreams of the struggle.

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been, I think, curious, if not downright hypocritical. He dismissed the problem in 1946 as "a pimple on the face of India" which would disappear without a struggle or surgery. He has been strutting on the international stage these last few years decked out in the plumage of peace. But his claim as peace maker is bogus, for the Indian state has used force both in Kashmir, whose Maharaja had acceded to the Union as well as in Hyderabad where ruler had refused to do so. And yet he maintains that the methods other than peaceful must be ruled out completely. The use of force in Goa would mean giving up the whole roots of our policies and our behaviour.

I would rather die here than approach Prime Minister Nehru for intervention.

In this captivity also I am consuming a vast amount of books on Economics, Philosophy, History, Politics and International Affairs. Besides I have also read many literary works in English. I have made a careful study of Hindi devotional poetry—Meera, Tulsi etc., especially Tulsi's Ramacharitanamas. I was eighteen when my first long war time imprisonment commenced, and twenty-one

when the second detention started. In the interval I have achieved a more mature understanding, and so the stuff that I read (at the age of 33-34) now, I can absorb better.

The atmosphere in Aguada Fort is altogether different from that in the Headquarters and Altiono. The military personnel is recruited from the common people. Perhaps, there is conscription in Portugal. The Portuguese are a warm-hearted people. What strikes one is their freedom from racial prejudice. In their warmth and race attitude they are wholly different from the Anglo-Saxons. Their discipline is lax. However, they keep us locked up the whole day, except for the bath. For bathing we are taken down to a spring along with NGG, Tridib, Shiru and Ishwarbhai. They don't encourage conversation amongst us. They ritualistically shout: "No falar Don't talk!" But I think they really don't care.

Father Carreno, a Catholic priest of the Don Bosco Institute, comes to see us often. He lavishes his love on me and brings me The Economist, Time and other magazines. He is a Spaniard and animated by true Christian charity.

Is Goa really liberated?

Kumar Kalanand Mani

Goa, the smallest coastal state of the Republic of India is celebrating 75 years of its Liberation. Goa along with the territories of Daman and Diu was under Portuguese colonial rule till 1961. The Portuguese army commander Alfonso de Albuquerque took over Goa from the Sultanate of Bijapur, Ismail Adil Shah, on 10th December 1510 by butchering thousands of armed men and protestors. This was the first invasion of a western ruler in the Indian subcontinent. The Portuguese rule existed for 450 years. It ended on 19th December 1961, thanks to the Indian military. Before the Portuguese invasion of Goa, the tiny land was ruled by Bhojas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Kadambas, Yadavas, Vijayanagar Empire, Bahamani Sultanate, Bijapur Sultanate etc.

The Portuguese rule in Goa was established 16 years prior to the beginning of Mughal rule and lasted 14 years after the Independence of India. The 450 years of Portuguese rule on Goa, Daman and Diu was replete with events, majorly aimed at consolidating their power. The first Portuguese ruler Sir Alfonso de Albuquerque strengthened his regime using a mix of harsh measures and reformist measures. The most prominent reform was the banning of the Sati system (burning of widows alive). The 450 years of colonisation witnessed many moments of conflict and confrontation. Of these, the most controversial period was that of the Inquisition during which Portugal's church exercised undue authority over the Hindu population, and later the newly developed Church system in Goa. This resulted either in the conversion of Hindus to Christianity, or their fleeing to neighbouring areas for protection.

The Goa Inquisition was an extension of Inquisition in Portuguese India to enforce Catholic orthodoxy, and to counter the New Christians, who were accused of "crypto-Hinduism", and the Old Christian Nasranis, accused of "Judaising". It was established in 1560, briefly suppressed from 1774 to 1778, continued thereafter until finally being abolished in 1812. The Inquisition punished those who had converted to Catholicism but were suspected by Jesuit clergy of practising their previous religion in secret. Predominantly, those targeted were accused of Crypto-Hinduism. Many natives who were charged with criminal offences were imprisoned, publicly flogged and, depending on the criminal charge, sentenced

to death. The Inquisitors also seized and burnt any books written in Sanskrit, Dutch, English, or Konkani, on the suspicion that they contained deviationist or Protestant material. After abolishment of the Inquisition in 1812, the culture of social harmony among the Goans, irrespective of their religious affiliation, flourished and Goa gradually became a very harmonious and peaceful state. Unfortunately, the period of Inquisition still hounds Goan politics, and it is now used as a communal stick against the minorities. Some Christian thinkers and researchers deny such excessive acts against the population took place during the Inquisition and put blame on one Hindu researcher for magnifying the wrong history with communal motives.

Call for liberation

The second most controversial and oppressive period was the regime of infamous ruler in the history of Portugal António de Oliveira Salazar. He ruled Portugal as prime minister from 1932 to 1968. He was responsible for the Estado Novo ("New State"), the corporatist authoritarian government that ruled Portugal until 1974. During this period of dictatorship in Portugal, the voice for liberation of Goa resounded and it was finally achieved through military action by the Government of India.

It was the Pinto Revolt of 1778 against the supremacy of Portugal Church over the church in Goa that ignited a spark, creating a mind for political and social autonomy for Goans. The movement was suppressed, but it lit the lamp of greater space for the Goans within Portugal rule. The Pintos were first who raised voice for the authority of native Catholics and demanded the appointment of a local priest as Bishop of Goa, Daman, and Diu. Thereafter no voice against colonial rule surfaced till 1932. In between, as stated above, the inquisition was abolished in 1828, thus paving the path for harmonious living inside Goa.

Meanwhile, the Freedom struggle in British India had mobilized pan India support and active participation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Stories of the freedom movement and that of its charismatic leaders were also radiating the mind of Goans, especially of those dreaming for the liberation of Goa.

In 1932, Dr. Tristao de Braganca Cunha, popularly known as Dr. T.B Cunha, formed Goa Congress Party with

the sole aim to liberate Goa from Portugal. Dr. Cunha had studied in the French Colony of Pondicherry and later in France. Therefore, he was greatly influenced by the social and political values of the French Revolution and Indian Freedom Struggle. At the time when Dr. Cunha launched his campaign for the freedom of his homeland Goa, Portugal was shifting to dictatorial rule. António de Oliveira Salazar had established his popularity as a reformist and dynamic economist of Portugal and he as Finance Minister had shown some spark and hope of stabilizing the deteriorated economic conditions. Once elevated to the position of Prime Minister of Portugal, he started curbing democratic freedoms of his own people, including those of the colonies. He denounced democratic, socialist, and secular values. He advocated for the economic wellbeing of Portugal but never favoured socialism, secularism, and internationalism in Portugal till his last breath.

In the midst of all this, Salazar pushed for supremacy of Catholicism in his governance. Therefore, traditional Catholics were quite pleased and felt safe in his rule whereas liberals, moderates, and socialists had the most difficult time pursuing their agenda and movement in Portugal and its colonies world over. He always suppressed all demands and movements for liberation in Portugal ruled colonies. In this backdrop, the demand for liberation of Goa was not just ignored but was gradually suppressed by the Salazar regime. It was almost impossible for Dr. T.B. Cunha to continue with his demand and to campaign for the liberation of Goa under Salazar. He shifted his base to Mumbai, which was part of British India, and ensured the support of Indian freedom fighters for his struggle to liberate Goa from the Portuguese.

India Freedom Movement – an influencer

The freedom movement of India against British rule had influenced a large segment of the Goan population inside and outside Goa. Many of them had attended conferences of Indian National Congress Party and had met Mahatma Gandhi and other prominent leaders of the freedom movement. Few lived in Gandhi Ashram as well. The movement for liberation of Goa did not pick up for various reasons prior to visit of socialist leader Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. The Goan society was divided on the issue of liberation like the Indians who too were divided. Not all Indians were in favour of ousting the British regime from their soil for social, political, and economic reasons. Similar divide existed in Goa.

Opinions were divided mainly on three counts. One, bigger section of Goan Hindu and Christian population was in favour of liberation but was confused and apprehensive of launching a consolidated movement, fearing the brutal Salazar regime. The second was of elite Goans, both Hindu and Christian, who were happy with the ruling dispensation of Salazar and were in favour of continuation of colonial rule. The third group was of those Christians who were very apprehensive about their culture and lifestyle in general in liberated Goa that too a Goa merged with India. The cause of their apprehension was primarily due to possible migration of Hindus from the rest of India into Goa after liberation. They were sure that this migration will disturb the social, cultural, and economic fabric of Goa. Therefore, this section of Goan population was not in favour of the idea of liberation. Their apprehension was not baseless. Some freedom fighters of British India, mainly from Maharashtra, had made several statements of merging Goa into Maharashtra. Good number of Goan Catholics and elite Hindu were not wishing any kind of disturbance to their social, cultural, and economic life.

The Movement for Samyukta (United) Maharashtra, started in the early 1950s, was for the formation of new state of Maharashtra that included Mumbai city by reshaping the Mumbai Presidency. The movement envisaged Goa as part of the Konkan and thus were looking at the merger of Goa into Samyukta Maharashtra or Greater Maharashtra.

Dr Lohia leads liberation movement

Meanwhile, British India was passing through a critical phase due to Second World War. The Quit India movement, launched during this period, had made it very difficult for the British to continue in India. Thousands of freedom fighters were lodged in prisons. Bengal was passing through a disastrous famine. In Goa, launching of a liberation movement by Goan leaders remained a daydream till the arrival of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia - a prominent freedom fighter of British India.

Dr Lohia, one of the frontline leaders of the freedom movement in India, released from a British India prison, was sick and in dire need of medical treatment and rest to recoup his health. Fortunately, he got an invitation from a Goan classmate, Dr. Julian Menezes from Assolona village. Both were together during their higher education in Germany. By that time, Dr. Lohia's name was known to the socially and politically active Goan community. The information about Dr. Lohia's visit to his friend Dr.

Menezes in Assolana, did not remain secret for too long. Dr. Lohia's image among these people was of a great freedom fighter against British regime and therefore many of them started meeting him and seeking his guidance to build a movement against Portuguese rule. Dr. Lohia, a physically sick man, became restless on learning of the total suppression of human rights and democratic values of the Goan in Salazar's dictatorial regime. Dr. Lohia, who came to Goa for the rejuvenation of his health, decided to undertake Satyagraha against Salazar in Goa. Initially, he was discouraged from adopting such an extreme step against dictator Salazar. There were fears among Goans that Portuguese rulers will adopt all means to suppress their voice and action. That is why most of them were not in favour of an open confrontation with the colonial regime. Dr. Lohia remained firm on his decision to protest the regime. The news about Dr. Lohia going for Satyagraha on 18th June 1946 and addressing a public rally, spread all over Goa like wildfire. This was the first time since 1510 when a man was set to openly voice resentment against the Portuguese government. His courageous and historical announcement ignited whole of Goa for liberation. People from entire Goa defied the ban on public protest and walked towards Margao city to have a glimpse of this courageous Indian leader. It was the first time in 430 years, thousands of Goans gathered fearlessly in Margao city where Dr. Lohia addressed them and lit the lamp of liberation of their homeland. Dr. Lohia, along with hundreds of people, was arrested by the Portuguese government. This was the beginning of a peaceful liberation movement.

Therefore, 18th June 1946 came to be known as a red-letter day for the liberation movement as the local Goan populace secured the support of freedom fighters from other states, which ultimately converged into total liberation on 19th December 1961.

A tumultuous post-liberation phase

The post liberation period was rather tumultuous, with apprehensions and confrontations being the order of the day. As was pointed out earlier, a sizeable section of the population, both Hindu and Christian, were not much inclined to live in a post liberalized Goa as they anticipated incompatibility issues. They were not wrong. The road ahead in a liberalized Goa, and part of the Indian Republic, was rough.

This resulted in outward migration and records state that nearly 50,000 people, mostly Christian and a few Hindus, left for Portugal and other European countries. They were quite apprehensive of disturbance of their

cultural and economic life and had firm belief that Goa will not remain the same. Many preferred not to inform Government of India whether they intended to have natural citizenship of India and instead left Goa.

Their longstanding apprehension came true when first Chief Minister of Goa made an open appeal to people from outside Goa to apply for governmental jobs. Thousands of people, mostly Hindu from other states applied and got government jobs. A critique described the act of offering Governmental jobs to the non Goans as an act of disturbing demography and religious harmony of Goa. Few saw it as beginning of ruination of the state. This move of offering governmental jobs to non Goan population had two angles. One to put Goa on fast developmental path without any delay and therefore need for human resource was fulfilled through providing jobs to the outsiders. Second aspect was to enhance Hindu population in Goa to ensure that it dominated politics as a revenge of Christian dominated politics during Portuguese regime.

Independent Goa, especially Hindu majority, was not in a mood to share the fruits of liberation with other communities. The Hindu mind was fearful that if prominent political seat like post of the Chief Minister was shared with the Christians, Portuguese may return to Goa. This apprehension was not baseless. Portugal being a NATO member was trying to regain the lost land. Portugal's ambition of re-capturing Goa was halted when Soviet Russia used its VETO in the Security Council against such a resolution.

Goa's rise of 37% population within the first 10 years of its liberation was a glaring proof of the apprehension of section of Goans, mainly Christian. Their fear that liberated Goa will have endless flow of Hindus came true. The population growth of Goa between 1900 to 1961, in 61 years was less than 19%, whereas the same jumped 37% in next 10 years. Now Goa is celebrating 60 years of liberation this year with nearly four times more population. Peaceful looking Goa is quite insecure from inside because of gradual marginalisation of native population and growing dominance of migrant population. The present chief minister of the state hails from neighbouring state of Maharashtra. The rise of population is not limited to number of humans, but it increases pressure on culture and resources.

Caste, communal politics divide people

The second face of post liberated Goa was caste and communal politics. The people who really fought for the liberation of Goa were kept out of political leadership

in the name of caste and religion. The nationalism of minority Christian was doubtful of that of majority Hindu. This mind set of communalism never provided respectful space to the leaders from Christian community except for a few not worth remembering examples. There was polarisation among the Hindu in the name of Saraswat (Brahmin) and Non-Saraswat, politically known as Bahujan Samaj. A Marathi and Maharashtra oriented political outfit Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party was formed with the hidden support and guidance of politicians (across party lines) from Maharashtra. The Saraswat of Hindus and Christian had domination in every affair during Portuguese regime till 1961. In the post liberation social and political scenario Bahujans were set to reject their dominance. Till yesterday, it was Saraswats who hated and exploited the Bahujan, now the turn was in favour of Bahujan or Bahujan turned the political tide in their favour under the leadership of a mine owner and ambitious politician Dayanand Bandodkar. The Congress party was out-rightly rejected on the pretext of having domination of Saraswat. The politics of Bahujan versus Saraswats continued in Goa till 2012. It was Manohar Parrikar of Bhartiya Janta Party who regained the lost political and social glory of Saraswat through his meticulous politics.

The identity has always been dearer to the Goan even after liberation in 1961. Goa, Daman, and Diu were included as union territories. The status of being a union territory came to an end on 30th May 1987 when Diu and Daman were separated, and Goa became 25th state of Republic of India.

The social and political organisations of Maharashtra were in haste to merge Goa with Maharashtra. That is why a political party was formed soon after liberation having its name as “Maharashtrawadi (Pro Maharashtra) Gomantak Party” led by Dayanand Bandodkar. The haste for merger by one section and determination of keeping Goa as separate entity by another section divided Goa vertically.

The language divide

Those who were believing that Marathi should be the key language of Goa and greatly influenced by Maharashtra were favouring the merger of Goa with Maharashtra. Almost the entire Christian community and Konkani speaking Hindus came together to oppose this merger and to keep Goa separate. The movement for and against merger continued for more than 6 years. In between, many Hindus from other states migrated to Goa and took government jobs. Many of them got opportunity in mining and construction related jobs. The anti-merger

group forced the Government of India to conduct a referendum on the merger issue. The referendum was held on 16th January 1967 in which 43.50% voted for merger with Maharashtra whereas 54.20 % voted against the merger and for keeping Goa separate as a state. It was first referendum of this kind in India.

The agenda of merger came to an end through clear mandate against it. There are two arguments about the winning of referendum in favour of a separate state. One is that a good number of supporters of Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, whose sole aim was merger with Maharashtra, switched over against the merger. They too were apprehensive of their cultural and economic status getting compromised. Other critique about winning of referendum is that most of migrants in state government jobs were enjoying salary like central government employees and they feared of losing it if Goa merged with Maharashtra. Then they may get state level salary which was less than the central salary and therefore they voted against merger. Whole issue of merger and anti-merger established the leadership credentials of people belonging to Christian community. Many believe, including Hindus, that Goa would have been lost had this community had not taken a lead in saving the state from merger. However, the battle for merger still deepens the roots of communal distancing in Goa.

The battle was not over with winning of referendum. The winners were further looking for recognition of their Konkani language. Pro Maharashtra lobby was set to score victory by rejecting Konkani and having Marathi as state language. The divide which started on the issue of merger continued. Konkani is written in two scripts and therefore phonetics impressions are different due to scripts. The Christian's Konkani is based on Roman Script whereas Hindu's Konkani is based on Nagari script. The Marathi speaking population in Goa and Maharashtra has always considered Nagari Konkani as dialect of Marathi. This argument has always been out rightly rejected by the Konkani population of Goa.

Konkani and Marathi remain a perennial issue of divide among Goans. Both the linguistic groups launched highly charged campaigns in favour of their respective languages to get recognition as the state language. Finally, the parliament of India included Konkani (Nagari script) by amending the constitution of India (71st Amendment). This paved the way for Nagari Konkani to be the state language of Goa. However, this was not the end of the divide. People following Roman Konkani had played a major role in favour of Konkani, but they were left out at the time of recognition and only Nagari Konkani was

recognised. This act of betrayal wounded the Christian community and thus increased the divide between two major communities of Goa. The roman Konkani is still battling for their due recognition as state language.

Skewed growth affects Goa adversely

As time passes, Goa continues to grow economically but stretching far beyond its capacity. It is now a known tourist destination for both local and international visitors. Goa has a population of 18 lakhs, but it receives more than 50 lakh tourists every year! Some see this as an economic activity and some as dilution, ruination of Goa and Goan resources. The developmental activities have taken an irreversible toll on the natural resources for which Goa is known worldwide. The trade sector has gradually slipped away from the locals to non-Goans in last 15 to 20 years. These changes in economic and environmental sphere have divided Goans further. Many Goans, again mostly from Christian community, have resorted to leave Goa for their better prospects and therefore have availed Portuguese passports. The apprehension about losing cultural and economic entity has come true again and again in post liberated Goa.

In conclusion, one may rightfully ask where Socialists

stand in today's Goa? No one denies the fact about their incomparable contribution to liberation movement. It was a socialist stalwart, Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, who lit the lamp of liberation movement. He was arrested on 18th June 1946 for igniting the Goans for freedom movement. A large number of socialist leaders and cadre took active part in the liberation movement. Many sacrificed their lives. Leaders like Nana Saheb Gore, Madhu Limaye, Shirubhau Limaye, Barrister Nath Pai, Peter Alvares, Madhu Dandvate, and many more were in prison in Goa for many years. In fact, they led the liberation movement of Goa on behalf of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia. Most of the socialist leaders and workers were from Maharashtra. Unfortunately, they too carried ambition for Goa to merge with Maharashtra and having Marathi as state language of Goa. Their pro Maharashtra and pro Marathi act was sufficient to dilute their entire contribution and soon they vanished from the social and political scenario of Goa. Dr. Rammanohar Lohia is still in the heart of the Goans. The ground where he launched the movement for liberation is named as Lohia Maidan and is a prominent social space of Goa. The day of satyagraha 18th June is celebrated by the Goans and Goa Government as Kranti Divas (Revolution Day).

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run into trouble, and S K Patil had refused to support him. The liberation of Goa boosted the prospects of both Menon and the Congress. But from the point of view of patriotic Goans, it was a case of "better late than never."

About the morality of the use of force, I must say that the state is a state, and as long as it maintains armed force, it must keep them in a state of readiness, and use them both to defend its territory as well as to enforce its birth right. India was doing precisely that in the State of Kashmir. Nehru's indecisiveness and lack of geopolitical perspective caused resentment among the Indians and his "high" moral tone occasioned the Western indignation, which itself was absolutely hypocritical.

Only Mrs. Gandhi- whatever her sins against democracy- -gave priority to national interests, understood the implications of state power, showed Bismarckian sense in world politics, and used force skilfully, when compelled to do so. She backed it by consummate diplomacy. Under Nehru and Shastri India lost territory. Under Mrs. Gandhi we kept ours, unless the transfer of the island of Kacchathivu, and part of the Kutch territory, which had been agreed to

under the previous administration, are held against her-which I think, would not be fair. The external dangers have not passed as recent happenings have shown, and Goa provides an object lesson in diplomacy and use of force.

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