

# **Autobiographies of Goan Freedom Fighters: History, Memory and Freedom Movement**

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### **DECLARATION BY STUDENT**

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Autobiographies of Goan Freedom Fighters: History, Memory and Freedom Movement" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Programme of Masters in History at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University, under the mentorship of Dr Parag D. Parobo and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will be not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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This is to certify that the dissertation report "Autobiographies of Goan Freedom Fighters: History, Memory and Freedom Movement" is a bonafide work carried out by Ms Abigail Barreto under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of M.A. in the Discipline of History at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

  
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## **Preface**

When I started reading the autobiographies of the freedom fighters, I was interested in knowing the role of the freedom fighters in Goan freedom struggle. So, I decided to work on this topic and titled my work as “Autobiographies of Goan Freedom Fighters: History, Memory and Freedom Movement.” This dissertation is a result of my in-depth studying, reading and reflection on the journey of Goa’s freedom journey.

The choice to investigate Goan freedom fighters' autobiographies resulted from a strong belief in the value of individual stories as interpretive tools for collective history. But among the aisles of these recollections were not only accounts of valour and sacrifices, but also windows into the daily challenges, triumphs, and aspirations of people who dared to challenge colonialism.

This dissertation seeks to utilise autobiographies as primary sources of history as it is a first-person account of the event that occurred decades ago. When I read the autobiographies, it transported me back to the time of the freedom movement to understand the struggles these freedom fighters went through. There are different voices that speak about the same event.

## **Acknowledgements**

This dissertation has been a journey full of challenges, victories, and profoundly growth-oriented moments. As I appreciate this achievement, I am immensely grateful to everyone who helped make it happen, both with their encouragement and support.

First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to God the Almighty for the wisdom and strength that has been bestowed upon me throughout this task. I also want to thank Dr. Parag D. Parobo, my guide, for his unwavering support, guidance, and insightful feedback during the entire dissertation and internship process. His knowledge, patience, and mentorship have been instrumental in helping me to shape this work and push myself beyond my own expectations. I am also appreciative of the History Programme staff for their knowledge, helpful critiques, and priceless contributions to this dissertation. Their varied viewpoints and intellectual insights have greatly improved the calibre of our study.

I would want to express my gratitude to Goa University for offering the tools, space, and intellectual atmosphere that made this research possible. Specially thanking the Goa University Library staff for providing the help in finding books and source materials for the

research. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the staff of Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, Panaji, for providing me the books with all the books and data I needed to work on my dissertation. I am also grateful to the staff of Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Alto Porvorim, for allowing me to refer to the books I needed for my research. I am thankful to the Goa Archives for allowing us to access the library. All these institutions have truly created an academic environment for our work.

I am profoundly grateful to my family for their continuous love, support, and sacrifices during my academic endeavours. I am truly grateful to my parents George Barreto and Auta Barreto for all the help and sacrifices they made to help me achieve this degree. I would also like to thank my sister Arista Barreto for always motivating to complete my dissertation. I am grateful to my uncle Leslie Afonso and cousin Delisa Afonso for taking the time from their busy schedule to read my work when I send it to them. The entire family has supported and motivated to move forward. Their confidence in me has been my biggest source of inspiration, and I will always be grateful for their constant encouragement. My deepest gratitude also goes out to my friends, who have imparted wisdom, inspired me, and supported me when I was doubting myself. Special thanks to Sanaya Fernandes and Shambhavi Chodankar for their unwavering help in



sharing information they could find on my topic. This journey has been beneficial and pleasurable because of their friendship, teamwork, and camaraderie.

As I think back, I remember Albert Schweitzer's famous quote, "Success is not the key to happiness. Happiness is the key to success. If you love what you are doing, you will be successful." My love for Goa's freedom struggle history and my dedication to making a significant contribution to the discipline are demonstrated by my dissertation.

## **Abstract**

This dissertation focusses on autobiographies of Goan freedom fighters who narrate their participation in the freedom movement in the last phase of the freedom struggle. This work looks at their memory in reconstructing history; the social, political and economic environment they lived under the Portuguese colonial rule. This research uses the autobiographies as primary sources and refers to many secondary sources as well. It discusses the events that used the methods of non-violence and revolutionary activities. It also provides information on their life in prison for participating in the freedom struggle. The participants of the non-violent struggle were treated much better than the ones who used revolutionary methods. Hence the dissertation looks into the retrospective account of the past and interventional writing with more or less authorial intention.

**Keywords:** autobiographies, history, memory, freedom struggle, primary source, Portuguese Colonialism.

## **Chapter 1- Introduction**

Autobiographies, are first-hand accounts penned by the individuals who have lived through historical epochs. For the historians, fascination with life-narratives has never diminished. They are one of the oldest genres of history-writing and stand as invaluable primary source of constructing self-narratives providing unique perspectives on the past. Delving into the personal narratives of freedom fighters, allows us not just to reflect on their past and interpret it in relation to the present realities but also to understand historical memory filled with diverse emotions and experiences. Autobiographies, by virtue of being first-hand accounts, provide depth and context that colonial archival records may overlook. They offer insights into the social, political, and cultural dimensions of the time by helping readers to understand the complexities of the freedom struggle and the reasons behind the choices made by these freedom fighters. They also contribute to the creation of a new archival memory by documenting experiences. Autobiographies does not only focus on elite writing their past but also gives a voice to the other sections of the society. The life-writings of freedom fighters provide rich insights into the narratives of freedom fighting in Goa and also their personal life.

An analysis of autobiographies made by Fritz Redlich in his work “Autobiographies as Sources for Social History: A Research Program” shows that it consists of the following categories.<sup>1</sup>

1. Autobiography proper primarily focus on the author as the central subject, emphasizing personal faith developments, achievements, and experiences throughout the narrative.
2. Reminiscences differ from autobiographies by directing attention away from the author, focusing instead on events and individuals. Unlike autobiographies, reminiscences discuss third persons who influenced or were influenced by the writer, giving prominence to significant individuals known to the author. This differentiation implies that autobiographies focus on the author's inner experiences, while memoirs are oriented toward external events and relationships.
3. Diaries and letters, influenced by the writer's inclination, may lean towards autobiographies or memoirs. What distinguishes this third category is its temporal closeness to the presented material. Unlike autobiographies and memoirs, which involve reflection on past experiences, diaries and letters offer a real-time view of events without the benefit of hindsight. While this immediacy imparts a

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<sup>1</sup> Fritz Redlich, “Autobiographies as Sources for Social History,” VSWG: Vierteljahrschrift Für Sozial- Und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 62, no. 3 (1975): 380-381, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20730257>.

sense of freshness, it also means the significance may only unfold later. Combining autobiographies or memoirs with diaries and letters from the same person and period provides researchers with a more comprehensive understanding, addressing the inherent limitations of each form.

4. Autobiographical novels pose challenges for scholars; while the finest ones can be analysed as ideal representations, the worst create ambiguity between reality and fiction.
5. Similar to reminiscences, a monograph by a participant in a historical event minimises the use of “I” and strives for objectivity, relying on various sources alongside personal recollections.

### **1.1 Research Problem**

Scholars consider autobiographies as a potential source of historical information as the authors are direct witness of the events described.<sup>2</sup> However, scholars also highlight the interventional role of the autobiographies, with more or less deliberate authorial

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<sup>2</sup> Redlich, “Autobiographies as Sources for Social History,” 380-390; Kathryn L. Nasstrom, ‘Between Memory and History: Autobiographies of the Civil Rights Movement and the Writing of Civil Rights History,’ *The Journal of Southern History* 74, no. 3 (2008): 325–364, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27650145>

intention, to participate and mediate in debates by using their story.<sup>3</sup>

This study analyses these perspectives by engaging with life-writings of Goan freedom fighters, considering the significance and concerns of relying on autobiographies as a historical source. This research tries to fill in the gaps by examining the reliability and subjectivity of autobiographies of freedom fighters as primary historical sources. This may involve investigating factors such as author bias, memory distortion, and the influence of societal and political contexts on the narrative.

## 1.2 Hypotheses

Autobiographies of Goan freedom fighters function as history, through a retrospective account of the author's own past and interventional writing with a more or less deliberate authorial intention.

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<sup>3</sup> Jaume Aurell, 'Making History by Contextualizing Oneself: Autobiography as Historiographical Intervention,' *History and Theory* 54, no. 2 (2015): 244-268, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24543102>.

### **1.3 Objectives**

The present study deals with the following aspects of the research problem:

1. To selecting a set of autobiographies by freedom fighters that are considered significant to be studied.
2. To analyse the implications of using autobiographies in reconstructing history, as well as their contribution to understanding of history.
3. To examine how the autobiographies reveal the personal perspectives and motivations by shedding light on their individual roles in the movement.
4. To understand the events of non-violence and revolutionary activities narrated by the freedom fighters.
5. To shed light on the social, political and cultural milieu in which freedom fighters operated, providing a deeper understanding of the colonialism and freedom movement.

### **1.4 Proposed Methodology and Expected Outcome**

An attempt will be made to assess the autobiographies and the other sources in the context of Goa's freedom struggle. Primary as well as secondary sources will be consulted to analyse the evidence found in these sources. In order to contextualise the narratives of autobiographies, this study will use a qualitative

research design. Autobiographical texts, historical documents, and academic analyses will be used in this research to bring out the importance of historical past and subjectivity. The autobiographies will be closely reviewed and systematically identified in order to examine repeating themes, issues and ideological orientation.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

This research looks out for autobiographies that are used as sources of history. After evaluating multiple works, there are very few research works that includes autobiographies in their sources. Even though some research works do include autobiographies of freedom fighters but there is no analytical study on this.

Bonifacio Dias' book, *The Call of Freedom*, is a blend of his personal experiences during the struggle for independence and a collection of his written articles.<sup>4</sup> In his work, he provides information about joining the United Action Group and becoming one of the founding members of the Goan Peoples Party that had a common aim of freeing Goa from Portuguese rule. He discusses his experience when

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<sup>4</sup> Bonifacio Dias, *The Call of Freedom* (Mapusa: Bonifacio Dias, 2008), 5.



the Portuguese police were looking for him.<sup>5</sup> He also discusses the freedom movement, liberation as well as after liberation. He has also put images of letters written by T. B. Cunha, Purushottam Kakodkar, and V. N. Lawande. This book helps in knowing the author and the freedom struggle.<sup>6</sup>

The book *In Quest of Freedom* is an autobiography written by James Fernandes that discusses on both the freedom movements and his own personal experiences as well of others.<sup>7</sup> The book provides insights into various aspects of the non-violent struggle that was launched in Goa in 1954. Fernandes was an active member of the National Congress (Goa) and was involved in organising the movement by circulating pamphlets and enrolling members in different towns. As a result of his nationalist activities, he was arrested, tried by the TMT (Tribunal Militar Territorial or Portuguese Military Tribunal), and sentenced to ten years of rigorous imprisonment and four years of simple imprisonment. The book also details his experiences in Altinho and Aguada prisons and the way

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<sup>5</sup> Dias, *The Call of Freedom*, 11-18.

<sup>6</sup> Dias, *The Call of Freedom*, 70-74.

<sup>7</sup> James Fernandes, *In Quest of Freedom* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing House, 1990), 1-2.

he utilized his time there.<sup>8</sup> The author portrays the struggles and hardships faced by the freedom fighters in a way that is easy to understand. Additionally, he discusses the atrocities faced by other prisoners. Overall, the book provides an insightful and informative account of the freedom struggle in Goa.

*A Senda do Dever*, a Portuguese translation of Mohan Ranade's *Satiche Vaan*, first published in Marathi, has been reviewed by Cibeles Aldrovandi. Her work provides readers with a synopsis of the full book on the life of well-known freedom fighter Mohan Ranade. Aldrovandi tries to elucidate the significance of the autobiography *Satiche Vaan's* title. The title is believed to be linked to a "sincere pledge" or "gift from Sati," and she also makes an attempt to clarify that his work contains subtle cultural allusions and multiple levels of meaning, which one could read as the hero's willingness to accept any cost, including his life, in order to defend country's freedom.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Fernades, *In Quest of Freedom*, 79-81.

<sup>9</sup> Cibeles Aldrovandi, review of *A Senda da Dever*, by Mohan Ranade, *InterDISCIPLINARY Journal of Portuguese Diaspora Studies* (2018): 339-344.

“Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946- 1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal,” is a PhD thesis by Seema Rishbud.<sup>10</sup> It is an important study that has engaged with archival sources and as well as autobiographies of the freedom fighters, oral history, personal memories and eye-witness accounts as primary sources. Although Rishbud deals with the freedom struggle that involved two prominent organisations and their complete contrasting ideologies, her work does help to understand the significance of autobiographies for historical research. She has referred to some autobiographies as primary sources in her research, namely, James Fernandes' *In Quest of Freedom*, Telo Mascarenhas' *When the Mango Trees Blossomed: Quasi- Memories*, and P. D. Gaitonde's *The Liberation of Goa: A Participant's View of History*.

“Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa- 1947-61” is a doctoral work by Anita A. Raut Desai. She has worked on the prominent events of the freedom struggle like the 18th June event and *satyagraha* (1954-55). She has also discussed the ideologies of the freedom fighters and organisations, that is, non- violence and

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<sup>10</sup> Seema Suresh Rishbud, “Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal” (PhD thesis, Goa University, 2003), 1- 10.

armed struggle, and the role of women and community in the liberation struggle.<sup>11</sup> She uses autobiographies as her primary sources such as *In Quest of Freedom* by James Fernandes, *The Liberation of Goa: A Participant's View of History* by P. D. Gaitonde and *Struggle Unfinished* by Mohan Ranade. She also uses a novel, *Sorrowing Lies my Land* by Lambert Mascarenhas a prominent freedom fighter in her study.

P. P. Shirodkar's edited book *Who's Who of Freedom Fighters, Goa, Daman and Diu*, Volume 1 is a brief outline of freedom fighters and their role in Goa's freedom movement. It deals with number of freedom fighters of Goa, Daman and Diu who fought fearlessly to free Goa from the subjugation of the colonial regime. Shirodkar mentions James Fernandes who has contributed to the freedom movement by following Gandhian principles of non-violence.<sup>12</sup> Suresh Kanekar was sent to solitary confinement for refusing to

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<sup>11</sup> Anita A. Raut Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa- 1947-61" (PhD thesis, Goa University, 2003), 58-67.

<sup>12</sup> P. P. Shirodkar, ed., *Who's Who of Freedom Fighters, Goa, Daman and Diu*, Volume 1 (Panaji: Goa Gazetteer Department, Government of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, 1986), 99-100.

respect the Portuguese flag and he also refused to come out of jail.<sup>13</sup>

P. D. Gaitonde was a prominent freedom fighter who objected the Portuguese rule by protesting against them which landed him in prison. He was elected as the president of National Congress Goa in 1960.<sup>14</sup> Mohan Ranade and Prabhakar Sinari launched armed struggle against the Portuguese.<sup>15</sup> Telo Mascarenhas and Lambert Mascarenhas contributed through literary works against the Portuguese.

*Goa's Freedom Struggle* is a collection of speeches and articles written by T. B. Cunha. In his writing, he talks about giving a lecture to students on the civil liberties of Goans that were restricted by the Portuguese government.<sup>16</sup> Cunha emphasises that Goans lacked awareness of the issues they face. He devotes a major section of his work to discussing the dictatorship of Salazar in Goa. Additionally, he shares his personal experience of being imprisoned in Portugal, including his time at Albuje Prison and the Fortress Jail of Peniche.

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<sup>13</sup> Shirodkar, *Who's Who of Freedom*, 161.

<sup>14</sup> Shirodkar, *Who's Who of Freedom*, 106-107.

<sup>15</sup> Shirodkar, *Who's Who of Freedom*, 293-294, 333-334.

<sup>16</sup> T. B. Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961), 99-109.

Cunha notes that the prison of Peniche held more political prisoners than Albuje.

Soraya Rebelo and Milind Mhamal have written a short book titled *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, it provides brief information about early Goa, early challenges faced during Portuguese rule, 18<sup>th</sup> June movement, speech delivered by Ram Manohar Lohia, Satyagraha of 1954-55 and the role of Jawaharlal Nehru in Goa's Liberation.<sup>17</sup> This text also provides biographical details of the freedom fighters like Telo de Mascarenhas, Mohan Ranade, Prabhakar Sinari and Pundalik Dattaraya Gaitonde.<sup>18</sup> The book also contains a long list of freedom fighters and a list of freedom fighters deported and imprisoned.

Rajan Narayan has written a book *Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story of Goa's Liberation Struggle, 1928-1961*.<sup>19</sup> The book focuses on social

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<sup>17</sup> Soraya Rebelo and Milind Mhamal, *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Pilar: Fr. Agnel College Publications, 2008), 1-19.

<sup>18</sup> Rebelo and Mhamal, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, 27-37.

<sup>19</sup> Rajan Narayan, *Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story of Goa's Liberation Struggle, 1928- 1961* (Panaji: Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa, 2012), XIV-XV.

processes rather than individuals and deals with Goa's liberation. The author discusses the satyagraha that was adopted by the Goans, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi. However, this satyagraha did not affect Salazar, who sent his forces to hunt for the Satyagrahis. The Afro-Asian movement regarded the liberation of Goa as the key to ending colonialism in Africa. Narayan also discusses Salazar's dictatorship and Operation Vijay, which was carried out to free Goa from Portuguese rule.

In his book *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Juliao Menezes explains the brutal nature of the Portuguese. He mentions the contributions of Francis Luis Gomes, Luis de Menezes Braganza, T. B. Cunha, Gomantak Praja Mandal, and others in the fight for freedom. The author also discusses the role of Lohia in the struggle.<sup>20</sup> The book covers the events that led up to the satyagraha, including the Margao meeting. Menezes also describes the unjust trial and mistreatment of T. B. Cunha and Purushottam Kakodkar by the Portuguese. Additionally, the author acknowledges the significant contribution of women in the freedom struggle, particularly the Menezes Braganza daughters.

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<sup>20</sup> Dr. Juliao Menezes, *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Velim: Mrs. Alzira da Almeida Charitable Trust, 1947), 52-63.

*Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences* is a book edited by B. Sheikh Ali. It is divided into two parts: Reflections and Reminiscences. The first part, "Reflections," includes contributions from scholars such as V. T. Gune and Lambert Mascarenhas, who provide insight into various aspects of the freedom struggle in Goa and the people's resistance against the Portuguese rule. The second part, "Reminiscences," provides a vivid account of the events by those who actively participated in the struggle for Goa's liberation.<sup>21</sup>

Pratima Kamat's *Farar Far: Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912* examines the early history of Goa, resistance movements against the Portuguese rule from the sixteenth to early twentieth centuries and the struggle towards liberation of Goa.<sup>22</sup>

"Autobiographies as Sources for Social History: A Research Program," is an article written by Fritz Redlich which is important

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<sup>21</sup> B. Sheikh Ali, ed., *Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences* (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986), 1.

<sup>22</sup> Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far: Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Bragança, 1999).



for this study.<sup>23</sup> Here, it is discussed that autobiographies in their broadest meaning have replaced novels. If this claim is accurate, he asserts, then social democracy and rising literacy rates are the two causes of these developments. He divides the article into three parts. In the first part, he categorised autobiography into five categories, that are, autobiography proper, reminiscences, diaries and letters, autobiographical novel and monograph of a participant.<sup>24</sup> In the second part, he introduces Georg Misch's work that speaks of autobiographies as a *Kunstform* (a kind of literary art). By placing archival sources as secondary sources, the author analyses historical developments and mass phenomena of self-testimonials. Whether written by people who were influential or by those who suffered, autobiographies are selected as primary texts in order to understand individuals' responses to historical events.<sup>25</sup>

Richard Eaton has authored the book *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300- 1761: Eight Indian Lives* where he deals with the biography of eight individuals of the Deccan, four of communities' collective memory and the other four of the independent sources available on

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<sup>23</sup> Redlich, "Autobiographies as Sources for Social History," 380.

<sup>24</sup> Redlich, "Autobiographies as Sources," 380-381.

<sup>25</sup> Redlich, "Autobiographies as Sources," 385.

them. He says that people are attracted to the personalities and life stories of others, therefore Johannes Vermeer, a Dutch artist used biography to his advantage in his portraiture. Although life narratives have been around for a while, they have had difficulties in academics. Social history emerged as a result of Karl Marx's 1859 statement, which highlighted the significance of social existence in shaping human existence. With an emphasis on pre-colonial Indian figures, certain scholars started to see biographies as a means of writing social history in the late twentieth century. Eaton explains that biographers are based on original sources such as letters, memories and newspaper accounts can enable historian to reconstruct past. This can also be applicable for autobiographies.<sup>26</sup>

Jennifer Jensen Wallach's article "Building a Bridge of Words: The Literary Autobiography as Historical Source Material" is an important work to understand the literary tools used in an

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<sup>26</sup> Richard M. Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300- 1761: Eight Indian Lives* (United States of America: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3-5.

autobiography to convey its meaning about the past.<sup>27</sup> She discusses how language and literary tools (symbols, language, irony, metaphors, simile and allegory) play an important role in communicating life experiences and helps to describe complicated historical realities. She tries to distinguish between the writing style of two autobiographies Lee Iacocca (*Lee Iacocca: An Autobiography*) and Vladimir Nabokov (*Speak, Memory*). She says the former autobiography uses adjectives which reveal the entire work whereas the latter uses literary tools which makes the readers imagine and sympathise. The author also distinguishes between the historian and auto biographer. Unlike historians who write about past worlds, literary memoirists take on the role of characters and explain the world from their point of view. Historians typically focus on a certain event by determining the commencement and the end of an era. She also gives importance to role of ideas and quotes R. G. Collingwood that "all history is the history of thought."<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Jennifer Jensen Wallach, "Building a Bridge of Words: The Literary Autobiography as historical Source Material," *Biography* 29, no. 3 (2006): 450- 460, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23540526>.

<sup>28</sup> Wallach, "Building a Bridge," 447.

P. Jinimon's article, "Autobiographies as Source of History: A Study on the National Movement in Kerala" discusses autobiographies of individuals who fought for freedom movement in Kerala.<sup>29</sup> Jinimon discusses on the emergence of autobiographies and highlights their significance to historical research. He correctly points out that the common people who participated in a given event or some freedom fighters who are not present in the archival works write down their experiences, feelings, and motivations. He calls autobiographies as psychological source of history. The article's conclusion asserts that freedom fighters' autobiographies are a goldmine of original knowledge about the situation during that period.

Jaume Aurell in his essay "Making History by Contextualizing Oneself: Autobiography as Historiographical Intervention," discusses that historians' autobiographies may eventually be accepted as legitimate historical works.<sup>30</sup> These autobiographies, according to Aurell, are 'interventional' in the sense that the authors

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<sup>29</sup> Jinimon P., "Autobiographies as Source of History: A Study on the National Movement in Kerala," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 68, part one (2007): 772-779, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44147886>.

<sup>30</sup> Aurell, "Making History by Contextualizing Oneself", 244.

use them as a means of historiographic source, a more or less conscious attempt to mediate and intervene in theoretical debates by narrating the narrative of their intellectual and academic journeys.<sup>31</sup> He puts forth various autobiographies by historians that are about their life relating to a particular theme during the past. This article contains excerpts from various works of historians. The author attempts to explain how interventional autobiography turns into a laboratory of historiography for historians who practice it. In fact, historians experiment with history 'outside' have led them to investigate history 'inside' themselves, transforming this process of objectivity into subjectivity.<sup>32</sup> Since historians must structure their interpretations in some way in order to provide thorough explanations of reality and logical narratives of the past, they are constantly looking for new ways to depict the past. This work has described mostly major works of the historians whose autobiographies are contradictory to each other, that is, Carolyn Steedman's *Landscape for a Good Woman* (1986) and Geoff Eley's *A Crooked Line* (2005). For instance, Steedman writes both historically and autobiographically, and she is not hesitant to make this feeling of originality and unconventionality clear. Eley only

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<sup>31</sup> Aurell, "Making History by Contextualizing," 246.

<sup>32</sup> Aurell, "Making History by Contextualizing," 264.

reveals his innovative inclination in his autobiography—not in his scholarly works.

Jaume Aurell and Rocio G. Davis's article "History and Autobiography: The Logics of a Convergence" deals with forms of life writing coming from the field of history.<sup>33</sup> They have examined various authors' autobiographies that discusses about the war, gender politics, and class divisions and the different forms of self-representation by highlighting the important points made by the authors. This work seeks to engage the past through experimentation and creativity by asking 'what happened?' and 'what might have happened?' It explores how autobiographical works can help in understanding the past and our processes of accessing it. They have investigated the intersection of history and life writing through an autobiographical voice. It also attempts to investigate the degree to which autobiography functions as historical writing and understanding. Because they enable us to consider our access to both individual and collective pasts, the authors argue that texts that combine history and life writing are worthy of scholarly

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<sup>33</sup> Jaume Aurell and Rocio G. Davis, "History and Autobiography: The Logics of a Covergence," *Life Writing* 16, no. 4 (2019): 503-511, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14484528.2019.1648198>.

investigation.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, this work is important for the study of autobiographies as sources of history.

## **1.6 Chapterisation**

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter One explains the research conceptualisation. It introduces the topic and mentions the aims and objectives and hypotheses of the research. It also states the research problem and methodology that has been used in the study. It also deals with the of literature review on this subject.

Chapter Two traces how autobiographies become a primary source of history. It looks at the role of memory in reconstructing the history of the non-violent and revolutionary movements. It also discusses about George Misch's concept of autobiography where he states that autobiography contains a psychological phenomenon of self-awareness. Self-knowledge, self-esteem and truth play an important role in an autobiography which is discussed in this chapter. It also discusses about the literary tools that are used in writing an historical autobiography.

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<sup>34</sup> Aurell and Davis, "History and Autobiography," 504.

Chapter Three deals with the non-violent struggle against the colonial rule. It explains the environment created around them as a reason for the civil disobedience movement. It deals with the ban on civil liberties by the Portuguese government that made them to take a step towards liberation. The chapter also discusses about the first movement, that is, the civil disobedience movement, that ignited the last phase of freedom struggle. It also mentions about satyagraha that took place in 1954-55.

Chapter Four discusses about the revolutionary struggle against the Portuguese rule. It discusses the motivations behind their participation in the freedom struggle. This chapter deals with two organisations, namely, the Azad Gomantak Dal and Goa Liberation Army that carried out armed struggle against the Portuguese rule. This chapter provides a detailed information on the activities of the revolutionary struggle. It also mentions about the prison life of the freedom who participated and sacrificed their life for freedom. Chapter Five is the conclusion of the entire research work. It provides a summary and states the aims and hypothesis to be proven.

### **1.7 Scope and Relevance**

The use of freedom fighters' autobiographies as primary sources for historical research has not been thoroughly studied



before. As a result, this study looks for ways to fill in the gaps of historical narrative by including the life writings of people who actively participated in the quest for liberation. The social, political, and cultural settings of the era can be better understood by analysing these accounts. This research has the potential to enhance our understanding of the past by facilitating a more thorough and humane assessment of historical events.

## Chapter 2- Autobiographies as Primary Source

Autobiographies are invaluable primary sources that provide uncommon perspectives on historical occurrences, individual experiences, and cultural settings. Autobiographies, written by people narrating their own experiences, add personal insights, feelings, and observations to our knowledge of the past. They provide historians and scholars with direct access to the ideas, recollections, and interpretations of the writers because they are primary sources. Classical Greek and Roman literature is full with autobiographical statements, stories of deeds done or works written, and conversations with the self. The beginning of autobiographical writings in Western tradition is generally seen with Augustine's *Confessions*.<sup>1</sup> However, this work is not a straightforward account of the events in Augustine's life. He selects only those events that illustrate his spiritual development and how he has accepted Christianity.

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<sup>1</sup> Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1960), 21.

## 2.1 Autobiography as a Source of History

A life narrative recorded by the individual who experienced it is called an autobiography. It is a singular and intriguing text that can preserve its historical significance as a first-person account while giving literary research a particular recognition of the author.<sup>2</sup> The three cornerstones of reason in autobiographical subjectivity are memory, identity, and experience. The primary focus of autobiographies is a person in time, and history is shaped by this person's time and space.<sup>3</sup> A historical phenomena can never be comprehended separately from its movement in time, as it is important to know the past and present.<sup>4</sup> The author's surroundings greatly influence's the way he writes about himself, regardless of

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<sup>2</sup> A. V. S. Jayaannapurna, "A Study of Autobiographical Approach and Understanding," *Scholedge International Journal of Multidisciplinary & Allied Studies* 4, no. 4 (2017): 28, <http://dx.doi.org/10.19085/journal.sijmas040401>.

<sup>3</sup> Jinimon Parekkunnel, "Autobiographies as Source of History: A Study on the National Movement in Kerala," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 68, part one (2007): 772, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44147886>.

<sup>4</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York: Vintage Books, 1953), 43.

whether he views himself as an insider, outsider, freedom fighter, or in any other role.<sup>5</sup> According to Georg Misch, autobiography, as an expression of one's own knowledge, has its roots in the basic psychological concept of self-awareness, also referred to as consciousness of self.<sup>6</sup>

Autobiographies incorporate the writers' personal responses and attitudes towards a wide range of events, as well as minor details of modern life that are too minute and ordinary to have been deemed noteworthy enough to be included in any official record.<sup>7</sup> Autobiographies fall under the category of microhistory. "Hitherto obscure people" are the subject of microhistory, which "concentrates

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<sup>5</sup> Vanessa Harding and Kōichi Watanbee, *Memory, History, and Autobiography in Early Modern Japan in East and West* (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> Parekunnel, "Autobiographies as Source," 772; Georg Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1950), 8.

<sup>7</sup> Arthur Marwick, *The Nature of History*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1989), 203-206.

on the intensive study of particular lives" in order to learn about "the fundamental experiences and mentalities of ordinary people."<sup>8</sup>

The distinction between an autobiography and a biography also lies in the sincerity of narration, fixation of priorities, and comprehensiveness. As historical writings become event or issue-based, primary and secondary sources can be used in its reconstruction; however, while explaining the historical process the documents do not express the thoughts and emotions that influenced or motivated them. For these reasons, autobiographies can be called the psychological source of history.<sup>9</sup> It would not matter if the autobiographies were written by people who produced history or by people who just suffered through it; using them as primary sources would continue to demonstrate how the people involved in the events responded and reacted.<sup>10</sup> Microhistories as compared to biography

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<sup>8</sup> Jill Lepore, "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (June 2001): 131, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2674921>.

<sup>9</sup> Parekunnel, "Autobiographies as Source," 772.

<sup>10</sup> Fritz Redlich, "Autobiographies as Sources for Social History," *VSWG: Vierteljahrschrift Für Sozial- Und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 62, no. 3 (1975): 385, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20730257>.

chronicles only key events that the author mentions.<sup>11</sup> For instance, the Evagrio Jorge's *Goa's Awakening: Reminiscences of the 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement* deals with a key event of the year 1946.

By pondering "what might have happened" in addition to "what happened" and "when it happened," the authors hope to interact with the past through investigation and creativity.<sup>12</sup> Winston Churchill wrote two different kinds of historical works: formal, more professional histories and ones in which he participated in the events. This indicates that to Churchill, history is all autobiography.<sup>13</sup> Historians today focus on interventional autobiographies, in which the authors use their own experiences as a basis for historiography, allowing them to participate, mediate, and intervene in theoretical

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<sup>11</sup> Lepore, "Historians Who Love," 132.

<sup>12</sup> Jaume Aurell and Rocio G. Davis, "History and Autobiography: The Logics of a Covergence," *Life Writing* 16, no. 4 (2019): 503-504, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14484528.2019.1648198>.

<sup>13</sup> David Reynolds, "Churchill's Writing of History: Appeasement, Autobiography and "The Gathering Storm"," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001): 221, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3679422>.

discussions through the narrative of their own academic and intellectual journeys.<sup>14</sup> They contextualise, analyse, and define not only their field of expertise but also the act of writing history through autobiographical narratives.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.1.1 Biography and History

In simpler words, biographies tell the story of the entire life.<sup>16</sup> Many biographies put together create prosopography. Prosopography has proved successful in historical research because it is usually more practical to analyse broad and generalised trends across dozens of contemporary lives rather than reconstructing a single life in detail. This approach has also enabled us to add thousands of connected historical accounts to our time.<sup>17</sup> Because

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<sup>14</sup> Jaume Aurell, "Making History by Contextualizing Oneself: Autobiography as Historiographical Intervention," *History and Theory* 54, no. 2 (2015): 246, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24543102>.

<sup>15</sup> Aurell, "Making History by Contextualizing," 248.

<sup>16</sup> Lepore, "Historians Who Love," 132.

<sup>17</sup> Robin Fleming, "Writing Biography at the Edge of History," *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 3 (June 2009): 607, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30223922>.

biography is grounded in archival research, it integrates historical categories and procedures, addresses intricate questions of truth and proof, and reflects contemporary political and theoretical concerns, it is compared to history.<sup>18</sup>

The authenticity of biography lies in the truth of author's vision.<sup>19</sup> Biography also discusses about the mode of life.<sup>20</sup> For instance, the Goans and Indians who wore *khadi kurta pajama*, *dhoti* or *sari* and a white cap during the colonial rule became a symbol of nationalism during those days.<sup>21</sup>

## 2.2 Georg Misch's Concept of Autobiography

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<sup>18</sup> Lois W. Banner, "Biography as History," *The American Historical Review* 114, no 3 (June 2009): 580, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30223919>.

<sup>19</sup> Alice Kessler-Harris, "Why Biography?," *The American Historical Review* 114, no 3 (June 2009): 625, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30223924>.

<sup>20</sup> Banner, "Biography as History," 582.

<sup>21</sup> Seema Suresh Rishbud, "Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2003), 270.



Georg Misch (1878-1965) devoted his life researching the history of the autobiography which he calls it *Kunstform*, a kind of literary art.<sup>22</sup> Georg Misch submitted his first three volumes, *Altertum*, *Mittelalter*, and *Neuzeit*, in 1904. These volumes contain a vast amount of autobiographical material, including diaries, reports, chronicles, letters, vitae, confessions, and memoirs. The material spans more than three millennia of cultural history, including that of Europe, the Middle East, Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, as well as the Arab world.<sup>23</sup> Georg Misch's four volumes of *A History of Autobiography*, it translates itself from German *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, which is of 3885 pages and are divided into two

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<sup>22</sup> Redlich, "Autobiographies as Sources," 383; Charles Berryman, "Critical Mirrors: Theories of Autobiography," *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 32, no. 1 (1999): 382-383, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44029420>.

<sup>23</sup> Maja Soboleva, "Georg Misch's a History of Autobiography and the Problem of Self-Esteem," *Human Affairs* 30 (2020): 343, <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/humaff-2020-0030/html?lang=en>.

sections each, which focused for more than sixty years, from 1900 to 1965.<sup>24</sup>

The systematic approach Misch takes to his subject is what makes his work significant. He broadens his analysis to include a philosophical study of man and the development of human consciousness rather than restricting it to autobiography as a literary genre.<sup>25</sup> Autobiography is a subdivision of biography and a unique kind of literature, because it is a manifestation of man's knowledge of himself, which has its roots in the psychological phenomenon of self-awareness.<sup>26</sup> Rather, autobiography has another claim to be taken into consideration: it is an original interpretation of experience in which 'the subject inquiring is also the object inquired into.'<sup>27</sup> Therefore, a history of autobiography is also, in a sense, a history of

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<sup>24</sup> Soboleva, "Georg Misch's," 343; Willi Jung and Albert Wimmer, "Georg Misch's "Geschichte der Autobiographie," *Annali d'Italianistica* 4 (1986): 30, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24004417>.

<sup>25</sup> Rudolph Arbesmann, review of *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, by Georg Misch, *Tradition* 8 (1952): 431, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27830256>.

<sup>26</sup> Misch, *A History of Autobiography*, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Arbesmann, review of *A History of Autobiography*, 431.

human self-awareness, or personality consciousness. Misch defines autobiography as,

Autobiography ("*Das autobiographische Schriftum*") should be treated as a literary phenomenon and should also be situated within those historical circumstances which, originating from life itself as well as from the understanding of life's and the world's meaning, lead to self-awareness ("*Selbstbewußtsein*") and to the conscious creation of man's personality.<sup>28</sup>

Misch believes that in order to arrive at historical notion intended to describe man's individuation, it was required to combine historical experience with a systematic method derived from the same historical experience. This objective was made feasible by the addition of a psychological methodology that starts with a comprehensive psychological experience of the spirit and can understand the nature of each piece of content independently from the comparative approach.<sup>29</sup> According to Misch, the key to unlocking the history of the autobiographical genre is in "understanding the process of individuation" and "the history of human self-understanding".<sup>30</sup> It is the notion that each person's

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<sup>28</sup> Jung and Wimmer, "Georg Misch's "Geschichte," 30.

<sup>29</sup> Jung and Wimmer, "Georg Misch's "Geschichte," 31.

<sup>30</sup> Jung and Wimmer, "Georg Misch's "Geschichte," 31.

concept of themselves is a reflection of the evolution of culture as a whole. According to Misch, being aware of oneself and the outside environment is inseparable and cannot be distinguished. Since people think in and through categories and notions that come from their social context, autobiography shows this interconnectedness.<sup>31</sup> Misch refers to the intersubjective notions that people use to express their ideas as the "categories of life."<sup>32</sup> The notion of autobiography prompts Misch to revisit antiquity and expound upon this genre's historical perspective and cross-cultural associations.<sup>33</sup>

Misch focuses on the development of the personality, holding that it is influenced by both an individual's efforts and their social surroundings. Based on the issue of personal growth, Misch's differentiation between "self-consciousness" and "the consciousness of personality" (*Bewusstsein der Persönlichkeit*) serves as the methodological foundation for the grouping of themes.<sup>34</sup> Humans are purely biologically predisposed to self-consciousness. This indicates that human existence lived consciously rather than just as

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<sup>31</sup> Soboleva, "Georg Misch's," 345.

<sup>32</sup> Misch, *A History of Autobiography*, 15.

<sup>33</sup> Jung and Wimmer, "Georg Misch's "Geschichte," 32.

<sup>34</sup> Soboleva, "Georg Misch's," 345.

a natural process or as a series of desires, acts, and reactions. Both self-consciousness and consciousness of the external world are derived from the same mental processes and are hence foundational.<sup>35</sup> According to Misch, self-consciousness serves as the natural "root" from which self-understanding develops.

### **2.3 Self-knowledge, Self-esteem and Truth in Autobiographical Writing**

Misch does not separate the author from the written document in his work but he puts forward the principle of identity that is there between the author and his said experience.<sup>36</sup> This makes it possible to interpret memories and even simple facts which represents self-knowledge. Misch asserts that the author "himself knows the meaning of his experiences, whether he emphasises it or not," and that is what matters.<sup>37</sup> The author's recollections show his/her self-awareness, even though his/her concentration is more on the outside world of facts than the inner experience. For instance, the freedom fighters who participated in a nationalist organisation, it

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<sup>35</sup> Soboleva, "Georg Misch's," 345.

<sup>36</sup> Soboleva, "Georg Misch's," 348.

<sup>37</sup> Misch, *A History of Autobiography*, 10.

could be concluded that they wanted to free themselves from the colonial rule.

"Self-esteem" is defined as the authors' belief that their primary actions and attributes are valuable; their conviction that their objectives are worthy of being accomplished; their belief that sufficient measures were taken to accomplish those objectives; and their conviction that their successes were acknowledged and validated by those who share their regard or find them socially significant.<sup>38</sup> While writing an autobiography apart from self-knowledge and self-esteem, truth is very important. Other than the author's honesty, Misch claims there is no method to gauge the authenticity of an autobiography. Sincerity, or subjective truth, may not be as important as objective truth, but it can still be useful when assessing autobiographical writings.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Soboleva, "Georg Misch's," 350; Sherif Hetata, "The Self and Autobiography," *PMLA* 118, no. 1 (Jn 2003): 124, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/823206>.

<sup>39</sup> Soboleva, "Georg Misch's," 350.

## 2.4 The Role of Memory in Autobiography

When it comes to the past, memory is very flexible. The main source from which a person constructs their autobiography or personal history is their memory, both in the form of memorization and recollection.<sup>40</sup> Without memory, identity is unstable. Autobiographical memory is understood to comprise one's complete life story, life-time periods and themes, event-specific information and visuals, and complete recollections for specific events.<sup>41</sup> Freedom fighters write their autobiographies by thinking about the past in the present. Reconstructing the history of Goa's freedom struggle depends heavily on memory, especially when it comes to the viewpoints of the freedom fighters who used violent and non-violent methods.

The nature of Portuguese rule, the injustices experienced by the Goan people, and the necessity of military struggle for liberty are all

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<sup>40</sup> Harding and Watanbee, *Memory, History, and Autobiography*, 8.

<sup>41</sup> Susan Bluck and Nicole Alea, "Exploring the functions of Autobiographical Memory: Why do I Remember the Autumn?," in *Critical Advances in Reminiscence Work: From Theory to Application*, ed. Jeffrey Dean Webster and Barbara K. Haight (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2002), 61.

recalled in the autobiographies by the freedom fighters who engaged in revolutionary activities. In the case of non-violence, autobiographers recall their role in the civil disobedience movement, peaceful protests, satyagraha and the importance of moral force in challenging the colonial rule. These memories play an important role in portraying the main events, strategies and motivations. They use various visual images, and written texts to prove their memory about what they are telling us about.<sup>42</sup> Autobiographies are not merely historical reconstructions, but rather interpretations; what matters is what the author can recall from his history.<sup>43</sup> This is why memory is reliable.

In an autobiography, the writer gathers various elements of his personal identity and puts them together in a detailed portrait.<sup>44</sup> The author resides both inside and outside of social space and historical time; he is both self and more than self. In Maurois' words, "memory is a great artist." Memory carries out the organising process and is the most potent unconscious agent in reshaping the past to suit the

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<sup>42</sup> Harding and Watanbee, *Memory, History, and Autobiography*, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Pascal, *Design and Truth*, 19.

<sup>44</sup> Jayaannapurna, "A Study of Autobiographical," 28; Pascal, *Design and Truth*, 22.



writer's wishes.<sup>45</sup> There is typically no other authority, so memory plays the primary role in selecting the events, and what is retained in memory is still vivid and alive.<sup>46</sup> This we can see in the autobiographies of freedom fighters where the freedom fighters involved in the non-violent activities write about their role in civil disobedience movement, satyagraha and peaceful protests. Freedom fighters who engaged in the revolutionary activities write about the organisation they joined and the activities they carried out against the colonial rule. In the study of the autobiographies of the freedom fighters we see their role in the freedom movement as well as the events they remember in order to reconstruct history.

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<sup>45</sup> Pascal, *Design and Truth*, 70.

<sup>46</sup> Pascal, *Design and Truth*, 85.

### **Chapter 3- The Non-violent Struggle against the Colonial Rule**

Non-violence is thought to be a method to bring change. It is a discourse of protest, resistance and change without physical violence.<sup>1</sup> While there are individuals who choose to employ nonviolent action because it aligns with their ethical values, most people who use nonviolent action do so out of practicality, thinking that it is the most efficient way to carry out their struggle.<sup>2</sup> In the mid-20th century, civil disobedience and satyagraha became powerful methods for Goans seeking liberation from Portuguese rule. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's teachings, leaders like Ram Manohar Lohia, Dr. Julião Menezes, and Dr. T.B. Cunha led the movement, which gained momentum through peaceful resistance and a refusal to cooperate with the oppressors.

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<sup>1</sup> Gangeya Mukherji, "Exploring Non-Violence: A Seminar Report," *Economic and Political Weekly* 44, no 24 (June 2009): 24, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40279103>; Stephen Zunes, Hardy Merriman and Maria J. Stephan, "Nonviolent Struggle," *The International Studies Encyclopedia* (2017): 1, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.71>.

<sup>2</sup> Zunes, Merriman and Stephan, "Nonviolent Struggle," 1-2.

### 3.1 Ban on Civil Liberties in Goa

Civil liberties mean fundamental rights and freedom that individuals possess. All political institutions are based on moral principles such as freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, and equality.<sup>3</sup> Significant changes to the colonial policy were implemented in Goa beginning of the 1930s, under the dictatorship of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. The Goans could not exercise their fundamental rights due to the suppression of civil liberties and the intolerable conditions created by the Portuguese dictatorship in Goa.<sup>4</sup> T. B. Cunha mentions the suppression of the most ordinary civil liberties of the Goans like no freedom of speech, censorship of press, restrictions on political associations, and holding public meetings.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Milton R. Konvitz, "Civil Liberties," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 371 (1967): 38, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1037020>.

<sup>4</sup> K. M. Mathew, "Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia: His Role in the Liberation of Goa," in *Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences*, ed. B. Sheikh Ali (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986), 97.

<sup>5</sup> T. B. Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961), 100.

The press was unable to freely exercise its rights due to press censorship. Strict ideological control was enforced by official propaganda, ongoing press censorship, and book suppression.<sup>6</sup> So much so that not even a wedding card could be printed without official government approval.<sup>7</sup> Portuguese activities throughout the Portuguese overseas empire led to the introduction of press in Goa which printed and published some religious literature. With the birth of constitutionalism, the political awareness along with prowess prompted many individuals to demand their birth-right. The Goans started with private newspapers, such as, *O Mandovi*, *A Voz do Povo* and *O Vigilante*, to discuss the treatment of the Portuguese towards the Goans.<sup>8</sup> The publications were never permitted to voice even the slightest grievance against the colonial state, nor could they offer mild criticism of the authorities or make any unpleasant remarks about those in positions of power; instead, these censors only permitted and encouraged the glorification of the government.<sup>9</sup> The government possessed the authority to stop publications, shut down

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<sup>6</sup> D. L. Raby, *Fascism and Resistance in Portugal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cunha, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, 49.

<sup>8</sup> Xavier, "Role of Printing Press," 82.

<sup>9</sup> Cunha, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, 100.

printing presses, and penalise any journals at its discretion.<sup>10</sup> Even the books were censored and seized by the Portuguese officials in prison as they thought the freedom fighters were using books to pass on messages to their associates.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from press, public gatherings in the open were strictly prohibited, while gatherings within buildings or under cover required prior authorization from the relevant authorities.<sup>12</sup> Associations and unions could not be established unless the government had properly approved their bylaws or statutes. Since the demi-official "Uniao Nacional" was the only organisation allowed to operate within the *Estado Novo* (New State), permission to form political organisations was completely denied. Even

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<sup>10</sup> Seema Suresh Rishbud, "Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2003), 48.

<sup>11</sup> Prabhakar Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn: A first person account of the militant struggle to liberate Goa from the Portuguese colonialism* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2018), 73.

<sup>12</sup> Evagrio Jorge, *Goa's Awakening: Reminiscences of the 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement* (Panjim: 18th June Silver Jubilee Celebrations, 1971), 8.

participation in the government was totally denied to the Goans.<sup>13</sup>

The Goans were unable to use their right to free expression.<sup>14</sup>

Important offices held by Goans were officially nominated but never elected. T. B. Cunha says:

“The Government Council, where a minority of members are supposed to be elected by a very restricted electorate, has only a consultative voice in public administration, that is it can only discuss and not decide. Those who retain power in our country do not represent our people and are not responsible to us. All power is practically in the hands of outsiders and we have to live in our own land like human cattles obeying their orders.”<sup>15</sup>

### **3.2 Backwardness of the Goan economy**

The economic situation in Goa suffered during the 19th and 20th century. The demands of the Portuguese colonial government in Goa, as well as the Metropolis or Portuguese Home Government, were the sole factors taken into account in its policies and

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<sup>13</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Cunha, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, 101.

<sup>15</sup> Cunha, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, 101.

decisions.<sup>16</sup> Evagrio Jorge does not describe much about the economic situation of the people. He only mentions about Goa suffering in the economic aspect. According to T. B. Cunha, the Portuguese government was in charge of driving the Goan people into abject poverty while enriching its coffers at the expense of the populace. He discusses about how agriculture's backwardness has led to poor production, which has made things difficult for both buyers and sellers.<sup>17</sup> Jorge discusses about a similar situation that took place in India where the British would export raw cotton from India to its industries in the mother country. The cotton was manufactured into cloths and imported back to India. These manufactured cotton cloths were sold at a cheap rate and hence the indigenous industries suffered.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> N. Shyam Bhat, "Goan Economy in the Colonial Context (Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century to Liberation)," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 69 (2008): 625, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44147226>.

<sup>17</sup> Anita A. Raut Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa- 1947-61" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2003), 25-26; Cunha, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, 37.

<sup>18</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 26.

The agricultural sector, which was the backbone of the Goan economy, suffered greatly as a result of the salt monopoly. The flow of inexpensive rice into the markets has a negative impact on rice production.<sup>19</sup> Portugal's dictatorial rule was directly responsible for the country's economic decay. The Portuguese empire has complete control over the tariff system of the Portuguese colonies, which mandates that any commodities of Portuguese origins must have their customs taxes (*alfândega*) reduced.<sup>20</sup> The government's imposition of hefty customs taxes on products classified as primary necessities under protection has resulted in a significant increase in living expenses, to the extent that it is now influencing the whole cost of producing agricultural and industrial goods in Goa.<sup>21</sup>

### **3.3 15 June 1946: The Precursor to 18 June**

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia arrived at Assolna in Goa on the 10th June 1946 as a guest of his close friend Dr. Julião Menezes.<sup>22</sup> When word of Dr. Lohia's presence spread like wildfire, people flocked to the house of Dr. Menezes in Assolna to share their

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<sup>19</sup> Bhat, "Goan Economy," 625.

<sup>20</sup> Cunha, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*, 103.

<sup>21</sup> Bhat, "Goan Economy," 627.

<sup>22</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 8.



excruciating struggles over the restriction of their basic civil liberties (as previously indicated). The people urged Dr. Lohia, who was regarded as a hero during the Quit India Movement in 1942 and one of the founders of the Socialist forum of Congress, to assist them since they were sick and tired of Salazars's dictatorial rule.<sup>23</sup> Dr. Lohia believed that in a country where civil liberties were strictly regulated, constitutional approaches had failed. Therefore, he advocated for "direct action," hoping that this would rekindle the hopelessness of those who would rise to the occasion and be willing to suffer for the cause.<sup>24</sup> He advocated for "direct action," which the Indian government pitched as an instant fix to solve all of these issues. The Goans would have to follow this mass civil disobedience to defy the restrictive measures introduced by the colonial state.<sup>25</sup>

On 15th June 1946, Dr Lohia and Dr Menezes were staying at the Palace Hotel at Mormugao. Prof. Sadanand Apu Manpat, Madheva Bir and Evagrio Jorge went to Mormugao to invite Dr. Lohia to

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<sup>23</sup> Mathew, "Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia," 98; Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 8.

<sup>24</sup> Mathew, "Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia," 98; Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 9-10.

<sup>25</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 9.

Panjim.<sup>26</sup> Dr. Lohia was not inclined to participate in a meeting since he was preoccupied with preparing his address for June 18, 1946. Dr. Menezes advised him to stage a protest in the nation's capital rather than Margao. The meeting was held at the residence of Jashinlal Shah in Panjim. Without first obtaining authorization from the Portuguese government, Dr. Lohia and Dr. Menezes spoke to the populace, and Dr. Menezes addressed them again going against the ban of freedom of speech.<sup>27</sup> After the meeting he was taken around the city. Nonetheless, the colonial authorities tolerated this open gathering.

### **3.4 18th June 1946: Civil Disobedience Movement**

Dr. Lohia imagined that Goa's Portuguese dominion would cease only when the British Empire's dominance over India came to an end. Realising that Goa's fundamental issue was a cultural one, he sought to integrate Goa back into Indian society. Thus, he counselled people that "the first step towards the resurgence of national life in Goa was the abolition of its infamous law regarding assembly,

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<sup>26</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 11; Julião Menezes, *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Velim: Mrs. Alzira de Almeida Charitable Trust, 1947), 58-59.

<sup>27</sup> Menezes, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, 59.

organisations and publication.”<sup>28</sup> Dr. Lohia arrived at Municipal ground, Margao on 18th June 1946 to address the crowd on their rights to civil liberties. The Administrator of Salcette, Captain Fortunato Miranda, gave him the order to get back in his Victoria (horse-drawn carriage) as he was getting out.<sup>29</sup> However, Dr. Lohia ignored his orders and proceeded to the area where a sizable crowd had gathered. The crowd began to assemble as soon as they saw Dr. Lohia approach, cheering "*Inquilab Zindabad*," "*Jai Hind*," "*Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai*," "*Dr. Lohia ki Jai*," and "*Dr. Menezes ki Jai*" and garland him with flowers.<sup>30</sup> The Administrator Miranda laid his pistol down on the one garlanding the leaders. Dr. Lohia said, "Shoot me," as he twisted the pistol around and grabbed hold of it.<sup>31</sup> Dr. Lohia asked the people to think freely, speak freely write freely and act to build up organizational strength.<sup>32</sup> Miranda was allowing

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<sup>28</sup> Ram Manohar Lohia, *Action in Goa* (Bombay: August Publication House, 1947), 30.

<sup>29</sup> Mathew, "Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia," 99; Menezes, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, 60.

<sup>30</sup> Mathew, "Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia," 99; Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 3; Menezes, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, 59.

<sup>31</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Lohia, *Action in Goa*, 8.

Dr. Lohia to address the people, sometimes by placing his hand on the speaker's mouth.

Dr. Lohia was arrested along with Dr. Julião Menezes and taken to the police station. The Commandant, Lt. Julião Figueiredo would allow him speak after the prior permission but Dr. Lohia gainsaid that prior permission was not necessary as freedom of speech is a right of every human.<sup>33</sup> After the arrest many others came forward to break the law and court arrest. Women too participated with bravery; one such example of women's bravery is the Vatsal Kirtani. She defied the Portuguese authorities by shouting out slogans '*Jai Hind*' and '*Inquilab Zindabad*'. She was arrested and even told the Portuguese police Commandant Figuerido:

"I do not see any offence in this."

"Just as you Portuguese say Viva Portugal, Viva Salazar, we Indians say *Jai Hind, Mahatma Gandhi-ki-Jai*."<sup>34</sup>

In the meanwhile, some people in the crowd hoisted the tricolor flag and shouted the slogan '*Jhenda uncha rahe humara*' which led to their arrest. The police used all means to suppress the non-violent

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<sup>33</sup> Mathew, "Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia," 99.

<sup>34</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 6.

protest but still the crowd did not disperse. If the people were made to leave one place, they gathered in another corner of the place to show their support. Dr. Lohia and Dr. Menezes were being interrogated and on the other side the people were becoming restless. The voices that were suppressed for years now busted with force. Huge crowd marched towards the police station and women gathered outside the police station demanding for the release of Dr. Lohia and Dr. Menezes as well as Vatsala Kirtani. This made the authorities nervous and asked Dr. Lohia to pacify the crowd. Dr. Lohia asked the crowd to return home and carry out this fight with great vigour. On the 19th June 1946, a huge crowd gathered for a procession shouting out revolutionary slogans for the release of Dr. Lohia and Dr. Menezes. Finally, the Portuguese authorities decided to release them; Dr. Lohia was released at the border and was asked not to enter Goa.

This incident is also written in an emotive poem “Bhava Tuka Iad Asa Otthra June?” by a famous poet Dr Manohar Rai Sardessai. This poem aims to "express" rather than "inform," to work "dynamically"

as opposed to "descriptively."<sup>35</sup> The heartfelt plea for harmony among Goans conveyed in the phrase "Bhava, tuka iad asa Otthra Jun?" translated in English as "Brother, do you remember the 18th of June?" appears multiple times in the poem.

Udok legit zal'lem rogot

Ani rogot zal'lem hun

Bhava tuka iad asa

Otthra Jun?

Bondkhonniche dukhest chire

Nove axen dhodd'dhoddle

Finrgealem mostem bonder

Thorthorot somzolem

Vavzhoddint vetlem mhonnun

Pinzun Pinzun

Bhava tuka iad asa

Otthra Jun?

Mongllaracho aslo dis

Pavs nettan poddtalo

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<sup>35</sup> Marguerite H. Foster, "Poetry and Emotive Meaning," *The Journal of Philosophy* 47, no. 23 (1950): 657, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2021628>.

Ambeamullant lhann por  
Kuddkuddot roddttalo  
Lokhnnacho ailo purus  
Khoim sakun konna khobor  
Tujea xinvaulean gelim  
Amchim bhuzam xinxinvun  
Thoran poram ailim dhanvot  
Konnak khobor khoim sakun  
Zulmachea tubkantlean  
Ujeagulle gele suddun  
Rogtachi ub mellun  
Bhuim amchi zali hun  
Bhava tuka iad asa  
Otthra Jun?  
Soddnnukecho ailo dis  
Utthun ubo ravlo monis  
Sogle pas poddle tuttun  
Bhava tuka iad asa  
Otthra Jun?  
Kitle oxe aile gele  
Otthra Jun!  
Ambeamullant Kuddkuddta  
lhann por ozun

Bhangrachim Goem amchem  
 Kitlem asa pois ozun!  
 Mollbacho mattov pinzun  
 Kupam foddun, goddgoddun  
 Zoglachea zhogzhogant  
 Ghiss korun zhogzhogun  
 Doddkevari lottun, futtun  
 Ienv di porot Otthra Jun  
 Bhava tuka iad asa?  
 Tea disa ugddasan  
 Hodd'ddem mhojem pett'ta oz  
 Bhava tuka iad asa  
 Otthra Jun?<sup>36</sup>

This poem metaphorically talks about the civil disobedience movement. It discusses the terror the police brought on the people to suppress the movement such as lathi charge, and arresting the people. It was a day when the rain was heavy but the people did not care. the soil was completely wet with water and blood.

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<sup>36</sup> Manohararaya Sardesai and Jorge de Abreu Noronha, *My song; Ma chanson; O meu canto* (Verna: New Age Printers, 2008).



### 3.5 Goa's Satyagraha Struggle, 1954

Gandhi blended the twin ideals of nonviolence (the "powerful") and truth to create the Satyagraha philosophy. Gandhi thought that Satyagraha practitioners would organise into a "nonviolent army" to fight for their rights.<sup>37</sup> Goa was in the final stages of a nonviolent anti-colonial movement that began on August 15, 1954, the seventh anniversary of India's independence. On August 2, 1946, the Goan organisations United Front of Goans, Azad Gomantak Dal, Goan People's Party, and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh liberated Dadra and Nagar Haveli from Portuguese authority. For the first time Portugal lost its territory in the Indian subcontinent. The Goan freedom fighters who followed the Gandhian philosophy were elated at their success decided to launch satyagraha movement in Goa on 15 August 1954. The three main Goan nationalist groups, the Goan People's Party, the United Front of Goans, and the National Congress (Goa), were represented by the Goa Action Committee, which served as a coordinating body and carried out the task of liberating Goa.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Michael Emin Salla, "Satyagraha in Mahatma Gandhi's Political Philosophy," *Peace Research* 25, no. 1 (1993): 52-55, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23607222>.

<sup>38</sup> Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle," 41.

Peter Alvares believed that Goa's liberation movement deserved to take place on Goan territory itself. Thus, he put together three batches of roughly fifteen Goans each for satyagraha movement. One team who entered the Tiracol fort was led by Alfred Afonso. The second group, from Banda to Patradevi, was led by Mark Fernandes, while the third group, from Majali-Karwar to the Polem border post, was commanded by Anthony D'souza.<sup>39</sup> While Nehru forbade Indians from taking part in the march, he did let unarmed Goans to enter Goa across the border.<sup>40</sup> The Indian police looked for weapons and stopped the citizens of India from crossing the border. They passed out pamphlets, pasted posters, raised the tricolour, and sung the national hymn.<sup>41</sup> The batch that entered under the leadership of Alfred Afonso was successful in hoisting the Indian flag at Tiracol fort. All the other satyagrahis unfortunately could not see the success

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<sup>39</sup> Valmiki Faleiro, *Goa, 1961: The Complete Story of Nationalism and Integration* (Gurugram: Penguin Random House India, 2023), 69.

<sup>40</sup> R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 74.

<sup>41</sup> Suresh Kanekar, *Goa's Liberation and Thereafter: Chronicles of a Fragmented Life* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2011), 43.

on this day as they were arrested and were sentenced for around one to eight years of imprisonment.

### **3.6 The Final Peaceful March: Satyagraha of 1955**

In order to provide financial and propaganda support for the freedom fight, Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti was established in June 1955. The Samiti was formed under leadership of Jayantrao Tilak, grandson of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, which aimed at launching a 'final-march' in Goa on 15 August 1955. Nehru started endorsing the satyagraha campaign and declared that he was going to take decisive measures to demonstrate that the Congress Party was just as opposed to Portuguese rule as any other Indian organisation. In support of the 15 August 1955, Indian textile mill and railway workers went on strike, trains between Goa and India ceased operating, and dock workers in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras refused to handle any ship of any line that had anything to do with Portuguese Goa.<sup>42</sup>

On August 15, 1955, three major groups of Indian satyagrahis gathered at the Goa borders. From the frontier posts of Patradevi in the north, Polem in the south, and Caranzol in the east, they attempted to invade Goa. Seldom did many try to enter through the

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<sup>42</sup> Faleiro, *Goa, 1961*, 72.

other points. Portuguese soldiers tried to attack the unarmed satyagrahis with weapons.<sup>43</sup> This proves that the Portuguese were 'brutal and uncivilised in the extreme.'<sup>44</sup>

There were protests and demonstrations carried out on various during this year. The Portuguese government was not happy with the protest carried out by the Indian government. Suresh Kanekar mentions in his autobiography that Moraji Desai the then Chief Minister of the Bombay Province believed that Goans did not make much sacrifices than the Indians.<sup>45</sup> P. D. Gaitonde claimed that 'more people' went to jail in Goa in 1954-55 than in India.<sup>46</sup> Kanekar was not satisfied with the answer as he says that Gaitonde should have mentioned 'more Goans' instead of 'more people'.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Madhu Limaye, "A Reminiscence of the Goa Liberation Movement," in *Goa Liberation Movement and Madhu Limaye*, ed. Champa Limaye (Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1996), 90.

<sup>44</sup> Faleiro, *Goa, 1961*, 75; Kanekar, *Goa's Liberation and Thereafter*, 58-59.

<sup>45</sup> Kanekar, *Goa's Liberation and Thereafter*, 59.

<sup>46</sup> P. D. Gaitonde, *The Liberation of Goa: A Participant's View of History* (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1987), 106.

<sup>47</sup> Kanekar, *Goa's Liberation and Thereafter*, 59.

The freedom fighters who participated in these movements contextualise themselves in the movement by supporting the non-violent movement by distributing pamphlets, attending secret meetings, and participating in the movement. James Fernandes in his autobiography mentions his role by distributing pamphlets and attending meetings for the freedom struggle.<sup>48</sup> Fernandes mentions that he decided to join the movement using non-violent tools as he believed that one can achieve freedom not through military strength but through human spirit.<sup>49</sup> They also agree on going to jail if it is for their mother country. There are so many leaders who spent their life in jail for the cause. There were freedom fighters who were willing to give their lives for the freedom movement. For instance, Mohan Ranade was willing to sacrifice even his life, to secure Goa's freedom from the colonial rule.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> James Fernandes, *In Quest of Freedom* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing House, 1990), 21-23.

<sup>49</sup> Fernandes, *In Quest of Freedom*, 3.

<sup>50</sup> Cibele Aldrovandi, review of *A Senda da Dever*, by Mohan Ranade, *InterDISCIPLINARY Journal of Portuguese Diaspora Studies* (2018): 339.

## **Chapter 4: Resistance through Force**

The autobiographies of freedom fighters mention about the two organisations that decided on an armed struggle to liberate Goa as well Daman, Diu, Dadra, and Nagar Haveli from the Portuguese Regime. The Azad Gomantak Dal and Goa Liberation Army played a major role in the armed combat. They carried out various activities against the colonial state such as blowing up bridges, police outposts, manufacturing bombs and brought economic blockade. The autobiographies also discuss about the Portuguese state in the metropole since the 1930s that gave dictatorial power to the government.

### **4.1 Freedom Fighters' View on Portuguese Colonialism**

Goans and Indians battled to remove Portuguese rule from Indian territory since it was seen as the final remnant of colonialism on Indian territory. The Portuguese were the colonial power in Goa, and as the freedom fighters said, they were “uncivilised barbarians.”<sup>1</sup> The Goans felt as though an alien master had imprisoned them in their own land when they were forced to give up their civil liberties.

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<sup>1</sup> Prabhakar Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn: A first person account of the militant struggle to liberate Goa from the Portuguese colonialism* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2018), 239-240.

Prabhakar Sinari distinguishes between British and Portuguese Regime in India. He says:

“The British did not attack peaceful protest marches as the Portuguese did in Goa. Or perhaps they did not know how to cope with a leader like Mahatma Gandhi, who literally offered the left cheek when he was slapped on the right. The Portuguese, of course, had no such inhibitions and did not distinguish between peaceful non-violent protests and armed attacks. The Portuguese did not tolerate dissent of any sort and had established a reign of terror under their dictator, Salazar.”<sup>2</sup>

Across several centuries of European colonial rule, Britain exhibited a stronger representative tradition in the early half of the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> The major changes in the colonial policy began in the 1930s during Antonio de Oliveira Salazar’s dictatorship. This was a belief shared by many freedom fighters. According to them, Indian nationalists could express their patriotic sentiments through newspapers, meetings, protests, and other means, because British

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<sup>2</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Jack Paine, “Democratic Contradictions in European Settler Colonies,” *World Politics* 71, no. 3 (2019): 542–85, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887119000029>.

India enjoyed civil liberties.<sup>4</sup> Because civil rights were maintained in British India, the mass movements spearheaded by Mahatma Gandhi were successful. But nothing was possible in Goa. Particularly after Salazar's dictatorship was established, Goans were unable to express their sense of patriotism and organise into associations. Portuguese rule in Goa cannot be compared to British rule in India, even though the British were responsible for laying the foundations of communalism that eventually split the country in two.<sup>5</sup>

The resistance to the Portuguese rule began with the conquest of Tiswadi in 1510. The Goans carried out number of uprisings against the Portuguese rule but all these were suppressed by the Portuguese government through racial discrimination and beatings. This brutal treatment did not kill the desire of the freedom fighters to fight against the injustices carried out towards them. Prominent freedom fighter Prabhakar Vaidya claims that different regions in Goa

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<sup>4</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 4; Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Anita A. Raut Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa- 1947-61" (PhD diss., Goa University, 2003), 7-9.



followed different methods in their fight for freedom.<sup>6</sup> The New Conquests showed their dissatisfaction through revolutionary method whereas Older Conquests used the non-violent methods such as satyagraha, civil disobedience movement, shouting out slogans and negotiations. He claims that the non-violent Satyagraha approach was more appropriate for the inhabitants of this region because they had lived under brutal and colonial authority for almost 400 years, during which time their martial qualities were all eliminated.<sup>7</sup> The nationalists decided to revise their views of using non-violent tactics is because the people earlier lost their fight to the Portuguese.<sup>8</sup>

#### **4.2 Motivation to Join the Freedom Movement**

Every freedom fighter had personal motives as well as collective reason of freeing Goa, to join the freedom struggle. They

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<sup>6</sup> Prabhakar T. Vaidya, “Azad Gomantak Dal on Looking Back,” in *Armed Coups Against Portuguese Regime*, ed. Vikas V. Desai (Canacona: Centro Promotor de Instrução de Canacona, 1986), 34.

<sup>7</sup> Vaidya, “Azad Gomantak Dal,” 34.

<sup>8</sup> R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 74.

joined the freedom movement to fight against the oppressive rule of the Portuguese. They felt the Portuguese interfered in every aspect of the Goans lives, right from the religion, administration to economy of Goa. They wanted to make Goa as a part of India. There were certain incidents that pushed the freedom fighters to fight to overthrow the Portuguese from Goa.

Prabhakar Sinari described an event that inspired him to take up arms for his land's freedom. The day following Ram Manohar Lohia's arrest, Sinari's class teacher in Escola Moderna, Sadanand Apu Manpat, engaged in a conversation with his students about the events of the day before. He told students about Dr. Lohia's valiant act of resisting the Portuguese government and his subsequent arrest. Manpat informed the students that opposing Dr. Lohia's arrest was their patriotic responsibility. He motivated them to demand Dr. Lohia's immediate release by organising a procession in Panjim town. The procession marched towards Cine Nacional and Cafe Bhonsle under the direction of Manpat.<sup>9</sup> Armed police officers surrounded the group of students. They trampled on the students and

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<sup>9</sup> B. Sheikh Ali, ed., *Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences* (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986), 261.

began striking them with their belts without prior notice. The Portuguese policemen severely abused Manpat.<sup>10</sup>

#### **4.3 Azad Gomantak Dal and the influence of *Kesari***

The Portuguese imposed a severe press censorship in Goa which made the Goans ignorant about the events happening outside Goa. There was nationalist literature more specifically on militant nationalism that was clandestinely distributed in Goa. Some of the prominent periodicals were as *Kesari*, *Mahratta* and *Kal*. Smuggled into Goa was the Marathi weekly *Kesari*, which was started in January 1881 by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. More importantly, *Kesari* was the first Marathi paper to reach a mass audience.<sup>11</sup> Tilak had adopted a resolute stance in favour of the bomb's doctrine and revolutionary cult. Tilak discussed the revolutionary strategies employed by the Boers in South Africa against the British in his editorial on guerilla warfare. Prabhakar Sinari says:

“By reading *Kesari* that we realized that we, who were relatively more educated, had a moral responsibility to

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<sup>10</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 17-19.

<sup>11</sup> Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere: Western India under Colonialism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 210.

propagate the revolutionary ideology among the masses. It was through the *Kesari* that we became aware of the patriotic fervour in the neighbouring Maharashtra and rest of India.”<sup>12</sup>

Flaviano Dias, a prominent figure in Goa's anti-colonial movement, has stated that the literate residents of each village would support the freedom movement by reading newspapers aloud to the village's illiterate population in public areas.<sup>13</sup> The *Kesari* provided freedom fighters with information on Subhash Chandra Bose's *Azad Hind Fauz*. Unlike Gandhi, Bose believed that Indians will win freedom if they were willing to walk through bloodshed. Bose was convinced that *satyagraha* was an ineffective means of freeing India from British imperialists.

#### 4.4 Genesis of Azad Gomantak Dal

Those who participated in the 18th June movement established the Azad Gomantak Dal (Goa Independent Force) in April 1947, a revolutionary organisation that embraced armed

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<sup>12</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 27.

<sup>13</sup> Seema Suresh Rishbud, “Goa’s Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal” (PhD diss., Goa University, 2003), 162.

conflict as a way of achieving freedom and they doubted the efficiency of the *satyagraha*. This organisation resembled Azad Hind Fauz and the slogan *Jai Hind* of the Azad Hind Fauz became the war cry of Azad Gomantak Dal. According to Ranade, they had intended to call their organisation the Azad Gomantak Army, but it was disliked by some due to the term "army" as it implied violence. As a result, "army" was omitted, and "Dal" was added.<sup>14</sup> The group saw their movement as an addition to the National Congress's (Goa). The Azad Gomantak Dal did not publicly declare their unique identity until 1954. In the beginning, the Azad Gomantak Dal consisted of seven members, namely, Vishwanath Lawande, Prabhakar Sinari, Dattaraya Deshpande, Betu Naik, Tukaram Kankonkar, Jaiwant Kunde, and Narayan Naik.<sup>15</sup> The mantle of leadership fell on the shoulders of Vishwanath Lawande.

On June 18, 1947, members of the Azad Gomantak Dal assembled at the Shatadurga Temple at Kavalem, near Mardol, Ponda. This was precisely one year after Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia had launched the civil disobedience movement in Margao. They took an oath in front

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<sup>14</sup> Mohan Ranade, *Struggle Unfinished* (Ribandar: Vimal Publications, 1990), 32.

<sup>15</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 44.

of the deity. The oath was administered by Vishwanath Lawande, the one who had been selected as the leader, holding a pistol. The pledge is mentioned below:

“With an invocation to Goa and salute to the weapon held in my hand, I do hereby take oath and solemnly declare that I fully accept the primary objective of a speedy deliverance of Indian land from the Portuguese and to liberate Goa, Daman, and Diu from foreign domination... I am aware of the perils and obstacles in the path towards Goa’s freedom and I shall extend myself to the utmost, unwaveringly to achieve our ultimate aim.”<sup>16</sup>

#### **4.5 Activities of the Azad Gomantak Dal**

During their fight against Portuguese colonialism, the Azad Gomantak Dal was engaged in a variety of general activities, such as organisational work, organising training camps, organisational propaganda, raising money, and other sporadic activities. They were engaged in violent militant operations like political dacoity, political assassinations which was termed as called *vadh*, attacks on police stations and mines, weapon gathering, sabotage, ambush, bombings, and other violent deeds. For the

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<sup>16</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 43-44.

mission to be successful, it required arms and money. The Azad Gomantak Dal intensified its revolutionary activities by employing numerous inventive strategies to overthrow the colonial authorities.

#### **4.5.1 Attack on the Fazenda**

Since the Azad Gomantak Dal prioritised finance, they chose to target the Fazenda which was Mapusa's revenue building. On 21 July 1947, the leaders proceeded to the Fazenda building in the evening. The idea was to remove cash, cheques, and documents and get rid of the records. As they overpowered the sentry who was on duty, he began to cry out for assistance. The sentry ignored Sinari, who was attempting to persuade him that it was merely a political revolutionary activity. The members had to shoot the sentry down because he had a gun in his hand. The members took all of the guards' weapons and ammunition and ran away.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, the altercation with the cops caused the attack to fail as the members did not have any expertise in using guns.

#### **4.5.2 The Banco Nacional Ultramarino episode**

The plan was put out by Mukund Dhakankar, a former Indian Navy officer, to go after the bank employees who drove cash

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<sup>17</sup> Ali, ed., *Goa Wins Freedom*, 263-264. Please mention the article.

from the Mapusa branch to the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank) headquarters in Panjim every day. Tukaram Kankonkar and Prabhakar Sinari sat in the back seats of the bus that the officers were using to deliver the cash to the main office on 4 December 1947. Unfortunately, the bank employees had observed them making signals to one another. Thus, one of the officers placed the bag with the cash beneath the little girl's seat. The other bag, which was stolen by the leaders, was mostly made up of cheques and very little cash.<sup>18</sup>

### **2.5.3 Raid on Mines**

The Azad Gomantak Dal members required explosives, but the mines and their owners were being watched closely by the Portuguese. The only option left to the members was to make their own bombs. Mohan Ranade and his associates raided the Bandodkar mines, Pale. The volunteers were successful in seizing some gelatin and detonators because of their successful raid. Nonetheless, there were certain Azad Gomantak Dal -supporting mining owners in Goa, such as Dayanand Bandodkar, who operated mines in the Pali, Surla, and Amona areas and went on to become the first Chief Minister of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman, and Diu following Liberation.

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<sup>18</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 50.



Mohan Ranade has stated that Bandodkar was one of their supporters and secretly gave the activists his assistance. Along with gelatines and detonators, the activists also received funding for the *Dal*.<sup>19</sup> On 4 October 1955, Sinari led a batch of fifty revolutionaries in the raid at Sirigao mines and attacked the magazine in which the explosives were kept.

#### 2.5.4 Use of Explosives

The *Palacio de Icalção*, hereafter known as the Panjim Secretariat building, was the target of a time bomb that was successfully planted on 28 March 1955, by the Azad Gomantak Dal. Unfortunately for the Azad Gomantak Dal, the time bomb was discovered and diffused before it had a chance to explode. The railway bridge number 120 between Sanvordem and Kalem was successfully bombed by the Azad Gomantak Dal, impeding train traffic on that route. In addition, they detonated the train tracks that connect Goa and Castle Rock.<sup>20</sup>

The plan to blow up the main radio station that the Portuguese had established at Altinho was also drafted by the Azad Gomantak Dal.

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<sup>19</sup> Rishbud, "Goa's Struggle for Freedom," 379.

<sup>20</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 137-138.

The radio broadcasted false information about India and extolled the qualities of Portugal, which was the rationale behind the plot to blow it up. As part of their efforts to silence the radio station, the Azad Gomantak Dal contacted Kedar Anvekar, a mechanical engineer who worked there. The operation to blow up the radio station was scheduled for 4 July 1955. Anvekar was given two time bombs, one to be set off in the control room and the other in the operations room. He placed one explosive in the operation room and returned to his residence to retrieve the other because the bombs were hefty. Sadly, the second device detonated before the timer had a chance to connect. The time bomb was located and diffused by the bomb squad that went to the radio station.

The Azad Gomantak Dal employed flag bombs, which were placed at different points throughout Goa, as their most effective tactic. The Indian tri-colour flags were raised by the Azad Gomantak Dal in several villages, including Palolem, Siolim, and Mayem. The seemingly benign flags were bombs, or booby traps. The bombs at the base of the poles detonated as the furious Portuguese hurried to take down the flags. The Portuguese authorities were frightened by this. The Molotov technique, sometimes known as the "Molotov cocktail," was a lethal weapon that the Russians developed during

World War II to target German tanks.<sup>21</sup> It served as the basis for the flag bombs. The Dal made its own Molotov cocktails with a same method. A glass container containing gelatin, a battery wire, and a detonator was used. The device was made in such a way that pulling the flag would set it off. Jose Fernandes, the *regidor* of Loliem village, would torture and mistreat the nationalists in order to appease the Portuguese government. The Azad Gomantak Dal used the flag bombs to teach him a lesson.

The Azad Gomantak Dal terrorised the Portuguese government with book bombs, just like they did with "flag bombs." The Azad Gomantak Dal made the decision to deliver potent book bombs as "gifts" to Goans who supported Portugal and government officials as a means of retaliation. A hit list of well-known, pro-Portuguese, and anti-national officers was also developed by the Azad Gomantak Dal. José Joaquim Militão de Quadros from Raia and judge of the Territorial Military Tribunal was on this list. On 12 April 1956 Quadros, who was at the top of the list, got his gift—a book. A square piece of white paper with a message scribbled on it covered the

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<sup>21</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 141.

book. The judge opened the document out of curiosity and was seriously injured when the book bomb burst.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.5.5 The Bentex Disaster

In the 1950s the Portuguese succeeded in creating an artificial prosperity in Goa based on iron-ore exports, high salaries, and low prices for duty-free goods.<sup>23</sup> The Azad Gomantak Dal decided to paralyse the export of the iron ore from Goa. They planned to blow up the railway bridges from Collem railway station to Margao railway station. They even planned to block the rivers through which ore was transported on the barges to the Mormugao Port. Basically, the strategy was to sink these loaded barges in order to stop the movement of the ore. This operation was called ‘Bentex’ after a famous watch strap brand that was popular those days. The Azad Gomantak Dal managed to get the blueprints of the bridge and other targets from the supporters of the operation. However, this plan was unsuccessful as the Portuguese were spying on Eusebio Viegas who was a member of Azad Gomantak Dal.

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<sup>22</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 145.

<sup>23</sup> Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa*, 57; Robert S. Newman, “Goa: The Transformation of an Indian Region,” *Pacific Affairs* 57, no. 3 (1984): 431, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2759068>.

### 2.5.6 Assassinations

The Azad Gomantak Dal felt that because Portuguese officials had a history of mistreating the local populace and intimidating nationalists, they had a moral right to execute them, as well as their Goan accomplices. They thought that assassinations were acceptable if they served their ideological motive. Targets included government officials, spies, informants, and police officers who opposed the liberation movement. Kistod, a Portuguese informant, and Jerome Barreto, the head constable who brutally repressed unarmed *satyagrahis* were their targets. There were many other activities that were carried out by the Azad Gomantak Dal like targeting and attacking the Portuguese jeeps, attacking police stations, paralysing the modes of transportation and so on.

Landmines was another technique used by Azad Gomantak Dal. They laid down landmines at the regions which were frequently patrolled by the Portuguese police. Every organization has its ups and downs. Prabhakar Sinari mentions few reasons for the split in the Azad Gomantak Dal. Sinari felt that Lawande wasn't happy with Sinari escaping from jail. Lawande did not want to completely break away from the National Congress (Goa) as he hoped that the revolutionary group would work as an associate organisation of the National Congress (Goa). Sinari learnt that when he was in prison,

there were no activities conducted by the Azad Gomantak Dal. He also learnt about the members of the Azad Gomantak Dal were resorting to raid and loot of some big *bhatkar* houses in Goa, which was putting the reputation of the Azad Gomantak Dal in a bad light. Since Lawande was the leader of the Azad Gomantak Dal, the Indian government wasn't happy about it. Sinari was convinced that the Azad Gomantak Dal was suffering because the Indian authorities did not trust them.

When Sinari approached Lawande and his colleagues to allow him to take charge of the underground activities in Goa they disapproved his decision. In June 1957, Prabhakar Sinari broke away from the Azad Gomantak Dal and founded his own organization called *Rancour Patriótica* which would reflect their patriotism and their opposition to the Portuguese.<sup>24</sup> This organization made quite a number of attacks in Goa and Daman against the Portuguese. It is also believed that number of leaders from the Goa Liberation Army joined the organization of Prabhakar Sinari.

## 2.6 Liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli

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<sup>24</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 187.

The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli was a successful movement as the liberation was achieved without the help of the Indian Government. Sinari stated that the goal of liberating Dadra and Nagar Haveli was accomplished under the banner of United Front of Goans, Azad Gomantak Dal and the Goan People's Party. Azad Gomantak Dal was active in Dadra and Nagar Haveli under the leadership of Vishwanath Lawande and Prabhakar Sinari. The land consisted of two enclaves, Dadra with three villages and Nagar Haveli with sixty-eight villages and one town.<sup>25</sup> The Portuguese were with a mentality that they were invulnerable to the attacks that the Goans made against them. When it came to liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, the Portuguese were not prepared to defend themselves during the battle. Hence, the defeat of the Portuguese and the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli gave a ray of hope to the freedom fighters to fight for the freedom of Goa as they could prove that the Portuguese were not as strong as they were portrayed.

## **2.7 Formation of Goa Liberation Army**

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<sup>25</sup> P. S. Lele, *Dadra and Nagar Haveli- Past and Present* (Bombay: Mauj Printing Bureau, 1987), 40.

On August 15 1955, Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti was established which initiated the first *satyagraha*. During this *satyagraha*, the Portuguese slaughtered the participants. The Indian government did not want to involve itself with the *satyagraha* movement that was taking place in Goa. At this moment certain National Congress (Goa) workers were also adamant about using violent tactics to advance the cause. Some members of the National Congress (Goa) workers were convinced that the *satyagraha* era had gone and they had no choice but to take up arms to continue the freedom war and fight the Portuguese to the very end. In this context, the Goa Liberation Army was established.<sup>26</sup> As the 15 August 1955 *satyagraha* failed and the members who later formed the Goa Liberation Army left the National Congress (Goa). To achieve Goa's freedom by force, the Goa Liberation Army was established at Belgaum on September 30, 1955.<sup>27</sup> The Goa Liberation Army was founded by six members who were referred to as the "High Commands": Augustus Alvares, Madhavrao L. Rane, Jaisinghrao V. Rane, Balakrishna Bhonsale, Shivaji Desai, and Urselino Almeida.

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<sup>26</sup> Shivaji Desai, "Goa Liberation Army," in *Armed Coups Against Portuguese Regime*, ed. Vikas V. Desai (Canacona: Centro Promotor de Instrução de Canacona, 1986), 36.

<sup>27</sup> Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle," 91.



To join Goa Liberation Army, one of the primary requirements was to be prepared to take part in the activities the organisation undertakes. Everyone was subject to this, even the members of the "high command," and it was applied fairly and rigorously. The Goa Liberation Army opposed money extortion even for such a great cause as the liberation of Goa.<sup>28</sup> It was forbidden for any volunteer in Goa Liberation Army to demand money from the Goan people under any circumstances. The movement and its agenda were kept almost entirely under wraps. Only those in the "high command" were aware of the Army's intentions and upcoming operations.

The Goa Liberation Army shared the same ideology as the Azad Gomantak Dal, which led them to believe in revolutionary activities. Four of the group's six members were familiar with using small and medium weapons. Augustus Alvares had extensive training in managing a variety of explosives. The land mines that he manufactured in accordance with Shivaji Desai's instructions generated chaos and fear in the Portuguese Army and police.

The Goa Liberation Army divided Goa three areas, each under the direction and leadership of two high command members. Augustus

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<sup>28</sup> Desai, "Goa Liberation Army," 37.

Alvares kept a close eye on all the actions, including training the revolutionaries and building explosives and other dangerous materials.<sup>29</sup> During their, a few Goa Liberation Army members would frequently change their names. Urselino Almeida, a member of high command changed his name five times to avoid arrest. In addition, several members received code names in order to fool the Portuguese authorities and conceal their genuine identities. One of the Goa Liberation Army members, Vasant Kharapurkar was assigned the code name "zero."<sup>30</sup>

### **2.7.1 Activities of the Goa Liberation Army**

When the police found homemade time bombs, land mines, and plastic explosives, letterheads, and pamphlets during their raid at Zambaulim, the Portuguese radio station in Panaji widely publicized the announcement. The world was alerted to the arrival of a new militant group in Goa's freedom movement when the news of this raid was broadcasted on the Portuguese radio. Previously, the Portuguese radio would refer to the underground labourers as

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<sup>29</sup> Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle," 91.

<sup>30</sup> Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle," 91.

"bandits," but now, for the first time, they were call the Goa Liberation Army volunteers "terrorists".<sup>31</sup>

The Zambaulim raid had been preceded by some noteworthy acts of sabotage carried out by Goa Liberation Army volunteers. From the perspective of arm and ammunition collections, a few of them were extremely significant. The Portuguese Army, for instance, were terrified when the volunteers detonated the bridge at Paiginim. Following that security measures for the bridges throughout Goa were strengthened. Numerous such incidents occurred in other places of Goa after this one. At the initial stages, Goa Liberation Army received a serious setback. Camilo Pereira and Suresh Kerkar were unsuccessful to blow-up the pipeline of the Opa scheme of water supply because they were shot dead by the police. Shivaji Desai (1986) notes that the Opa pipeline was mainly used by the Portuguese Army and police stationed at Panaji and not for the public.<sup>32</sup>

The Goa Liberation Army took up an operation of attacking jeeps to collect arms and ammunitions for its army. One such incident that

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<sup>31</sup> Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle," 92.

<sup>32</sup> Desai, "Goa Liberation Army," 37.

took place was of a patrolling jeep that was blown up while travelling between Majali and Canacona, which led to the death of the two soldiers. The volunteers raided the jeep to collect two stenguns and ammunition. A similar attack was conducted by the Azad Gomantak Dal where they blew up a military jeep between Bicholim and Sanquelim and two white soldiers were killed and four were injured.<sup>33</sup> In the case of Goa Liberation Army this incident was notable because it was for the first time it had used its own landmine. The Goa Liberation Army attacked the Pomburpa police station in Bardez Taluka in October 1956. This action resulted in the death of Goa Liberation Army high command member Balkrishna Bhonsale. The undisturbed Goa Liberation Army exploded the ferry launch "*Quintalinha*" and two large barges at Sarmanas and Bicholim. It aimed to paralyse the Portuguese economy which was based on mining activity. Therefore, they paralysed the operation of the Shirgao mines. Goa Liberation Army made the decision to test the land mine on the train. At Sonavalim, this caused the locomotive carrying seven white soldiers, one negro soldier, and one native soldier to blow up. The Goa Liberation Army has had a significant impact on the Goan liberation movement in the brief time of its existence. Following intense physical and psychological torture by

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<sup>33</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 171.

the Portuguese, seven of its brave fighters became martyrs, while numerous others were imprisoned.

## 2.8 Prison Life Narrated in the Autobiographies

Autobiographies of these freedom fighters help us to understand their life in prison after their participation in the freedom struggle. It provides insights on the consequences they faced for the freedom of their mother land from the colonial rule.<sup>34</sup> During the freedom struggle, the freedom fighters were arrested and kept in various jails in Margao, Mapusa and Panaji. There was no access to the jail especially Aguada unless someone was a prisoner.<sup>35</sup> Through the autobiographies of freedom fighters, it is possible to know about the prison as well as the conditions there. The routine activity in prison for the freedom fighters was wake up, breakfast, lunch, dinner and going to the washroom. This system of routine made most of

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<sup>34</sup> Kenneth Adams, "Adjusting to Prison Life," *Crime and Justice* 16 (1992): 275, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1147565>.

<sup>35</sup> Henry Scholberg, *Fortress Portugal in India: A Photographic History of the Portuguese Forts of India* (New Brighton: NorthStar Publications Minnesota, 1995), 14.

them weak.<sup>36</sup> In order to keep their mental sanity they involved in various activities into the prison cell itself.

They were would be interrogated with beatings which would leave they bleeding for days. They were sometimes crowded in one cell. The prisoners had to cook food for themselves with the ration money provided to them. The ration that they would receive would not be sufficient for their entire day.<sup>37</sup> Every prisoner would indulge in reading books which were first censored by the Portuguese officials. Every prisoner wanted to gain more knowledge during their spare time, so they would read magazines, newspapers, and books which were brought to them by their relatives. The books were of various languages such as English, Marathi, Hindi and Portuguese.<sup>38</sup> But there were some freedom fighters who underwent utmost tortures and were kept in solitary confinement. These were small rooms of about six to eight inches with a small door.<sup>39</sup> Sinari was kept in the dark room at Reis Magos. He recollects his life when he was given

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<sup>36</sup> James Fernandes, *In Quest of Freedom* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 106-107.

<sup>37</sup> Fernandes, *In Quest of Freedom*, 90.

<sup>38</sup> Fernandes, *In Quest of Freedom*, 96-97.

<sup>39</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 62.

a petrol can to urinate and sanitation was not provided. There was no proper ventilation.<sup>40</sup> This similar treatment would lead to some going into depression. The freedom fighters narrate their prison to be difficult but productive as well for learning new things.

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<sup>40</sup> Sinari, *From Darkness to Dawn*, 62-63.

## **Chapter 5- Conclusion**

This dissertation has explored the events mentioned by the freedom fighters in their respective autobiographies. Autobiographies provide a first account of the experiences the author has faced in his past and are important primary sources for studying history. George Misch defines autobiography as a literary phenomenon which is situated within a historical circumstance that originates with life and understands the meaning of life and the world around it which leads him to be self-aware.<sup>1</sup> The author knows his experiences very well when he tries to write it.

Memory plays a huge role in reconstructing the history of the events of the freedom struggle. Autobiographical memory is understood to comprise one's complete life story, life-time periods and themes, event-specific information and visuals, and complete recollections for specific events.<sup>2</sup> Memory plays a significant role in selecting

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<sup>1</sup> Willi Jung and Albert Wimmer, "Georg Misch's "Geschichte der Autobiographie," *Annali d'Italianistica* 4 (1986): 30, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24004417>.

<sup>2</sup> Susan Bluck and Nicole Alea, "Exploring the functions of Autobiographical Memory: Why do I Remember the Autumn?," in



certain important events that needs to be remembered vividly. Through this we see the freedom fighters who engaged in non-violence and revolutionary activities will remember only the events they participated in actively.

The non-violence method used by the freedom fighters helps in understanding what exactly they did during the event. The civil disobedience movement that took place on 18 June 1946 in order to show their dissatisfaction with the ban on civil liberties which fundamental rights belonged to every individual. Fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of holding political meetings were banned. The Goans also suffered due to backwardness of Goan economy as everything was controlled by the Portuguese government. These freedom fighters compare these economic crises with the drain of wealth by the British.<sup>3</sup>

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*Critical Advances in Reminiscence Work: From Theory to Application*, ed. Jeffrey Dean Webster and Barbara K. Haight (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2002), 61.

<sup>3</sup> Evagrio George, *Goa's Awakening: Reminiscences of the 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement* (Panjim: 18th June Silver Jubilee Celebrations, 1971), 6.

It is important to note that 18 June movement is considered as important event, as it was the first time the people of Goa went against the ban on public meetings just to hear Dr Ram Manohar Lohia's speech. Dr Lohia propagated 'direct action' to defy the laws of the Portuguese rule.<sup>4</sup> The 18 June movement started with the shouting out slogans on the arrival of Drs Ram Manohar Lohia and Julião Menezes to Margao but the Portuguese police officials did not allow Dr Lohia to complete his speech as he was arrested by the police. The people started demanding the release of the doctors from the prison. People actually started using the advice of Dr Lohia. People were ready to take beatings and go to prison for the release of their leaders.

The autobiographies also describe about the satyagraha movement that took place in Goa in the year 1954-55. The first satyagraha was carried out by the Goans as the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru did not want the Indians to participate in the satyagraha. One team who entered the Tiracol fort was led by Alfred Afonso. The second group, from Banda to Patradevi, was led by Mark Fernandes, while the third group, from Majali-Karwar to the Polem border post,

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<sup>4</sup> Jorge, *Goa's Awakening*, 9.

was commanded by Anthony D'souza.<sup>5</sup> The team that entered the Tiracol fort was successful in hoisting the flag. The second satyagraha included the participation of Indians along with Goans. On August 15, 1955, three major groups of Indian satyagrahis gathered at the Goa borders. From the frontier posts of Patradevi in the north, Polem in the south, and Caranzol in the east, they attempted to invade Goa. But this too was unsuccessful.

This research has also examined the motivations and participation of the freedom fighters in revolutionary activities. They saw that the satyagraha was unsuccessful in gaining any results so they decided to conduct armed struggle against the Portuguese government. Two main organisations are discussed in this work, that is, Azad Gomantak Dal and Goa Liberation Army. Azad Gomantak carried various attacks on the Portuguese institutions such as *Banco Nacional Ultramarino*, Fazenda, police outposts and bridges. They created terror in the minds of the Portuguese. The Goa Liberation Army broke away from the National Congress (Goa) to work in the armed combat as they felt peaceful negotiations were not working.

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<sup>5</sup> Valmiki Faleiro, *Goa, 1961: The Complete Story of Nationalism and Integration* (Gurugram: Penguin Random House India, 2023), 69.

Autobiographies truly play a huge role in reconstructing history and can be considered as a primary source. They portray the retrospective account of the freedom fighters about the event they remember and participated in. With the help of the autobiographies, the major events of the past could be constructed. The personal perspectives and motivations are also seen. They considered Goa as a part of India and so they wanted to liberate themselves from the foreign rule and unite with India.

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