

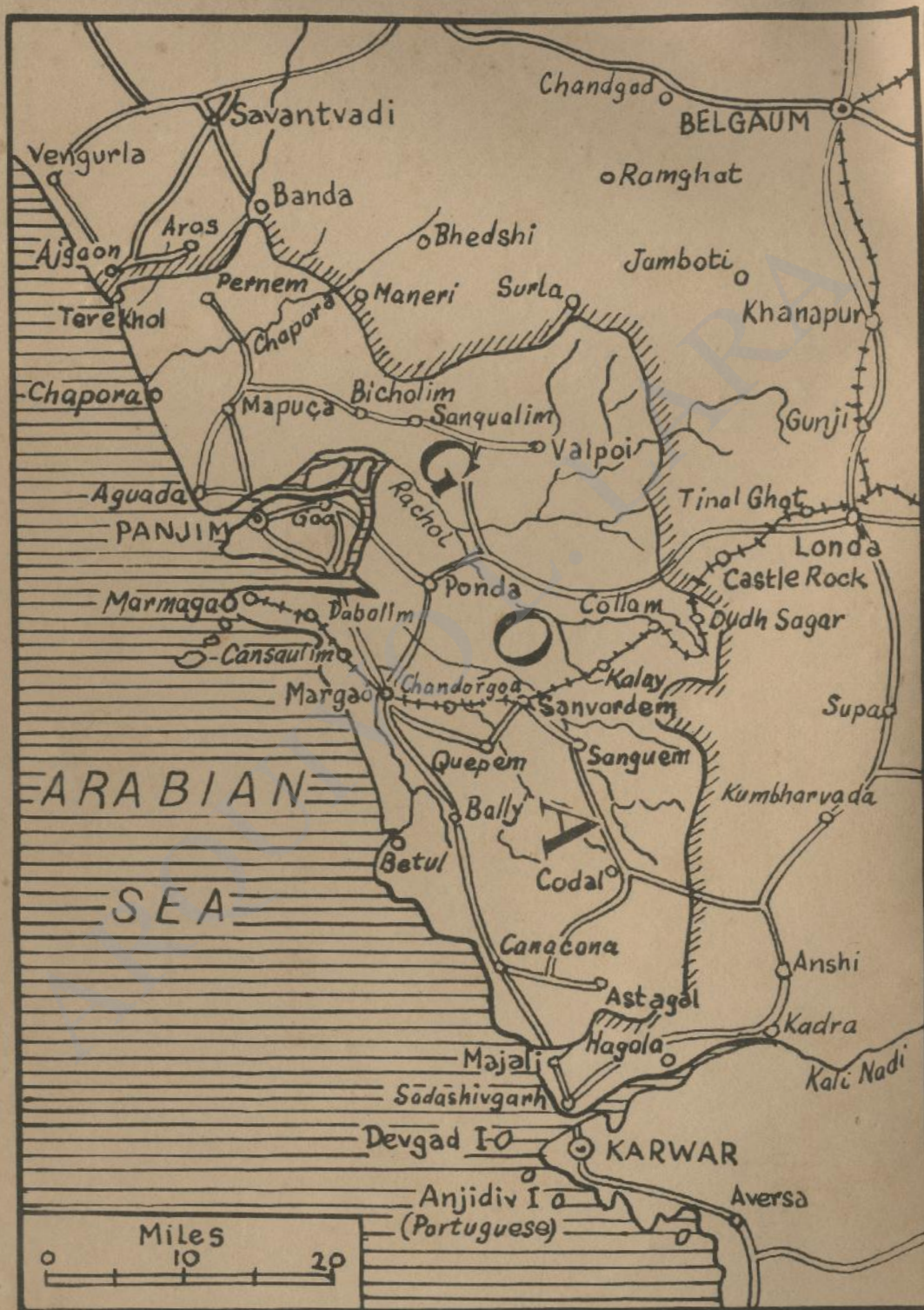
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GOA

**GOA**  
*AND*  
**THE CHARTER**  
*OF*  
**THE UNITED**  
**NATIONS**

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LUCIO LARA

**GOA**  
**AND THE CHARTER**  
**OF THE UNITED NATIONS**

**MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS**  
**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**  
**NEW DELHI**

## PARAGRAPHS

- From 'Colonies' to 'Provinces'
- Portugal's Provinces
- Province : Not a New Designation
- Goan Reaction to its Changed Status
- The Fundamental Freedoms in Portugal
- The Press in Portugal
- Portugal's Promise of a Special Statute for Goa
- The National Union
- Goan Deputies
- How "Subversion" is Checked
- A Special Police Establishment
- The Alternatives Open to a Colonial People
- Rapid Changes in Portugal's Constitution
- Goan Representation in Portugal
- A Different Pattern of Legislation For the Colonies
- The Administrators of Goa
- Goa's Political Statute of 1955
- The Geography of Goa
- The Language of the Goans
- Religion in Goa
- Old Hindu Customs Continue
- Cultural Influences
- The 'Assimilados' and Discrimination
- Goa's Repeated Bids for Freedom
- Contemporary Phase of the Nationalist Movement
- False Promises Provide a New Impetus
- The Liberation of Dadra and Nagar Aveli
- Satyagraha in 1955
- Freedom For Dependent Territories
- The Factors Resolution
- Goa and The Factors
- A Travesty of Truth

APPENDIX

## GOA AND THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

### From 'Colonies' to 'Provinces'

History is replete with instances of various stratagems adopted by the colonial powers to continue to hold on to their empires. Portugal is, however, unique among the colonial countries in having called to her aid legal wit and wisdom, the jugglery of words and subtle quibbling to designate what were once termed 'Colonies' as 'Provinces'. The change of terminology took place in 1951<sup>1</sup> when the Colonial Act which had been in force since 1930 was incorporated in Portugal's Political Constitution. From that year the Portuguese colonial empire took on a new shape and lost its special character.

Portugal was indeed looking far ahead. Her application for admission to the United Nations had been rejected, yet she would continue to apply and at some time or the other would become a member of that body<sup>2</sup>. There would be serious obstacles in the way then. The charter of the United Nations had categorically rejected colonialism and had solemnly written in the right of subject peoples to independence<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, before Portugal became a member of the U.N., it was a matter of necessity for her to prove through such legal change that she no longer had colonies under her control; they were all part of a large free state, equal in every respect, enjoying the fundamental freedoms, democratic in structure, and in fact indistinguishable from a nation like the United States of America or Brazil, which in a large geographical area had a population composed of various ethnic groups, religions, languages and the like.

The detestable word "Colony" was, therefore, dropped and the word "Province" took its place in what came to be known as the "Ultramar Portugues".

### Portugal's Provinces

Goa, one of Portugal's small colonies on the west coast of India, was along with Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Islands, San Thome and Principe, Angola and Mozambique in Africa and Timor and Macao in the Pacific, a victim of the change. By this change of terminology, Portugal contended that she had created for herself a special status of "empire builder",

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(<sup>1</sup>) Law No. 2048, dated 11th June 1951.

(<sup>2</sup>) Admitted to the United Nations in 1955.

(<sup>3</sup>) See Appendix (Act 73 of the Charter of the United Nations).

she had devised a unique system of complete integration of her colonies with the mother country!

### Province : Not a New Designation

A little research into history may be revealing. In the past, in various acts and legislation the word "colonies", "districts", "provinces" were used in a somewhat loose sense. For instance, in the law of 1933<sup>4</sup> which lays down what is termed "the Overseas Administrative Reform" one reads under the heading "Administrative Divisions of the Colonial Empire" the following article:—

"Art. 2: For administrative purposes, the Portuguese colonies are divided into Departments and countries; the latter are subdivided into Administrative Divisions and may be grouped as;

- (a) Districts.
- (b) *Provinces*.
- (c) Districts and *Provinces*.

Art. 3: The *colonies* divided into *Provinces* are colonies under a Governor-General."

Even earlier Portuguese laws exhibit the same confusion of thought and the words "dominion", "territory", "province" and "colony" are used as synonymous and interchangeable for parts of the colonial empire. The change introduced in 1951 was undoubtedly an attempt to clear up the confusion and to set the record "straight" for the purpose of circumventing the Charter of the U.N. as also for Portugal's own internal needs dictated by the distorted vision of Prof. Salazar and his constitution makers. Through these changes Portugal claimed that the desire of the colonial peoples to integrate fully with the motherland had been achieved.

### Goan Reaction to its Changed Status

In Goa the incorporation of the Colonial Act into the Political Constitution of Portugal was announced as news of great portent. But the Goans were fully aware that Professor Salazar's Cabinet sitting in Lisbon had acted unilaterally without consulting the people of Goa or for that matter those of the other colonial territories in Africa and elsewhere. Salazar's Cabinet had no mind to listen to or seek the opinion of the second and the third class citizens of the "Ultramar Portugues". The Goans received the news of the change as they do, in fact, the news of other developments in Lisbon, such as, the periodical changes of the President of Portugal, with complete apathy. There was no public enthusiasm; even the administration of Goa, largely European, failed to catch the significance of the moment and almost ignored the announcement by the Government in Lisbon.

In contrast to this totally apathetic attitude to the changes of 1951 it is significant to recall the agitation in the "colony" of Goa at the time the Colonial Act of 1930 was under discussion. In the *liberal* atmosphere

(<sup>4</sup>) Law No. 23 : 229, dated 25th November 1933.

then prevailing public meetings of protest were held in Goa and Bombay when the provisions of the proposed bill were made public. In a historic session of the Government Council of Goa, on the 4th July, 1930, four days before the bill became law in Portugal, the leader of the elected minority in the Council tabled the following motion which is still to be found on the records of the Council:—

“Portuguese India does not renounce the inherent right of all the peoples to attain the fullness of their personality until they are able to constitute themselves as units, capable of shaping their own destiny, since it is a right originating from their organic essence.”

Within a period of two decades the regime of Prof. Salazar had grown rigid, thought and action had atrophied, freedom of expression was a luxury which only those who were prepared to serve a sentence in jail could afford.

### The Fundamental Freedoms in Portugal

The “metropolitan” Portuguese themselves do not enjoy the fundamental freedoms; there is no freedom of expression or thought, there is no freedom of association, nor freedom of the press in Portugal and it is foolish to expect that the ‘assimilados’ or the ‘indigenos’<sup>5</sup> of the colonies could enjoy higher intellectual freedoms. In Portugal’s Political Constitution there is, however, a commendable prescription extending to the *citizens of Portugal* the rights of the “freedom of expression and thought under any form” as well as the “freedom of association and meeting”, but the same article<sup>6</sup> goes on to circumvent<sup>7</sup> indeed nullify, these rights:—

“Special laws shall regulate the freedom of expression of thought, meeting, and association, and as regards the first named, perversion of public opinion must be forbidden preventively or repressively . . . . .”.

The freedom of the individual is, therefore, heavily circumscribed and that is no surprise if one remembers that the Government of Prof. Salazar is a dictatorship known for its harsh laws and severe forms of repression, where even a candidate for a presidential election has to pay the penalty of the “crime” for standing for election to the high office against the nominee of Salazar and is forced to seek asylum in South America.

### The Press in Portugal

The Press in Portugal and its “overseas provinces” is regulated equally rigidly. The Political Constitution provides for prior press censorship<sup>7</sup> and in addition, in respect of newspapers in the colonies, a monetary guarantee acts as a deterrent against the misbehaviour of the editor or publisher or even of the correspondent. If an adverse comment escapes the notice of the Government Censor, the newspaper is not exonerated from the criminal

(5) Meaning “assimilated” and “natives”.

(6) Article 8, Political Constitution of 1933.

(7) Article 22, *ibid.*

responsibility incurred. Under these conditions which severely restrict individual and collective liberty, there can hardly be any free expression of opinion on such fundamental matters as the rights of citizens or the rights of the colonial people.

An extract of a letter written in 1954 by a former Portuguese Minister and one of the liberal intellectuals of Portugal, Antonio Sergio, illustrates vividly how the Portuguese themselves feel about the situation in which they are. This letter was addressed to the then Minister of the Overseas Provinces and reads:—

“I make the following constructive suggestions: The launching of a civic intercourse campaign of real national unity, by abolishing the system of cold war, and by granting to the overseas Portuguese, as well as to those in Portugal, fundamental civic 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....”

#### **Portugal's Promise of a Special Statute for Goa**

To understand Portuguese ways of thinking and doing it would be interesting to go back five years from the date of the Political Constitution of 1951. That was 1946 when India on the eve of independence and the nationalist movement within Goa seeking to achieve its own independence and then merger with India had reached a zenith. The Portuguese Government realised that it had to do something to lull the Goans into silence. It, therefore, promised a special statute for Goa. The Governor General of Goa under instructions from his home Government invited a number of prominent Goans to discuss the broad points of the proposed new Statute. The meetings were to be presided over by the Director of the Civil Services Administration of Goa, a Portuguese European. There were, of course, no meetings but heated arguments between the Goan invitees and the European Chairman. As opposition did not suit the Governor General, the discussions were adjourned and little progress could be made. A draft was finally produced by the administration and it was decided by them that discussions would be held *in camera* limited to a committee of officials and other members nominated by the Governor General. The nominated members who were unable to accept the draft statute withdrew and after dilatory proceedings lasting over a period of seven years, the so-called draft received the approval of the officials and was forwarded to Portugal as an expression of the voice of the people of Goa.

A section of the people of Goa drew the attention of the Government of Prof. Salazar to the absurdity of this procedure. They were emboldened to send a formal representation which read:—

“...as citizens who deeply love this land where they were born and live, the undersigned wish to express to Your Excellency, their profound displeasure at the Bill of Administrative-cum-Political Statute, based on the Portuguese Overseas Organic



Law of 1953, which was recently published in the Goan press, and is to be submitted shortly to Portugal after being broadly approved by the Government Council of this State which, owing to its faulty constitution, is far from being able to represent the legitimate views of the country.....”

“... Portugal introduces the said Bill relating to the Administrative-cum-Political Statute, which clearly shows that she intends simply to perpetuate the old mistakes of further disfiguring the personality and the independent will of the country and depriving the population of this State of every initiative and self-respect. The Political Statute as drawn up, and containing so many structural defects and subtle restrictions and clauses, only shows that even in this *grave and delicate situation* there was no hesitation in causing further grievous injuries to the interests, rights, and dignity of this people who only desire, in the legitimate, use of all their powers, *to look after their own moral, social, and cultural heritage*, which they have always considered their own precious keepsafe....”

“... Some of the undersigned, *having been consulted, seven years back*, on the same matter, stated that these two documents should be submitted to the *prior approval of the country's public opinion, by means of the same or improved machinery; and that thus, their true wishes should be ascertained which wishes—as was at the time implicitly recognised—could not be represented by the present Government Council.*”

“... the country can do no other thing than assume the legitimate attitude of protest against the said Organic Law and proposed Administrative-cum-Political Statute, in regard to the execution and working of which, the free section of the country (*if it can be called entirely free*) will maintain naturally aloof and unconcerned.”

These extracts from the representation make clear that any popular expression of opinion through representative organs is virtually impossible in Goa, or for that matter in the other Portuguese colonies. Fundamental freedoms as understood elsewhere in the democratic world are indeed non-existent in the domains of the Government of Prof. Salazar.

### **The National Union**

Yet a privileged position is extended to those in Portugal who fall in line with narrow thinking of Prof. Salazar namely, the National Union and the National Assembly. The National Union is the only political party allowed to function in Portugal and naturally, therefore, the National Assembly is made up exclusively of the members of the National Union. In other words, Prof. Salazar, his Government, his Assembly and his party are all just one and the same. Indeed the appointments of the leaders of the National Union are not infrequently notified in the Government Gazette.

### **Goan Deputies**

In Goa, too, the two so-called elected deputies, out of a total population of almost six lakhs, must belong to the National Union. One of these deputies is a clergyman, supported by the Portuguese Government and the other was for long a well-known businessman and hotel proprietor whose

profitable existence depends on acquiescence to his masters voice. The electorate, incidentally, comprises of barely 23,000 voters despite the fact that economic and social levels are in no way less than in India where every single adult enjoys the right to a free expression of his choice during the national elections.

### How "Subversion" is Checked

One may well ask how in a large empire Prof. Salazar and his Government are enabled to maintain the strictness of control required to ensure that there shall be no criticism of the Government or its policies. The answer is to be found in the laws, methods and organisation of the system. The laws, on what are termed "subversive activities", are wide enough to bring within their scope practically every aspect of non-conformity to the Government's own line of thinking.

A statement in a cafe, a meeting in a private house, a letter through the post, a sermon in the church, all of which may be directed to seeking even such things as minor civic amenities are subject to the classification "subversive". In fact a comprehensive law regulates what is termed "preventive and repressive measures" relating to certain activities, namely, those directed against the security of the State.<sup>8</sup> Here are illustrative quotations from this law:—

"Art. 10—Meetings or assemblies in which seditious and offensive demonstrations against the authorities are noticed, or are likely to endanger in any way public order or security of the citizens, shall be dissolved if they constitute infringements of the law."

"Art. 24—The printing presses which print publications, manifestos, pamphlets and other subversive literature or literature likely to disturb public order, shall be closed down, and its equipment, together with other moveable property shall be seized and confiscated by the State...."

### A Special Police establishment

To enforce the rigorous prescriptions of the anti-subversive laws the Portuguese Government have established a special police organisation, the notorious PIDE<sup>9</sup> branches of which operate with extreme efficiency in the "Overseas provinces". Their authority which derives from the heavy and oppressive laws on "subversive" activities is further strengthened by such measures as:

"Any person can be interned for security reasons from one to three years in a suitable place"<sup>10</sup>

This is indeed a wide provision which empowers the State to look after, as guests of the Government, any one whose face, figure or voice does not conform to the proportions laid down by the regime of Prof. Salazar. Under the provision of an amending law of 1956<sup>11</sup> the Govern-

(<sup>8</sup>) Law No. 37.477, dated 13th June 1949.

(<sup>9</sup>) Policia Internacional e Defesa do Estado.

(<sup>10</sup>) Law No. 37.447 *ibid.*

(<sup>11</sup>) Law No. 40.551 of 1956.

ment is also empowered "to exile suspects for an indefinite period when lacking evidence" or to increase the periods of detention for "further successive durations of three years."

### The Alternatives open to a Colonial People

These are just illustrative of the multitude of enactments brought into force by the Government of Salazar with a view to curbing the free expression of the will of the people under colonial rule. Read together they make it abundantly clear that it is impossible for the colonial people even to entertain ideas of independence. In fact every genuine activity towards emancipation can be brought under the purview of the repressive laws and thus thoroughly stifled. To the people in the colonial territories therefore there are just two alternatives: either to revolt against the system and suffer the extreme consequences of detention without trial, the subtle torture of the PIDE or to earn praise as sychophants of the regime. Antonio Sergio, a reference to whom has been made earlier, makes this abundantly clear in later passages of the letter he wrote to the Minister of the Overseas Territories:

"... Instead of meeting the just aspirations of the Indo-Portuguese, the demands were met with police precautions, with trials conducted by Courts, with deportations to Portugal and imprisonments in the fortress of Peniche."

"... the Colonial Act with its racial discrimination, would make it impossible for us to appear before the bar of public opinion with true justice and reason."

And in the light of the reply he received from the Overseas Minister he wrote again to say:

"From what you give me to understand, during your visit to the Portuguese overseas territory you did not come across any demonstrations of discontent or concern. It is to be presumed that the blows exchanged by Mr. Bruto da Costa, and the Governor of Goa, Mr. Quintanilha Dias, under your very nose there, has no bearing at all on the case. Let us admit in short, that you have not come across any hostile demonstrations. We all know, however, why it should not be easy to find them. Not because there is no discontent in India (and also in Portugal), but because the demonstrations are prevented by police, nipped in the bud by the censorship. If my information is not wrong, before you arrived in India a Head of the Political Police was sent there to strengthen the security measures normally taken, in order to avoid hostile demonstrations. As far as I am concerned however, a number of Goans have complained to me and I hold a brief report sent to me by a distinguished Goan, a copy of which I can send to you if you are interested...."

### Rapid Changes in Portugal's Constitution

The Political Constitution of Portugal undergoes changes with amazing rapidity to suit the special demands of the times. The first Constitution of the present regime was promulgated on the 11th April, 1933 as the "Political Constitution of the Portuguese Republic". Since then it had

been amended no less than 7 times within a period of 18 years. While a revision of the Constitution is the prerogative of the National Assembly, which, as stated earlier, constitutes representatives of the single party, the National Union, amendments are within the competence of the Council of Ministers without prior consultation with the representatives of the people to whom they are applicable. This easy manner in which amendments have been carried out to the Constitution in its reference to the colonies has been criticised by one of the foremost public men in Portugal, not naturally in line with Prof. Salazar's thinking. Eng. Cunha Leal, who has advocated the grant of complete autonomy to Goa, had this to say:

"As a crushing and unchallengeable argument, Salazar invokes the fact that the Constitution lays down the territorial unity of Portugal with the overseas territories, placing all on a footing of juridical equality, and considering them not open to graceful or onerous cession, to exchange or bargaining. . . . Thus the Chief (Salazar) invokes a *constitutional ban as supreme law* to avoid negotiations aimed at reducing the whole of our geographical existence. Nehru could challenge this argument by saying that there are no intangible Constitutions, and that all of them contain provisions likely to allow amendments. . . ."

If, in the light of this we consider that the Portuguese Constitution was made applicable to Goa as recently as 1951, essentially as a policy of expediency, the criticism of Prof. Salazar by Eng. Cunha Leal has even more meaning.

### **Goan Representation in Portugal**

Goa's representation in the National Assembly, sitting in Lisbon, which decides on revisions of the Constitution, constitute only two members out of a total of 120 deputies. These two members, as observed earlier, are nominees of the only political party permitted to function in Portugal and its colonies, namely the National Union. They have no rivals and are, therefore, returned unopposed. Yet whatever be the basis of selection even in the matter of representation there is clear discrimination between Portugal ("Metropolitan" as we might term it) and its "overseas provinces", to the obvious detriment of the latter. While in Portugal the representation is on a basis of 6 to 7 deputies for every 50,000 inhabitants, Goa with a population of 630,000 is represented by two. In fact the entire colonial empire with a population far larger than that of Portugal has 17 representatives against a total of 103 for Portugal. In the other organs of the nation such as the Corporative Chamber, the Council of State, and the so-called Imperial Council, Goa is not represented at all. Goa's feeble voice, therefore, is seldom heard, for what it is worth, in the supreme councils of Prof. Salazar's empire.

### **A Different Pattern of Legislation for the Colonies**

In the pattern of legislation followed by the Portuguese Government the "overseas provinces" are in most fields the subject of special legislation. Apart from the legislative powers of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the Overseas Minister have, individually, their own special prerogatives. The jurisdiction of the Overseas Minister, for example, covers

all matters concerning the interests of the colonies and the Minister may or may not exercise his powers in consultation with the Imperial Council. Even if he does consult the Imperial Council, he is under no obligation to accept its advice.

To detail some of the matters which fall within the legislative competence of the Overseas Minister:

- (a) The exercise of rights, liberties and guarantees including human, civil and religious rights and special guarantees for the indigenous inhabitants referred to in the Political Constitution.
- (b) The Political and Administrative Statute of the colony.
- (c) The general administrative organisation of the colonies and of the public services including the composition of the staff.
- (d) The total or partial *annulment* of legislative measures of the governments of the colonies when, in the opinion of the Minister, they are detrimental to the *national interest*.

### The Administrators of Goa

In the general administrative pattern followed under the Portuguese Constitution,<sup>12</sup> the appointment of Governors General and Governors is the right of the Council of Ministers in Lisbon. There has been no single occasion in the entire history of Goa when a Goan has been appointed a Governor General and has held office for a length of time. In the administrative pattern in Goa practically all senior posts of executive responsibility, including such posts as the Chief of Cabinet of the Governor-General's office, the Director of Administration, the Officer Commanding the troops, the Chief of the Naval Forces, the Police Commandant, etc. are Europeans from Metropolitan Portugal. Portugal thus "safeguards" the interests of its provinces. The Overseas Minister, apart from exercising his competence to appoint or discharge officials in the overseas service and in the colonial administrations, further exercises complete disciplinary control over these services and personnel who thus depend on him for commendation or, alternatively, dismissal if they do not conform to an approved pattern.

The Governor General is the supreme authority in each colony, possessing both legislative and executive powers. The advice of the Council, referred to below, is never binding on him. Yet even in this supreme position he finds himself subject to controls and limitations, imposed by the Overseas Minister, the Central Council of Ministers or the National Assembly.

In an earlier paragraph a passing reference had been made to the desire evinced by the Government of Salazar in 1946 to evolve a new Political Statute for Goa. Such a political statute would have determined the administrative structure of Goa within the broad ambit of the Political Constitution of Portugal. In 1946 and for several years thereafter when the nationalist movement of the Goans for merger with India gathered momentum, all talk of a political statute was abandoned. In 1955, a period of comparative quiet, a new political statute was announced, a statute which purported to grant wide autonomous powers to the new "province" of Goa, but which in truth was a retrograde measure.

(12) Established under the Organic Law—No. 277 of 15th August 1914.

## Goa's Political Statute of 1955

Under this Statute of 1955 the special prerogatives of the National Assembly in Portugal, the Council of Ministers and the Overseas Ministers in Lisbon have been firmly entrenched. The Governor-General of Goa continues to seek the advice of a Government Council whose members are the nominees of the Governor-General. As a farcical body, a Legislative Council has been set up whose main function is "to defend the integrity of the Portuguese nation." The functions of this Council are confined to the submission of bills which do not involve an increase in expenditure or a decrease in revenue. The members of the Council are again drawn from the narrow folds of the National Union, the single party which is permitted to function.

In the financial sphere it is the nominated Governor-General and not the elected Legislative Council which passes the budget. Nevertheless, as a measure of great political wisdom, the Legislative Council is permitted to express views on budgetary proposals and may even *request* the Governor to take these views into consideration before the budget is approved by the Government Council. Yet despite such a process the over-riding authority of the Overseas Minister still continues. He is in fact the supreme arbiter of what is unconstitutional and unlawful; he is also the arbiter of what is the essence of goodness for the colony and can impose at his will regulations governing the financial structure of each colony. In an area of enlightened democracy, at a time when most colonial powers have, in a sense of wisdom and vision granted independence to their colonies, the Political Statute granted to Goa by the Government of Prof. Salazar stands out as a singular example of dictatorship and totalitarianism.

### The Geography of Goa

The territories of Goa, Daman and Diu, with a total area of just over 1,300 square miles and a population of 630,000 are over 5,000 miles away from Portugal. They are in every respect a part and parcel of India geographically, ethnically, racially and culturally. The so-called continuity which Portugal claims by redesignating its former 'colonies' as 'provinces' have hardly any basis of support unless it be the fact that the major share of the higher administrative posts are held by Portuguese Europeans and that 5,000 odd European troops, a number varying in direct proportion to the intensity of the nationalist movement, are also maintained to ensure "law and order" in the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu. These are the factors which determine continuity between Metropolitan Portugal and its "overseas" provinces.

On the other hand between the 'pockets' and India there are no natural barriers. Goa, Daman and Diu are part of the same coastal areas, fed by common streams and sharing adjoining mountain ranges. The people of the territories are of Indian origin; the claim that they are formed of a fusion of Indian and Portuguese people of European stock is fantasy. In fact, official statistics published by the administration of Goa belie such claims. Out of an entire population of 630,000, 562 are classified as 'Eurasian' and 517 as European.<sup>13</sup> The Portuguese laws provide a clear distinction between the various categories among the local people of

(<sup>13</sup>) Official Census figures of 1950.

the colonies. The "assimilated" and the "natives" are distinct in law and practice from the European. The conclusion is inescapable that there is no ethnic affinity between the Portuguese and the Goans.

### The Language of the Goans

Equally useful conclusions may be drawn from the language of the people. Despite the 450 years of the so-called 'civilising mission' of the rulers of Portugal, the vast majority of Goans speak Konkani, an Indian dialect common to the entire coast of west India from Bombay in the North to Mangalore in the South. Konkani is spoken by the Hindus, Christians and Muslims and it is a very small minority alone that speak or understand Portuguese. Strangely enough, the people who speak Portuguese are even less in percentage than those who speak English.

Over the centuries strong efforts have been made by the successive Viceroys and Governors General of Goa to root out what were the Indian aspects of the life of the Goans. The use of the Indian language, the use of Indian dress, the adoption of Indian customs, were all forbidden under the penalty of the law. Even today Konkani is unacceptable as an *official* language in the courts, administrative tribunals and in representations to the Governor General. Paradoxically, however, there are 21,000 students in the Marathi, Gujerati and English schools in Goa as against a bare 1,600 in the Portuguese Lyceum.<sup>14</sup> Where then is the assimilation spoken of by the Portuguese?

### Religion in Goa

"The Cross of the Sword" has been an old Portuguese adage, well describing the fact that from the time of Afonso de Albuquerque religion has been the main instrument of the Portuguese colonial effort except perhaps for a short time during the era of the Marquis of Pombal and again for a period after the proclamation of the new Republic in 1910. The present regime recognises that the Church enjoys a special mission in the colonies. Both the Colonial Act and the Organic Charter of the Colonial Empire stipulate that:—

"Catholic missions in the overseas territories are instruments of civilisation and *national influence*."

In other words the temporal rulers of Portugal link religion with the current cult of Portuguese sovereignty, an influence strongly supported by the Patriarch of Goa Dr. Jose Alvernaz<sup>15</sup> an ardent acolyte of Prof. Salazar's regime. To quote an extract from a recent sermon delivered by the Patriarch would be more illustrative:

"Nevertheless we find ourselves today in this See, Primatial of the East and Patriarchal of the East Indies, an old and majestic witness of our past greatness, and of our will to continue to be the bearers of a message brought to this land by the Caravels, flying the Cross of Christ, to thank God for the favour granted during these past years and chiefly the fact of the recognition by the Court of International Justice of

(<sup>14</sup>) Unofficial figures as of 1959.

(<sup>15</sup>) Patriarch of Goa from 1953, succeeding Dr. Jose Costa Nunes.

our right to continue to be what we are for the last four and half centuries."

If further legal sanction is required in support of this pot-pourri of religion and politics, one has only to look to the Portuguese Political Constitution which states:—

"The Portuguese Catholic Missions overseas and the institutions for preparing the personnel for their services and those of the "Padroado" shall enjoy juridical personality, and shall be protected and assisted by the State, as institutions of teaching and assistance and *instruments of civilization*, under the terms of the concordats and other agreements signed with the Holy See."

Yet despite the link of religion with the cult of Portuguese sovereignty the failure in Portugal's *civilising mission* is apparent in the statistics of the religion-wise distribution of the Goan people, which reveal:<sup>16</sup>

Hindus	388,488
Christians	234,275
Others	9,086

### Old Hindu Customs Continue

There are no constitutional disabilities based on distinctions in religious groupings. It is, however, interesting to note a peculiar phenomenon which has probably no parallel in the Christian world and which, again, only emphasises the fact that Goa has little in common with Portugal. Among those converted to Christianity over the centuries, the ancient usages and customs of the Hindus are still found preserved. They have held fast to old traditions despite efforts by the authorities, civil and religious, to suppress them on the ground that they militate against the very basic principles of the Christian religion which underline equality amongst its members. To take an instance, a typical feature of the Christians in Goa is that those converted originally from among the Brahmins do not generally inter-marry with converts from other castes and so on, thus maintaining the caste distinctions in their new role as Christians. The caste system is even prevalent among the Goan priests and leads to sharp rivalries and factions among them in Goa to the extent that there are different institutions to meet the requirements of different castes.

The noted Brazilian Sociologist, Gilberto Freire, who was in Goa a few years ago on a short visit sponsored by the Portuguese Government, had this to say about 'casteism' in Goa:

"I have been amazed to discover in Portuguese India that the spirit of casteism still survives inside Christianity itself. Even in the churches it is common, at present, to see Catholics of Brahmin origin maintaining themselves strictly apart from the Catholics belonging to castes considered by them as 'inferior'. The clergy have adopted themselves to the situation."

### Cultural Influences

A study of the various facets of Goan life brings us inevitably to the question of culture and cultural influences. From time to time Ministers

(16) Official Census of 1950.



for the Colonies and other Portuguese visitors have eulogised what they have termed as the 'cultural integration' between the two peoples, meaning thereby, the portuguese and the Goans. Is this true or is this like the other claims of Portugal a myth? A small section of the Goans mainly concentrated in the larger towns of Panjim, Marbao and Mapuca have what may be termed a Latin or Western type civilisation. We find the same example in the larger cities of Africa or South East Asia or in India itself. This group, however, is a distinct and small minority in relation to the entire population of Goa. Unfortunately, distinguished visitors have the special benefit of being met by or introduced to just this small group and, therefore, carry away with them impressions so created. If such visitors moved about the villages and saw the Goans in their homes, they would understand how deep rooted is Indian tradition and the Indian way of life in Goa. A learned book by Dr. Braganza Pereira entitled "Etnografia da India Portugesa" and published under the patronage of the Portuguese Government at a time when the Government of Prof. Salazar had not yet absorbed the new "revolutionary" ideas describes amply the customs and usages of the people of Goa, emphasising the close affinity between the Goans and the Indians across the political barriers.

#### The 'Assimilados' and Discrimination

The Colonial Act of 1930 spoke of "the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to possess and colonise overseas territories", a phraseology which was changed under the new Constitution to read:

"It is the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfil a historic mission of colonizing the lands of the discoveries under its sovereignty" <sup>17</sup>.

This was a new label to an old bottle and in the process of fulfilling the historic mission the colonial people were divided into the "assimilated" (assimilados) and the "natives". The former were those who could read and write Portuguese, the others classified as natives.

Apart from this distinction between one group and another of the people in the colonies discrimination in other respects as between the colonial people and the "metropolitan" Portuguese is in ample evidence in both legislation and practice. For example, while the law lays down that "military service is general and compulsory"<sup>18</sup> in the colonies, Portuguese subjects are compelled to pay a yearly military tax and cannot avoid such payment even if they offer to be conscripted. There are thus no regular Goan troops nor are there Goan Commissioned officers in the combat divisions.

In the civil services, as observed elsewhere, the key posts in the Administration of Goa are held by Portuguese Europeans. One does see, of course, though somewhat rarely, a Goan chief of department but great care is taken to ensure that European officers are not posted subordinate to him. Discrimination extends into the realms of the Church and though India has several Goan bishops and the only Indian Cardinal is of Goan origin, there has never been a Goan bishop at the head of the Church in Goa. A Goan could not be considered a faithful and loyal "instrument of Portuguese civilization".

(<sup>17</sup>) Art. 135 of the Constitution.

(<sup>18</sup>) Art. 54 of the Constitution.

## **Goa's Repeated Bids for Freedom**

Goan resistance to Portuguese imperialism goes back to 1654 when a Roman Catholic priest, named Castro, raised the standard of rebellion. In 1787, in a rising known as the 'Pintos rebellion', Portuguese domination faced a more concerted and greater challenge. This was conspiracy by a group of priests in Goa aimed at overthrowing the Portuguese Government. The attempt proved abortive and the ring-leaders, fortyseven in all, including seventeen priests and seven army officers, were arrested and imprisoned.

In 1835, a Goan, Bernardo Peres da Silva, was appointed Prefect by the King of Portugal. The Europeans resented this action and he was forced to relinquish his post and seek refuge in British India. Bernardo Peres da Silva helped by the British, who even provided him with naval and military officers, prepared an expedition to assert his power in Goa. The ill-fated expedition, however, came to an inglorious end; yet the significant fact remains that the British gave assistance and encouragement to a Goan patriot who in their eyes was the lawful authority, against the European reactionaries in Goa.

Through the centuries the Ranes of Satari have been the most formidable opponents of Portuguese rule in Goa and made numerous attempts to drive out the hated foreigners. The most serious attempt was in 1852 in an uprising led by Dipaji Rane which has left a deep impress on the history of the Goan Freedom Movement. Dipaji's first success was the seizure of the Fort of Nanas in Satari district, stocked with fire-arms and ammunition. With Nanas as his headquarters, Dipaji carried out sorties into Quepem, Canacona and Hemadbarshem thus bringing almost half of Goa under his control. Impressed with such initial successes the people rallied round him and the revolt assumed formidable proportions. Dipaji's rebellion lasted for three and a half years and eventually the Portuguese Governor was compelled to make peace with the rebel. The Portuguese agreed to extend protection to village institutions, abandoned repressive religious measures and granted an amnesty to the rebels; Dipaji Rane being awarded a sword of honour and the honorary title of Captain.

### **Contemporary Phase of the Nationalist Movement**

The palliatives produced a temporary lull but the people's thirst for freedom could not be quenched. Dada Rane's revolt in 1895 and another later revolt in 1912 testified to the determination of the Goans not to accept slavery nor to rest content till their land was free. During the 17th, 18th, 19th and the early part of the 20th century the freedom movement in Goa had assumed essentially violent forms. However, with the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian scene the pattern of the nationalist resistance to the Portuguese in Goa underwent a radical change. With the founding of the Goan National Congress in 1928 by Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha 'non-violence' was adopted as the guiding principle. The Goan newspapers 'Pradipa' and 'Prakash' roused the people to political consciousness in its new phase. In June 1946 a campaign for the establishment of civil liberties in Goa was launched. Goans of all communities, professional men, students, villagers, defied the laws restricting the basic freedoms by holding meetings, taking out processions and offering 'Satyagraha'. Though there was no breach of the peace, the intensity of the purely non-violent struggle to secure elementary civic rights was matched by the violence and ruthlessness of the authorities. The leaders of the movement were tried by specially

assembled military tribunals, accorded savage sentences and deported for imprisonment in the island fortress of Peniche in Portugal. Among those were Dr. Braganza Cunha, Dr. R. Hegde, Purushottam Kakodkar, Jose Loyola and Laxmikant Bhembre. The campaign continued and during the months, June to November, 1946, about 1500 Goans were arrested, held in police detention for varying terms, beaten or otherwise subjected to police excesses.

In March 1950, Divakar Kakodkar, a school teacher was deported, on the orders of the Minister for Colonies, to the Cape Verde Islands for "holding views contrary to the security of the State". In April, 1950, Dr. Antonio Furtado, an Administrator of the Village Communities in Goa sought asylum in Belgaum (India) following his refusal to sign a declaration denouncing a statement by the Indian Prime Minister in the Indian Parliament on Goa's rightful place with India. In that same year further arrests took place and more deportations were recorded. Among them were Dr. Mayenkar, Ticlo, Karapurcar, and P. Shirodkar, all exiled to Angola.

### **False Promises Provide a New Impetus**

The movement received a fresh impetus in 1953 when the Goans realised that the promises of the Portuguese Government for a new Statute held no future for them and were only designed to lull them into inaction. The 'battle' for emancipation was renewed with greater vigour. In February 1954, Dr. P. Gaitonde, a prominent surgeon of Mapuca was arrested and charged that at a private dinner party he protested (using the words "I protest") against a statement by one of the speakers that Goa was a part of Portugal. Dr. Gaitonde and his wife were deported to Portugal within five days of his arrest and without any semblance of a trial. He was to stand trial, later, before a military tribunal in Lisbon charged with the attempted subversion of the Portuguese regime in Goa.

The arrest and deportation of Dr. Gaitonde engendered strong criticism against the Portuguese from every quarter in Goa and from the Goan community in India who voiced their denunciation of Portuguese rule in Goa at mass meetings and demonstrations. A hundred prominent Goans in Bombay led by Prof. Soares, Prof. Correia Afonso and others issued a Manifesto condemning Portuguese rule and calling on the Goans to "free themselves and unite with India". The renewed phase of the movement was no longer for civil liberties but one of open denunciation of an autocratic and outdated colonial regime. The symbolic forms of the movement now were:

the hoisting of Indian flags throughout Goa as an indication of the desire of the inhabitants for freedom and merger with India, and

the wide distribution of "Quit Goa" posters and hand-bills throughout the country.

On the 18th June, 1954, over forty arrests were reported including those of Advocate Gopal Kamat, Advocate Pandurang Mulgaokar, Dr. J. F. Martins, Nanda Gaitonde, a brother of Dr. P. Gaitonde, and Shankar Desai, a school teacher. The arrests were accompanied by house searches and the interrogation of hundreds of persons throughout Goa. Many Goans fearing arrest by the Portuguese sought asylum in India, including Dr. Nachinolkar, Armando Pereira, Prabhakar Dalal, Evagrio George etc. Most of those

arrested and some of those in exile in India were tried by Portuguese military tribunals in Goa, the latter in absentia, and sentenced to savage terms of imprisonment for the alleged crime of subversion of Portuguese authority.

### The Liberation of Dadar & Nagar Aveli

Within the enclaves of Dadar and Nagar Aveli the movement for liberation from Portuguese rule took on a different aspect. Goan nationalists planned the liberation of these two enclaves in collaboration with the people of those areas. In July 1954, leading members of the United Front of Goans, including Francis Mascarenhas, Waman Desai and others, sought the physical liberation of the enclave of Dadra. On the night of 21st July, after a short conflict between the Portuguese police and the nationalists, Dadra was liberated. The news of the "fall" of Dadra created panic among the police of Nagar Aveli. A week later further groups of nationalists and the local inhabitants decided to liberate Nagar Aveli. The Portuguese European Administrator, a retired Captain, and the police including several Europeans, were so panic-stricken that they sought refuge in Indian territory. Thus, on 2nd August 1954, the liberation of the two enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Aveli was complete and immediately thereafter an independent administration was set up by the inhabitants of the areas with the help of individual Goan nationalists.<sup>19</sup>

### Satyagraha in 1955

The movement for freedom from colonial rule continued in the other possessions, Goa, Daman and Diu, the people greatly enthused by the "fall" of Dadra and Nagar Aveli. Batches of Goan and Indian 'satyagrahis' joined the campaign of peaceful liberation, and entered Goa in protest against continued colonial domination. August 1955, witnessed the glorious, yet tragic phase of the campaign. The 'Satyagrahis' were fired upon by Portuguese European troops, arrested and savagely beaten up, many were brutally killed, expelled, while others were thrown into dingy prison cells to await trial. In the trials that ensued distinction was made by the military tribunals between the Indians who participated in the movement and the Goans. Many of the Indians were either expelled or subjected to light prison sentences; many hundred Goans, on the other hand, were inflicted the maximum severity of the penal code and sentenced to periods of imprisonment up to 28 years! Of these some were deported to notorious convict settlements in Africa and others to Portugal.

Despite the severity of the sentences, despite the hardships and indignities heaped on the nationalists, the movement continues.<sup>20</sup> In fact between the years 1954 and 1959 several hundred Goans alone, men and women, have been arrested, tortured, detained and sentenced for participation in the freedom movement, several still continue in jails in Goa or in exile in Africa and Portugal; others carry with them the marks of wounds or mutilations caused by the brutal treatment received at the hands of the Portuguese police. This is the story of Goa's bid for freedom. Goa continues under colonial

(19) The "liberation" of Dadra and Nagar Aveli is the subject of Portugal vs. India in the International Court of Justice case "The Right of Passage over Indian Territory".

(20) Prof. Lucio Radrigues was arrested in March 1960 and detained in prison for 25 days without trial.

rule while vast areas in the continents of Asia and Africa previously under colonial rule have achieved freedom and have been admitted to the folds of the United Nations as proud independent nations.

### Freedom For Dependent Territories

As early as 1941, the Atlantic Charter expressed international concern for the well-being "of all men of all lands". The joint declaration stated, on behalf of the United Kingdom and the U.S.A., that they "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live", and that "they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". Though the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of October, 1944 which sketched the plan for the future international organisation made no mention of the treatment of the people of the colonies, it was at Yalta that agreement was reached to undertake discussions on the machinery and principles of trusteeship. Consequently, the first terms of reference for the consideration of the members of the United Nations were contained in the memorandum on the organisation of the U.N. Conference on International Organisation at San Francisco. These terms envisaged a committee "to prepare and recommend . . . . . as necessary, draft provisions on principles and mechanisms of a system of international trusteeship for such dependent territories as may by subsequent agreement be placed thereunder". At a later stage the term "non self-governing territories" replaced the term "dependent territories".

The question of non-self-governing territories was a subject of animated discussion at session after session of the General Assembly of the U.N. The discussions clearly revealed the necessity for defining "self-government" or "non-self-governing territories". In November 1951, the Special Committee had prepared a list of factors which it said could not be regarded as exhaustive. The Committee's report emphasised that:

"The will of the people of the territory concerned, appropriately and freely expressed, would in all cases be the paramount factor in deciding whether a relationship between the administering authority and a non-self-governing territory has evolved to a stage whether that territory could be said to have 'attained a full measure of self-government'."

In the session of 1951 and again in subsequent sessions discussion on a list of factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory has or has not attained a full measure of self-government continued. In a resolution in 1952 the Assembly invited the Special Committee on Information to examine "the factors which would be taken into account in deciding whether any territory is or is not a territory whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government." Finally, in 1953 the General Assembly approved such a list as drafted and adopted by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.

### The Factors Resolution

The 'Factors Resolution' as it has come to be known lays down; (a) Factors indicative of the attainment of independence; (b) Factors indicative of other separate systems of self-government; and finally (c) Factors indicative of the free association of a territory on equal basis with the metropolitan or other country as an integral part of that country or in any other form. Goa according to the Government of Prof. Salazar is an *integral*

part of Portugal. It would be useful, therefore, to read in detail the considerations laid down in the third part of the 'Factors Resolution':

A: *General*

(1) OPINION OF THE POPULATION.—The opinion of the population of the territory, freely expressed by informed and democratic processes, as to the status or change in status which they desire.

(2) FREEDOM OF CHOICE.—The freedom of the population of a Non-Self-Governing Territory which has associated itself with the metropolitan country as an integral part of that country or in any other form to modify this status through the expression of their will by democratic means.

(3) GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.—Extent to which the relations of the territory with the capital of the central government may be affected by circumstances arising out of their respective geographical positions, such as, separation by land, sea or other natural obstacles. The right of the metropolitan country or the territory to change the political status of that territory in the light of the consideration whether that territory is or is not subject to any claim or litigation on the part of another State.

(4) ETHNIC AND CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS.—Extent to which the population are of different race, language or religion or have a distinct cultural heritage, interests or aspirations, distinguishing them from the peoples of the country with which they freely associate themselves.

(5) POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT.—Political advancement of the population sufficient to enable them to decide upon the future destiny of the territory with due knowledge.

(6) CONSTITUTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS.—Association by virtue of a treaty or bilateral agreement affecting the status of the territory, taking into account (i) whether the constitutional guarantees extend equally to the associated territory, (ii) whether there are powers in certain matters constitutionally reserved to the territory or to the central authority and (iii) whether there is provision for the participation of the territory on a basis of equality in any changes in the constitutional system of the State.

B: *Status*

(1) LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION.—Representation without discrimination in the central legislative organs on the same basis as other inhabitants and regions.

(2) PARTICIPATION OF THE POPULATION.—Effective participation of the population in the government of the territory: (a) Is there an adequate and appropriate electoral and representative system? (b) Is this electoral system conducted without direct or indirect interference from a foreign government?<sup>21</sup>

<sup>(21)</sup> For example, the following questions would be relevant: (i) Has each adult inhabitant equal power (subject to special safeguards for minorities) to determine the character of the government of the territory? (ii) Is this power exercised freely, *i.e.*, is there an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter and of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties? Some test which can be used in the application of this factor are as follows:

- (a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;
- (b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;
- (c) The existence of a secret ballot;
- (d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of election;
- (e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;

(3) **CITIZENSHIP.**—Citizenship without discrimination on the same basis as other inhabitants.

(4) **GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.**—Eligibility of officials from the territory to all public offices of the central authority, by appointment or election, on the same basis as those from other parts of the country.

**C: Internal Constitutional Conditions:**

(1) **SUFFRAGE.**—Universal and equal suffrage and free periodic elections, characterized by an absence of undue influence over and coercion of the voter or of the imposition of disabilities on particular political parties?<sup>22</sup>

(2) **LOCAL RIGHTS AND STATUS.**—In a unitary system equal rights and status for the inhabitants and local bodies of the territory as enjoyed by inhabitants and local bodies of other parts of the country; in a federal system an identical degree of self-government for the inhabitants and local bodies of all parts of the federation.

(3) **LOCAL OFFICIALS.**—Appointment or election of officials in the territory on the same basis as those in other parts of the country.

(4) **INTERNAL LEGISLATION.**—Local self-government of the same scope and under the same conditions as enjoyed by other parts of the country.

(5) **ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL JURISDICTION.**—Degree of autonomy in respect of economic, social and cultural affairs, as illustrated by the degree of freedom from economic pressure as exercised, for example, by a foreign minority group which, by virtue of the help of a foreign power, has acquired a privileged economic status prejudicial to the general economic interest of the people of the territory; and by the degree of freedom and lack of discrimination against the indigenous population of the territory in social legislation and social development.

**Goa and the Factors**

In the light of these details and the earlier analysis of the administrative structure and other conditions obtaining in Goa, comment is redundant. Not only are there no democratic processes or fundamental freedoms, in

*From pre-page.*

- (f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times.
- (iii) Is each individual free to express his political opinions to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticise the government of the day?
- (<sup>22</sup>) For example, the following tests would be relevant:
  - (a) The existence of effective measures to ensure the democratic expression of the will of the people;
  - (b) The existence of more than one political party in the territory;
  - (c) The existence of a secret ballot;
  - (d) The existence of legal prohibitions on the exercise of undemocratic practices in the course of elections;
  - (e) The existence for the individual elector of a choice between candidates of differing political parties;
  - (f) The absence of "martial law" and similar measures at election times;
  - (g) Freedom of each individual to express his political opinions, to support or oppose any political party or cause, and to criticise the government of the day.

the colony of Goa, but in such matters as representation in the Central Legislative organs, participation of the population in the administrative systems and in regard to local rights and status etc., there is decided discrimination against the people of Goa. In every respect, therefore, the colonial and dependent character of Goa in relation to Portugal continues to be perpetuated. Yet in reply to repeated questions addressed to Portugal by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and what does really evoke scorn and laughter, Portugal has in apparent simplicity replied to the effect that she "does not administer territories which fall under the category indicated by Article 73 of the Charter of the United Nations". The Portuguese Delegate to the United Nations has maintained that Portugal had no colonies or non-self-governing territories, that "the constitutional status of the overseas provinces is absolutely equal to the status of the European provinces; no overseas territory is no more and no less in its status than any other territory." He added in reply to the Secretary-General's communication that his Government had "merely observed the provisions of the Constitution of the Portuguese nation."

The Portuguese Delegate went on to refer to "security and constitutional limitations" mentioned in Article 73 and said:

"It means that Article 73, no matter what situation may exist and no matter where the territories may be located, even if they are Non-Self-Governing, which is not our case, does not apply to them when constitutional provisions prevent such an application. *We hold the view that Article 73 has, therefore, envisaged that national constitutions may have or may raise the limitations referred to in the Article and, as consequence, one is bound to agree that those states notwithstanding the existence of population or territories not fully developed, have reason not to transmit any information under Article 73. This is exactly our position....*"

### **A Travesty of Truth**

This statement indeed shame-facedly underlines the utter travesty of truth which the Government of Prof. Salazar have been led into in seeking to support their false and untenable position in relation to the colonies. The fact that the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands whose cases were not unlike that of Portugal had agreed to transmit to the United Nations information relevant to Article 73 of the Charter highlight Portugal's brazenness. It must be remembered that the Portuguese colonies, as any other colonial territories, came to them as the result of colonial conquests. There is no justification for discriminating between the aspirations and rights of one colonial people and another. In its aspiration for freedom and independence all humanity is one and equal. If the former colonies of the United Kingdom or the United States have become independent, on what ground, could it be argued, that Goa, Angola or Mozambique or any other dependent territory must not aspire to the destiny of Ghana or Nigeria and must remain content only with being integral parts of the so-called metropolitan country? Only in freedom will mankind be united for peace and prosperity, for freedom is basic to human nature and common to all humanity.



APPENDIX

ARTICLE 73 OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories*

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognise the principle that the interest of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and to this end:—

- (a) To ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- (b) To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- (c) To further international peace and security;
- (d) To promote constructive measures of development to encourage research, and to cooperate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialised international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and
- (e) To transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

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134

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