CHAPTER SIX

VOICE OF FREEDOM OF GOA

"Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son
Though vanquished oft
Is ever won".

- Lord Byron.

The liberation struggle of Goa was fought on various fronts. Different organizations from within Goa and from without, tried their level best, both by violent means and non-violently, to end Portuguese colonialism in Goa. In their efforts the Indians also sided with Goans. Both, Indians as well as Goans voiced their struggle through various sources. Sometimes booklets were published on Portuguese colonialism in India due to the ban on the elementary civil liberties in Goa by Goans themselves. For example, GCC, an organisation set up by Dr. T. B. Cunha published booklets such as ‘Denationalisation of Goans’, etc. Newspapers, articles, etc. were also published which reported about the nationalist sentiments of the Goans and their right to self-determination. Even the Indian government, through its peaceful policy tried to see that Portuguese leave Goa in a friendly manner just as the France did in 1955. And when none of these initiatives produced the desired results the Goan issue was to last taken to the international fora.

It was against this background, a small group of nationalists thought of a novel idea of giving voice to the liberation struggle of Goa through an underground radio station, which would beam its programme right into Goa, for the Goans to know about their own struggle and about the freedom and anti-colonial movements in the other parts of the world. The station was named Goenche Sodvonnecho Awaz- (Voice Of Freedom Of Goa), which would
be heard inside Goa, in spite of the absence of civil liberties. These nationalists who voiced the Goa's liberation struggle for about a period of six years were successful in their efforts.

In this paper I would like to discuss on the *Goenche Sodvonecho Awaz - Voice Of Freedom of Goa*, an underground radio station that was manned by, and run by, the nationalists during the liberation struggle of Goa, under three sub-topics: (a) The significance of *Voice Of Freedom Of Goa* in absence of civil liberties, (b) Reflections on the broadcast of *Voice Of Freedom of Goa* and (c) Impact Of the *Voice Of Freedom of Goa* on the liberation struggle of Goa. *Voice Of Freedom of Goa* was started on 25th November 1955
and continued till 19th December 1961. The selection of 25th November 1955 has its own significance. Though it was in February 1510 the castle of Panjim (Panaji), was for the first time captured by Portuguese, Adil Shah, the King of Bijapur did not take long to drive off the conquerors. But on 25th November of the same year, the Portuguese, better armed, conquered the town. Thus, 25th November, the day of reconquest, which was celebrated every year as a ‘black day’ by Goan nationalists, especially in the last phase of the liberation struggle beginning from 18th June 1946 was selected by these nationalists to voice their urge for freedom through *Goenche Sodvonnecho Awaz*, which literally translated means ‘Voice of Goa’s Deliverance’. Before going into the details of some of the broadcast of the *Voice Of Freedom of Goa*, let me have a look at the background, by studying how, under the Portuguese dictatorship, Goans were denied the elementary civil liberties.

**The Significance of Absence Of Civil Liberties and Its Impact.**

In its long rule of about 450 years Goa passed through three phases. It witnessed the Monarchical rule before 1910, the liberal phase between 1910-1926 and then the dictatorship of Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar till its liberation in 1961. Dr. Antonio Salazar the promising young economist from Coimbra University who was invited to assume office as Minister of Finance in 1926, became Prime Minister of Portugal in 1928.

1 Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.
After assuming office he curtailed all the civil liberties that were enjoyed by Goans during the liberal phase i.e., from 1910-1926.

Let me quote here Dr. T. B. Cunha, the father of Goan nationalism in order to understand the real picture of how Goans lived during the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar.

"As we all know we are at present deprived in our country of the most elementary human rights. We have, no freedom of press, no freedom of speech, of association, of holding public meetings. We are sometimes even denied freedom of conscience and the sanctity of precincts. To give concrete example, I can refer to the system of press censorship as it is practiced in Goa. No one has the right to issue leaflets, handbill or a small advertisement not to speak of books or newspapers, without the consent of the all-powerful committee of censors sitting at Panjim (Panaji). These censors never allow the publications of the slightest complaint against the public authority, not the mild criticism of the public administration or even any unpleasant remark against the people who are in Power. They only permit and even invite praise to the present system of government. Every fact however true and notorious it may be that is not pleasant to the authorities is systematically suppressed from the public...to this we must add the suppression of other liberties and rights. As every Goan must know we have no voice in the administration of our country which is entirely left to the people of Portugal who send instruction from there to their agents in Goa. There are no representative bodies in our government system. The people holding all important positions are officially nominated and not elected..."\(^4\)

This was the state of affairs in Goa during the Portuguese rule much before the beginning of the last phase of liberation struggle in Goa. Many nationalists believed that the ban on the civil liberties during this time was not severe and stronger\(^5\). But with the beginning of the last phase of the liberation struggle, on 18\(^{th}\) June 1946, and then further with India attaining Independence from the British rule in 1947, and with the liberation struggle gaining strength in Goa, the liberties of the people were severally and ruthlessly suppressed. This was not just the case with the colonies but this was also the fate of metropolitan Portugal.

A former Portuguese minister and one of the liberal intellectuals of Portugal Antonio Sergio felt strongly against these curbs on freedom. In 1954 in a letter to the Minister of Overseas provinces, he said;

\(^4\) Cunha, T. B. op. cit., pp. 100-102.
\(^5\) Interview with Freedom Fighters: Ravindra Kelekar (NCG). Madhukar Desai. (NCG).
I make the following constructive suggestions. The launching of a civil intercourse campaign of real national unity by abolishing the system of cold war and granting to the overseas Portugal as well as those in Portugal fundamental civil liberties, namely, to express their thoughts, to meet in an orderly manner and to form associations, by putting an end to prior censorship, seizure of books containing legitimate doctrines, and by the release of political and social prisoners. Divesting ourselves of the letter and spirit of the colonial Act and suppressing racial discrimination in Portuguese India.6

This was the suggestion that was given by a former Portuguese Minister who felt that the need of the hour was to provide the basic civil liberties to the Goans. It is important to note here that the liberal minded intellectuals present in Portugal always voiced against the suppression of civil liberties in the colonies and in Portugal itself. But Dr. Salazar always opposed these suggestions.

In fact the Portuguese constitution of 1933, Art. 8, extends to the citizen the right of freedom of expression and thought under any form as well as the ‘freedom of association and meeting’ but in the same article nullifies the earlier portion when it mentions later that ‘special laws shall regulate the freedom of expression, thought, meeting and association and as regards the first named ‘perversion of public opinion must be forbidden preventively or repressively’. Due to the ban on civil liberties, political meetings even for social purposes could be convened only with the permission of the authorities, speeches if any were required to be approved by the official censor and a breach of these restrictions entail heavy penalties including long terms of imprisonment and deportation.

Due to the ban on civil liberties, the press in Goa was regulated very rigidly. After the invention of printing machine in 1440, by Gotenburg of Germany, the Portuguese established their first printing press in September 1556 in Goa. Since then, the Portuguese government, to voice their programmes and policies in the colonies, published a number of newspapers, official gazettes, weeklies, and monthlies. Many private newspapers were also started during this time and some of them propagated the nationalist feelings of the Goans during the Monarchical period of Portuguese rule.

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7 Ibid p.48, p. 44
8 Ibid p. 49.
But it was only after the establishment of Republic in the year 1910 that the nationalist press, in the true sense of the term, flourished in Goa. Many newspapers, weeklies and monthlies were born which strongly criticized the Portuguese rule and its impact on Goans. Some of these were Bharat a weekly started in 1913 by Govind P. Hegde Desai, Hindu again a weekly started by Datta V. Pai in 1924, Prakash, a newspaper which later on became a bi-weekly, and Pradeep, a weekly started in 1928. The contribution of the articles in these nationalists press came from the prominent personalities of Goa such as Luis de Menezes Braganza, Dr. T. B. Cunha and others.

However, due to the strict censorship in Goa, Goan nationalists from outside Goa started many newspapers. The Goan nationalists who had fled from Goa in order to avoid the beatings and arrests during the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar raised their voices against the denial of civil liberties, suppression of patriotism, and brutal treatment meted out to the nationalists in Goa through the establishment of newspapers, periodicals, weeklies, etc. espousing the cause of freedom. The most aggressive of these in the beginning was Resurge Goa (wake up Goa) of Telo Mascarenhas and Free Goa by Dr. T. B. Cunha, Goan Tribune first edited by Aloysius Soares and later on by Lambert Mascarenhas. All these were smuggled into Goa by the Goan nationalists to circulate them among their compatriots secretly. These nationalists with much enthusiasm and satisfaction read them. The Goan nationalists started all these newspapers and they enlightened the world on the true conditions in Goa under Portuguese rule. Further national newspapers, such as the ‘Bombay Chronicle’, and ‘Bombay Sentinel’, The Indian Express, ‘The Free Press’ and ‘The Hindu’ and the popular weekly ‘Blitz’ off and on published news of arrests of nationalist in Goa and articles on freedom, were also smuggled into Goa. Though the world was aware about the political situation in Goa

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12 Interview with Freedom Fighters: Ravindra Kelekar (November 2000), Jyoti Deshpande (December 1999) and others.
under the Portuguese rule the Goans inside Goa were unaware about the details of liberation struggle inside and outside Goa, the opinion of Government of India and other such issues, which were related to the freedom of Goa.

Although some of these newspapers were smuggled into Goa, their readership was limited to a few houses in Goa. Even to keep a copy of these nationalist newspapers was a big offence in the eyes of Portuguese and if found the punishment was severe.¹⁴ There have been many instances where Portuguese police arrested the Goan people and nationalists for circulating and keeping these nationalists paper with them. The Portuguese authorities suspended the nationalists' newspapers inside Goa. Those editors that were pro-Indian such as Antonio de Sequeira of ‘A Voz de India’, and Fr. Conceicao Rodrigues of the ‘Ixt’ were hounded by the Government and were forced to flee Goa.¹⁵ The Portuguese and Konkani units of All India Radio, New Delhi, also carried out anti-Portuguese propaganda with Telo Mascarenhas, Edila Gaitonde, Carmo Azevedo, Evagrio George, Laxmanrao Sardesai and others in control.¹⁶ It should be also remembered that the organizations that were formed for Goa’s liberation had their own mouthpiece to propagate their programmes and policies. For example, National Congress (Goa) published ‘Amcha Goa’ in Marathi and ‘Amchem Goem’ in Konkani. Azad Gomantak Dal published ‘Navjivan’ which was circulated only among the members of AGD secretly. It is also surprising to note here that the publications of some of these Goan organizations in Bombay greatly annoyed the Portuguese government in Goa and even the British government in Bombay. For example, a complaint was made in 1933 against O Anglo-Lusitao, a newspaper in Bombay published by Goans, the editor of which was warned by the police. The author and the publisher of the articles were both warned that if they persisted in writing against the government of Portuguese India, they were liable to be deported as undesirable foreigners.¹⁷ Similarly on

¹⁴ Interview with Freedom Fighter Jyoti Deshpande. (December 1999)
¹⁵ Refer to the ‘Press In The Goa Freedom Movement’, a paper presented by Shri Lambert Mascarenhas at a seminar, ‘Advent Of Portuguese In Goa And Goa’s Struggle For Freedom’, on 14th and 15th December 1990 under the Aegis of the Cuncolim Educational Society and the Cuncolim College of Arts and Commerce- Cuncolim, Goa.
¹⁶ Ibid.
1\textsuperscript{st} March 1935 the Portuguese Consul General in Bombay drew attention of the Chief Secretary of the Government there (Bombay) to the *Portuguese India* Annual for that year, which had been printed in Bombay and requested him to persuade the authorities to take appropriate action against its editor over two articles which offended the national honour of Portugal.\textsuperscript{18} However, this was possible, when British ruled India, to respond favorably to the suggestions made by the Portuguese. But taking action against the Goan nationalist after Indian independence was not possible. Thus the publications made by Indians and Goans in India could voice the Goan peoples sentiments against the Portuguese rule in the true sense.

A couple of newspapers, and the official Goa radio, being the masters voice were only instilling fear and feeding the people with lies and false propaganda about India and liberation struggle. It became imperative, therefore to inform the people in Goa about the reality and to sustain their morale. Nationalist had to find their way to expose the Portuguese lies and to counter their false propaganda. The answer came in the form of an underground Radio station\textsuperscript{19}.

The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in July and August 1954, by Goan nationalists had created enthusiasm in the minds of Goans. Portuguese occupied Dadra and Nagar Haveli, these two Indian territories, in 1785 and 1783 respectively from the Peshwas.\textsuperscript{20} Goan nationalists saw the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli as the first step towards the liberation of Goan territory from the Portuguese rule. Thus the United Front of Goans, Azad Gomantak Dal with Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh and Goan Peoples' Party, with Communist Party of Maharastra liberated Dadra and Nagar Haveli in July- August 1954.\textsuperscript{21} (See Chapter-II) During this time some nationalists had found some powerful wireless sets. An Engineer secretly helped to convert these sets into an effective transmitter. He also selected the location and wavelength so that the transmission could be

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. p25.

\textsuperscript{19} Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai, Broadcasts on A.I.R.-To Commemorate fifty years of Broadcasting in India on 19\textsuperscript{th} December 1997.

\textsuperscript{20} Desai, S. S. (1976), Goa Daman And Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Faridabad: Government Of India Press, p. 17.

safely and clearly beamed to all parts of Goa. Thus the radio station was born. For purposes of secrecy and to conceal its identity it was referred to it as ‘Q’ station. Called ‘Voz de Liberdade’ or ‘Voz da Povo Goes’ (voice of the people of Goa) for Portuguese broadcasts and ‘Goenche Sodvonecho Awaz’ for Konkani broadcasts, from 25th November, 1955, the voice of freedom beamed regular programmes for one hour every morning at 7:00 a.m. and every evening at 8:00 p.m. in both languages on 42.05 meters. When need arose programmes in English and Marathi were also broadcast. Having seen the background, let me now reflect on some of the broadcastsmade by the Voice Of Freedom Of Goa. I would like to mention here that these broadcasts were made for about a period of six years from 1955 to 1961. Thus it becomes difficult to have a look at all the broadcast in this chapter. So, I have decided to reflect on some of the important broadcast made by the Voice Of Freedom Of Goa under three sub-topics, (i) struggle for civil liberties, (ii) anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa and (iii) anti-colonial struggle in Goa.

Reflections On The Broadcast Of Voice Of Freedom.

The Voice Of Freedom of Goa was heard in Goa inspite of the ban on the most elementary civil liberties such as the freedom of speech and expresion in Portuguese Goa. The task of the Voice Of Freedom of Goa was four fold:

a) To sustain the morale of the people by informing them about the day to day events and about the progress of the freedom struggle inside and outside Goa,

b) To demoralize the Portuguese troops and officials by exposing the cruelties being committed by the secret police PIDE and by focusing how, just as in Goa, the people of Portugal itself were suffering under Salazar’s dictatorship and opposing it,

c) To counter Portugal’s lies about India by showing how India, through a democratic process, was developing on all fronts and gaining international appeal and support’

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d) To show that Goa’s was not a solitary struggle but was one with other anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa, united in their determination to be free and progressive with the staunch support of one another as well as with progressive forces everywhere.\textsuperscript{23}

As we know, on 18\textsuperscript{th} June 1946, the civil disobedience movement was started by Dr. R. M. Lohia was one of the important satyagraha campaigns, organized for the first time on Goan soil. The hectic nationalist activities began soon after the 18\textsuperscript{th} June 1946 movement for civil liberties and by the end of the year 1946 nearly 450\textsuperscript{24} people had challenged the Portuguese rule by organizing individual satyagraha, group satyagrahas, demonstrations, meetings, etc. in spite of the ban on the most elementary civil liberties in Goa. This satyagraha campaign was to demand civil liberties while the second was to liberate Goa from the Portuguese rule. An Action committee, formed by a number of nationalist groups in Bombay had announced, on 15\textsuperscript{th} July 1954, that the volunteers would carry out a march on Goa on 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1954 as a beginning of a satyagraha campaign in the Portuguese settlements.\textsuperscript{25} In response to the call given by Goa Action Committee a large number of Satyagrahis from India gathered on the Goa-India border on 14\textsuperscript{th} August 1954. But due to government of India’s ban, only 45 Goan satyagrahis could enter into Goa via Pollem, Patradevi and Terekhol. Thus the mass satyagraha was converted into a group satyagraha and the overall satyagraha movement fizzled out.

It was only after the formation of Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti (All Party Goa Liberation Aid Committee) active participation of the Indians in the liberation movement of Goa began by sending batches of volunteers. Accordingly individual satyagraha campaign began on 18\textsuperscript{th} June 1955 and culminated in a mass satyagraha on 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1955. Though this satyagraha campaign had started off effectively on 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1955, Portuguese police opened fire on unarmed satyagrahis entering Goa and the Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti called off the mass satyagraha on the same day. After the suspension of satyagraha movement

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.
in Goa, all the nationalist activities on the Goan soil came to a standstill. Though a number of revolutionary organizations such as Goa Liberation Army, Rancor Patriotica, etc. were formed after 15th August 1955 mass satyagraha their activities were restricted to few areas. Nothing seriously was done either by the Goans or by the Indians on the Goa front to solve the problem of Goa.

When the plan of launching an underground radio station was finalized by these nationalists it was very important to work from outside Goa from the point of view of the radio station’s security. The transmitter was mounted in a truck to make it mobile and parked in a dense forests area at Amboli. The nationalists were living incognito in the same area thereby. From 17th November 1955 to 24th November 1955, trial broadcasts were made and many nationalists’ friends from Goa were informed to listen to these trial broadcasts. When everything worked out well, from 25th November 1955 the broadcasts of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa started in full swing, on regular basis. It should be remembered that by 25th November 1955 Goa had witnessed the three important satyagraha movements in addition to the regular terrorists activities that rocked Goa in this last phase of the liberation struggle. (See Chapter II. Since there was lull in the Goan movement after 15th August 1955 satyagraha, it was felt necessary that the Goan issue should be taken at the international level.

'The story of Goan struggle for freedom is unique in the annals of India. At one stage it touched global proportions. It excited heated debates at the headquarters of UNO, at the international Court of Justice, and in the numerous chanceries world over. A tiny spot was locked in political complications of even SEATO and NATO. It was dragged into the cockpit of the power politics of the cold war. It rocked the mighty brains of the east and west.... He (Dr. Salazar) prompted Pakistan to press its claim to Kashmir. He increased the supply of Atomic raw material to USA to gain the support of that super power. He invoked the Portuguese of the Atlantic Pact to brow beat India. He misused the traditional Anglo-Portuguese cordiality to make Britain warn India against any action in Goa...the issue of Goan freedom once considered a simple affair for free India was brought into the vortex of International politics and cold war.'

26 Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.
Struggle for civil liberties

The last phase of Goa’s liberation struggle was started with the movement for civil liberties on 18th June 1946 under the leadership of Dr. R. M. Lohia. In his historic speech at Margao on 18th June 1946, he invited the Goans to speak and act as if these laws banning civil liberties did not exist. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** also highlighted the struggle for attainment of civil liberties in Goa, as well as in Portugal, in its broadcasts. In fact the purpose behind its formation was to counter the false propaganda made by Portuguese administration by providing the real and truthful information to the people of Goa. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** in its criticism on the ban of civil liberties in Goa cited many examples to show how the Portuguese administration was strongly opposed to the nationalists’ newspapers, and elements.

The Pilar society of St. Francis Xavier’s weekly in Konkani named ‘Vavaradencho Ixt’ under Fr. Conceicao Rodrigues and Fr. Jeronimo Pereira, maintained strict neutrality which was viewed with displeasure by the government and consequently suspended. In its broadcasts on 28th August 1961 over the suspension of *Vavaradencho Ixt* (friend of workers) a newspaper published from Pilar for not defending Portuguese pretension of national unity, **Voice Of Freedom of Goa** commented under its title,


The Portuguese government hypocrisy of liberalism revealed shameful state of press in Goa has now come to light that if they do not play a slavish role, they are suspended. During the last two years Vassalvo-e-Silva (Portuguese Governor in Goa) has been systematically and cunningly gagging the press, using it solely for his propaganda. Church and Salazar regime is in conflict as seen in Portugal, Angola, Mozambique and in Goa. Cardinal Gracious statement on Angola on July 9 (1961) and its reference in IXT is completely in tune with the principle and wishes of the church, its victimization by a hypocritical and satanic regime will only enhance its glory. Every Goan and Catholic in particular is bound to feel proud of it and pray that the grace of Padre Agnelo and St. Francis Xavier be always with it to help it maintain its high standard of morality against the colonial might of Salazar’.

Again, while commenting on the Portuguese governments act of beating and ruthlessly suppressing the demand of civil liberties in Portugal, **Voice Of Freedom Of**

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**Goa** reported in its broadcasts on 26th July 1961 that;

‘Advocate Arthur Andrade was severely tortured and beaten up in Lisbon (the capital of Portugal) in the presence of his wife and then taken to Aljube fort. The reason for his arrest, and this brutal treatment, is that he had made public a subversive document. The document was just ten-point political programme asking for political and civil liberties and a policy in conformity with the principle of UN. What the programme asked for was nothing but what already exists in all the other western countries that were allies of Portugal. Yet to Salazar this document was subversive’.

On one hand the Portuguese government was suspending those newspapers, which were pro-Indian and on the other hand was taking the help of the pro-Portuguese newspapers to propagate its false news. During the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, there were a number of newspapers such as *Heraldo, O Heraldo*, etc. published from Panaji were toeing the Portuguese line. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** not only threw light on pro-Portuguese attitude of these newspapers but also criticized them for their mentality. Thus in its broadcast on 22nd April 1961, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** criticized *Heraldo*, in the following words,

‘*Heraldo* suggested that a Pilgrimage be taken to the feet of the St. Francis Xavier to pray for the success of Portugal in the United Nations and the defeat of nationalist of Angola. On the very same day, five Arch-bishops of Luanda and four other Bishops of Angola, one of them being a Goan, his lordship Altinho Ribeiro de Santana, published a pastoral letter supporting the legitimate aspirations of the African people and demanding that justice be done to them’.

**Voice Of Freedom of Goa** reacted to this news in the following manner,

To the mind of believers this miraculous co-incidence only means that St. Francis Xavier made it known through the five Bishops of Angola, that he does not want his name to be exploited for an unjust cause’.

Similarly while criticizing these pro-Portuguese newspapers for providing false information to the people, **Voice Of Freedom** cited the example of *O Heraldo*, which reported false the news of the arrest of Shri. Nicolau Menezes by Portuguese officials. Infact, Shri. Nicolau Menezes was one of the members of **Voice Of Freedom** team. In its broadcast on 14th July 1956, **Voice Of Freedom** exposed this lie of Portuguese and announced that ‘Shri. Nicolau Menezes is free and independent and does his work for the Goa’s cause for freedom’.  

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Anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa

A regular feature of the *Voice Of Freedom Of Goa* was to broadcast the news related to anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa besides Goa. This was especially done to keep the morale of the Goan people high and to show them, how other colonial countries in the world were fighting for their freedom from colonial powers.

It should be noted here that Portugal had altogether eight colonies out of which seven were in the African continent. In order to fool the world, Dr. Salazar by playing with the words in the constitution of Portugal changed the word ‘colony’ to ‘overseas provinces’. A little after the Hague Court decision on the right of passage in Dadra and Nagar Haveli the Goa question was raised up in the UN also. In July 1960 some countries demanded that Portugal should submit information to the UN about Goa and other colonies as was obligatory under the UN charter. But Portugal resisted the demand on the ground that these territories were not ‘colonies’ but parts of metropolitan Portugal and therefore an internal matter of Portugal. A resolution was however passed in November 1960 by UN Trusteeship Committee asking the General Assembly to request Portugal to give the required information. According to Dr. Franco Nougueira, Portuguese delegate declared in the Trusteeship council the following:

‘My country has eight overseas provinces. Barring three of them, others enjoy all rights of citizenship, economic, social, and of sovereignty. Only three provinces, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, are three backward people who are ruled under the law meant for uncivilized’.

In fact the three above mentioned provinces represented the biggest portion of the Portuguese empire. They represented an area of 794,030 sq. miles in a total area of 803,835 sq. miles of the whole empire and had population of nearly 10,000,000 out of total of nearly 12,000,000 of inhabitants. The people in these territories did not accept the sovereignty of Portugal and were in constant war against Portugal. The outbreak of rebellion in Angola was described by the General Assembly and the security council as well, a

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31 Ibid.
serious threat to international peace and security and called for immediate steps towards
the granting of independence to these territories.32

Voice Of Freedom Of Goa reported this information about the Portuguese colonies
in Africa and the developments there in its broadcasts, under various titles like appeal
made by the Mozambique African National Union for international air and sea boycott
against Portuguese colonies, American vote on Angola and its significance according to
Afro-Asian and other diplomats, the recommendation of steering committee of UN to
include Angola in General Assembly and to debate the question of Angola, etc. Thus in its
broadcast on 12th July 1956, by the Voice Of Freedom Of Goa, on the outbreak of rebellion
in Angola it said,

`The outbreak of rebellion in Angola was described by General Assembly and
Security Council as well, a serious threat to international peace and security and
called for immediate steps towards the granting of independence to
these territories'.

While giving detailed information on UN resolution in favour of Angola, Voice Of
Freedom Of Goa reported in its broadcasts on 17th May 1961, the following;

`What the Portuguese authorities are trying to make out that the UN resolutions are
useless and ineffective since they have not accepted by them, but more than eighty-
five countries have and this has its affectivity and significance, for it means that
these nations of United Nations do not consider Angola, a domestic problem of
Portugal. It means that they condemn Portuguese action in that territory and support
the nationalists. It signifies the moral sanctions against the Portugal. In fact its
effects can already be seen. Portuguese government is shouting and protesting against
Ghana, Congo, and Guinea for helping the Angolan rebels with arms and other
equipments. It is shouting that communist are interfering in Angola. But it must be
noted that no country be it western or eastern condemns this foreign interference,
nor the Portuguese government dares to lodge a complaint against these countries
in the UN as would normally have been done. The fact is that no country except
South Africa, dares to side openly with Portugal. Today Portugal enjoys no
international protection in her colonies and this is mostly because of the denunciation
of Portuguese colonialism in UN'.

Voice Of Freedom Of Goa made the following comment at the liberation of Ajuda
fort in South Africa in its broadcast on July 1961;

32 Sarin, Mohan Lal (1973), The Case Of Goa (1961) and the Controversy Regarding Gandhian Non-Violent
Resistance (Satyagraha) And International Law involved in It, Inaugural Dissertation. Marburg/Lahn.
The frequent Portuguese pretensions of strength and determination to defend every inch of its fatherland from Minho to Timor till the last drop of blood have proved miserably empty. The only brave feat they did was to set fire to the fort and other edifices. There could not have been better proof of Portuguese impotence and barbarism. A Lisbon daily having nothing else to say has taken consolation from this feat that in the days of old, brave captains used to burn their ships rather then let them fall in to the hands of the enemies. Yes, but one thing the Lisbon daily forgot and that is that the captain themselves used to go down to the bottom of the sea along with their burning ships. They never surrendered to their enemies as those Portuguese in Ajuda did. Dahome, on the other hand showed a truly Christian spirit by not arresting and punishing the two Portuguese representatives for having committed the criminal act of setting fire to the property belonging to Dahome and thereby endangering human life. It left them free to live and repent. In Goa there is grand jubilation over Dahome’s action. Everyone is wondering why Nehru does not send a similar ultimatum to these rulers to leave Goa. Portuguese has no courage to go to UN, the very fact that no western or any other country has defended her against Dahome, shows what the verdict of the UN would be. Similarly, after the terrible and shameful defeat on the question of Dadra and Nagar Haveli she has no face to approach International Court of Justice.

In order to show the Goans that their struggle for freedom was not a solitary struggle but one with all other anti-colonial struggles in Asia and Africa, Voice Of Freedom Of Goa, broadcast every small incident regarding the freedom movement in the colonies. In its broadcast dated 10th June 1956, it reported about the freedom struggle in Algeria, the then colony of France in the following words,

‘In these days the freedom struggle in Algeria has reached at its peak and deep inside the villages against the French imperialism. And due to this, French government has made all the preparations to crush this freedom movement in Algeria. On June 7th, 1956 twelve bombs were exploded in the capital city. One French officer and a convoy was killed by nationalists and fifteen Algerians who were identified as anti-nationals, as they were helping French government were also killed’.

While relating this news to the Goan liberation struggle, Voice Of Freedom Of Goa reported on 12th June 1956, the following,

‘Dr. Salazar says that Goa is not a colony, but a province of Portugal. Just as France said that Algeria is its province. But no one believes in this false propaganda because France is in Europe and its part cannot be in African continent. Similarly, Portugal’s province cannot be in Asian continent’.
It was not just enough to provide all the news to the people. It was at the same time essential to show the freedom loving and desiring countries who are siding with them or who are opposing their independence. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** broadcast the views of some of the countries about colonialism in the broadcast on 12th July 1956,

‘The Afro-Asian, Latin American and Socialists states viewed colonialism as a form of ‘permanent aggression’ which may be eradicated by the use of force in the exercise of the right of self-defence’.

**Anti-colonial struggle in Goa.**

Though **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** was started on 25th November, 1955 its broadcasts were also concentrated on the anti-colonial struggle in Goa, on the support of Government of India and of other nations in the world. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, though its broadcasts made the people of Goa aware that Goa had a long history of struggle for freedom right from 1543, when the villages in Southern Goa, Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim, Veroda and Ambelim first experienced the conversion policy. Organized resistance of Don Mathews de Castro in 1653, Pinto revolt of 1787, revolt by Bernardo Peres da Silva in 1833 and nearly twelve revolts by Ranes of Sattari from 1852 to 1912 followed this. This information was provided to the Goans to make them feel proud about their history and to strengthen their opposition to Portuguese authority on the soil of Goa. Both Catholics and Hindus were in the forefront in challenging the Portuguese domination during this time.

With the beginning of the 18th June 1946 movement for civil liberties a new era of satyagraha and non-violence had started in Goa. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** in its broadcasts upheld this satyagraha as one of the important satyagraha campaigns in the liberation struggle of Goa. It was only after a period of eight years, a new chapter was added to the liberation struggle with the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Goan nationalists liberated these two Portuguese enclaves in India in 1954. Its liberation, though a moment of jubilation for Goans, had created panic in the Portuguese administration. Thus as soon as Portugal was admitted, with the support of India into UN on 14th December 1955, it filed a case against Indian government at the International Court of Justice for the right of passage
between its territory and of Goa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli and between each of the latter and that this right comprises the facility of transit for person and goods including armed forces or other upholders of law and order, without restrictions or difficulties and in the manner and to the extent required by the effective exercise for Portuguese sovereignty in the said territories. Hearing of the application began before the Court on September 21, 1959 and International Court of Justice gave the final verdict in India’s favour on 12th April 1960. These proceedings of the Hague tribunal and learned defence of the then Attorney General, Shri. M. C. Setalvad, exposing the hollowness of the Portuguese claim was reported, by Voice Of Freedom Of Goa. It so happened that after the final verdict of Hague court in the case of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Portuguese governments official radio Emissora de Goa reported that the final verdict was in the favour of Portugal and that Portugal has won the case against India on Dadra and Nagar Haveli. This had created confusion in the minds of nationalist Goans. As they could not get the real information, because of the censorship on the newspapers in Goa, Voice Of Freedom Of Goa exposed these Portuguese lies. In its broadcast on the final verdict of International Court of Justice it not only broadcast the entire judgement to the people of Goa which was in India’s favour, but also criticized the Portuguese government for misinforming the people to cling to their possessions in India.

While reporting the views of some of the leaders of South American countries and their support for the freedom of Goa, Voice Of Freedom Of Goa, broadcast on 12th July 1956 the following:

'Rev. Father Benjamin Nunus reached Bombay, the leader of one of South American countries, said on behalf of the South American countries that all of them are behind the freedom of Goa. Nobody believes in what Salazar says. Though Salazar considers Goa as an overseas province of Portugal this is just the policy of keeping Goa under their rule. There is no meaning to it. Those countries that believe in colonialism and subjugation of other countries have found out a new way that they give them

certain rights to keep them under their rule...colonialism is colonialism. South American countries can help India and intermediate between India and Portuguese to solve the problem of Goa peacefully'.

It was also important for the Goans to get the support of the Indian leaders like P. M. Nehru, on the question of Goa, since Goans always looked forward towards Indians for getting their help to liberate Goa from Portuguese rule. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** in many of its broadcast provided Goans the views and feeling of Indian leaders towards Goa. In a broadcast dated 16th July 1956, the views of Smt. Vijayalaxmi Pandit were reported,

'Till 1947, the liberation struggle of Goa was a part of Indian National Movement. This is not just due to the fact that geographically it is the part of India, but just like any other nation it has got its own history, tolerance and high principles and its own culture which was developed and flourished for thousands of years...The life of Goans, their dressing and eating habits, their language are more or less similar to that of Indians. It also adopts the culture of other nations and tries to flourish it in its own way. But it has taught the most important principle to the world and that is tolerance towards each other....'

Similarly, **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** broadcast many such public speeches and views, of some of the very important personalities from within India and also from outside on the question of Goa. It not only reported them but also assessed these speeches from the view point of Goans. Thus the speech of Acharya Vinobha Bhave, who called upon the Portuguese to leave Goa peacefully and in a friendly manner, by respecting the sentiments of the people of Goa was broadcast on 15th July 1956. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa** then assessed the view of this Gandhian saint in the following manner

'See the words of this man, so important they are, but the Portuguese who live in the world of fanaticism would not recognize them, they may not understand these words of this great man, they may not reach to the deaf years of the Portuguese. But let us store them forever in our hearts and minds. They will show us the right direction'.

The October 1961 conference of Portuguese and other colonies on the road to freedom in Africa held in New Delhi was a historic event in the life of Goa’s liberation struggle. This conference on Portuguese colonialism was held due to the call given by All India National Campaign Committee for Goa at Delhi in October 1961 under the
presidentship of Mr. Balwantrai Mehta. This All India National Campaign Committee for the liberation of Goa was formed at a joint convention of the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement and the Goan Political Convention held at Delhi in December 1960. The October 1961 conference was inaugurated by Prime Minister of India Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and was attended by important African leaders of Portuguese colonial freedom movements who had earlier attended the Casablanca conference held in April 1961 under the patronage of King Hassan II of Morocco along with the Goan freedom forces from India. Among those who attended the Delhi conference were the Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Tanzanian Commerce Minister Abdel Elkatib and Mr. Anthony Wedgewood Benn, Minister for scientific development in the labour government of Mr. Harold Wilson all of whom urged Prime Minister Nehru not to delay action in Goa any further. Voice Of Freedom of Goa team attended this conference, held discussion with the Afro-Asian leaders, recorded their interviews and their messages of solidarity with Goans and their speeches exhorting the government of India to free Goa without delay as it was the key to their freedom. These messages were transmitted to the people of Goa in their own voices. So also the interview with Paulo de Castro, a Portuguese opposition leader living in exile in Brazil who came to meet Prime Minister Nehru and impressed upon him that he must act firmly with regard to Goa as the liberation of Goa would sound the death knell of Salazar’s dictatorship even in Portugal, was transmitted verbatim in his own voice. All this had an effect on the Indian Prime-Minister. Speaking at the concluding meeting of this conference on Portuguese colonialism in October 1961, Prime-Minister Nehru confessed that the Government of India’s Policy of solving the Goa question by peaceful means had failed and that ‘we have been forced into thinking afresh by the Portuguese to adopt other methods to solve this problem. When and how we will do it cannot be forecast now. But I have no doubt that Goa will soon be free’.


Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.

Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai, op.cit.,

Within two months of this conference on Colonialism, the Government of India took an important decision to send its troops to liquidate the Portuguese colonialism in Goa. All the troop movements were completed by 15th and 16th December 1961. As the team of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa received a message from the Border Security on 15th December 1961 that the border had become unsafe and they should move out immediately.

On reaching Belgatu, the broadcasts were started again and in keeping with the momentum they were done almost every hour. Just before the start of the 'Operation Vijay' on December 14th 1961, the Voice Of Freedom Of Goa, broadcast the important message from Dr. Salazar to the Portuguese Governor in Goa. The message read as follows,

'You will understand the sorrow with which I am penning this message. It is impossible for us to guess whether the Indian Union will attack or not the territories of the state in the immediate future. Threats, otherwise repeated too often, need not be taken to the letter, but this time the Indian government has gone so far in its war preparations that we do not know how it can divert them without carrying out the attack. May be it will attempt through subversive agents to alter the order and life of the state with a view to dispense and nullify the valor of our defence forces in the territory and avoid the conquest which it dreads internationally. Therefore, I would advise the maximum patience in the face of provocations. An intense diplomatic activity is in progress with a view to mobilize all the international friendship and influence of numerous states in order to dissuade the Indian Union from the attack it might be planning. We are confident that big powers like the United States, England and friendly states like Brazil and other South American, with the close co-operation of Spain have made it known to New Delhi or its representatives in those countries, their opposition to a military attack against the Portuguese territory. The position spontaneously adopted by highly influential world press, generally sympathetic to the Indian Union shows how aggression against Goa is repugnant to the conscience of nations and is interpreted as the denial of the policy of peace of the Prime Minister who is very sensitive to it. Whatever, be the result of these combined actions, one has to expect the worst. We are all aware of the smallness of our forces. But the neighbouring state having the possibility of multiplying, as it may wish, the forces of attack, there could always be in the end a great disproportion. The policy of the Government (of Portugal) has always been, in possibility in ensuing a fully efficacious defence to maintain in Goa such forces as would confront the Indian Union to mount as we see now an internationally scandalous military operation in full strength preventing it from giving an appearance of a simple police operation. This means that the first mission of our forces has been complied with. The second lies in not organizing themselves against the terrorist agents, so called liberators, but organize the defence in a way that would mark out the valor of the Portuguese in the old tradition in India. It is horrible to think that this may mean total sacrifice as the only form of maintaining ourselves up to our tradition and rendering the greatest service to the future of the nation. I do not visualize the possibility of a
truce nor of Portuguese prisoners, the same way as there shall not be surrender of ships, for I feel that there can be the soldiers and marines either victorious or dead. The attack, which may be launched against Goa, will aim at, by its extreme hardness reducing to the minimum duration. Politically it will be necessary that it continue for at least eight days, time necessary for the government to mobilise, as last resort international instances. These words, by their gravity, could not but be addressed to a soldier, conscious of his noble duties and totally committed to comply with them. Government will not permit that such soldier be the last to govern the state of India.

From this message of Dr. Salazar, it is quite clear that he was a fanatic ruler. But at the same time intelligent too. He knew that Indian government would one day loose its patience over Goa and even forgetting its non-violent and peaceful policy, attack Portuguese possessions in order to bring to an end the centuries old colonialism from Indian soil. However, still Dr. Salazar hoped that Indian government would not take such a decision so quickly. He was even confident that he would be able to use his goodwill with Portugal's friendly nations like USA, England and Spain to put pressure on the Indian government not to take such a hasty decision of launching an attack on the Portuguese possessions in India, as it would go against India's peaceful policy in solving the international problems. This means that these western countries would teach about the importance of non-violence and peace to India. This also makes clear that Portuguese who never understood the meaning of non-violence and satyagraha, believed that India should practice it towards Portugal.

This message also makes clear many other things. Firstly, Portuguese, with the support of many of the western countries wanted to cling to its colonies in India. Secondly, it also suggests that USA, England and Spain were not in favour of Goa's liberation, and wanted that Portugal should continue ruling here in Goa for the reasons best known to them. This may be possibly because, Portugal has told America that if it supports them on the Goan case, it would permit it to establish Army installations in Azores or other parts of Portugal. The second reason was that if Portuguese continue to occupy Goa, NATO forces would be establishing their military bases in Goa. It should be also remembered that Dr. Salazar was also wise enough to understand the importance of
these western countries to it on the Goa case. He also knew that Portugal would not be able to save Goa if India decides to take military action against the Portuguese in Goa. Thus the only way out was to take the help of these friendly nations of Portugal to put pressure on India to save Goa.

And the subsequent message of Dr. Salazar on the same day to the governor-General of Portuguese India read,

'I have received through our Minister of Foreign Affairs from Paris, this very moment, information from his British and American colleagues that Indian Union will unleash tomorrow attack against Portuguese territories. Approaches by the respective governments to ours and even personal approach of President Kennedy (USA) proved fruitless. Nothing more is now left but honour the mission interested to the troops under your command'.

One of the important broadcasts that were made just before 'Operation Vijay' was on 15th December 1961. It was a direct message from the Indian Defence Minister addressed to the Portuguese Governor-General, asking him to surrender and send his reply by a certain time on a certain wavelength. The team of Voice Of Freedom on telephone received this message on 14th December 1961 at 13 hours in Belgaum from G. K. Handoo, in charge of Goa operations. It said,

Indian forces are moving into Goa. Their speedy successes are apparent. To prevent unnecessary casualties, tell your leading troops to contact our Commanders. You can call on our High Command on any of the following frequencies.
5485 kilocycles/seconds
10820 kilocycles/seconds
16120 kilocycles/seconds
with code prefix ^India ^ at 10 minutes to every hour.

This same ultimatum was transmitted to him every hour and also to the Airport Tower at Dabolim. As no reply came, 'Operation Vijay' started. The Dabolim Airport, Radio Goa and the receiving center were bombarded in the early hours of the 18th December 1961. **Voice Of Freedom Of Goa**, during this 'Operation Vijay', increased their broadcasts to inform the people of Goa about the movement of troops into Goa and their advancement to the general line Mapusa, Bicholim, Sanquelim, Pilliem and thereafter to the General

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line Panjim (Panaji), Velha Goa, Ponda and Margao and finally to occupy rest of the territory of Goa. At the same time these broadcasts were made to build the tempo and warning were given to Portuguese to pack up and surrender to Indian army in both the languages in Portuguese and in Konkani.

‘Operation Vijay’ ended with the surrender of Portuguese army on 18th December 1961. Excited with these developments, Voice Of Freedom Of Goa team, on 19th December 1961, boarded an Air force Plane provided by the army fitted with a transmitter and a loudspeaker on its belly, flew over Panjim (Panaji) and the rest of Goa dropping leaflets and telling the people that the Portuguese had surrendered. Smt. Libia Lobo Sardesai remembers that event in the following words,

‘When on 18th December 1961, news came from Brig. Sagat Singh from Betim, that the Portuguese had surrendered, we were immediately informed. We made the announcement to the people so that they could all know that ‘Operation Vijay’ has ended successfully. After sometime we were invited to the Army camp. During the function at Army camp, General Chowdhary, chief of Army staff asked me now what. Full of enthusiasm, I told General that now I must announce from the skies that Goa is free. I had told him this on 18th December 1961 in the evening. He took me seriously and we received a message at night from him to come at 8 O’clock on 19th December 1961. we went there at the appointed time. Then the General said to us, look, now you want to announce freedom from the skies no. We are sending you in a plane. But there is one danger. The Portuguese guns are still there somewhere. We do not know they may shoot the plane down. We said, it does not matter; we are ready, because, now if we die it will be on free soil. We had to then sign the papers of consent. Flying all over, we dropped the leaflets, which were in Konkani and Portuguese. I announced the news of freedom in Konkani and Mr. Vaman Sardesai announced it in Portuguese. Later on synchronizing with the hoisting of the Indian Tricolour over ‘Sachivalaya’ (secretariat) in Panjim, hovering in the same plane above, we symbolically announced in Konkani and Portuguese from the skies that Goa is free and united with the motherland India’. 42

The team of Voice Of Freedom initially consisted of three members. All were staunch nationalists. Late Mr. Nicolau Menezes, a Goan nationalist in exile in Bombay, was one of them. During Goa’s liberation struggle especially in the initial years of the last phase beginning from 18th June 1946 movement for a number of Goan nationalists involved in peaceful satyagraha movement were arrested, sentenced to long terms of

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41 Khera, P. N. op.cit., p. 167
42 Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.
imprisonment and even deported to Africa and Portugal. This was the general tendency of the Portuguese administration. And in order to avoid arrest and deportation many Goan nationalists escaped to Bombay and Belgaum. From there they were participating in the Goan movement for liberation. Mr. Nicolau Menezes was one of them. But on account of his age and hardship of an underground jungle life he left the team after four to five months.43

Another member of the team was the late Mr. Vaman Sardesai. He was a student in Goa Medical College and at the same time giving tuitions in Portuguese language even to some Portuguese officials. When his nationalist activities were discovered, he was arrested and sentenced by the Military Tribunal to nine months of imprisonment and forfeiture of civic and political rights for five years. After release, therefore, he could not continue his studies or make a living any other way, for no one would employ him. No one dared even to speak to him or to associate with him. Finding it was not worthwhile to continue in these conditions, he transferred himself to Wardha where he became a confirmed Gandhian44. He came to Bombay from Wardha to join the mass satyagraha on 15th August 1955 but could not, due to its abrupt termination. He was handling Portuguese programmes for the External Services Division for All India Radio in Bombay. He joined the Voice Of Freedom Of Goa and was the main brain behind the running and the establishment of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa.45

Ms. Libia Lobo, a Goan residing at Bombay, and working at All India Radio Bombay, was the third and important voice that dominated the entire broadcasting of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa. She remembers her involvement in Goa liberation struggle in the following words;

'Just before India’s freedom I joined college and there I met colleagues who were in the Radical Humanist Party of M. N. Roy. I drifted towards that movement. At that time some Goans had formed Goan Youth League in

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43 Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.
44 Interview with Shri. Jaisingrao A. Rane.
Bombay and for sometime I became its secretary. After, India’s Independence naturally our resolve became the freedom of Goa. In 1955 when there was a call for satyagraha I had just finished my law and therefore, I felt free to join satyagraha. With that intention I attended a meeting in C. J. Hall on 15th August 1955, addressed by Shri. Kunte, the then speaker of Mahararastra Legislative Assembly. Unfortunately for me satyagraha was banned by Prime Minister so that the question of my joining the satyagraha movement did not arise.

But the mood that had been created in my mind kept me restless. After a couple of months, I came to know that the nationalists were trying to start a Radio station. In fact at that time I was working at A. I. R. but I did not know who was doing it, who were the concerned people and what it was about. One day a friend of mine spoke to me about this and said we are looking everywhere for a person talking in Konkani and preferably a lady and we cannot find one. Could you suggest any one? Spontaneously and immediately, I said ‘I will do it’. In a few days I resigned my job and joined the team of Voice Of Freedom’.

What was accepted here was not just the work of few days or few months but this was a continuous work, which might have lasted for years together if Goa was not liberated by ‘Operation Vijay’ on 19th December 1961. Though a period of six years may not seem long, these were years of near imprisonment for these nationalists. Since life was extremely difficult and trying. They had to live completely isolated in a corner of the forest incognito and incommunicado. But this was possible in spite of many hazards, lack of comforts, and other limitations, because the work was so uplifting and exciting that these nationalists did not mind if they had to spend their whole life doing it for Goa’s liberation.

To keep in tune with the recent happenings in the world these nationalist had to study bulletins and news from India and abroad, studying reports, collating information, received from inside and outside Goa, scanning Indian and Foreign newspapers, newsletters, to select information about the anti-colonial struggles, etc. The news received from reliable sources had to be studied and broadcasts had to be prepared. This may seem an easy task but getting the information while working underground was difficult.46 Jyoti Deshpande, a regular reporter of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa from Dadra and Nagar Haveli remembers,

46 Ibid.
‘When Dadra and Nagar Haveli was liberated by Goan nationalists Portugal had filed a case against Indian government over the right of passage in Dadra and Nagar Haveli at the international Court of Justice at Hague. During this time my father Shri. Raghuvir Srinivas Kamat, Dr. Antonio Furtado, who was appointed as the administrator and his wife Dr. Berta Menezes Braganza were in Nagar Haveli. I accepted a job of a typist and interpreter in the court of Nagar Haveli. We used to prepare reports on Dadra and Nagar Haveli to send it to Ministry for External Affairs in order to provide the documents and other material for Indian government to defend against the Portuguese. The same information which we used to collect from these documents were sent to Voice Of Freedom, by post on a certain address at Amboli and then at Belgaum’. 47

It should be remembered that there were no fax machines, no television sets and no computers to work with. Thus all the time listening to broadcasts, reading newspapers, was very hard work. But this did not deter them from doing their nationalist duty. Almost every household in Goa avidly listened to these broadcasts. They were so arranged that listeners could know, hear and feel exactly what they could have heard, read and experienced had they been living in free India itself. While talking about the impact of these radio broadcasts Mrs. Sulochana Kamat remembers,

‘At home we all used to gather at one place in our house and listen to the broadcasts of Voice Of Freedom. We were especially influenced by the voice of Libia Lobo. We used to feel proud of her as being a Catholic she spoke effectively against Portuguese. The importance of freedom, the concept of nationalism, besides freedom struggle in Goa and other such broadcasts deeply influenced us. I still remember her strong and powerful voice criticizing the government and asking them to leave Goa’. 48

These broadcasts were listened to by the Goans in the corners of their houses with low volume. Just as keeping a copy of nationalist newspaper was a crime, similarly listening to these broadcasts was also considered as a criminal act.

The ‘Q’ station or let me call it a ‘mobile radio’ station seemed to have become a powerful weapon for the Portuguese to reckon with. The Army Commandant, Major Jose Filipe de Barros Rodrigues reported to his superiors that;

‘The Voice Of Freedom has assumed the command of the entire propaganda and has maintained its aggressiveness and militancy. It works with the most diverse

47 Interview with Mrs. Jyoti Deshpande.
48 Interview with Mrs. Sulochana Kamat.
material. It threatens, criticizes, persuades, explains, changes colour, alters perspective, but in everything it says, it carries a sharp stiletto, operating from beyond the border and free from the pre-occupation of any attack from our side. It has been in fact the only voice which has been hurting us at close range.\footnote{Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai: op.cit., 19th December 1997.}

Due to this Portuguese even tried to jam the reception particularly Konkani as everyone understood it. But, these nationalists dodged them by shifting the wavelength by degrees. The decision to mount the transmitter in a truck to make it mobile was a wise and intelligent decision of these nationalists. They had to change their place twice. First time they had parked this truck in the dense forest area at Amboli. Amboli had become vulnerable to clandestine traffic. On a couple of occasions disguised hostile elements were apprehended near the station making curious inquiries. Since the nationalists thought that it was no longer safe to continue there, they shifted near Goa border forests of Castle Rock. Second time, they had to shift from Castle Rock to Belgaum when they received a message from the border security that the border had become unsafe. These nationalists had to spend their life in the forests infested with leeches, cobras, pythons and other reptiles and even wild animals. Though weapons or bullets never wounded them, yet a lot of their blood was shed everyday. The forest was carpeted with leeches making it difficult to take even a few steps without being bitten in spite of boots. They could be noticed only after they had grown in size sucking blood. They could also not be pulled out easily. Cigarette or other smoke was used to make them fall.\footnote{Interview with Adv. Libia Lobo Sardesai.} Is spite of all these problems and difficulties Voice Of Freedom Of Goa was voiced regularly with full swing. When Goa was liberated on 19th December 1961 Voice Of Freedom, always assuring the Goan people that Goa would be free made its last broadcast from skies announcing that now finally after 450 years Goa is free. The task was fulfilled and the need or reason for a clandestine existence ended. But in order to silence the Voice Of Freedom abruptly, the Voice Of Freedom therefore gave a parting message to the people of Goa on 21st December 1961 at the usual hour-7 a.m. as below;
We are now going to part, but only to meet face in Goa. Goa is now free and our work has come to an end. But this is the beginning of a new work of uplifting Goa. Thus, let us all come together and work together to see it on the top. We will henceforth enjoy the democracy. We have become the masters of our own soil. And no one can stop us from achieving our objectives. We can now voice our demands and desires openly and without fear. And we will altogether do it. Jai-Hind'.

Impact Of Voice Of Freedom On The Liberation Struggle.

It should be noted that the Voice Of Freedom Of Goa was started on 25\textsuperscript{th} November 1955, at a time when there was lull in the liberation struggle of Goa. As I have said earlier that it was during this time, the freedom struggle of Goa was taken at the international level. Voice Of Freedom Of Goa used to broadcast all these events for the people of Goa to keep up their morale. If we evaluate the liberation struggle of Goa during this time inside Goa, we could notice that only the revolutionary organizations were active inside Goa. But, the non-violent organization NC(G), as well as the satyagraha and non-violent activities had almost come to an end. Neither, were there the big satyagraha campaigns organized inside Goa, nor were there any instances of demonstrations, speeches, meetings and individual or group satyagrahas, held. It was only that the free Voice Of Freedom of Goa was heard loudly in the silence that dominated this particular period of Goa’s liberation struggle. It voiced that the liberation struggle of Goa might have come to a standstill but it has not come to an end completely.

It should be also noted that there have been no instances where Goans, by listening to these broadcast, and getting impressed by the anti-colonial struggle in Asia and Africa, have come out again to challenge the Portuguese rule in Goa. Of course, it is true that the discussions about these broadcasts were taking place at different houses inside Goa. People were impressed by the commitment and dedication of young girl of 25 years Ms. Libia Lobo and others who were living in the jungle areas. The anti-colonial movement in different parts of the world also impressed them. But, after the mass satyagraha of 15\textsuperscript{th} August 1955, nothing was done by Goans, as if they lacked determination and courage to fight against the Portuguese rule.
It is also essential to know about the team of Voice Of Freedom Of Goa. To run this entire movement for liberation, initially by three nationalist and then just by two required the undaunted courage. These nationalists spent nearly six years of their life, by living incognito, in jungles. At no moment, they felt exhausted, depressed, but continuously worked for the liberation of Goa.