



**THE
FIRST
GENERAL
ELECTIONS
IN GOA**

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POLITICAL SCIENCE SERIES NO. 2

**THE FIRST
GENERAL ELECTIONS
IN GOA**

**A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY
AND
CRITICAL ANALYSIS**

*

1964

THE FIRST GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GOA

BY

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Department of Political Science



KARNATAK UNIVERSITY, DHARWAR

Published by :

S. S. Wodeyar, M.A., LL.B.,

Registrar,

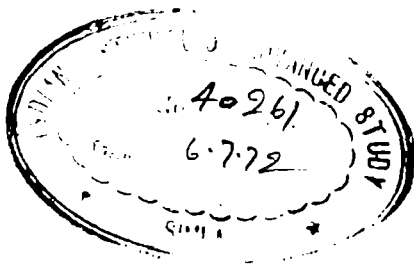
Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Printed by :

R. T. Bilgi,

Lingaraj Art Press, Dharwar.

77




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February, 1964.

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Price Per Copy : Rs. 3/-

 Library IAS, Shimla



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PREFACE

This is an academic study of the voting behaviour of a group of people in a specific context. Voting behaviour has become in recent years the subject-matter of investigation by political scientists and other social scientists, both in the West and the East. In India studies of this nature have become quite popular with social science departments in our Universities. In spite of some of their shortcomings, these studies are of great significance as they reveal the factors and forces that are at work in the functioning of our political institutions. In an under-developed country such as ours, studies such as these may prove to be of considerable value to policy-makers.

When the first general elections were announced for Goa, the Department of Political Science, Karnatak University, wasted no time in deciding to undertake an academic survey of the event. Nothing could be more natural than that we should have been drawn to such a survey. For one thing, the physical proximity of Goa has stimulated our interest in it. The Department has always taken keen interest in the developments there. Soon after the liberation of Goa in December, 1961, the Department arranged a function at which I had an opportunity to deliver a lecture on the Portuguese occupation of Goa. In a sense our present work is a natural sequel to that interest. Secondly, as political scientists, we were fascinated by the opportunity offered by the general elections in Goa. Here was a territory where people, unaccustomed to the process of Parliamentary Democracy, were exposed for the first time in their history to the challenge of such a process. We were naturally interested in the way such a population would behave. That was how the Department was tempted to undertake this study. We were aware of the difficulties involved in such an investiga-

inon, especially with regard to the pre-election survey of vote-intentions. The random sample survey of vote-intentions was beset with problems of selecting the proper constituency, of procuring a competent interpreter and so on. We were able to succeed reasonably well in solving them. A party of three members of the staff went to Goa and spent about a week there, and subsequently one of them made another short trip to get first-hand and authoritative data about the election results.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first two chapters introduce the reader to the historical evolution of Goa in its political, social and economic aspects so that he may be enabled to gain a proper perspective of the subject of our investigation. The other chapters deal with the structure and functioning of the political parties, their campaigning machineries and operations, the role of the press, the setting up and working of the election machinery by the officials, the sample survey of vote-intentions, and finally an analysis and interpretation of the elections. We hope we have covered the elections comprehensively.

We have endeavoured at all times to maintain scrupulously an academic and objective viewpoint, unclouded by regional, linguistic or other prejudices. These are the prejudices that have vitiated our political life. Often one comes across in the popular press, especially in the regional languages, distorted and highly coloured versions of political events and issues. We have not been interested in forecasting the political future of Goa, though we may have speculated a little about it. We have also not been interested in upholding any political stand. We have been interested simply as academic men in examining as scientifically as possible a political phenomenon. We hope it will prove useful to academics as well as to others interested in the significant subject of political behaviour in India.

We are grateful to the authorities of Karnatak University for having provided us with necessary finances for the survey

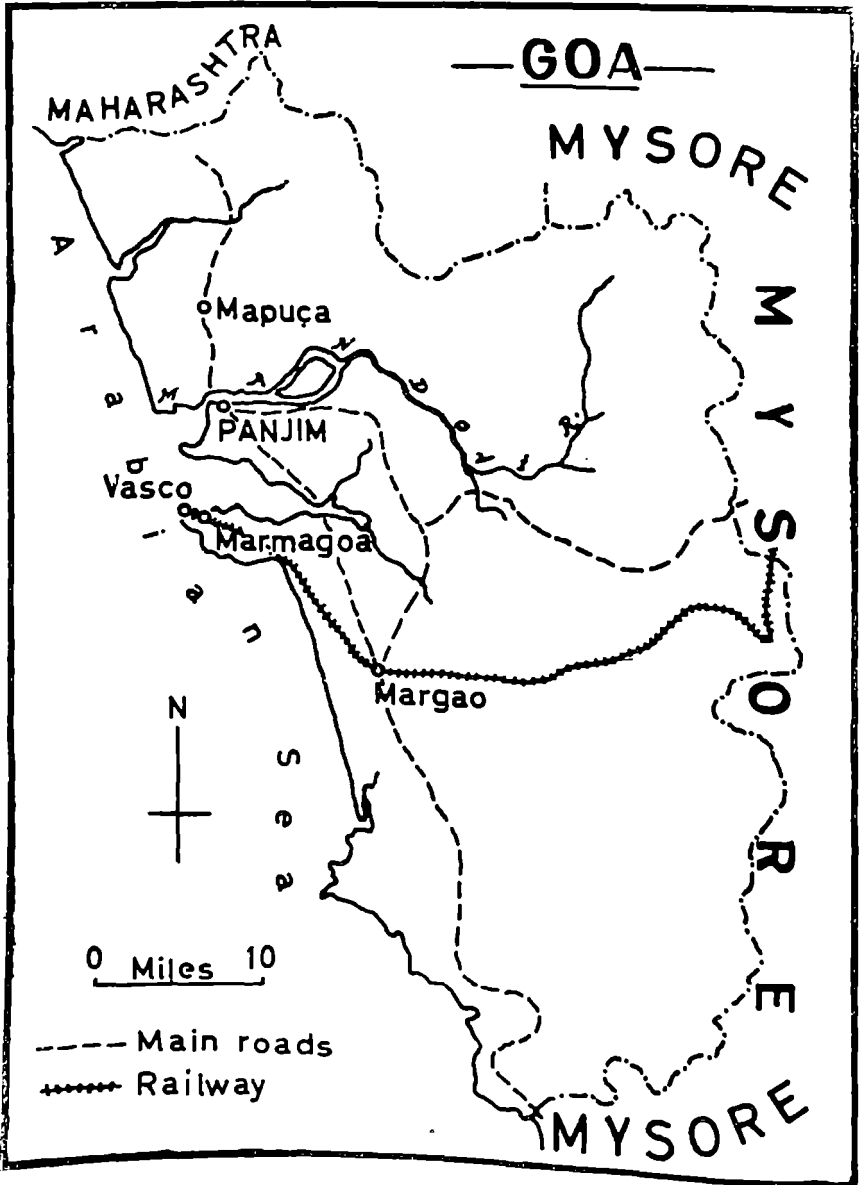
and the publication. This has been a truly co-operative venture in which I have had the pleasure of working with my colleagues in the Department, Shri A. M. Rajasekhariah and Shri K. Raghavendra Rao. We should like to appreciate the co-operation of Shri M. Sivamurthy, University Lecturer in Statistics, with regard to the preparation of our statistical tables. Though the writing of the chapters was formally divided between us, our views and conclusions have been arrived at after a thorough and careful discussion, followed by agreement among the three of us. The views expressed in these pages do not reflect those of the University and we alone are responsible for them. A work of this kind can hardly succeed without the co-operation of many persons, and we take this opportunity to thank them all. We should like to thank Shri D. B. Marathe who helped us as an interpreter during our sample survey and Shri R. S. Desai, the artist in the Kannada Research Institute, for preparing maps. The Lingaraj Art Press, who printed the book in time, and Shri Krishna Potdar who prepared the cover design also deserve our thanks.

Karnatak University,
Dharwar,
1st February, 1964.

G. S. HALAPPA,
University Professor of
Political Science

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POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF GOA

The Portuguese rule in India had little influence on the general course of Indian history or culture. It neither retarded nor advanced the course of historical events to any extent. The all-India historian gives little prominence to the history of the Portuguese rule in India.

But the historian of the Deccan and the West Coast cannot afford to ignore the part played by the Portuguese. It has special significance for the historian of Karnatak. A careful study of the Portuguese encounter with the Indian rulers on the West Coast and the adjoining territories throws a flood of light on the economic importance of the hinterland of Goa. Goa was, as it is today, the chief natural outlet for commercial products of its hinterland. Rice, coconut, chillies, timber, pepper etc. were the chief commercial articles that entered the overseas markets through Goa. India imported horses, ships, artillery, etc. Neither the interior parts of Goa nor the lands to the north of it formed a source for commercial goods whereas the rich lands to the east and the south of Goa constituted a veritable granary for commerce to the Portuguese and the other foreign traders such as Arabs, the Dutch and the English. This explains why these rival traders, particularly the Portuguese, were so eager to cultivate

friendly relations with the rulers of the Karnatak country. They often tried to appease the native rulers and obtain trade monopolies. Some of them exploited the political jealousies existing among native rulers and established their settlements on the west coast. The Portuguese records show how they played off one against the other and colonised on the West Coast.

The Portuguese rule in India is a dark page of European colonisation. A student of the history of the Portuguese rule in India perceives more the negative aspects of their regime than any positive and constructive aspects of their rule. It was a Police Raj, pure and simple, maintained for commercial exploitation. But for large scale conversions of the population and systematic process of denationalisation, the Portuguese rule could not have survived for a long period in the face of the opposition of non-Christian population to the fanatical methods of the over-zealous missionaries.

Before we go into the impact and evil legacies of the Portuguese rule, it is necessary to have a peep into the historical evolution of Goa. The following extracts, taken from official records of the government of free Goa, enable us to have glimpses of Goan history.

“ Certain inscriptions corroborate the evidence of the Puranas that Goa was in ancient times known under the various names of Gomanchala, Gomant, Govapuri, Gopakapur and Gopakapattana. It was an important entrepot even in the first two millenia before Christ, and the Egyptians and Phoenicians established trading outposts in it to serve a flourishing commerce. In the Sahyadri Khanda of the Skanda Purana it is recorded that at an early period the Aryans settled in Goa, having been brought by Parasurama from Trihotrapur of Mithila, the modern Tirhut. Some of the inscriptions referred to above show that Goa afterwards passed under the sway of the Kadambas of Banavasi, whose first king, Trilochana Kadamba, is supposed to have flourished about A. D. 119-20. This dynasty continued to

rule until 1312, when Goa fell for the first time into the hands of Muhammadans under Malik Kafur. They were, however, compelled to evacuate it in 1370, having been defeated by Vidyaranya, the Prime Minister of Harihara of Vijayanagar, under whose successors Goa remained for about a hundred years. In 1470 it was conquered by Mahmud Gawan, the general of Muhammad II, the thirteenth Bahmani Sultan of the Deccan, and incorporated into the dominions of that sovereign. Goa became subject to the Adil Shahi dynasty, reigning at Bijapur, about the time that Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498. This dynasty retained possession of Goa until February 17, 1510, when it was captured by Afonso de Albuquerque. The Portuguese were however expelled shortly afterwards, and it was not until 25th November of the same year that they re-established themselves in the island. This event is referred to in Portuguese History as the "Reconquest of Goa".

"From this time Goa again rapidly rose in importance, eventually becoming the metropolis of the Portuguese Empire in the East, which is said to have comprised an area of about 4,000 square leagues. In 1543, during the governorship of Martin Afonso de Sousa, who came to India together with the celebrated St. Francis Xavier, the two important territories of Bardez and Salcette were ceded to the Portuguese by Ibrahim Adil Shah, who however not long afterwards attempted to regain them, but was frustrated in his endeavours by the intrepidity of Dom Joao de Castro. In 1570, Ali Shah besieged the city with an army of 10,000 men; but it was so bravely defended by the little garrison under the Viceroy, Dom Luis de Athaide, that the Muhammadan Army, greatly thinned in numbers, retreated precipitately after a tedious siege of ten months' duration. About this period the Portuguese were alarmed by the appearance on the coast of India of the new enemy; the Dutch, having shaken off the Spanish yoke, assumed a warlike attitude towards the Portuguese, owing to the intimate connection between Portugal and Spain.

“ While the British East India Company was struggling into existence during the last years of Elizabeth’s reign, the Dutch were preparing to contend with the Portuguese for supremacy in the Indian Ocean. In 1603 they blockaded Goa. The attempt proved abortive; but a bitter struggle ensued between the two nations, which, during the next seventy years, shattered and dismembered the Portuguese power in India. One by one the Portuguese possessions fell into the hands of the Dutch; their fleets were captured or driven within the shelter of their forts, and their commerce was swept away from the seas. Goa suffered not only from these disasters, but also from a return of the fever which had afflicted the city in the preceding century. It broke out again in 1635, and raged for several years. Towards the end of this visitation, the Dutch once more blockaded Goa in 1639, but were compelled to withdraw. By this time a few Native Rulers had established new principalities, and it became difficult for the Portuguese to hold their capital against them. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, carried on his campaigns in the districts surrounding Goa, and the Governor-General agreed to his terms in 1668 to avoid a clash with the Maratha King. In 1683, it narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Sambhaji at the head of his rowing Marathas, who plundered the territory up to the very gates of the city. All hopes of resistance had been abandoned, when a powerful Mughal force suddenly made its appearance from the Ghats, and compelled the Marathas to come to terms. This unexpected deliverance was ascribed to the miraculous interposition of St. Francis Xavier. Subsequently the Bhonslas from the State of Savantwadi invaded Goa, but though at the outset they obtained partial successes, they were eventually defeated by the Portuguese, who wrested from them the islands of Corjuem and Ponelem, and destroyed their fortress at Bicholim. To defend the place against future inroads, the Viceroy, Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menezes (1712-1717), built a fortress on the frontiers of Bardez, and another at Chapora. During the administration of the Count of Sandomil (1732-41) the Portuguese

became once more involved in a war with the Marathas, and lost some of their most important possessions north of Goa. In 1739 the Marathas invaded the peninsulas of Bardez and Salcette, and threatened the city of Goa itself. By the Treaty of 1739 the Portuguese were to pay the Marathas Rs. 7 lakhs in cash and to cede a few villages, instead of paying an annual tribute. At the same time the Bhonslas of Savantwadi availed themselves of the opportunity to overrun the settlement. At this critical period a new Viceroy arrived at Goa, the Marquis of Lourical, bringing with him from Europe a reinforcement of 1200 men. With this army he encountered and defeated the Marathas at Bardez with great slaughter, captured the celebrated fortress of Ponda and other minor forts and compelled them to retire from Goa. He then marched against the Bhonslas, and forced them to sue for peace, making their chief, Khem Savant, a tributary ruler of the Portuguese. Shortly afterwards, the Bhonslas renewed hostilities, but were defeated by the Marquis of Castello Novo, who conquered Alorna (whence his later title), Tiracol, Neutim, Barim and Sanquelim or Satari.

“In 1750 the Marathas attacked the fortress of Neutim, which they closely invested both by sea and land. The Viceroy, the Marquis of Tavora, hastened to its relief with all available forces, and compelled the enemy to raise the siege, after which he turned his arms against the King of Sonda, and captured the fortress of Piro (Sadasivgad). His successor, the Count of Alva, prosecuted successfully for a time the war against the Marathas, but eventually lost Rarim and Neutim, and was killed at the siege of one of the fortresses, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy. About this period the Court of Lisbon sent pre-emptory orders to the Viceroy, the Count of Ega, to restore the fortress of Piro and Ximpem to the King of Sonda, and Bicholim, Sanquelim, and Alorna to Khem Savant III. Subsequently, however, the former allowed the Portuguese to possess themselves of Ponda, with the adjacent territory of Zambaulim, Cabo de Rama, and Canacona, during the time that his dominions were invaded by Haidar Ali.

After some years of repose, Khem Savant again attempted to disturb the Portuguese; but being defeated, he had to surrender to them Bicholim, Sanquelim or Satari, Alorna and Pernem.

“ By this time the decay of the capital had become so notorious that the Portuguese Government in Europe determined to rebuild it at great cost. After a century of fruitless effort and reckless expenditure, Old Goa still lay in ruins, and the remnants of the population drew themselves together at Panjim or New Goa, at the mouth of the river. The changes in the river itself had contributed to render Old Goa still more unhealthy than before and to make the navigation of its channels dangerous even for the comparatively small class of ships which the Portuguese employed. During the eighteenth century the decayed settlement, instead of being a centre of military pomp and courtly display, had become a burden on the Home Government. It required a force of 2000 European soldiers to protect it from the Marathas, the privates receiving a miserable subsistence of rice and fish, and the captains drawing a salary of Rs. 6 a month. Such commerce as survived was in the hands of the Jesuits. This fraternity still preserved the traditions and something of the energy of the proselytizing era. Alexander Hamilton, early in the eighteenth century, declared that he counted from a neighbouring hill nearly eighty churches and convents. He gives the number of Roman Catholic priests at 30,000 for the city and settlement. The native merchants had been driven away by oppression and insult; and during the first half of the last century the Jesuits monopolised the remnants of the trade, which still clung to the capital. High offices and military commands were still lavished upon the poverty-stricken remnants of the Portuguese in India. All the talk at Goa was about fine titles. ‘ A post which would be filled by a small tradesman everywhere else needed a general ’. ”

Before the Portuguese occupation there is no doubt that Goa had attained great prosperity. The Kadamba rule had given peace and political stability which had helped the all-round

development of Goa. Hindu culture flowered and reached its zenith under the benevolent rule of the Kadambas. Although the earliest inhabitants of Goa were Dravidian Kannadigas, Aryans from the North came from the earliest times and thus there seems to have been a synthesis of Dravidian and Aryan cultures. Islam came to Goa for the first time with the entry of Malik Kafur. With the conquest of Goa by the powerful Vijayanagar Kings, Goa once again witnessed peace and prosperity. The commercial prosperity of Goa was so impressive that it attracted foreign traders from distant lands. As a result of the impact of Bahamani and Bijapur Kingdoms, Islam spread to Goa to some extent. A few mosques appeared in Goa and Moham-madans settled there. The continuous onrush of people of different races with different languages and cultures for several centuries must have overwhelmed the Karnatak language and culture which flourished for over a thousand years under the Kadambas. Even to-day pure Kannada words persist in the konkani dialect as for example Madivala (Washerman).

The Portuguese conquest of Goa brought about unprecedented changes in the social and religious life of the people of Goa. The Portuguese enclaves in India would have been integrated with British India in which case the impact of foreign rule on Goa would have been slightly different. Sir Arthur Wellesly as well as his brother the Governor-General had made up their minds to annex Goa for military reasons - the British possession of Goa would prevent foreign help coming to Tipu Sultan of Mysore. The Wellesleys however, abandoned the idea. Before we examine the political, religious, cultural, social and economic effects of Portuguese rule on the people of Goa, we must remember in this connection that from the sixteenth century Goa became the happy hunting ground of many rival powers. Goa was subjected to attacks and plunders from all sides. The attacks on Goa either by the Bijapur rulers or Vijayanagar Kings were actuated only by a desire for territorial acquisition for advancing trade etc., since

Goa was the most important channel for overseas trade. Especially in the case of the Hindu Kingdoms to the East and South of Goa, we find no cases of organised plunder or destruction or other kinds of deprivations, their object being confined mostly to obtaining facilities for trade. The attitude of the Muslim rulers of Bahamani and Bijapur kingdoms with regard to the conquest of Goa was similar.

But in sharp contrast with this policy the Maratha invasions of Goa were characterised by acts of plunder and abduction of persons as we find from many authorities. "The Maratha marauders had earned a very bad reputation among the people of Goa by their cruelty and predatory habits, when they harassed the villages of Bardez, and carried away into captivity 1300 men, women and children. That is one of the reasons why there is no love lost between the Marathas and the Goans." (PP, 106-107, C. F. Saldhana, *A Short History of Goa*, 1957). It is no wonder that the Maratha armies which did not scruple to plunder a sacred Hindu temple like that of Sringeri should have indulged in such acts of harassment and terrorisation in Goa. The frequent attacks and plunders, threatening Goa, not only destroyed political and social stability among the people but also aroused an attitude of hostility towards them. In defence the Portuguese hit back the invaders with ferocity. The Maratha menace to Goa continued until the collapse of Maratha power in Panipat in 1761. But the apprehension of further danger from Hyder and Tipu of Mysore persisted upto the end of the 18th century. Thus it can be seen that Goans did not have peace and rest to devote their time towards their development. In the earlier times when Goa was ruled by Kadambas and Vijayanagar it had enjoyed peace and was able to attain prosperity. Even the feudatories of Vijayanagar after the great calamity of Rakkasa-Tangadi, 1565, remained friendly with Goa. The prelude to the future misfortunes of Goa commenced only from the 17th century and continued right up to its liberation in 1961.

The 450 years of Portuguese rule in India was nothing more than a purely military occupation. The Portuguese were more concerned with draining the resources of Goa for the enrichment of Portugal than with either establishing the administration or with promotion of the welfare of the Goan people. The Portuguese rule in Goa was characterised by suppression of civil rights, imposition of Portuguese language and religion on the hapless people. This inevitably impoverished and denationalised the once prosperous and culturally advanced people as can be seen from the innumerable architectural and numismatic remains. Goa was exposed to all the evil effects of colonialism, only a handful of people amassing wealth by smuggling activities, reducing the common people to utter poverty and despair. This was responsible for a large-scale exodus of Goan people to other parts of India especially to Bombay where they could be gainfully employed. From 1800 commenced Goan emigration to British India and elsewhere. This was not a creditable thing to the Portuguese.

The effects of the first 100 years of Portuguese rule are well summed up in the Cambridge History of India :

“ It will be evident from the brief narrative we have attempted that this history of one hundred years of Portuguese adventure in the eastern seas contains little or no indication of any effort to found an empire; never at any stage did the Portuguese captains assume the offensive on shore, nor did they actually come into contact with any of the great fighting races of India. They depended solely on their control of the high seas; their main objective was always the capture and occupation of the most important ports and their defence when occupied. For this purpose were needed not administrators, but brave soldiers and sailors; and success, was due, first, to the high military qualities and personal courage and endurance of most of the captains, and secondly, to the rich rewards which attracted so many to undertake perilous journeys (on an average not 60 percent of the men who left Portugal

reached India, so great was the mortality on the crowded vessels), and face the countless risks which awaited them at the other end.

“ The ultimate decline of Portuguese power in India was due primarily to two causes : first, the encouragement of mixed marriages at home and abroad, and secondly, religious intolerance. The former policy had been adopted, as we have seen, by the great Albuquerque, who probably foresaw that the constant drain on the male population of a relatively small country like his own must ultimately lead to a shortage of man-power; the latter was pushed to its utmost extreme by the zealous fervour of the Jesuits who selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome, soon after the foundation of their Order. The arrival of St. Francis Xavier in India in 1542 was an event of the utmost far-reaching importance and laid the foundations of that ecclesiastical supremacy in Portuguese India which sapped the financial resources and undermined the civil administration of its governors. Albuquerque and his immediate successors left almost untouched the customs of the people of Goa, only abolishing as did the English later, the rite of sati. It may be recalled, however, that after the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries in 1517 Goa had become the centre of immense propaganda and already in 1540 by the orders of the King of Portugal all the Hindu temples in the Island of Goa had been destroyed. The inquisition was introduced into Goa in 1560.”

How religion was misused as an instrument of political domination and economic exploitation by the Portuguese is a well-known fact. The people of Goa were subjected to all sorts of religious persecutions. Not only were Hindu and Muslim subjects forcibly converted, their temples and mosques were also destroyed; their scripts and languages were suppressed. This was part of their scheme to denationalise the people and isolate them from India. An atmosphere of superstition and blind faith was created. Anti-Indian propaganda done by them was so effective that some Goans believed that Portugal, not India, was their motherland;

that they were Portuguese and not Indians. On account of economic reasons—jobs were given to new converts – a large number of people could be converted to Christianity. Religious intolerance and atrocities were due to the crusading zeal of the times. The crude methods to which people were subjected to by the notorious institution of inquisition which was set up in Goa in 1560 is described by the Archbishop of Evora at the time of the third centenary of the Cathedral of Lisbon. He observes : “If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however base, however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics. ”

The political domination of Goa was equally repressive. East is said to have fostered what is called oriental despotism. It is true East produced despots. But they were benevolent. Portugal, however, was fostering in Goa in modern times the worst type of occidental despotism. Democratic traditions could not take root on the Portuguese soil, and in Portuguese colonies people were subjected to naked despotism. Under the Portuguese occupation institutions of local self-government of the days of Kadamba & Vijayanagara rulers were crippled. With the establishment of the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar in 1926 democratic traditions became a new heresy. In Goa political rights were suppressed and people were denied even elementary rights such as freedom of speech and discussion. Goan administration was carried on by the Governor-General with the help of a Council which was purely an advisory body. It was composed of four official members, three others nominated and five members elected by the Board of Directors of Associations recognised by the Government or by the forty highest tax payers. Thus the administration was highly centralised and certainly not democratic. The Governor - General was subject to the control of Minister for Colonies at Lisbon like the Governor-

General of India controlled by the Secretary of State for India in London. But since there was no democratic government in Portugal the Portuguese administration could not be criticised. In England the British administration could even be condemned inside and outside the Parliament and through the press and platform. Administration in Native States of India was much more civilised and liberal than the Portuguese colonial administration in Goa. Not only were the Goans denied democratic rights but they were also kept ignorant. False and dishonest propaganda was carried on in order to impress on the Goans that Indian culture was inferior and there was poverty and starvation in India. This is how the Portuguese tried to secure the obedience of the distracted people to their military rule. Not until their liberation did the Goans experience political rights and democratic participation in administration. Against this background one has to study and appreciate Goa's freedom struggle for 450 years. Goans who submitted to Portuguese rule in the beginning became restive later. There were about forty revolts till the end of the 19th century. From the beginning of the 20th century Goan struggle for freedom was intensified, many nationalists such as Shri T. B. Cunha undergoing many kinds of hardships including deportation and imprisonment. The sufferings of these patriots were not in vain. Goa at last became free from the oppressive Portuguese rule. One of the measures taken soon after reintegration of Goa with India in 1961 was that democracy based on adult franchise was introduced. Goans can now exercise their franchise to elect 30 members to the Legislative Assembly and two members to the Indian Parliament (Lok Sabha). They can elect their representatives to Village Panchayats and other local self-governing institutions. On October 24, 1962 elections took place in 233 villages. 1. 21 lakhs or more than 50% of the total voters exercised votes. There were 1,429 candidates contesting for 766 seats, 205 seats being filled without contest. These elections started a new era in the political history of Goa. The General Elections held on December 9, 1963 aroused great enthusiasm and afforded an

opportunity for the first time for the people of Goa to elect their representatives who are called upon to shoulder responsibilities of government. We shall now conclude this historical survey by mentioning the chief events in the political evolution of Goa.

LANDMARKS IN THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF GOA

A. D. 119 — 1312

Kadamba rule in Goa. This long rule brings political and social stability and much prosperity to Goans, enabling the people to achieve spectacular progress in art, architecture and culture.

A. D. 1312

Malik Kafur conquers Goa.

A. D. 1370

Vijayanagar repels Mohammadans from Goa and Goa remains under Vijayanagar for a century.

A. D. 1498

Goa comes under the control of Adil Shah of Bijapur - Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut.

A. D. 1510

Afonso de Albuquerque captures Goa - The Portuguese are expelled - they re-establish themselves in the same year.

A. D. 1520

Adil Shah of Bijapur invades Goa for a second time - Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar attacks Bijapur in the absence

of Adil Shah in Goa - Adil Shah hurriedly returns to Bijapur to defend his kingdom.

A. D. 1534

The Portuguese occupy Diu.

A. D. 1546 — 47

Sadasivaraya, the Emperor of Vijayanagar enters into a treaty of alliance with the Portuguese - Vijayanagar ambassador arrives at Goa via Ankola and is received with pomp by the Governor of Goa. The treaty was both a defence pact as well as a trade agreement.

A. D. 1560

Establishment of Inquisition in Goa.

A. D. 1561

Daman's occupation by the Portuguese.

A. D. 1563

Mutiny led by the Bishop of Chrisopolis, Father Muteus de Castro, a Goan Catholic, for overthrowing the Portuguese rule and annexing Goa to Bijapur Kingdom.

A. D. 1565

Defeat of Vijayanagar at the battle of Talikot (Rakkasa-Tangadi).

A. D. 1570

Bijapur invades Goa with a formidable army of 5,000 infantry, 35,000 cavalry, 2,000 elephants and 3,007 cannons. Bijapur's attempts to capture Goa are foiled.

A. D. 1600

Father A. Laerzio, the Superior of the Malabar Province interviews Vijayanagar King Venkata II at Chandragiri and the strengthening of the old friendship between Vijayanagar and the Portuguese is discussed.

A. D. 1623

Portuguese Embassy arrives at the Court of Venkatappa Naik, the ruler of Ikkeri--Sig.Fernandez, Portuguese Ambassador accompanied by Shri Vithal Shenoy, the Ikkeri Ambassador at Goa, requests the Ikkeri king to have friendly relations with the Portuguese and presents a letter written by the king of Portugal to king Venkatappa Naik.

A. D. 1631

Treaty between Virappa Naik, the usurper of Ikkeri and the Portuguese.

A. D. 1633

Treaty between Veerabhadra Naik of Ikkeri and the Portuguese.

A. D. 1645 - 1660

Sivappa Naik of Bidnur, the undisputed master of the West Coast from Nileseswar to Goa, humbles the Portuguese and drives them from South Canara and North Canara - defeats the Portuguese with 80,000 men at Cambolin (Gangolli) - The Portuguese surrender all forts and evacuate from Bidnur kingdom.

A. D. 1667

Naval treaty between Shivaji and the Portuguese.

A. D. 1671

Treaty between Somasekhara Naik of Ikkeri and the Portuguese.

A. D. 1683

Sambaji invades Goa.

A. D. 1737 – 1739

Wars between the Marathas and the Portuguese for the conquest of Bassein.

A. D. 1763

The Raja of Swadi (Sonda) cedes Ponda, Panchamaharaj, Jambaulim, Sanguem to the Portuguese.

A. D. 1764

Canacona is also acquired from the Raja of Swadi.

A. D. 1781

Acquisition of Bicholim and Sanquelim.

A. D. 1781

Grant of Nagar Haveli to the Portuguese by the Maratha rulers.

A. D. 1787

“Conspiracy of Pintos”. Some Catholic priests and members of leading Catholic families of Bardez conspired to overthrow Portuguese rule in Goa and form a new sovereign republic. Fifteen of the conspirators were sentenced to death.

A. D. 1812

Acquisition of Pernem.

A. D. 1812

Extinction of the Inquisition

A. D. 1823

A Representative of Goa sent to the House of Representatives at Lisbon.

A. D. 1852

Uprising against the Portuguese domination in Goa, headed by Dadaji Rane Sardesai.

A. D. 1895

Uprising against the Portuguese rule in Goa, headed by Dadaji Rauji Rane Sardesai. Dadaji Rane was sentenced by the Portuguese courts to deportation to Timor for 28 years and imprisonment there for eight years. He died there in 1906.

October 5, 1910

Proclamation of the Portuguese Republic.

May 28, 1926.

Beginning of Prime Minister Salazar's dictatorship.

June 18, 1946.

Satyagraha by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia.

July 21, 1954.

Liberation of Dadra.

August 2, 1954.

Liberation of Nagar Haveli.

April 12, 1960.

Decision of the Hague International Court in favour of India regarding the right of passage claimed by the Portuguese from Daman to Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

December 19, 1961.

Liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.

December 20, 1961.

Reintegration of Goa, Daman and Diu with the Indian Union.

December 9, 1963

General Elections to the Goan Legislature and Lok Sabha.

December 20, 1963.

The first elected Ministry takes office.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF GOA : AN OUTLINE

It is a truism, but one that is frequently forgotten in political studies, that political phenomena exist and function in a specific social setting. All that it means is that, not all but relevant social factors are essential to an understanding of political processes and institutions. The following account, advisedly subtitled "An outline", is a summary picture of the way the major social groups are related to each other in Goa. The term "Social Structure" is a somewhat inadequate way of characterising a social system since it suggests a static picture. So far as Goa is concerned, such a way is not very misleading since the pre-Liberation Goan society was, by and large, a static phenomenon. Of course, this is no longer true, but adequate data are unavailable as to the social changes currently taking place in Goa. The following account directs its attention to such issues as : Is the Goan society homogeneous ? If so, to what extent ? What is its class structure ? How is it connected with its occupation and income structure ? What is the nature of the economic system ? How does its educational pattern go ? What is its language pattern ? How much of social mobility and equality is there in the Goan society ? Now these are large issues and the present analysis hardly scratches the surface of these problems. It is offered as background material to a study of the General Elections of 1963. in Goa.

But before they are tackled, certain sweeping historical statements are in order. The first is that Goa shares with India the experience of a colonial past. This apparent similarity, on further inspection, reveals significant differences. Though Goa, like the rest of India, was subjected to a Western cultural impact, the manner in which it received it was quite different. India came under the British impact whereas Goa came under the Portuguese impact. In consequence they became Westernised in different ways and under different kinds of institutional pressures. Another significant factor is that the British had operated on a vast area whereas the Portuguese had a very much smaller one to manage. Then one must take into account the geographical isolation of Goa from the Indian mainland, which contributed considerably to its cultural isolation. The British in India pursued policies and initiated institutional processes which were quite different from those the Portuguese embarked upon in Goa. In India the British policy towards religion was one of neutrality, broadly, and it was no mere accident that the official policy sometimes came into sharp conflict with the views of the Christian missionaries. On the contrary, in Goa the Portuguese undertook a systematic plan of Christianising the population. The rigours of this policy were relaxed a little after 1910 when the Portuguese monarchy was overthrown. But prior to this, they indulged in one of the most fiercely fanatical attempts at proselytisation known to history, which included the apparatus of the infamous Inquisition. As a result the local Hindu population was forced to flee to the neighbouring area. What is really remarkable is that, despite all this, the Hindus continue to be a majority community. The Portuguese used religion as an effective means of furthering their political aim of tightening the colonial control over the people. The British and the Portuguese differed on the issue of language. While the Portuguese attempted to force Portuguese language upon an unwilling population at the cost of their mother-tongue, the British introduced English in a far more humane manner, and in any case they never forced it

upon the people so crudely. Indeed the subtlety of their method was such that they made it appear as if Indians wanted English very badly. As a result, Portuguese took no real hold on the people whereas English could send deeper roots into the Indian soil.

Perhaps the most important difference lay in the field of political institutions. However reluctantly and ambiguously, the British initiated institutions whose eventual logic was to undermine British authority. The British had a democratic set-up at home, and they could not easily maintain a glaringly undemocratic system in the colonies. The Portuguese had no democracy in Portugal, and this enabled them to impose a ruthless colonial policy. In the short run, the Portuguese proved to be more efficient exploiters of the colonies. A dramatic instance of these profound historical divergences is the encounter, after Liberation, between the rest of India, an ex-British colony, and Goa, an ex-Portuguese colony. The Portuguese had introduced a system of limited and nominal representation in the form of the Governor-General's Council. The Council was meant to be an advisory body, and it was wholly subservient to the Governor-General. The Portuguese left the legacy of a highly authoritarian, almost personal system, whereas the British left a system of parliamentary democracy. Under the impact of the "Liberation" and the consequent need for integration with the rest of India, the Goan society is now under a complex process of transformation. It is difficult to say what shape the future will take. One thing is clear—there is bound to be radical shifts in the power-and-influence pattern. Hitherto influential and dominant groups may be compelled to yield place to newer ones. Perhaps even more unpredictable and fascinating will be the clash between the intangible cultural values bequeathed by the Portuguese and the British respectively.

Homogeneity

The Goan society is a plural society, split into communal and caste groups. Ethnically, like most modern societies it is a thorough mix-up.

Religiously, it is made up of three groups - the Hindus, the Catholics and the Muslims. The Muslims are numerically a negligible factor. There used to be a small hybrid population of Indo-Portuguese extract, called "mestzos", who were also Christians and who no longer stay there. Thus at first appearance the communal composition looks like that of India. As in India, the Hindus were split into castes whose number, unlike in India, was three. The three castes are the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Sudras. The Brahmins are further divided into the Chitpavans, Kairades, Padhes, Porobs and Zoixes, who are priestly, and the Goud Saraswats. The Kshatriyas, also known as Marathas, are divided into the upper and lower classes, the former class coinciding with the official and landlord class. The latter class comprised the soldiers, merchants and peasants. The Sudras comprised the manual and agricultural labour. The Portuguese census does not give the population figures caste-wise. According to the 1960 census, the Hindus formed 61.2% of the total population. The population distribution of the Hindus on concelho or taluka basis is as follows. They have an overwhelming majority in Bicholim, Pernem, Satari, Ponda, Sanguem, and Canacona. In Goa, Bardez and Quepem they have a clear but not overwhelming majority. Their heaviest concentration is in Bardez, Bicholim, Pernem and Ponda. The Christian population which is almost wholly Catholic has a majority only in two concelhos-Salcete and Mormugoa. In Salcete they are about four times as many as the Hindus, and in Mormugoa they have a mere majority of 5385 over the Hindus. The Christians of Goa, like those in most of South India, have not altogether given up the caste system which is still operative with respect to marriage. The Christians constitute about 36.4% of the total population according to the 1960 census.

In the concelhos of Goa and Bardez, they are an impressive minority, being 46.5% and 41.6% of the total population, respectively. Thus it is pretty clear that the Christian population is concentrated in the area known as the "velhas conquista" (old conquests), and this is historically understandable. The coincidence of the religious and regional divisions is remarkable. This has had an important cultural consequence. To quote the official Draft Plan, "...Culturally, socially and even linguistically, the western part of Goa has been and is different from the rest of the country. The eastern part of Goa, however which is larger but more sparsely populated, had a more limited association with Portuguese and Latin culture, and is consequently more like the neighbouring areas outside Goa." (Draft Plan for Goa, 1963-1966). This is an important sociological factor and it indicates the complexity of integrating Goa with the rest of India. It also explains the fact that the Liberation has engendered two opposite views in Goa - one advocating merger with a neighbouring state and the other advocating the retention of its cultural individuality. The Muslims of Goa are about 2.4% of the total population and their heaviest concentration is in Salcete, Mormugoa, Goa, Satari and Bicholim. They are divided into the Sayads, claiming descent from the Prophet himself, and the Sheiks, descending from the Hindu converts. There are also the Khans, of Afghan origin and the Khojas, mostly merchants, of Gujarati-Persian extract. It has been claimed that the relations between these various groups have been characterised by harmony. But this claim has to be looked into a little more carefully. Within the Hindu community itself, there did exist in a rudimentary form some friction between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins. Though the Portuguese systematically suppressed the Hindus, from about the 1930's they made an attempt to woo the Hindus, by offering facilities for education in Lisbon and the temptation of public offices.

As elsewhere in South India, the Brahmins took advantage of it, and thus the non-Brahmins had ground for discontentment. Apart from this, the communal accord between the Hindus and

Christians could hardly have been spontaneous. These groups were placed unequally, and they were both under the same totalitarian police regime. As a result there was no scope for free interplay of social forces. With the coming of democracy, such a situation is bound to undergo a sea-change.

Cultural Patterns

Goa has developed a unique cultural pattern of its own, thanks to its geographical isolation. It was, being smaller in area, subjected to a far heavier foreign cultural impact. The European impact affected the Christians as well as the upper class Hindus. While the British impact had been a cold, North European affair, the Portuguese impact was a Latin and South European one. This Latinisation explains the persistence of "old world graces and social deportment". It also reflects the essentially sluggish rhythm of life in Goa, and accounts for the light-heartedness and gaiety of the population. The Goans have, in short, imbibed the temper of the "warm south". The Goan social life, centred in the capital, Panjim, reflects all this - through its clubs, restaurants, eating places, and above all, its flourishing bars. Literally drinks used to flow freely in Goa. The nationalist leader, T. B. Cunha, says in his "Goa's Freedom Struggle" (Bombay, 1961), that the Portuguese deliberately encouraged alcoholism as a sound economic and political measure from their point of view. He has calculated that whereas in France, reputedly the heaviest-drinking country in the world, the per capita consumption of drinks was only 3 litres, it was 5 litres in Goa. This habit has now become so deep-rooted that it is likely to prove to be a major political issue, if and when the question of imposing prohibition should come up. Even as it is, one hears of complaints that foreign drinks were too drastically rationed. The Goan population, compared to the general Indian, is more westernised. This is noticeable in their food habits, dress and music. It has been a regular theme of regret and condemnation

in Goan nationalistic writing. Both Menezes Braganza and T. B. Cunha refer to it. The former complains that he was not taught about "the legendary battles of Kauravas and Pandavas." In an eloquent passage, written in 1928, he declared, "... Our society—except for the progress in fox-trot and jazz band which have already been carried into church feasts, in Eton crop and double-breasted coats of dandies resembles an old house, with its walls emitting brine and dampness, which being for years closed to fresh air smells of mildew. It looks like the corridor of the convent of Monicas in old Goa." (Meet Menezes Braganza, Bcmbay, 1963)

Indeed any casual visitor to Goa would get a sense of artificiality, engendered by an economy and society sustained by tourism, smuggling, lottery and emigration. At the same time there has been a fruitful co-existence of Hindu and Western cultures, especially in the field of music. A peculiar institution of rural Goa is the *commune*, which dominated village life. But today the institution has decayed. It is called "Gaumponn" in Konkani. The common land of the village belonged to it. It was given out for lease to the highest bidder. It looked after village amenities. The surplus amount left after these public expenses, was divided, and paid to *zonns*. The *zonn* was a clan group, and it distributed the amount to every male member belonging to it. These communes or *comunidades* had their own hereditary servants.

The Goan class structure generally derived from the colonial framework. The problem of social structure of a society is a complicated one. We shall here simply assume the division of the people into three broad classes, upper, middle and lower. The Goan economy was essentially an artificial economy in the sense that it was not based on the fullest exploitation of the internal resources. It was an economy sustained by smuggling, tourism, gambling and emigration. The large number of Goans who emigrated to India and Africa made remittances which formed a valuable component of the economy. Apart from this, the

economy was mainly agricultural and fishing. The Portuguese, however, did not encourage either agriculture or fishing, and were interested in an economy based on excessive importation. Agriculture was primitive and seasonal. Only 17.4% of the land was sown. Only 4.5% of the total cultivated area was irrigated. The important crops were rice, bajri, cocoanut, arecanut, cashewnut and sugarcane. There was chronic food deficit, and rice, wheat as well as wheat-flour were imported. Only in recent years were mining operations undertaken. Now iron ore is a major source of income. Under the Portuguese there was no industrialisation worth speaking of. In fact, as already indicated, economic potentialities were hardly tapped. In spite of all this, such was its artificially managed economy that the per capita income of Goa in 1951-59 was Rs 600/- which is almost twice as much as that of India, Rs. 313/-, for 1961-62. This gives a misleading sense of general prosperity. The income distribution was not equitable. The upper classes enjoyed a disproportionately bigger slice of the total wealth, and it included mostly the mine-owning, trading, land-owning and the higher bureaucratic classes. The common man in the villages lived on a subsistent economy. The per capita consumption of most items is higher for Goa compared to that of India. This could be explained by "a way of life that utilises money for conveniences, hospitality and celebrations rather than for investment in savings." (Draft Plan for Goa) The typically colonial situation encouraged a tendency to conspicuous consumption. The latest official figures (not yet published in December, 1963), divide the population into following occupation groups:

(1) Cultivators, (2) Agricultural labour, (3) Mining, Quarrying, live-stock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations and orchards, (4) Manufacture other than household, (5) Construction work, (6) Trade and commerce, (7) Transport, storage and communication, and (8) other services. According to these figures, the total number of persons, male and female, engaged in economic activities, is as follows :-

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
1. Cultivators	54,161	49,978	1,04,139
2. Agricultural	12,233	25,724	37,957
3. Mining, quarrying, live-stock, forestry, fishing, hunting, plantations and orchards.	22,153	7,845	29,998
4. Manufacture other than household	16,431	1,913	18,344
5. Construction work	3,679	62	3,741
6. Trade and Commerce	8,505	3,658	12,163
7. Transport, storage and commnunications	14,484	816	15,300
8. Other services	15,390	7,229	22,619
Total ..	1,47,036	97,225	2,44,261

Total No. of non - workers both male and female - 3,45,736

It is clear that the Agricultural sector absorbs 1,42,096 out of a total working population of 2,44,261. This works out to 58%. Next comes mining, quarrying etc., the smallest number being engaged in oonstruction work. The third most active sector is "other services," which means more or less, the public services. We have here the picture of a predominantly agritultural economy, coupled with a top-heavy public services component. The only redeeming feature is the mining industry, which is likely to be a major source of wealth for Goa. Emigration, whose sociological implications will be noted later, is believed to be an important source of wealth. There are no figures for unemployment, and it may be assumed that a large number of persons in the category "non-workers," which is one and a half times larger than the category "workers" includes unemployed. This should explain the largescale mirgation to India and elsewhere. Hence the appearance of prosperity that a tourist may gain by visiting centres

like Panjim, Margao, Mapuca, Vasco da Gama and Ponda is highly misleading. In fact, the total picture is one of poverty and destitution for many, and this may also explain the considerable existence of prostitution. Smuggling was an important component of the economy. An indication of the scale on which this might have taken place may be gathered from a report which says that on one occasion Rs. 2,50,000 worth of gold, precious stones, liquor and luxury articles was seized on the Indian side. It was, in short, a very precarious sort of economy with a generally adverse balance of payment. According to one source, there was an adverse balance of payment of the order of Rs. 65 million in 1954.

What may be called the class structure of Goa before the liberation was roughly like this. At the top were the Portuguese bureaucrats who drew large salaries from the public funds. Below them a little way down were the higher officials recruited from the local population. It was largely Christian with some sprinkling of Hindus. Allied with them socially was the land-owning class. The top minority of the commercial trading classes also belonged here. The mine-owning class whose economic interests should have tied it in with the above groups did not seem to have belonged socially quite here. On the whole, all the above groups may be described as the upper class. This was a highly Westernised class, and was understandably allied with the rulers.

Next in hierarchy came the middle class, comprising low-salaried bureaucracy, the petty tradesmen and other similar income groups. Then came the largest class, the lower class, consisting of agricultural labour class, menial class, working class and other allied groups. With some degree of inevitable arbitrariness, one may say that those whose income was beyond Rs. 12,000 per annum belonged to the upper class, those between Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 12,000 belonged to the higher middle class, between Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 6,000 belonged to the lower middle class; and finally those with incomes below Rs. 1,200 belonged to the lower class. A remarkable feature of Goan society was the presence of an ever

-changing but perpetual flow of outsiders. This must have had a disquieting effect on social morals and institutions. Another peculiarity which accentuated the sense of unreality and unsettlement was the existence of links between resident population and those who had emigrated. Most of the emigrants went to India where Bombay became a little Goa. Some emigrated to Portuguese colonies elsewhere, especially in Africa. According to T. B. Cunha, nearly one-sixth of the population emigrated. While the earlier historical migrations were inspired by religious persecution, the later ones were due to economic cause. No doubt the largest element in the emigrant population was the labour class. More recently there has been large-scale emigration from the rural land-owning class turned bankrupt by agricultural ruin. Most of these became a source for recruitment to lower clerical classes in India and Africa. Not all the emigrants were lucky. Quite a few were unemployed, and this necessitated the establishment of the Emigrants' Fund Committee in India. These emigrants, driven out by internal economic pressures, pumped back into Goa money which, ironically enough, kept the Goan economy going. Now there is a new Plan under way for Goa, and it is expected to make the economy more viable.

The so-called "high society" in Goa was centred in the capital, Panjim. In line with the familiar colonial pattern, it was slavishly imitative of its colonial masters, the Portuguese. It is said that the remnants of this class today are not willing to mix freely with the post-liberation ruling class. This was the most "de-nationalised" group and it may pose a problem for cultural integration with India.

An interesting element in Goan life used to be the high degree of honesty that prevailed among the people. There were very few petty crimes like thefts. The reason for this was no inherent moral superiority of the people. It was due to the fact that severe punishment out of all proportion to the crime was meted out by the Portuguese police state. In a literal sense, crime did not pay.

A demographic factor of some significance is the preponderance of women over men. According to the latest figures, as yet unpublished, there are 3,04,372 women as against 2,85,625. It works out to 51.6 % and 48.4 % approximately.

Educational Pattern

Upto the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the educational system was under ecclesiastical control. Education was used to "de-nationalise" the people and to bring them under closer colonial control culturally. Both Menezes Braganza and T. B. Cunha denounced this trend. The Portuguese made strenuous attempts at imposing the Portuguese language. They failed completely in this. Compared to the prestige of English in free India, the position of Portuguese in post-liberation Goa is not significant. In the government primary schools Portuguese was compulsory, and only much later, Marathi and English were admitted in some seven government schools. However, people did not go to them and preferred to attend private schools where Marathi was taught, since Konkani was not permitted. At the secondary level, there were three lyceums at Panjim, Margoa and Mapuca. Here again Portuguese was taught, leaving it to private schools to teach Marathi and English. Only the children of the Portuguese or of higher officials attended them. Thus the educational system implied distinctly different patterns for the Hindus and Catholics, the former taking to the Marathi schools and latter to the Portuguese schools. The most astonishing aspect of the system was the ruthless suppression of Konkani, the mother-tongue of all Goans. Thus they seem to have encouraged Marathi unintentionally, at the cost of Konkani. The reason for the suppression was perhaps the simple one that the best way of nipping in the bud any nationalist movement is to suppress the mother-tongue of the people. Regarding the curriculum, while it was a little strong on the language side it had little relevance to modern life, was largely a colonial system deriving from the system in Portugal. Secularism in education was comparatively

a new development. The Portuguese did less than nothing for higher education. Beyond a medical school and a technical school they did nothing at all. As a result Goans had to go mostly to India for their higher studies. The few who could afford it went to Portugal or other European countries.

The literacy figures for Goa are higher than those for the rest of the country. The credit for this should go to the enterprising nature of the people rather than to the Portuguese. According to the latest official, unpublished figures, there were 1,12,480 men and 71,791 women, who are literate. This works out to some 31% literacy.

The Language Pattern

As per the 1960 census, the linguistic map of Goa is as follows:

<i>Language</i>	<i>No. Speaking</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Konkani	4,97,227	84.3 %
2. Marathi	9,142	1.5 %
3. Urdu	7,883	1.3 %
4. Portuguese	5,972	1.0 %
5. Hindi	1,143	0.2 %
6. Gujerati	926	
7. Kannada	813	
8. English	441	
9. Tamil	232	
10. Telugu	162	
11. Malayalam	126	
11. Japanese	16	
13. Others	384	

As the above figures establish, Konkani which is the mother-tongue of all Goans, whether Hindus, Catholics or Muslims accounts for 84.3% for the whole population whereas Marathi is the mother-tongue of a mere 1.5%. Anyone who has been in Goa even for a very brief visit could not have failed to notice the passionate attachment of the Goan to his Konkani. There is a controversy as to whether Konkani is a language proper or a

dialect. There is also the issue whether, even if it is a dialect, it is a dialect of Marathi. A great authority and a great Goan, T. B. Cunha, points out that the linguists have designated Konkani as "gomantaki", so that "it might not be mistaken for a Marathi dialect *as it is wrongly done.*" Scholars like Dr. Katre and the late Dr. B. A. Saletore, have maintained that Konkani is a language in its own right, independent of Marathi.

They have argued that Marathi owes considerably to Konkani for its development. However, today attempts by a Konkani writer like the poet Borkar, to introduce Konkani words into his Marathi, have been frowned upon in Maharashtra. There are perfectly good historical reasons why Konkani could not have a script. All languages begin as merely spoken, and then blossom into full languages if favourable historical circumstances are available. Unfortunately the Konkani language was never given such a chance. The Portuguese suppressed it for four centuries and it never obtained the political backing necessary for its development. The people speaking it were scattered all over the western coast of India. There may be no necessary connection between Konkani and the scripts it has used. Marathi script happens, for practical reasons, to be the most frequently used. On the other hand, it is known to have used Kannada script and even Roman script. The history of Konkani shows that the Konkani of the North was influenced by Marathi while the Konkani of the South was influenced by Kannada. For instance, the Kannada word, "madiwala" for the washerman, is used in the Konkani of Goa. However, whatever the participants in technical, scholarly controversies may say, there is no doubt that the people speaking Konkani consider it to be a separate language. After all, in such linguistic matters, the feelings of the people affected ought to be the final court of appeal. The relevance of these points to the issue of merging Goa with Maharashtra is obvious. It is clear that there is no case for it on purely linguistic grounds. Next to his lovely strip of coastal land, the Goan loves his Konkani, and after that, certainly his drink.

POLITICAL PARTIES : THEIR STRUCTURE

It is impossible to conceive of democracy without political parties. They are the heart and soul of elections. Though the political parties are an extra-legal growth in every democratic country, the party system has become as indispensable as the law itself. It is because of the fact that democracy is a government by discussion and that admits differences of opinion. Tolerance of different opinions leads to the creation of political parties. In a democracy political parties assist in the formulation and expression of the general will by organising and winning elections. They sort out the issues for the electorate. They also help, as Lowell puts it, in "bringing public opinion to a focus and forming issues for a public verdict". The role and usefulness of the political parties in the context of elections is discussed by many writers. The primary function of a political party, according to Dr. Clinton Rossiter, is to control and direct the struggle for power. This role is "to bring the struggle for power under control: to institutionalise it with organisation, to channel it through nominations and elections, to publicize it by means of platforms and appeals, above all to stabilize it in the form of that traditional quadrille in which the Ins and Outs change from time to time on a signal from the voters". The parties, therefore, operate the machinery at four key-points: nominations, campaigns, elections, and finally appointments. It is because of this role of the parties that any study of elections without a reference to the structure of the parties and their programmes will be incomplete.

Political Parties in Goa

For over 450 years the Portuguese rule in this tiny territory was characterised by authoritarianism and there was no scope for the growth of parties. There were no political parties in Goa prior to its liberation though some organisations had come into vogue with the avowed objective of carrying on agitation for the liberation of Goa. The earliest of these organisations, the National Congress, Goa, was formed in 1946. The other organisations were the Goan People Party, the United Front of Goans (1950), the Azad Gomantak Dal (1954), the Goan Action Committee (1954) and the Goan Liberation Council (1954). All these showed the urge of nationalist Goan for attaining freedom. Thus there was no party tradition in Goa unlike in India before Independence. When elections to panchayets took place in 1962 they were not contested on party lines. But some parties came to the fore on the eve of General Elections. Close on the heels of liberation major political parties from India made their hurried and sure landing in Goa in search of fresh ground and new sphere for their activities. In addition to these there were some mushrooms also springing up. At one stage there were as many as 8 political parties with the possibility of the birth of some more. But four parties were recognised for purposes of the General Elections :

1. The Indian National Congress;
2. The United Goans;
3. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak and
4. The Frente Popular (Janata Agadhi)

The Indian National Congress is the only all-India party to participate in the elections, the rest being purely local parties, though one of them had entered into an electoral alliance with the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh. All the 4 parties were recognised by the Election Commission for the allotment of the symbol from out of the commission's official list of symbols. Let us now examine each one of these parties, their organisation, their programmes, their resources and such other relevant points in order to assess election results scientifically.

The Indian National Congress

This was the earliest of the parties to establish its organisational machinery in this Union Territory. Immediately after liberation 'the Goa, Daman, Diu Pradesh Congress Committee' was constituted. But in fact the Congress had its contacts much earlier. Mr. T. B. Cunha had founded in 1928 the Goa Congress Committee and had it affiliated to the Indian National Congress. It had the pride of associating with, apart from its fight against the Portuguese rule, the Indian national struggle for freedom. Immediately after liberation prominent Indian Congress leaders visited Goa. Prime Minister Nehru's visit was of course rather belated. Mr. Nehru was given a 'hero's welcome' and "the Goans vied with one another in making his visit a memorable one." Mr. Nehru's visit must have contributed to the strengthening of the local congress.

The party was better organised by all standards, especially from the point of view of resources and from the point of view of its membership. According to an estimate the primary membership of the Congress in this territory comes to about 30,000. Besides a number of outside leaders like Shri D. Sanjivayya, the Congress President, Shri K. K. Shah, the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C., Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Shri S. K. Patil, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Jagjivan Ram, Shri & Smt. Joachim Alva, Shri Y. B. Chavan and other members of the party participated in the election campaign. It is significant to note that neither Shri Nehru nor Smt. Indira Gandhi came to Goa on the eve of the elections. Though it was rumoured that Smt. Gandhi would come, she did not come. The Congress was the only party which could think of using so many all-India leaders of experience and influence. The Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee and the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee were specially requested to help the P. C. C. in Goa in organising the elections. Dr. Mohan Dharia, Secretary of the M. P. C. C., was guiding the election work.

Selection of Candidates

For selecting candidates to contest on Congress tickets, the P. C. C. elected the Pradesh Election Committee at its meeting held on June 13, 1963. The G. P. E. C. C. comprised 8 members:

1. Shri Pandurang Mulgaonkar,
2. Shri Chandrakant Kelkar,
3. Dr. J. F. Martins,
4. Shri Bhagawandas Bholdas,
5. Shri Madhav Bir,
6. Dr. Vinayak Mayenkar,
7. Dr. Pundalik Khandepalker and,
8. Prof. Lucio Rodrigues.

This committee was to recommend candidates for the central and state legislature seats to the Central Election Committee.

Over 127 Congress members applied for ticket for the Assembly and 12 for Parliament seats. A good number of applicants applied for both. According to Shri K. K. Shah the guiding principles for the selection of candidates were integrity and capacity to serve Goa, and contribution to the Goa freedom struggle.

From what followed after the finalisation of the list by this Committee and the announcement of the list, it is clear that all was not well in the organisation. The list of candidates was revised three times, probably to accommodate certain leaders. But notwithstanding these revisions some of the leaders resigned from the Congress. Besides the disappointment about the selection of candidates there was, dissatisfaction over the allotment of constituencies to some. They were, it was reported, switched over to the constituencies where they were strangers. As a result of the negotiations held by Shri K. K. Shah and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri changes were effected. At the same time a four-man Goa Congress team visited New Delhi for seeking clarifications on the merger issue from the Central Parliamentary Board even after the issuing of the Manifesto. Obviously there were some members in the Congress who

were not prepared to identify themselves with the stand taken by their party on the merger question. Being disappointed at Delhi for different reasons, some members resigned from the Congress.

As reported in the Navhind Times of 6th and 7th November, 1963, as many as 25 members including two of those who were given tickets resigned. They included prominent congressmen like Dr. Rama Hegde, Shri Manju Goankar, Vice-president of the Goa P. C. C., Shri M. S. Prabhu, Shri Tony Fernandes (later Minister in the M. G. Cabinet) and others. In a statement they issued to the press they said that the selection of candidates as made by the Congress party was "a deliberate effort to bypass the applicant's pledge to socialism and ultimate merger with Maharashtra...." (The Navhind Times, November 6, 1963). Therefore they decided to resign from the P. C. C. and also from the primary membership "so as to be free to make our humble contribution towards socialism and merger with Maharashtra". Dr. Rama Hegde said: "The Goa Congress is in the hands of reactionary and anti-national forces". However, Dr. Hegde with some other members returned later to the Congress fold as a result of the negotiations and contested the election as a Congress candidate. Other dissidents stuck to their decision 'to join a rival party' through which they could achieve their objectives.

All this happened a month before the elections, and naturally it did not augur well for the party. These internal dissensions and frequent changing of the list of candidates created a bad impression among the voters.

Speaking of the candidates of the party in general, it may be said without any fear of contradiction that they were persons with a good educational background and experience in different walks of life like education, social work etc. They were doctors, lawyers or teachers. Most of them are reputed freedom fighters who participated in the liberation of their land with all the attendant sufferings and privations. Quite a few of them have

had legislative experience and sat in the Informal Consultative Committee to the Government of Goa, Daman and Diu.

The Manifesto of the Party

The party issued a 17 point election manifesto referring to the programmes and policies for which it stood. It promised to strive towards an alround development of this territory which was sadly neglected under the Portuguese colonial rule.

The most striking feature of the Manifesto is the declaration that the economic development of Goa is more important and urgent than its political future. It stood for maintaining the status quo in this respect and continued to treat it as a Union Territory for some time to come. The party, apparently, was not for deciding nor even for considering the question of Goa's merger with one of the neighbouring states. This question, fortunately or unfortunately, became the main issue during the elections. Item 16 of the manifesto declared "the Government of India have made it clear that the future of Goa and whether it should merge into the adjoining territory of Maharashtra will be ultimately decided according to the wishes of the people of Goa. For the present this question does not arise as we have to stabilise and strengthen the economy and facilitate the changes that are taking place because of the integration of Goa in the Indian Union."

The manifesto also placed before the voters following socio-economic programmes : (1) The major problem of the territory being that of economic development, the party endeavours "to bring about a social change based on the establishment of the technologically mature society in the framework of 'SOCIALISTIC ECONOMY' that will ensure to every citizen dignity, economic security and equality of opportunity" (point 4). (2) The party will strive to eliminate the social evils of poverty and ignorance by "Laying stress on education and planned development". Free and compulsory primary education, adoption of Marathi, Gujarathi, Hindi, and Konkani as the medium of instruction,

widespread schemes of scholarships, freeships etc., for the economically backward classes and the midday-meal scheme are the steps proposed for achieving the objective. (3) Land reforms is another important point referred to in the Manifesto. It promised that Land Reforms as proposed by the Planning Commission will be fully accepted, and implemented which will ensure 'security of tenure'. Reduced rents, consolidated holdings, re-organisation of the Comunidades on lines of co-operative farming on voluntary basis formed part of the Land Reform Programme. In the industrial field the Manifesto believes that the absence of large-scale and medium-scale industries is the typical sign of a backward economy. It promised positive support and fillip to the large and medium scale industries without neglecting the small-scale and cottage industries. This would "help us to check unemployment and raise capital income". (5) Referring to the problem of the development of transport facilities, the manifesto proposed giving priority to the setting-up of a 'State Transport Corporation'. It may be pointed out here that this Union Territory is at the moment served by a net-work of skeleton transport services operated by private agencies. It proposed the raising of the road mileage, particularly in areas with poor communication, besides improving the existing roads.

The manifesto also covered problems like extension of medical facilities; checking the rising prices by giving encouragement to the consumers' Co-operatives; decentralisation of power through Panchayati Raj; improved housing facilities; development of tourism etc., and held out the promise to extend all facilities in this direction. A significant omission in the Manifesto is the absence of any reference to the policy of prohibition in this territory. The voters were left in ignorance as to whether the ruling party in India which has zealously stuck to the enforcing of this policy would follow suit in Goa or was prepared to accommodate the Goans on this point.

By and large the manifesto of the Congress party can be described as a comprehensive one covering the social, the

economic and political problems of the people of Goa, Daman and Diu (See appendix for the text of the Manifesto).

The Congress was the only party to contest all the 30 seats for the Assembly and both the seats for the Parliament. It had for its symbol ' a pair of bullocks with a yoke on ' as elsewhere. Though the Congress party threw into the battle-field some of Goa's tried freedom fighters and those who enjoyed respect for their personal sacrifices, and though it could handle the campaign with the help of stalwarts in elections and top leaders the party failed to get the seats. The verdict of the people went completely against the Congress as the results speak for themselves. Not even a single Congress candidate could get elected from Goa and Diu whereas from the remote Daman area a Congress member was elected, his being the only victory and seat in the Assembly for his party. What is more, as many as 18 Congress candidates for the Assembly including the P. C. C. President Shri Purushottam Kakodkar and one candidate for the parliament seat lost their deposits not being able to get even 1/6 of the total valid votes polled in their respective constituencies. Both the candidates of the party for the 2 Lok Sabha seats got defeated. The party candidates polled only 43,100 votes in all out of the total of 2,60,372 votes polled. The percentage of votes polled by the Congress is 16.55%. The party candidates for Panjim and Margaoa parliamentary constituencies polled 15.52% and 17.80% respectively. Reporting the results the Navhind Times of December 12, 1963, wrote " Never in the annals of the Indian National Congress since its inception has it suffered a drubbing like the one it has in Goa ". The reasons for this ' bitterest defeat ' of the Congress are discussed elsewhere in the book.

The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party

The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party was formed only 6 months before the General Elections, in its present form, though the seeds of such a party were sown as early as 1954 when the Azad Gomantak Dal was formed by Shri V. N. Lawande who

was expelled from the Congress. The Dal was formed in Belgaum with the support of the Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh. The Dal had a tendency of "Hindu Communalism" and it was "clandestinely active within the Portuguese India". A Marathi Literary writers' Conference was held in Goa during the latter part of 1962 which was attended by prominent individuals like Messrs N. V. Gadgil, P. K. Atre, Anant Kanekar, Sushil Kavalekar and N. G. Gore. The platform of the literary writers' conference was used to expound the ideology of merging Goa with Maharashtra and emphasis was laid on the need for forming a party for the purpose. A study of the developments that took place after the liberation of Goa makes us believe that before the Gomantak party was ultimately shaped there were its predecessors like the Gomantak Gayak Samaj, the Maratha Gayak Sabha, and the Gomantak Maratha Samaj. The result of this metamorphic process was the formation of 'the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party' which participated in the first General Elections of Goa as a local party and ultimately emerged as the largest single party in the Assembly.

The Gomantak Party as it is composed to-day is mostly a party of the dissident Congressmen including its leaders. It has already been pointed out that there was a section within the Goa Pradesh Congress Committee which was for merger of Goa with Maharashtra and when the Congress Party's manifesto was disappointing on this point they resigned from the Congress to join a rival party. Also more members who were dissatisfied with the Congress on the question of giving tickets and allotment of constituencies resigned from the Congress. These dissidents decided to join the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party and they were naturally welcomed into its fold. Thus the party came to be made up of quite a few of the Congress dissidents who were described in the Congress circles as 'the pro-merger element. Mr. Dayanand Bhandodkar, President of the Maharashtra Gomantak Party, commenting on these developments said "It has been always our policy to bring together all

forces which believe in the merger of this territory with Maharashtra and the new addition to the ranks of the party should strengthen the merger movement." (The Navhind Times - 7-11-63).

The party had the backing of all the parties in Maharashtra including Congress. While it had the blessings of the Maharashtra Congress and secretly got its support it openly entered into an electoral alliance with the Praja Socialist Party and the Jan Sangh. Such an alliance was announced by Mr. Peter Alvares, the P.S. P. leader, in a press note he issued on November 27, 1963. By the time the P. S. P. had set up more than 12 of its candidates in various constituencies to the Assembly and the Parliament. Excepting for the two Assembly and one Parliament seats, that is of Mr. Alvares himself, the remaining 12 candidates of the P. S. P. retired from the contest though they could not formally withdraw in view of the late stage at which the decision was taken. Mr. Alvares appealed, in the course of a statement, to the voters not to vote for these 12 candidates, whom he named, in view of the electoral alliance with the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party. The P. S. P. could not use its symbol 'hut' as it started its career comparatively late in Goa and was having only an ad-hoc committee functioning there. The Jan Sangh set up 5 candidates under the banner of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party. A spokesman of the party said that such an alliance with both the parties which subscribed to the idea of merger of Goa with Maharashtra would not only help them to fight the non-mergerist parties unitedly but also bring for election campaigning trained party-workers and seasoned leaders. A number of leaders including Shri. N. G. Gore, Shri. S. M. Joshi, Mr. Nath Pai and other workers and speakers from Bombay, Poona and Belgaum were pressed into the campaigning. The party as some reports indicate got help from outside both in men and money. An unconfirmed report says, a sum of Rs. five lakhs was airflown from Bombay on 7th December, 1963 or so, to strengthen the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party's position.

The party contested 27 of the 30 Assembly seats and both the Parliament seats. Candidates were selected on the basis of their record of work. There was a distribution of seats among the dissidents from the the Congress, Jan Sangh, the P. S. P. and the Gomantak Party members themselves. About half a dozen Congress dissident contested as the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party candidates. The M. G. P. candidates do not compare favourably with those of the Congress party in some respects such as education. Three of the 29 candidates were Christians. All the 3 are elected. As the reports indicate, there were party squabbles in this party also on the question of candidatures. The General Secretary of the M.G. Party, Mr. Janardhan J. Shinkre, rebelled over the adoption of the P.S.P. candidate for the Panjim Parliamentary constituency. When nominations were filed originally Mr. Dayanand Bandodkar, President of the M. G. Party, was the party's candidate for this constituency and Mr. Janardhan J. Shinkre was the dummy candidate. When the party adopted Mr. Peter Alvares of the P. S. P. as its candidate Mr. Bandodkar withdrew in his favour. But Mr. J. Shinkre refused to withdraw and contested as an Independent. He was however defeated. Another instance of party squabble within the M. G. Party was reported in the Navhind Times dated December 7, 1963. It was stated that Mr. Pandharinath Palandikar, Vice-President of the M. G. Party, resigned from his party and joined the Congress party. He declared at a reception that he resigned because he was convinced of the merits of the Congress party and he appealed to all his supporters to vote for the Congress party.

Leaving aside some of these shortcomings, the M. G. Party was a well-knit organisation the cementing force of which was its President, the 52 year old Sri. Dayanand Bandodkar - a well-known figure in Goa. He prefers to style himself a social worker rather than a politician. A philanthropist of renown he is liked by the common man in Goa. This mass popularity of his is an asset to any party he may lead. Though his knowledge

of English is poor he speaks fluently Konkani, his mother-tongue. He himself did not contest any seat to the Assembly, but he is today the Chief Minister of Goa as the undisputed leader of the M. G. Party.

The M. G. Party did not issue a manifesto of its own. The party had no other programme in view except that of the merger of Goa with Maharashtra and declaring of Marathi as the regional and the official language. After his election as the leader of the M. G. Legislature Party, Mr. Bandodkar declared in a statement as follows : "I had to enter politics under compulsion of events. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party was founded by me only for the temporary issue of merger of Goa in Maharashtra. The party will be dissolved automatically after the issue is settled. I am personally anxious to return to my non-political social work." (The Navhind Times, December 17, '63). The party no doubt later on announced the policy to be followed by the Ministry. The M. G. Party chose 'Lion' as its symbol, and had the historical flag of Maharashtra as its standard.

Out of the 27 Assembly seats contested by the Party it bagged 14 seats, and both the Parliament seats thus emerging as the largest single party in the Assembly though it failed to get an absolute majority. But the party got the support of the two of the 3 Independents who were supported by this party in the elections. The candidates of the M. G. Party polled a total of 1,00,117 votes out of the 2,60,372 votes polled. In other words it secured 38.78% of the votes polled and 4 of its candidates lost their deposits. For the parliament seats Mr. Peter Alvares polled 51.33% and Mr. Mukund P. Shinkre 37.40% of the votes. Both were declared elected.

Now the M. G. Party has formed a three-man Ministry including the Chief Minister. While Mr. Bandodkar is the leader of the M. G. Party, the other two members of his Cabinet are among those who resigned from the Congress and successfully contested as the M. G. Party candidates.

The United Goans

The United Goans party was formed only in September 1963 by the merging of different parties that were functioning. They were : (i) Goencho Paksh; (ii) Partido Indiano; (iii) Goan National Union; and (iv) The United Front of Goans (which was formed as early as 1950 with the same objectives as the United Goans have today) Dr. Jack Sequeira who was the founder - president of the ' Goencho Paksh ' was elected the President of the new United Goans Party.

These different parties decided to merge themselves and form a single party to realise their common goal of attaining separate statehood for Goa within the Indian Union. They were alarmed at the developments in the Marathi Literary Writers' Conference held in Goa towards the end of 1962. This purely literary platform was exploited by politicians of Maharashtra to expound the ideology of merging Goa with Maharashtra. With a view to counteracting this move all those who stood for a separate state of Goa joined hands in forming the United Goans Party.

Though the U. G. P. is a predominantly Christian organisation, yet it is not correct to say that only Christians of Goa stood for a separate state or there are no Hindus in the party. In fact the Secretary of the U. G. P. is a Hindu. There were also Christians who had faith in the ideologies of the Congress Party and expected to declare categorically that the Congress would strive for the formation of a separate state of Goa within the Indian Union. They were naturally disappointed when the Congress Party declared in its manifesto that it was not prepared to take up this issue at the moment and would stand for the status quo. This stand of the Congress also perhaps gave a fillip to the Christians and others who agreed to mobilise their strength and to fight the elections with the chief objective of attaining separate statehood for Goa within the Indian Union on democratic lines.

The party contested only 24 of the 30 Assembly seats and both the Parliament seats. Among the candidates it set up there were as many as 8 Hindus and one Muslim. Of course, only one Hindu was elected. The President of the Party, Dr. Jack Sequeira, contested the Panjim Assembly seat. He won by a narrow majority. The United Goans was perhaps the only party which employed mostly local resources unlike other parties. It did not get even a single leader from outside. There were of course sympathetic appeals in statements and write-ups by Goans residing outside. Even in this respect it was not much when compared with other parties. The President of the party and its workers looked highly determined and believed beyond doubt that Congress meant nothing to the people of Goa. They categorically stated that the issue of a separate state of Goa was not religious at all, but was purely an economic one. A statehood would give them chance to develop themselves, and at any rate, they asked "why should we join up with Maharashtra, a State with highest taxation in India? We had no ties with them." The substantial victory of the U. G. Party at the poll was due to the dynamic personality of its President whose capacity for leadership found expression during the elections. His genius for attracting followers and ability for mobilisation were responsible for the success of the Party.

He handled very ably a situation that had developed within the party in early November. Mr. Melicio Fernandes, the General Secretary of the Party and Mr. Victor Teles, a member of the Executive, were expelled from the Party for their allegedly prejudicial activities. Mr. Mericio Fernandes later contested the Marmagoa Parliamentary seat, and Mr. Teles opposed the President of the Party Mr. Jack Sequeira from the Panjim Assembly constituency as independent candidates.

The Manifesto

The party issued a 28 - point 'statement of policy' at the end of September 1963 (see Appendix). The statement refers to a

number of socio - economic policies and programmes for which the party stood, like education, agriculture, industry, export promotion, labour, and social services such as medical facilities, housing, roads, electricity, rehabilitation of the handicapped, stabilising the price line, fair-price shops, tourism, promoting sports and culture etc.

Items 1, 6, 18 and 28 are the significant ones in their manifesto. On these points they differed from the Congress party. Of course, some of these items are conspicuous by their absence in the Congress manifesto. Item I of the statement declares the demand for "STATEHOOD in and outside the Assembly of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, and in Parliament." Another point of importance is in item 6 which refers to "the University of Goa with English as the medium of instruction." Item 18 wants to "help rehabilitate political sufferers." Finally item 28 intends to "oppose any attempt at introducing prohibition." This assurance was very important in the Goan context. On the other hand the Congress party's manifesto did not refer to it at all. It was specially necessary in view of the prohibition policy enforced by the Congress as the ruling party in other states. The average Goan was anxious to know whether the Congress, if returned to power, would do the same thing in Goa. There was no answer in the manifesto. This omission may be either a deliberate attempt to ignore a rather embarrassing question conveniently, or it may be exhibiting a woeful lack of knowledge of the local problems. As if to make amends to this omission Mr. V. P. Nayak who was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Maharashtra on the eve of the General Elections in Goa hastened to state in his chat to the pressmen on 3rd Dec., 1963 that his Government would make major changes in the dry law. (The Times of India, December, 4, 1963). His statement instead of helping the Congress harmed the interests of the Congress Party. But for these differences there was general agreement on the programmes and policies stated by the Congress and the United Goans in their respective manifestoes.

The party had for its symbol 'the open human hand', and for its slogan "Amchem Goem Amkam Zai." There developed a controversy around this symbol of the United Goans. It was pointed out that the symbol has a special religious appeal and significance to the Christian voter in Goa. It was remarked that the symbol of the hand carried the blessings of St. Francis Xavier. Christians of Goa have a firm belief that the hand of St. Xavier is guiding their destinies and is blessing them.

This allegation was however denied by Dr. Jack Sequeira, in a statement, as mischievous. He explained that the party had actually asked for 'Palm Tree' but it was the Election Commission that gave them their present symbol. (The Navahind Times, October 23, '63).

With these election slogans the U. G. Party approached the electorate. The party won 12 of the 24 seats it contested for the Assembly polling a total of 74,081 votes out of the 2,60,372 votes polled or got 28.44% of the votes. None of its candidates for the Parliament, however, was elected. They polled 27.88% and 35.40% from the Panjim and the Marmagoa parliament constituencies respectively. Five of its candidates lost their deposits. Missing the majority position narrowly the United Goans are now functioning as the main Opposition party in the Assembly.

The Frente Popular : (The popular front
or the Janata Aghadi)

The Frente Popular is the only left-wing party with communist bias that participated in the Goan election. It had limited objectives in as much as it contested only 8 Assembly seats and none for the Parliament and naturally had no ambitions of forming the government. It, however, issued an ambitious but an impressive manifesto. It issued the manifesto as early as August 1963.

The front declared in its 6 - point manifesto that it "stands for secularism, democracy and socialism, for the end of all exploitation of man by man." The manifesto explains its stand on

agrarian, industrial, social, educational and cultural reforms and the judicial reforms. Besides other things, the manifesto was very critical of the then existing administration in Goa and levelled against it charges of arbitrariness, nepotism and corruption. It complained that the development plans for Goa remained on paper and that the Indian Labour Laws 'still remain inadequately implemented in Goa.' It also stated that "The Frente Popular rejects the Congress policy of prohibition and will fight against its introduction in Goa." But it agreed with the Congress Party's stand on the future status of Goa. The party claimed to have presented an organised socio-economic programme for consideration by the voters. (See Appendix for the text of the manifesto).

Most of the candidates set up by the Front were people with trade union background particularly in Bombay and its President Mrs. Bertha Menezes Braganza is a well-known journalist and peace worker and member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. She also participated in the International Womens' Peace Council which met at Moscow. She belongs to the family of the late Mr. Menezes Braganza, a great freedom fighter of Goa. Mrs. Bertha Menezes Braganza was one of the 6 contestants in the Cortalim constituency. The other constituency where its special weight was thrown was Marmagoa where Mr. Gerald Pereira, the Secretary of the Front, was opposed by 4 candidates. The Front set up its candidates only in those areas where there is some labour population. Mass rallies were held by the Front and they were addressed by the Communist leader Sri S. A. Dange.

The party failed to get even a single seat. It lost in all the 8 constituencies polling only 4,509 out of the total of 2,60,372 votes polled. It got slightly over 1% of the votes. 6 of its candidates lost their deposits. Thus the Frente Popular - the only party with Communist association, was thrown overboard.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS : MODUS OPERANDI

One of the liveliest by-products of Parliamentary democracy is electioneering. As the date of polling draws near the parties become more and more feverish, even hysterical, in their last-minute desperate attempts to capture the loyalties of the electorate. Psychologically, election campaigns perform a number of useful tasks. In the first place, they tend, though not always, to canalise the hostilities of the parties into harmless ways of behaviour. Secondly, they educate the electorate, though not exactly in the way they intend. Thirdly, they release great amounts of popular energy and feeling periodically in ways which are basically harmless. Apart from all this, electioneering provides seasonal employment for the energies and talents of a number of people. In Goa, the first General Elections ever stimulated, not unexpectedly, very resourceful and colourful campaigning activities. Anyone who happened to be in Panjim a week prior to the polling day, would have had some idea of what it all looked like. One found clusters of people collecting in public parks and squares to discuss election prospects heatedly, as the party campaigners sped by in all sorts of vehicles. In the nature of things, certain aspects of election campaigns are difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty, and there are always rumours. Election time is the most fertile time for rumour-mongering. What follows is a brief account of the way the election campaigns were conducted in Goa during the General Elections, 1963. It is best to do it party-wise.

MAHARASHTRAWADI GOMANTAK (MG) : The campaigning work of this party was entrusted to a seasoned worker from Maharashtra, with a background of participation in the Samyukta Maharashtra agitation and, oddly enough, of active participation in Congress electioneering under Shri S. K. Patil. He had set up a well-organised propaganda unit. At all levels, i.e., parliamentary, assembly constituency and polling booth, it had a formal structure with a chairman, treasurer and special committees like the Propaganda Committee and the Meetings Committee. The campaigning work was decentralised, and work was entrusted, as far as practicable, to different levels. The party was able to provide one vehicle each for the assembly constituencies. It made considerable use of pamphlets and leaflets. It had at its command the services of a Marathi daily, "Pradeep", published from Panjim. In addition, another Marathi daily, "Gomantak", also published from Panjim, gave it support in the sense that it was a pro-merger paper. On the top of all this, Marathi papers from outside like "Kesari", which advocated merger, also circulated in Goa. In general, this was the role of the printed word in the campaign.

So far as the spoken word is concerned, the party made heavy use of public addresses. It held brief corner meetings. It sent round vehicles fitted with loud-speakers, that advocated voting for the party. A remarkable, though understandable, feature of the campaign, which this party shared with the Congress, was the heavy participation of persons from outside Goa. Since the party had made an electoral alliance with the PSP it was able to get PSP leaders like Messers Nath Pai and S. M. Joshi, to address public meetings in support of it. Even at the level of ordinary workers, it had imported considerably from outside. It had the backing of the Jan Sangh, and its workers helped in the door-to-door canvas the party conducted in Panjim. It had many PSP workers to assist it.

The party made use of a variety of entertainment media in its campaign. It organised "tamashas", and programmes of

reciting specially composed songs as well as Bhajans. It made use of folk-songs as well. It got up impressive bullock-cart processions, bicycle processions and truck processions, dominated by a mechanical lion which could shut and open its mouth. Though it was strongly rumoured that a live lion would be pressed into service, it was not. However, during one of its campaigns, it had a lion-figure ride over a pair of bullocks. It made use of local fairs. Though it had intended to give cinema slides, it was unable to do so in time.

The party organised mock-elections to educate the electorate in voting method.

The posters of the party were not particularly sophisticated. They were mostly straight-forward appeals to the public. Its symbol, the lion, is supposed to have some association with Tilak's Kesari.

There was a feeling that the party's campaign was more intense in the towns than in the rural areas.

CONGRESS (C) : The Congress party had its head-quarters, like the MG, at Panjim. Its office looked quite prosperous, compared to that of the MG. It had better furniture and more typewriters. It had set up election offices in every constituency. These offices worked in co-operation with the Mandal Congress Committees. At the constituency level, there were Reception Committees, Propaganda Committees and Mobilisation Committees. The president of the District Congress Committee was the ex-officio chairman of all these committees. The party had a hierarchy of offices, the lowest being at the booth level. One had the impression that, compared to the MG, the Congress work was more centralised. The party could commandeer a number of vehicles, and used them liberally.

It had at its command the services of an English daily, "Navhind Times", published from Panjim. The Marathi daily, "Rashtramath", issuing from Margoa, was a clearly pro-Congress

paper. However, the Marathi daily "Gomantak", which was generally pro-Congress, was a clearly pro-merger paper. As a result, its influence went to the support of the MG. The party made use of pamphlets and leaflets. It had had distributed leaflets, carrying the photographs of its candidates together with brief, laudatory legends about them. It also got published in the columns of the Navhind Times the whole of this material.

With regard to the audio-visual methods, the Congress, like the MG., made great use of public addresses. Like the MG, it also imported a galaxy of leaders from outside, which included Messers Chavan, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Morarji Desai, S. K. Patil, K. K. Shah and D. Sanjivayya. Not only top leaders, but many ordinary workers, especially women workers were imported from outside. The Congress did not organise processions as impressive as those of the MG., or the United Goans Party. It had, of course, vehicles carrying boys and girls, dancing or singing, go round. It made some use of a tape-recorded message of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. It displayed cinema slides, and took round a projector showing documentaries. Its posters were not particularly imaginative. Its symbol, the bullocks, which had such appeal in the rest of India, does not seem to have had any special appeal.

Like the MG, it also trained the electorate in voting procedure. Like the MG, it had a better coverage in the towns than in the rural areas. However its rural campaign was not as penetrating as the MG's.

UNITED GOANS PARTY (UG) : This party had no elaborate bureaucratic apparatus for campaigning. In the opinion of some this was one of its virtues. Every worker was made to feel as important as the other, as there were no marked hierarchical feelings. For instance, its President, Dr. Sequiera, was a very informal and cheerful man who went round like any ordinary worker in a jeep, canvassing for his party. In refreshing contrast to the others, it did not import outside talent. It made the fullest use of local talent. Its processions

were easily the most impressive. Alone among the parties, it organised motor-cycle processions. Its "motorcades" were moving to watch. Its cycle processions were the most impressive. It had better placards than the other parties. Its meetings were simple and well attended. Its posters were not particularly impressive, though a shade better than those of the MG., or C. Its symbol, the hand, was most skilfully exploited. Its slogan, "Goa is ours; give us what is ours", in its more concise Konkani form, had enormous appeal. It had at its services an English paper, "Gomantak Kiran", published from Panjim. This paper was priced at 7 nP., though actually it was distributed free of cost. It is an evening paper. Besides, the papers in the Portuguese language gave it support, since they were generally against merger. The UG used the method of propagating through pamphlets and leaflets effectively. Like the MG, it also had the support of papers from outside, like the "Goan Tribune", an English fortnightly from Bombay, that circulated in Goa. Like the other parties, it also made use of music and dancing. On the whole, one felt that the UG campaigning was most effective in towns, and one could agree with the estimate of a Bombay weekly that theirs was the best (CURRENT, 21 December, 1963). However, the UG work in rural areas compared very unfavourably with that of the MG or even C.

FRENTE POPULAR: This was a leftist party with communistic leanings and with very limited electoral ambition. Its work was confined to a portion of the total area. It made most use of pamphlets and leaflets. It held meetings. For instance, according to Navhind Times (November 28, 1963) it organised rallies. Its symbol, elephant, does not seem to have held any special emotional appeal to the electorate.

INDEPENDENTS: In contrast with the vigorous campaigning by the parties, the lonely efforts of the Independent candidates looked very forlorn indeed. It looked as if they had really no worry about the election at all. Their posters and leaflets looked dull.

So far we have been dealing with material that can be documented or otherwise verified. But when we move on to discuss matters like the use of coercion, money, liquor, religious appeal, we move on to the sphere of controversy and speculation. However, some broad impressions which lay no claim to authenticity or unimpeachable factual accuracy may be given. As usual, the parties accused each other of having used threat of force in their campaigns. There must be some truth in it, but how much and in what specific shape, it is difficult to ascertain. No political party will frankly declare its election expenses, nor will it honestly indicate its sources. There were rumours that the MG and the Congress received lot of money from Bombay. There were comparatively fewer rumours about the UG receiving outside money. Liquor must have been used, since it is so much a part of Goan life. Whether money was distributed to the voters and if so, in what manner, are questions to which no truthful answers are possible. Whether caste or religious appeal was used is another controversial issue. For instance, the Congress circles claim that the UG party used the symbol of the hand in such a way as to imply religious appeal. It was claimed that the people were told that this was the hand of St. Xavier, the saviour of Goa. But the UG president publicly denied the allegation. He said that actually his party had asked for the symbol of a palm tree whereas the election commission had allotted them the symbol of the hand. However, even if this were true, it would not, in theory, preclude the possibility of its being used in the manner alleged. There were also allegations and counter allegations that parties used heavily caste appeal. This also may be true, but difficult to prove beyond challenge. The MG alleged that the governmental machinery was used in the interest of the Congress party. Once again, the available evidence does not indisputably point to any single conclusion. One supposes that factors like communal and caste appeal must have had their role in Goan elections as elsewhere in the country. This is not said to condone them,

but only in a scientific spirit of accepting the social facts realistically.

The Role of The Press

The press and the political party have been regarded as the chief agencies of public opinion. Where there is freedom of the press there is an orderly presentation of news and there is a free play of public opinion. Political parties and individuals use the newspaper as a medium of political propaganda. A paper may serve as the mouthpiece of a political party. Elections bring prominence to newspapers since they serve as the best means of party propaganda and voters can be influenced through newspapers. While all voters may not read papers and the press may be controlled by vested interests, and financed by a few capitalists the press plays an important part in diffusing political views.

The role of the press in Goan society where the percentage of literacy is over 30% is naturally important. The educated sections could know different viewpoints of parties through news-papers on the eve of general elections. Though general elections were held for the first time in Goan history, the people of Goa were not new to the press. There were some newspapers published in Goa in pre-liberation days. But they were state-controlled and therefore could not play any effective role. With the dawn of freedom in the territory of Goa, free press was born and many papers with different shades of public opinion began to play a new role consistent with a democratic society. In the pre-liberation days nine papers were published in Goa. Of these, four were dailies, four were weeklies and one was a monthly paper. Most of these were published in Portuguese or Konkani in Roman script. "Bharat Mitra" was the only paper published in Marathi every month, its circulation being about 1100. Of the weeklies, "Vauradeancho Ixtt" was the largest circulated weekly, published in Portuguese and Konkani. Its circulation exceeded 6000. After liberation there have been

in all about 20 papers. They are published in English, Konkani, Marathi and Portuguese. The chief English language papers are Navhind Times (Daily), People's Own Weekly, Jai Goa (Weekly). The circulation of these papers is between 2,000 to 3,000. 'Navem Goem', 'Goencho Sad', 'Uzvaad' are the chief Konkani weeklies published either in Roman or Devanagari scripts. Their circulation also is between 2000 to 3000. Of the Marathi papers, Pradeep and Gomantak are dailies and the circulation of these Marathi papers is naturally higher than that of the other papers since they cross the borders of Goa, penetrating parts of Maharashtra. Pradeep and Gomantak are widely read among the Hindu population.

The role of the press in the election campaign

The role of the press during election period may be assessed in these ways :

- (1) How far the press contributed to the political education of the citizen and guided him on proper lines on election process etc.
- (2) Whether it propagated the views of any political party or maintained political neutrality.
- (3) Whether it indulged in vilification, false propaganda, misrepresentation.

Taking the last point first, it may be observed at the very outset that the Goan press played a worthy role. On the whole, it was sober, constructive and educative. Whatever might be the political affiliation of a paper, it did not cross the limits of decency. Elections cease to be free and fair when the press resorts to hostile and cheap propaganda. News-papers published photographs of candidates together with their life-sketches etc. They did not, however, carry on any tirade against persons or particular parties. Thus the press displayed a sense of responsibility and maintained moral standards.

Newspapers published a good deal of stuff enlightening the voters on the techniques of voting and responsibilities of voters. Official hand-outs, special articles on the importance of elections were given due publicity. The role of the press was thus instructive. The appeals made on the eve of elections by the Lt. Governor and the Chief Election Commissioner to observe healthy conventions and a high code of conduct during elections were prominently featured by the press. People's Own Weekly published useful information relating to election law and processes under the title "General Elections Feature". The only paper about which there was some complaint on the question of maintaining high standards of journalism was "Pradeep", a Marathi Daily. Of the papers that observed high standard the Navhind Times was the foremost. Though it stood for the Congress and was naturally sympathetic towards the Congress its editorial tone was always dignified. On the eve of the elections it wrote two leading articles "Last Appeal to Voters" (Dec. 7 1963) and "Vote Wisely" (Dec. 8, 1963). We give here extracts from the Editorial "Vote Wisely" :

"With the first general elections, which will usher in for the first time a democratic government in Goa, scheduled for tomorrow, we would like to make a final appeal to the people of this territory, firstly not to fail to exercise their franchise and secondly to cast their vote wisely. A lot of noise, a lot of appeals have been made to you by various parties and independent candidates, but it is very important that you sift the chaff from the grain before you make a decision - decision which is bound intimately with future progress of Goa.

"It is not our purpose to denounce or belittle any party or individual. In a democracy every person has a right to hold his own views and express them"

Three parties, Congress, United Goans, and Maharashtra-vadi Gomantak party, battled for power and the sympathies of the newspapers were divided among these parties. While

generally no paper condemned any party or used violent and offensive language most papers stood by the ideology of one party or the other. "Navhind Times", "Rastra Mata" (Marathi Daily published from Margao) and "People's Own Weekly" supported the Congress. Navhind Times campaigned vigorously for Congress. 'Gomantak' and 'Pradeep' were the mouthpiece of the Maharashtratravadi Gomantak. Both had good circulation among the people of Goa. United Goans had no party paper of their own prior to the commencement of the election programme. They started an English Daily "Gomant Kiran" and also published its Marathi version. Although they were priced 7 nP. each they were being distributed free during election period. These two were papers published every evening and through these the United Goan party conducted its campaign. These papers supported the policy of separate statehood for Goa.

Besides the above mentioned papers in Goa, outside papers invaded Goa. Of these, Times of India, Indian Express, Kesari, Sakal, Maratha, gave full support to the cause of Goa's immediate merger with Maharashtra. The only papers that did not favour merger were Goan Tribune, an English fortnightly from Bombay and "Current."

In conclusion, the loyalties of the Goan papers like those of the people of Goa, were divided among the chief political parties of Goa. While some were professionally - minded, not being attached to any party or ideology or individual, the chief contenders for political power were supported by some paper or the other in their election warfare. But how far voting was influenced by these papers is doubtful. These papers exercised little influence on the voters. There were more powerful factors at work, which swayed the voters.

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

One of the pre-requisites of a smooth and successful conduct of elections is a sound administrative machinery. An honest, competent and non-partisan administration to conduct elections will not only make elections smooth but also make them fair and free. The conduct of General Elections in India entails enormous responsibility upon the administrative machinery in view of the large number of voters. The preparatory work of the officers starts months earlier than the actual polling. This includes among other things many measures from the delimitation of constituencies to the provision for counting of votes and the declaration of results. It is really an elaborate process.

According to Article 324 of the Constitution the superintendence and control of all elections to Parliament and to the state legislatures and of the President and the Vice-President of India are vested in the Election Commission of India consisting of a Chief Election Commissioner and such other commissioners as necessary. They are appointed by the President. The Commission is a centralised election machinery and there are no regional variations in matters of election in our country as in the U. S. A. Such an uniformity is achieved by making applicable the provisions of the Constitution of India, as well as the Representation of the People Act of 1950, the Representation of the People Act of 1951 and the Conduct of Election Rules of 1961, to all parts of the country. The Government of Union Territories Act 1963

prescribes of elections to the legislatures in the Union territories. All these enactments provide for suitable administrative machinery for election work. In the words of W. J. M. Mackenzie : “ The successful management of a modern election with electors numbering several millions is an administrative under-taking of considerable size, involving a series of operations, the organisation and timing of which must be carefully planned and supervised. . . . In the development of a genuine electoral administration . . . what is required is an administrative machine, capable of conducting an election with impartiality and without confusion” Let us now see how elections were organised in Goa.

Delimitation of Constituencies

Section 3 (1) of the Union Territories Act, 1963 provides of a Legislative Assembly for each Union Territory. Clause 2 of the same Section lays down the number of members of the Assembly for the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu at thirty. These seats in the Legislative Assembly are “ to be filled by persons chosen by direct election ”. According to Section 3 clause 3 of the Act “ the Central Government may nominate not more than three persons, not being persons in the service of Government, to be members of the Legislative Assembly of a Union Territory ”. The Act further provides for reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of every Union Territory other than the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. Hence no seats were reserved for the said Castes and Tribes during the First General Elections in Goa.

The primary step in the organisation of elections is to delimit the constituencies which would serve as the units of representation. Section 39 of the said Act says “ for the purpose of elections to the Legislative Assembly of a Union Territory, the Union Territory shall be divided into single-member assembly constituencies in accordance with the provisions in such manner that the population of each of the constituencies shall, so far as practical, be the same throughout the Union Territory ”. So the

thirty single-member constituencies were demarcated on the basis of population by the Delimitation Commission. Population figures of the latest Census in the territory constituted the basis for delimiting the constituency. According to the Census of 1960 the total population of this territory is 6,34,584 of which 5,95,569 reside in Goa; 23,093 in Daman; and 15,922 in Diu. The delimitation of constituencies was done on the basis of these figures. So an assembly constituency was created for about every 21,000 people. Indian Constitution lays down in regard to States that for every 75,000 people there should be one representative in the Assembly. The same principle cannot be applied to the Union Territories, because of the limited population. There was such an exception made in the case of the erstwhile part C states of India. The average number of voters for each assembly constituency in Goa was about 11,700 though the Mandrem constituency - the biggest, had 14,662 voters and Panjim the smallest of the constituencies had only 8,551 voters.

Of the two Parliamentary constituencies one comprised 14 Assembly constituencies of North Goa and Diu called the Panjim Parliamentary constituency. The other covered 14 Assembly constituencies of South Goa and Daman, known as the Marmagoa Parliamentary constituency. The average number of voters for each Parliamentary constituency was about 1,75,000. There is one interesting point about the delimitation of the constituencies for the Assembly and the Parliament seats. In the delimitation, the number of members of a State Legislative Assembly will be an exact multiple of the number of members from that state to the House of the People. It has worked the same way in the Union Territory also. Thus the quota of Goa to the House of the People being 2 seats, and the total number of seats to the Assembly is 30 i. e., 15 times. This means that exactly 15 constituencies for the Assembly will make up one territorial constituency for the House of the People from that territory. With the delimitation of the Assembly and the Parliamentary constituencies the field was set for the issuing of notifications for holding elections.

Electoral Rolls : Another important organisational work was the preparation of the 'electoral rolls' constituency-wise. The preparation of these rolls is a huge task in view of the principle of Adult Franchise. These rolls consist of names of all those citizen adults who are 21 years of age or older on 1st January of the year irrespective of caste, creed, sex or status. As the number of voters involved is large some mistakes and omissions are likely to occur. The Goan voters were given an opportunity to have the mistakes corrected and the gaps filled in by filing claims and objections within the prescribed time. For this purpose the provisional electoral rolls were published earlier. As per Election Law nobody whose name is not in the final voters' lists can vote or contest as a candidate.

The Chief Electoral Officer of Goa by a notification invited the attention of the voters and the prospective candidates to the electoral rolls and advised them to ensure that their names were registered in the electoral rolls. There were in all 13,097 claims and objections regarding the provisional electoral rolls forming 7% of the names in them. The break-up of these claims is as follows : 12817 or 3.9% objections and claims from Goa ; 58 or 00.4% from Daman ; and 222 or 2.47% from Diu. In spite of this heavy number of claims and objections and their due consideration by the authorities complaints were voiced by political parties that a considerable number of citizens entitled to be voters were not duly enrolled, and on the other hand some outsiders were enrolled. The Goan paper, People's Own Weekly, published a report on this subject in its issue dated December 4, 1963. It said : " A report appeared in ' A Vida ' recently to the effect that non-Goans who came from Maharashtra were registered on the electoral rolls of Marmagoa and that Regedores were instructed to certify their residence. The report is incorrect and not warranted by facts". It was also reported that a considerable number of workers working in mines for the last 10 to 15 years in the areas near Sumerdon, Molem, Colem were not included in the lists. As many as 800 families thus were denied the right to

vote. No political party perhaps noticed this glaring omission and brought it to the notice of the authorities. The final number of voters according to the rolls stood at 3,50,039. i. e., Goa : 3,28,071 ; Daman 13,082 ; and Diu : 8,886.

Election Notifications : A series of notifications was issued in early November by the Election Commission and the Lt. Governor of Goa regarding the General Elections. The Election Commission advised the Lt. Governor of Goa on 25-10-'63 that he may issue the official Notification on November 4, 1963 calling upon all the Assembly constituencies to elect members. Accordingly a notification was issued by the Lt. Governor of Goa on November 4, " under sub-section (2) of Section 15 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, calling upon all the Assembly Constituencies in the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu to elect members in accordance with the provisions of the said Act and the rules and orders made there under ".

The Election Commission of India issued a notification " in exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 149 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, called upon the Panjim Parliamentary Constituency and the Marmagoa Parliamentary Constituency to elect before December 14, one person each to fill the seats in the House of the People allotted to the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu ".

By two other notifications the Commission fixed the calendar of elections to the Parliamentary and Assembly Constituencies. The calendar was as follows :

- (1) November, 11, as the last date for filing nominations.
- (2) November, 13, as the date for the scrutiny of nominations.
- (3) November, 16, as the last date for the withdrawal of candidatures.
- (4) December, 9, as the date on which a poll shall, if necessary, be taken ; and

- (5) December 14, as the date before which the election shall be completed. The period of the poll was fixed as 8 A. M. to 5 P. M.

In pursuance to these notifications the Chief Electoral Officer announced the names of officers with whom and places at which nomination papers could be filed. With a view to removing any suspicion on the part of the political parties a notification was issued early in October, '63 in the Government Gazette that "no transfer of officers will be made and no leave will be granted". This was helpful in allaying the fears of the parties of the possible use of the officials for protecting the interests of the ruling party.

Mr. Alban F. Couto, Development Commissioner, acted as the Chief Electoral Officer. He was also the Returning Officer for the 2 Parliamentary constituencies. He was assisted by 3 Returning Officers for the Assembly constituencies in Goa and one each in Daman and Diu. The 3 Returning Officers were got on deputation for election work, one each from the States of Mysore, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. They were also called Zonal Election Officers as they were each in charge of a Zone comprising a number of constituencies for which they were Returning Officers.

Nominations : There were in all 207 nomination papers filed for the 30 Assembly constituencies. Out of them 57 candidates withdrew their nominations. In all 150 candidates were left in the field. The voters had to select on an average one out of 5 candidates. For the 2 Parliament seats there were 9 candidates. All the seats were contested. Except in Shiroda and Daman where there was straight contest, in all other constituencies there were more than 2 candidates. In Concolim with 12,853 voters 8 candidates contested. In 18 constituencies there were 4 candidates each; 5 candidates each in 6 constituencies; 6 candidates each in 6 constituencies and in 4 constituencies there were 7 candidates each. In one constituency there was a triangular contest. Such a large number of candidates in small constituencies would result.

in so dividing' the votes as to make any candidate's victory almost marginal.

Instructions to candidates and voters : Goans were strangers to democratic elections on the basis of adult franchise before liberation. This being the first general elections held, the officials had a special responsibility for familiarising not only the voters but also the candidates, with election rules and procedure. The officials at lower levels who were called upon to act as the presiding and the polling officers had also to be trained. Fortunately with the availability of quite a number of officers who are on deputation from the neighbouring states and who had a lot of election experience the election work became easy.

Various steps were taken to acquaint one and all with election procedure and rules. The Chief Secretary to the Government, Mr. P. J. Fernandes, broadcast a talk on the A. I. R, Goa on October 5, 1963, explaining the significance of the elections. He appealed to the voters to exercise their right to vote without fail and in a responsible manner, and requested them to detest election malpractices. Explaining the several processes involved in the conduct of elections he referred to the role of the voters, the candidates, the political parties and the official machinery.

Another important step taken was to conduct 'mock elections' which were intended to give a practical demonstration of the voting procedure etc., to both the officials and the voters participating in them. The first of these was held in the Secretariat at Panjim on October 6, followed by a number of them, till the actual polling day, in quite a number of centres in all the constituencies. Sufficient publicity was given to the place and time of mock elections for the information of all.

These mock elections were supplemented by film shows on 'voting' organised by the Films Division, Government of India. These shows were well attended. The Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. K. V. K. Sundaram, also contributed short features entitled 'Election Features' which were prominently put out in the local newspapers.

The political parties on their part accepted a code of conduct which they agreed to observe in conducting their campaigns. This was done at the instance of the Chief Electoral Officer who took initiative in the matter. This was specially necessary to ensure peaceful campaigning. Finally an appeal was issued by the Lt-Governor, Shri Mulk Raj Sachdev, three days before polling, calling upon every one to observe the code of conduct scrupulously and maintain the Goan " traditions of communal harmony at all costs ".

Election machinery : It would be an ideal thing if voters could vote from their houses. Since this is not possible the next best step that could be taken is to have a large number of polling stations. They will be so located as to be as close to their homes as possible. During the elections in Goa, no voter was made to walk beyond 2 furlongs or so from his or her house to the nearest polling station in urban areas. In rural areas no voter was required to walk more than 2 miles. In a few cases in hilly tracts the distance was up to 4 miles or so. There were 427 polling booths set up in Goa; 16 in Daman and 11 in Diu. Approximately 1,000 voters were allotted to each booth. But in a few isolated areas there were about 400 voters attached to a booth. Each polling booth was managed by one Presiding Officer, six polling officers, one identifying officer (the local bill collector or one official who would be in a position to identify the voters for the polling personnel),two unarmed policemen and a peon. As many as 2,474 ballot boxes were in use. Postal ballot facility was also extended and about a thousand voters exercised their franchise by postal ballot. Polling stations were usually located in school buildings, Dharmashalas or panchayat offices. In some cases temporary structures were put up under shade. In all 2,60,372 out of 3,50,039 voters exercised their franchise. In other words the percentage of polling was 74.3.

In conclusion one might observe that elections were efficiently organized and the First General Elections in Goa were successful.

This was due partly to the impartiality of the officers in charge of elections and partly to the spirit of co-operation on the part of voters, candidates and parties in general. Though the number of invalid votes (as reported it was 10,837) was a little higher than one expected, this fact might be overlooked in view of the lack of election experience on the part of voters. For the first time voters had to participate in General Elections unlike Indians in other parts, who had exercised franchise from time to time before 1951- '52 General Elections. Excepting for one or two minor clashes, law and order were not disturbed. This was possible on account of the precautions taken by the Police officials and also on account of the public spirit shown by the voters at large. Elections on the whole were free and fair and the Government officials who were in charge of elections maintained commendable political neutrality and impartiality in the conduct of elections.

A SAMPLE SURVEY OF VOTE-INTENTIONS

Before analysing the findings of the survey, it is necessary to indicate its methodology and limitations. The method adopted was a combination of the questionnaire and the interview. The investigators, assisted by an interpreter who knew Konkani, Portuguese, Marathi, French, and Kannada, went round with questionnaires. The samples were not only given the questionnaires, but they were also given the benefit of clarification of certain points by the investigators. The choice of the constituency- in fact, there was not much of a choice- was dictated by local difficulties. Originally it was hoped to cover samples from two constituencies, one predominantly urban and the other predominantly rural. For this purpose, Panjim and Santacruz were chosen. Unfortunately, owing to physical difficulties such as transport etc., the idea had to be abandoned. Thus only Panjim constituency was studied. This was fortunate since Panjim is a fairly diversified constituency. Being the capital place, it is dominated by the bureaucratic, business and professional groups, but it has a rural fringe. Statistical data about the class, income and occupation structure of Panjim are not fully and readily available. There is, however, data regarding religion and sex. Of a total number of 8578 voters, there are 4846 Hindus, 2879 Catholics and 542 Muslims. The sex break-down is as follows:

Among Hindus, 2681 men and 2165 women; among Catholics, 1362 men and 1517 women; and among Muslims, 247

men and 295 women. The total figures sex-wise for the major groups together are 4290 men and 3977 women. The samples chosen constituted roughly 1% of the total number of voters. This worked out to 85. However, a list of 100 samples was arrived at by picking every eightyfifth name in the total voters' list with a random start. A questionnaire consisting of 16 simple questions was issued. (For the questionnaire, see appendix).

Originally the plan was to expose the samples to the questionnaire a month prior to the polling date. However, this could not be done. Some efforts to do so found no significant response. Thus the team was found to take the somewhat unusual decision to conduct the survey a week before the polling date. It was a tense, emotion-charged week, and our survey was like thrusting a thermometer into boiling water. It produced interesting data. We were pleasantly surprised that of the 100 samples chosen as many as 66 responded. Some samples were suspicious that we were spies hired by political parties. There were others, no doubt still remembering the earlier police regime, who thought we were Government men, who had to be avoided as tactfully as possible. The last question in the questionnaire, inviting comparison between pre-Liberation and post-Liberation conditions, aggravated the matter. We had a rather hard time in allaying such suspicions. In all, we took three days of six hours each to do the job, and on the whole, we got good co-operation. It was our experience that the Christian samples were more willing to co-operate than the Hindus or the Muslims. In particular, the Christian women samples were more articulate than the Hindu, who consulted their husbands, parents, or other male relatives, in filling up the forms. In spite of our many handicaps and limitations, we believe that our findings may be of general as well as of specialist academic interest.

1. General Characteristics of the Samples

In all 66 samples responded to the questionnaire. There were 38 men and 28 women. 15 men and 14 women belonged to

the age-group of below 35 ; 16 men and 12 women to the age-group of 35-54 ; and 7 men and 2 women to the age-group of 55 and above. 8 of the men and 9 of the women were unmarried ; 28 men and 17 women were married ; and 2 men and 2 women were widowed. Community-wise there were 40 Hindus (23 men and 17 women) and 21 Catholics (11 men and 10 women). Of the rest there were 4 men and 1 woman. Of the Hindus, only 14 declared themselves as Brahmin, and 3 as non-Brahmin. The rest refused to identify themselves in such terms. 14 of the men belonged to business class, 9 to public service, 13 to other modes of employment, and 2 were unemployed. Of the women 10 were in public service, of whom only one was a Hindu. Income-wise, 6 earned below Rs. 1000/- per annum, 22 earned between Rs. 1000-6000 per annum, 3 between Rs. 6000-12,000 per annum and 6, Rs. 12,000 or above. Only one man declared he had no income. 4 men and 6 women were illiterate while 34 men and 22 women were literate. 21 men and 18 women had education upto the secondary level, 5 men had studied further but did not graduate; and 7 men and 4 women were either graduates or post-graduates. Only 5 men and 6 women had no education of any kind.

2. Election Awareness (See Table 1)

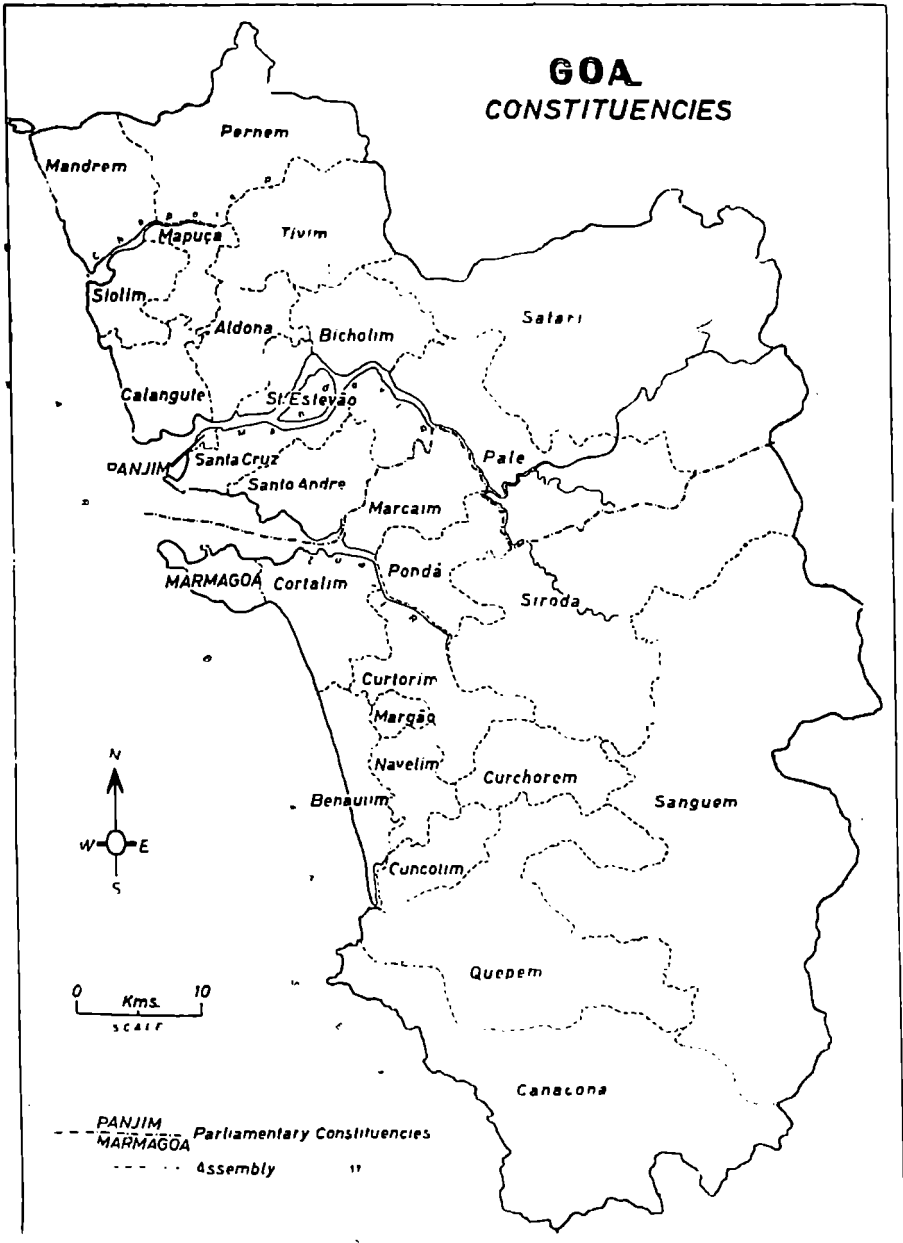
Only 2 out of the total number of 66 samples showed complete lack of any awareness of the elections. Hence it is obvious that there was a high-degree of awareness of the elections. It is interesting to analyse the samples that remained totally indifferent to the elections. Both were women, of whom one belonged to the age-group of 35-54 and the other to the age-group of 55 and above. The younger was married while the older was a widow. Both were Hindus. One belonged to the income-group of Rs. 1,000-6,000/- per annum and the other declared she had no income. Both were illiterate. Perhaps one could generalise and say that there was a negligible degree of indifference to elections, confined to illiterate, Hindu women.

3. Views about election as an institution (See Table 2)

To the question whether they approved of the elections as such, 52 said "yes", 4 said "no", and 3 offered no answer. Thus an overwhelming majority of the samples approved of the new political institution. Of the negligible minority that did not approve of it, all were men, one between 35-54 years old and the other three, 55 or above. 3 of them were married while one was a widower. 3 of them were Catholics, and one did not belong to either of the two major communities. Occupation-wise, 2 belonged to regular service and only one was a businessman. 2 of them had an income of Rs. 12,000 or above. While 2 of them had secondary education, the other two were in the category of graduates or post-graduates. Thus among men, above 35 years old, with good educational background, generally Christian and belonging to higher income-brackets, there was a tendency to disapprove of the new political institution. The number of those who did not answer the question was higher than that of those who disapproved of the elections as a system. Of the women there were 7 who offered no opinion, 6 were Hindus of lower middle class. 5 of them were illiterate.

To the further question whether they could give their reasons for their stand, 10 samples, both male and female, could not think of any answer. Of those who could answer, 40 (23 men and 17 women) gave "democracy" as the answer. 2 said that they approved of elections because everybody did it. Thus one can see that the majority tended to accept "democracy" as a desirable institution. Of the 10 who could not answer, 6 were men and 4 women. 6 of them were below 35, and the rest between 35-54. 7 of them were married, 2 single and 1 a widow. Religion-wise, 6 were Hindus and 4 Catholics. Income-wise they were lower middle class, with only one belonging to the highest class. 3 of them were illiterate, and the rest had only secondary education. It is difficult to generalise about political apathy, and anyway it accounts for only 12 out of 66 samples, or roughly about 18% of them.

GOA CONSTITUENCIES



4. How many knew that they had Votes (See Table 3)

Only 4 samples were not aware of their being voters. Thus the overwhelming majority knew about it. Of these 4, there were 2 Hindus and one Catholic; all of them were women. One of them belonged to the educational category of graduate or post-graduate. 2 were illiterate.

Regarding the manner of their getting to know of their being voters, 3 were unable to be articulate, 42 of them had been told about it by regular party-workers. 16 of them had taken the trouble to know on their own. This indicates both a high degree of party activity and a high degree of political interest on the part of the electorate.

5. The Sources of Political Information (See Table 4)

To the question regarding their sources of political information, 9 declared they were not generally interested in politics, and 2 did not answer. 21 men and 11 women cited newspapers, gossip group, radio and political workers. 2 men and 5 women mentioned all the above except newspapers. 5 mentioned newspapers and gossip only. 4 mentioned newspapers and radio. 2 mentioned gossip and party-workers, and 3 mentioned only gossip. Thus gossip appeared to be the most common source followed by newspaper. Of the 9 who were not interested, 6 were women, all married. Income-wise they belonged to lower middle class, with rather low educational qualifications.

6 Result Expectation (See Table 5)

A considerable number, 23 had no idea as to who was likely to succeed in the elections from their constituency. Of the rest who had made some assessment of the election probabilities, 10 thought the Maharashtra Gomantak candidates would win at both assembly and parliamentary constituencies, 13 said the United Goans would capture them and 20 said the Congress would make it. Only two samples could tell the names of the candidates correctly, and they were Congress candidates. This may

suggest that though the Congress candidates were better known, voting would take place on the party or the issues, not on personality basis. However, the most surprising thing is that the largest number of samples believed the Congress would win. The real question is not whom they believed to win, but whom they wanted to vote. It may be that there was a general and widespread, belief that the Congress, with its power and prestige at the all-India level would win. Or it may suggest what is probable that the voters were wavering upto the last minute, and the clear-cut decisions eventually emerging at the elections were arrived at after considerable hesitation. Community-wise, no Catholic believed the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak would win, but this may be taken to mean that they did not want it to win. Only one Hindu believed that the United Goans would win. 11 Hindus and 7 Christians believed that the Congress would succeed. This again may be interpreted to mean that there was considerable wavering among the electorate, and that things which happened during the four days preceding the elections must have polarised them sharply along communal lines. While those who believed in the success of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak and the Congress were distributed roughly uniformly in business, public service and other occupations, there was only one from the public services as compared to 2 from business and 3 from non-public services who thought the United Goans would succeed. Income-wise, those who believed in the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak were divided as follows : 3 with less than Rs. 1,000 per annum, 5 with an income between Rs. 1,000-6,000 per annum, and only one in the highest group of above Rs. 12,000 per annum. Among those who felt the United Goans would succeed, there was none in the lowest income group, 8 belonging to the group of Rs. 1,000-6,000 per annum, one from the Rs. 6,000-12,000 group, and as many as 3 from the highest group.

For the Congress, 3 came from the lowest group, 11 from the second group (i. e. Rs. 1000-6000 per annum), 2 from the group of Rs. 6000-12,000 per annum, and 4 from the group of

Rs. 12,000 and above per annum. It is clear that while all the parties were expected to succeed by samples belonging to the lower middle class (Rs. 1000-6000 per annum), those from the highest income bracket did not believe in the success of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak. Also there was no sample belonging to the lowest group, they believed in the success of the United Goans. In other words, the belief in the success of the United Goans tended to rise with the rise in the level of incomes. There was only one illiterate sample believing in the Congress success, while there were two illiterates for the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak, and none at all for the United Goans. Educationally, one notices, that the Congress has 3 in the post-secondary, and 3 in the graduate and post-graduate groups, the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak has 2 in the former and 2 in the latter. The United Goans have one in the latter and none in the former.

7. Vote-Intention (See Table 6)

As it was feared that the samples may not reveal their vote-intention if asked about it too directly, it was decided to ask them which of the symbols they would vote for. One sample thought the question referred not to Panjim constituency only, but generally. Hence, he indicated preference for a symbol like the Elephant whereas there was no candidate belonging to the party with that symbol, standing from Panjim. The following is the distribution of symbols party-wise : The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak - Lion; the Congress-Bullocks; the United Goans - Hand; and the Frente Popular - Elephant. It is remarkable that none of the samples show any preference for the independent candidates. Out of 66 that were approached, as many as 22 refused to indicate their preference.

This was only to be expected since they were approached at a time when the election fever was at its highest. Some even questioned the legality of our efforts. One asked us how our attempts squared with the principle of secret ballot. We had to assure them that we were not interested in their personal identity.

but in their general features such as sex, community etc. We also argued that the survey referred, not to their intentions, but to what they actually did when they cast their vote. However, we were glad that 40 responded. 4 said that they were unable to say anything definite. 11 samples intended to vote for the lion, 21 for the bullocks, 7 for the hand, and one for the elephant. All the 11 who wanted to vote for the lion were Hindus whereas of the 7 who wanted to vote for the hand, one was a Hindu, the rest being Catholic. The Congress supporters were split between 16 Hindus, 3 Catholics and two from among the other religious groups. Occupation-wise, there were 3 in business, one in public service and 5 from non-service, for the lion; 4 in business, 9 in public service, 3 in other service, and 6 without employment (i. e. mostly ladies), for the bullocks; one in public service, 2 in business, 1 in other services, and three without occupation for the hand; and one without occupation for the elephant. Income-wise, the lion had 4 from the lowest group, 6 from the lower middle class (i. e. Rs. 1000-6000 per annum), and one without income; for the bullocks 2 from the lowest group, 14 from the lower middle class, one from the middle class Rs. 6,000-12,000 per annum) 3 were from the higher income group, and 1 without income; for the hand, none from the lowest class, 5 from the lower middle class, one from the highest class, and one with no income; and for the elephant the only sample was from the lowest class. Of the 11 who plumped for the lion, 5 were illiterate; of the 21 who wanted to vote for the bullocks, only 3 were illiterate; of the 7 who opted for the hand, none was illiterate. Educationally the lion had 5 with no education, the bullocks 3 with no education and the hand none without education. Thus some broad, tentative generalisations emerge. There is complete identification between these who voted for the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak and the Hindus. There is an almost complete but not quite, identification between the United Goans and the Catholics. The Congress vote, though it was not allied sharply with any community, was predominantly Hindu. Thus one may say that the Catholic votes were united

whereas the Hindu votes were split between the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak and the Congress, with a greater inclination towards the Congress. There was equally good support for all the three parties from the business sector, while the Congress had far greater support among public servants than either. All the three parties drew good support from the lower middle class. The Maharashtrawadi had greater support from the lowest income groups. There was a tendency for the illiterate Hindus to vote for the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak. Also even among illiterate Hindus, the less educated tended to vote for the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak.

8. The Awareness of Maharashtra Ekikaran (See Table 7)

Only 4 of the samples declared ignorance of it. Regarding how they happened to get their knowledge about it, 2 were unable to locate the source. 15 declared that the source was party workers, 32 said that they themselves, presumably through the newspapers, got to know about it, 4 said that they got to know about it through what they chose to call "propaganda". and 8 suggested other sources such as radio, gossip etc. Of the total number of 40 Hindu samples, only two were ignorant of it. Of the 21 Catholic samples, only one was ignorant of it. Thus it was clear that there was an intense awareness of the merger issue, whether one was for it or against it. This need occasion no surprise. The issue was so much in the air that even taxi-drivers (there were two of them among the samples) debated it.

9. Attitudes Towards Merger with Maharashtra (See Table 8)

To the question whether they liked to join Maharashtra, 61 samples responded. Of these 26 were for it and 33 against it. 2 were for it but thought the time was not yet proper for it. Of the 26 who were for it, 25 were Hindus, followed by one from the other communities. Of the 33 who were against it, 15 were Catholics, 8 Hindus, and 11 from the other communities. Thus while the Hindus tended to prefer merger, they were not as unitedly for it as the Catholics were against it. Also the illiterates tended to prefer it.

10. Opinion about the Present Regime (See Table 9)

One of the criteria by which one can establish whether a regime is popular or not is to find out whether the people in general have been benefitted by it. In view of the fact that Goans had undergone a radical change of government since the Liberation, it is interesting to know how they felt about the new set-up in comparison with the previous system. Instead of asking the samples directly for their preference we asked them to give a simple "yes" or "no" to the question, "Do you feel that you are more benefitted under the present Government than before?" However, the samples found the query interesting and attempted to give more than a mere "yes" or "no." Of the 66 samples 9 found the question difficult to answer and did not answer. Of the 57 who answered, 26 (14 men and 12 women) answered "yes" as against 15 (11 men and 4 women) who said "no." 7 (4 men and 3 women) declared that it was too early to answer the question. 9 (4 men and 5 women) answered that they did not know. Of those who said "yes" there were 23 Hindus (12 men and 11 women). 3 Catholics (1 man and 1 woman), and 1 from the rest. Of those who said "no", 3 (all men) were Hindus, 10 (6 men and 4 women) Catholics, and 2 from the others. Of those who said it was too early to answer, 4 were Hindus and 2 Catholics. Thus it is pretty clear that those who found the present set-up not beneficial were about 26 % as against the 46 % who found it positively beneficial. However, it must be remembered that to say that one did not find the regime *at the moment* beneficial is not to say that one did not approve of *its broad frame-work*. As the above figures indicate, the Catholics tended to find the present regime less beneficial. This is partly to be explained by the fact that under the earlier regime the Catholics were, compared to the Hindus, more privileged. All fundamental political changes involve groups which lose their privileges. History also shows that such groups re-adjust to the changes once the first shock is over. Also there is a greater tendency among women to find fault with the present state of affairs. Occupation-

wise both those who are content and those who are discontent, are evenly distributed. Income-wise there is a greater tendency among Catholics with higher-income, to feel dissatisfied with the existing conditions. Both those who said "yes" and "no" are generally literate, but with a lower educational qualifications.

TABLE 1
Classification of samples by their awareness of the election and other characteristics

		Yes		No		
		S. No.	Males	Females	Males	Females
Age	Below 35 years	1	15	14	0	0
	35 – 54 years	2	16	11	0	1
	Above 55 years	3	7	1	0	1
			38	26	0	2
Marital Status	Single	4	8	9	0	0
	Married	5	28	16	0	1
	Widowed / Divorced	6	2	1	0	1
			38	26	0	2
Religion (14 BF + 3 NB)	Hindu	7	23	15	0	2
	Christian	8	11	10	0	0
	Others	9	4	1	0	0
			38	26	0	2

Occupation	Business	10	14	0		
	Service	11	9	10	0	
	Others	12	13	0	0	
	Not Employed	13	2	16	0	
			38	26	0	2
<hr/>						
Income						
(For females The income refer to either their personal or any other's like Husband)	Below Rs. 1000 (per annum)	14	6	2	0	
	Rs. 1000-6000 .	15	22	13	0	
	Rs. 6000-12,000	16	3	1	0	
	Rs. 12,000 and above	17	6	7	0	
	No Income	18	1	3	0	
		38	26	0	2	
<hr/>						
Literacy and Education	Cannot Read/write	19	4	4	0	
	Can Read and write	20	34	22	0	
			38	26	0	2
	<hr/>					
		Secondary	21	21	18	0
	Incomplete graduation	22	5	0	0	
	Graduation or more	23	7	4	0	
	No Education	24	5	4	0	
			38	26	0	2
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TABLE 2

Samples classified according to their opinion about election and other characteristics

		Yes		No		No Opinion		Democracy		Do not know		Every body says so	
		Males	Females	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Age	1	14	11	0	0	1	3	9	10	5	1	0	0
	2	14	10	1	0	1	2	11	7	1	3	2	0
	3	3	0	3	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
		31	21	4	0	3	7	23	17	6	4	2	0
Marital Status	4	8	9	0	0	0	0	7	8	1	1	0	0
	5	22	11	3	0	3	6	15	9	5	2	2	0
	6	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
		31	21	4	0	3	7	23	17	6	4	2	0
Religion	7	21	11	0	0	2	6	14	10	5	1	2	0
	8	8	10	3	0	0	0	7	7	1	3	0	0
	9	2	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
		31	21	4	0	3	7	23	17	6	4	2	0

Occupation	10	11		1	2	10	1	0					
	11	7	10	2	0	0	7	10	0	0	0	0	
	12	11		1	1	4	5		0	2			
	13	2	11	0	0	2	7	0	4	0	0	0	
		31	21	4	0	3	7	23	17	6	4	2	0
Income	14	5	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	2	0
	15	20	9	1	0	1	5	17	7	3	2	0	0
	16	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0
	17	3	6	2	0	1	1	3	5	0	1	0	0
	18	1	3	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	0
	31	21	4	0	3	7	23	17	6	4	2	0	
Literacy and Edn.	19	3	1	0	0	1	5	0	1	3	0	0	0
	20	28	20	4	0	2	2	23	16	3	4	2	0
		31	21	4	0	3	7	23	17	6	4	2	0
Literacy and Edn.	21	17	16	2	0	2	2	14	12	2	4	1	0
	22	5	0	0	0	1	0	5	00	0	0	0	0
	23	5	4	2	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	1	0
	24	4	1	0	0	0	5	0	1	4	0	0	0
	31	21	4	0	3	7	23	17	6	4	2	0	

TABLE 3

Samples classified according to their knowledge about their vote and other characteristics

		Yes		No		Party Worker		Self		Others		Blank	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Age	1	15	12	0	2	12	8	2	2	1	0	0	2
	2	16	12	0	0	11	9	4	3	0	0	1	0
	3	7	0	0	2	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
		38	24	0	4	25	17	11	5	1	0	1	2
Marital Status	4	8	8	0	1	6	6	2	1	0	0	0	1
	5	28	15	0	2	19	10	7	4	1	0	1	1
	6	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
		38	24	0	4	25	17	11	5	1	0	1	2
Religion	7	23	14	0	2	17	10	5	3	0	0	1	1
	8	11	9	0	1	7	6	4	2	0	0	0	1
	9	4	1	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
		38	24	0	4	25	17	11	5	1	0	1	2

Occupation	10	14	0	0	10	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	11	9	9	0	1	3	6	4	3	1	0	1	0
	12	13	0	0	11	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	
	13	2	15	0	3	1	11	1	2	0	0	0	2
		38	24	0	4	25	17	11	5	1	0	1	2
Income	14	6	2	0	0	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
	15	22	14	0	0	15	10	5	3	1	0	1	1
	16	3	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
	17	6	5	0	2	3	3	3	2	0	0	0	0
	18	1	2	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	38	24	0	4	25	17	11	5	1	0	1	2	
Literacy and Education	19	4	4	0	2	4	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
	20	34	20	0	2	21	14	11	4	1	0	1	2
		38	24	0	4	25	17	11	5	1	0	1	2
Literacy and Education	21	26	17	0	1	16	12	4	4	1	0	0	1
	22	4	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
	23	7	3	0	1	3	2	4	0	0	0	1	1
	24	1	4	0	2	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
	38	24	0	4	21	17	11	5	1	0	1	2	

TABLE 4.

Samples classified according to the source of their political information and other characteristics

	S.No.	All(i)-(iv)		(ii)-(iv)		(i)-(ii)		(i)-(iii)		(ii)-(iv)		(ii)		(v)		Not Interested		Do not know	
		M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.	M. F.		
Age :	1	6	8	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	3	1	0
	2	12	3	0	3	2	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1
		21	11	2	5	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	3	6	1	1
Marital Status :	4	5	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	5	15	3	1	4	2	1	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	3	6	1	0
	6	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
		21	11	2	5	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	3	6	1	1
Religion .	7	13	7	0	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	3	1	1
	8	6	3	2	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
	9	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
		21	11	2	5	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	3	6	1	1

Occupation :	10	9	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	11	7	4	0	2	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
	13	1	7	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
		21	11	2	5	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	1	0	3	6
Income :	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
	15	14	6	2	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	4
	16	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	.4	2	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	18	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
		21	11	2	5	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	2	0	3	6
Literacy and Education :	19	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	4
	20	21	11	2	4	3	2	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	2
		21	11	2	5	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	2	0	3	6
	21	12	8	2	4	3	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	2
	22	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	23	5	3	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	24	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	4
	21	11	2	5	3	2	2	2	2	0	3	0	2	0	3	6	1

TABLE No. 5
 Samples classified according to the parties they hope to succeed and other characteristics

		Maharashtrawadi Gomantak		United Goan		Congress		Can't Say Blank	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		(Includes 2 Voters who told Periera for Marmagoa Const)							
Age	1	3	2	4	4	3	3	5	5
	2	4	1	1	2	9	4	2	5
	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	4	2
		7	3	7	6	13	7	11	12
Marital Status	4	1	1	3	3	3	0	1	5
	5	6	2	4	2	8	7	10	6
	6	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1
		7	3	7	6	13	7	11	12
Religion	7	7	3	1	0	7	4	8	10
	8	0	0	6	6	4	3	1	1
	9	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1
		7	3	7	6	13	7	11	12

Occupation	10	2	0	2	0	4	0	6	0
	11	2	2	1	1	4	2	2	4
	12	3	0	3	0	4	0	3	0
	13	0	1	1	5	1	5	0	8
		7	3	7	6	13	7	11	12
Income	14	2	1	0	0	2	1	2	0
	15	4	1	5	3	7	4	6	6
	16	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	1
	17	1	0	0	3	2	2	3	2
	18	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
	7	3	7	6	13	7	11	12	
Literacy and Education	19	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	4
	20	6	2	7	6	13	6	8	8
		7	3	7	6	13	7	11	12
	21	3	1	6	6	6	6	6	5
	22	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
23	1	1	1	0	3	0	2	3	
24	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	4	
	7	3	7	6	13	7	11	12	

TABLE 6
 Samples classified according to the symbols they wish to vote and other characteristics

		Lion		Bullocks		Hand		Elephant		Refused		Can't say	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		Age	1	6	2	4	4	3	3	1	0	1	4
	2	2	1	8	5	1	0	0	0	5	4	0	2
	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	1
		8	3	12	9	4	3	1	0	13	9	0	4
Marital Status	4	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	2	0	2
	5	6	1	9	8	2	0	0	0	11	7	0	1
	6	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
		8	3	12	9	4	3	1	0	13	9	0	4
Religion	7	8	3	9	7	1	0	0	0	5	6	0	2
	8	0	0	1	2	3	3	0	0	7	2	0	2
	9	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
		8	3	12	9	4	3	1	0	13	9	0	4

Occupation	10	3	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
	11	0	1	6	3	0	1	0	0	3	4	0	1
	12	5	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
	13	0	2	0	6	1	2	1	0	0	5	0	3
		8	3	12	9	4	3	1	0	13	9	0	4
Income	14	4	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	15	4	2	9	5	3	2	0	0	6	5	0	0
	16	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
	17	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	4	4	0	1
	18	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
		8	3	12	9	4	3	1	0	13	9	0	4
Literacy and Edn.	19	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
	20	4	2	12	6	4	3	1	0	13	8	0	3
		8	3	12	9	4	3	1	0	13	9	0	4
	21	2	2	8	5	4	3	0	0	7	7	0	1
22	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	
23	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	2	
24	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	
		8	3	12	9	4	3	1	0	13	9	0	4

TABLE 7.

Samples classified according to their knowledge about Maharashtra Ekikaran, source of that information and other characteristics

		Yes		No		Blank		Party worker		Self		Propa- ganda		Others (Radio, gossip etc.)		Blank	
		M. F.		M. F.		M. F.		M. F.		M. F.		M. F.		M. F.		M. F.	
Age	1	13	12	2	1	0	1	5	2	5	7	0	1	3	1	0	1
	2	15	12	1	0	0	0	4	2	8	7	2	0	1	3	0	0
	3	7	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
		35	25	3	1	0	2	10	5	18	14	3	1	4	4	0	1
Marital Status	4	7	8	1	0	0	1	1	1	5	5	0	1	1	0	0	1
	5	26	16	2	1	0	0	8	4	12	8	3	0	3	4	0	0
	6	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
		35	25	3	1	0	2	10	5	18	14	3	1	4	4	0	1
Religion	7	22	16	1	0	0	1	9	5	7	5	3	1	3	4	0	1
	8	11	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	10	9	0	0	1	0	0	0
	9	2	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		35	25	3	1	0	2	10	5	18	14	3	1	4	4	0	1

Occupation	10	13	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	7	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
	11	8	8	1	0	0	2	3	1	4	6	1	0	0	1	0	0
	12	13	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
	13	1	17	1	1	0	0	0	4	1	8	0	1	0	3	0	1
		35	25	3	1	0	2	10	5	18	14	3	1	4	4	0	1
Income	14	5	2	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
	15	21	12	1	1	0	1	6	3	11	7	2	0	2	2	0	0
	16	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	17	6	7	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	6	1	0	0	0	0	0
	18	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
		35	25	3	1	0	2	10	5	18	14	3	1	4	4	0	1
Literacy and Education	19	4	5	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0
	20	31	20	3	1	0	1	7	3	18	14	3	1	3	1	0	1
		35	25	3	1	0	2	10	5	18	14	3	1	4	4	0	1
	21	20	16	1	1	0	1	5	2	13	13	1	0	1	1	0	1
	22	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	23	6	4	1	0	0	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
	24	5	5	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0
		35	25	3	1	0	2	10	5	18	14	3	1	4	4	0	1

TABLE 8
 Samples classified according to their liking to join Maharashtra and other characteristics

		Like it		Do not like it		Not proper time		Blank	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
		Age	1	9	5	6	6	0	0
	2	4	5	11	6	1	0	0	1
	3	2	1	4	0	1	0	0	1
		15	11	21	12	2	0	0	5
Marital Status	4	4	3	4	4	0	0	0	2
	5	11	8	15	7	2	0	0	2
	6	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1
		15	11	21	12	2	0	0	5
Religion	7	14	11	7	0	2	0	0	1
	8	0	0	11	4	0	0	0	2
	9	1	0	3	8	0	0	0	2
		15	11	21	12	2	0	0	5

Occupation	10	5	0	7	0	2	0	0	0
	11	4	4	5	3	0	0	0	3
	12	5	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
	13	1	7	1	9	0	0	0	2
		15	11	21	12	2	0	0	5
Income	14	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
	15	9	6	12	5	1	0	0	3
	16	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
	17	1	2	4	5	1	0	0	0
	18	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	1
	15	11	21	12	2	0	0	5	
Literacy and Education	19	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	2
	20	10	7	2	12	2	0	0	3
		15	11	2	12	2	0	0	5
	21	5	5	15	11	1	0	0	2
	22	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
23	2	2	5	1	0	0	0	1	
24	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	
	15	11	21	12	2	0	0	5	

TABLE 9

Samples classified according to their opinion about the present Government and other characteristics

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The First General Elections in Goa

		Yes		No		Too early		Do not know		Difficult (2+2)	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Age	1	6	7	4	2	1	2	3	1	1	2
	2	7	5	5	2	0	1	1	3	3	1
	3	1	0	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	1
		14	12	11	4	4	3	4	5	5	4
Marital Status	4	3	5	4	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
	5	11	7	5	3	4	2	3	4	5	1
	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
		14	12	11	4	4	3	4	5	5	4
Religion	7	12	11	3	0	2	2	4	2	2	2
	8	1	1	6	4	1	1	0	2	3	2
	9	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
		14	12	11	4	4	3	4	5	5	4

Occupation

10	5	0	5	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
11	3	5	2	1	1	2	1	0	2	2
12	5	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	3	0
13	1	7	1	3	0	1	0	5	0	2

14	12	11	4	4	3	4	5	5	4
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Income

14	3	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
15	10	6	4	1	2	1	1	3	5	3
16	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
17	1	2	4	3	1	1	0	1	0	0
18	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

14	12	11	4	4	3	4	5	5	4
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19	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	1
20	13	10	11	4	4	3	1	2	5	3

14	12	11	4	4	3	4	5	5	4
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21	10	8	7	4	3	2	0	1	2	3
22	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
23	1	2	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	0
24	1	2	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	1

14	12	11	4	4	3	4	5	5	4
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INTERPRETATION, EVALUATION AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

1. Political Awareness of the Electorate

Our survey showed a commendable degree of political awareness among the Goan electorate. This was all the more remarkable in view of the novelty of the whole system of parliamentary democracy for the Goans. The formation of political parties in good time before the elections was a remarkable achievement, especially as it was for the first time in the history of Goa that such an institutional challenge arose. No doubt there were elections to the Panchayats held in October, 1962. But these did not necessitate any organisation of political parties. The contest did not take place on party lines, and, in fact, there was no really keen contest. As many as 205 seats were uncontested. Thus the Goans, like the people of Nagaland, lacked traditions of political parties. Yet in a very short time, they not only set up political parties, but had got going very effective campaigning machineries. It is true that there was considerable importing of organisers, advisers and workers from outside, but at least one party, the United Goan Party, did not do it. The high degree of political awareness was borne out by the high percentage of voting. Not only in urban centres, but even in remote villages, one encountered long rows of voters, waiting to cast votes that would determine a popularly elected government for the first time in the chequered four and a half

centuries of Goan history. The general percentage of voting has been estimated to be 74.3% and this compares favourably with the rest of India.

2. Free and Fair Elections

As already indicated the elections were free and fair. The investigators who went round the length and breadth of Goa on the polling day got the impression that it was a peaceful and orderly affair. There were virtually no reports of violence. Not only polling but the campaigning which preceded it was not marred by any ugly incidents. The police officers interviewed confirmed these impressions. Excepting on one occasion, as far as our information goes, the police had no occasion to invoke Section 353 of the Indian Penal Code. The election arrangements were satisfactory, thanks to the zeal, resourcefulness and devotion of the election officials. Only one case of use of intimidation came to our notice. At Salegaon, it was reported that a village Sarpanch was arrested on the ground of assault on public servant under Section 353 of the Indian Penal Code. It was also reported that some workers belonging to the United Goan Party were arrested. There was another report of a clash between workers of different political parties at Margaon, which was controlled in time by the police. A happy feature of the campaigning by different parties was the almost complete absence of unfair mud-slinging of persons or parties. However, it has to be mentioned that many persons interviewed asserted that money played a crucial role in the fight for votes.

3. The Election Issues

Despite the categorical declaration of the Government of India that there was no question of changing immediately the status quo, the central issue of the elections turned out to be the political future of Goa. The interplay of local forces was such that the issue of merger with a neighbouring state as against the status quo or complete statehood, was forced to the fore.

However, the full implications of merger, status quo and separate statehood were not made known to the voters by the contending political parties. In fact, even top leaders failed to place before the public a clear picture of the situation. The United Goan Party gave no detailed picture of the benefits that would flow from their goal of separate statehood within the Indian Union. They failed to work out their own case clearly, and preferred to be content with broad slogans. As a result Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shri Y. B. Chavan either exploited the situation or genuinely misunderstood it to infer that separate statehood meant secession from India. Thus they tended to brand the demand as sedition. For instance, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, in his Press Statement of 7th December, 1963, declared, inter alia, ".....The slogan of a full state of Goa is a false cry. The Union Territory status should fully satisfy the urge for self-government. I do not think that there is any suggestion from any quarter for a separate state outside the Indian Union but if such thoughts are being harboured they would indeed be wholly wrong and pernicious." Shri Chavan also equated the demand for separate statehood with sedition. In his press interview, summing up his final impressions, he said, "..... The feeling of separatism and the wish to maintain it denote a dangerous trend. Such atmosphere breeds fifth columnist tendencies" (Navhind Times, P. 6, December 7th, 1963.) In an earlier speech at Margaon, on December 4th, he is reported to have said that " he did not understand whether it (demand for a separate State) was marked by a true sense of nationalism" (Navhind Times, P. 6, December 5th, 1963.) The United Goans Party clarified the point later, and as a retort to Shri Chavan. The leader of the United Goans Party, Dr. Jack Sequeira was furious at Shri Chavan's insinuations, and issued a statement in the Party's organ, Gomant Kiran (dated 7th December 1963, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 1), part of which reads "Mr. Chavan would do well to remember that it was he who started the Samyukta Maharashtra movement demanding for Maharashtra the same status as we, the

United Goans, demand for Goa today. And if we are anti-national for making our demand, so is Mr. Chavan, and he would not have been entrusted with the Defence of our country." Also the United Goans failed to indicate that merger would mean only 6 Assembly seats as against 60 Assembly seats under a separate statehood as per the Indian Constitution which lays down 60 to be the minimum strength of a Legislative Assembly of any State of the Indian Union.

Voters and many leaders did not seem to be aware of this fact. Parties also did not indicate the advantages and disadvantages of merger clearly. For instance, they did not point out that the change from being a Union Territory to one of being part of another state would involve reduction of representation from 30 seats to 6 seats at the Assembly level, and from 2 seats to one at the parliamentary level. Neither the campaigners nor the electorate showed any awareness of this position. Not only this. The Goans would have had remote possibility of being represented in the Maharashtra Cabinet, and would have fallen to the unenviable status of a far-flung, neglected district of Maharashtra. In the absence of any awareness of such implications, the electorate was fed on delusions and easy slogans. The pro-merger element relied heavily on caste, and communal appeals. They told non-Christian Goans that to join Maharashtra would make them members of a majority community. In particular, the economic and commercial implications of merger were never adequately placed before the voters. The only exception was the effort of the United Goans Party to point out that Maharashtra State had the highest tax in India, and to merge with it would mean to invite exorbitant taxes. All the political parties failed to clarify the position. The United Goans Party, instead of emphasising such effective and factual points in their favour, played upon the Christian fear that merger would mean the death of their religion and culture. This was misconstrued in so far as it failed to take into account the secular nature of the Indian constitutional system. The upshot of it

all was, that caste and communal appeals were given scope for full play during the elections.

4. Campaign : Efficiency and Strategy

From our analysis both the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak and the United Goans emerge with credits with respect to the efficiency as well as the strategy of their electioneering. The Congress, despite its reasonable policy, and sound manifesto, was woefully lacking in proper and effective election strategy and tactics. Whatever the causes, it neither retained party unity nor made the strategic electoral alliances. The victory of the other parties, to no small degree, was due to the election follies of the Congress. It is surprising that the Congress failed to effect pacts or alliances with other groups, in particular the United Goans. It is clear that but for the merger issue, the United Goans would have been with the Congress. The somewhat short-sighted local congressmen and their outside advisers failed wholly to utilise such advantages. Further, the Congress High Command failed to impose more appropriately the party discipline on the local organisation, and this perhaps could have prevented the pro-merger elements within the Congress from wrecking its election prospects. Its attitude was marked by vacillation and absence of clear-cut directions to the party. Our impression was that the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak registered the highest campaigning efficiency. It made the fullest use of workers and speakers it had imported from the Maharashtra in glaring contrast to the Congress failure in this respect. The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak workers displayed almost missionary zeal in their work.

The frequent squabbles among congressmen produced a bad effect on the voting public whose confidence in Congress was shaken. On the whole it cut a very sorry figure indeed, in the eyes of the electorate. Of course, it had the disadvantage deriving from misplaced neutrality— an attitude which was paying India in its foreign relations, but hardly suitable in the Goan context. Even so, such a neutralist attitude towards the merger

issue was not altogether without advantage. It was capable of being used with flexibility and tactics to produce last-minute electoral alliances or pacts. The Congress failed to do anything in such a direction.

5. Interpretation and Analysis of the Election Results, Party-wise

THE CONGRESS: The Congress suffered a complete rout, the most humiliating defeat in all its electoral history. Out of a total number of 30 seats, for all of which it had contested, it just won one seat. It was not from Goa proper. Eighteen of its candidates lost their deposits. It polled 16.55% of votes as against the 28.44 % and 38.78 % polled by the United Goans and the Maharashtrawadi Gomantaks respectively. So what is one to make of it? How is one to explain such a categorical and total rejection by the electorate?

Among the causes for the Congress defeat must be mentioned the contradictory statements and speeches made by top-ranking Congress leaders who had arrived in Goa for the election campaign. They were largely responsible for confusing the Congress image in the minds of the voters. Shri K. K. Shah, the General Secretary of the AICC, is reported to have stated that Goa would be able to get more money from the centre if it remained a Union Territory. Shri S. K. Patil is reported to have said (Goa News in Brief, P. 4, Navhind Times, December 8th 1963) that "... 100 crores would be spent on the development of Goa during the coming 10 years and appealed to Goans not to press their demand of a separate State or merger...." Shri Y. B. Chavan, in one of his speeches, is reported to have said "people say we will help. Who gives to whom, whose money? Why should we say so?". This was clearly no support to the argument that Union Territoryship would mean more central grants. Since the Congress had taken the stand that the status quo regarding the political set-up of Goa should be maintained for the time being, there was no need for Congress leaders to focus undue attention

on the merger issue. The leaders were divided in their attitude to this issue. Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, in his Press Statement at Mandovi Hotel (P. 1, Navhind Times, December 8th, 1963) had declared the Union Territoryship to be the best for Goa for the time being. Shri S. K. Patil in his speech of December 3rd, 1963, at Parse in Mandrem, had said, " . . . any talk of merging with any State, however reformed, was not in keeping with the ideals of self-government or self-determination . . . " (P. 1, Navhind Times, December 4th, 1963.) Shri Morarji Desai declared at Vasco da Gama on December 6th, 1963, that " Union Territory was the best political status for Goa for the present. " (P. 1, Navhind Times, December 6th, 1963.) However, Shri Chavan, instead of focussing attention on the present, referred too much to the future, especially to the merger issue. It is true that the Congress did not rule out merger as such, but it had taken the stand that time was not yet ripe for raising the issue. Shri Chavan declared himself openly enough for merger with Maharashtra, though he added that it could wait. In his Margaon speech of December 4th, he said, " . . . I assure the Maharashtrawadi Gomantaks that they will get what they want but I would advise them to have patience . . . " (P. 6, Navhind Times, December 5, 1963). In his much-discussed Panjim speech of December 5th, he openly said, " I felt thrilled as I heard the slogan of my mergerist friends. I don't wish to conceal from any one that my sentiment is the same as theirs. . . . But I want to tell these friends that they must be patient, accomodating and persuasive . . . " (P. 1, Navhind Times, December 6th, 1963). Finally, in his Bicholim press interview (P. 2, Navhind Times, December 7th, 1963), he said, " I have formed a very clear impression that by and large, the Goans do not want a separate State of Goa. They want to merge in Maharashtra. " It is possible that Shri Chavan wanted to tempt the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak supporters towards the Congress by expressing pro-merger views. But one wonders whether the result of his efforts was not to strengthen pro-merger feelings. Similarly, Shri Chavan's reference to the Christians

could hardly have attracted them to the Congress. In his Margoan, Panjim and Bicholim statements, he referred to Christians as "Black Portuguese," called their demand for statehood almost "Fifth Columnist," and questioned its consistency with nationalism. Whether Shri Chavan attracted Hindu votes for the Congress or not, he certainly might have driven away Christian votes to the United Goan Party. On the issue of Konkani language, a similar confusion was, perhaps unwittingly, created. While Shri S. K. Patil, not very clearly, advised Goans "to develop a sort of a kinship with the Konkani-speaking people of Maharashtra...." (P. 1; Navhind Times, December 3rd, 1963), Shri Chavan declared in his Bicholim Press interview (P. 2, Navhind Times, December 7th 1963) that he did not consider Konkani and Marathi as two different languages, and disapproved of the idea of a Konkani State. Perhaps some harm was done for Congress cause in Goa by Shri V. P. Naik's stay with Shri Dayanand Bhandarkar, Chairman, the Maharashtra Gomantak Party, during his visit to Goa a few weeks prior to the General Elections. In the popular mind it created the impression that the Congress was for merger. There were critical comments (P. 1, Navhind Times, October 26th 1963) in the Goan press, and later Shri Naik stated that his visit was a purely private one. It is a pity that Shri Naik did not foresee the effects of his stay, especially in view of the election context. Also ill-timed from the point of view of the Congress cause in Goa, was his policy statement on 3rd December (Times of India, December 4th, 1963), just about 3 days after his election as Chief Minister of Maharashtra, that his Government would introduce radical changes in prohibition. Whatever its intentions, it had the result of benefitting the pro-merger elements in Goa. In effect, it may have been taken as a hint that joining Maharashtra would not necessarily mean prohibition.

Secondly, the Congress leadership in Goa was ineffective. Though it had a good record of freedom-fighting, it relied far too much on its past record. It had lost touch with political

realities in Goa. Also the Congress Chief, Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, compared to the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak chief, Shri Dayanand Bandodkar, lacked mass contact. The Goan Congress, not alive to political realities, failed to maintain any balance between different caste and communal groups in the matter of issuing Congress tickets. The All India Congress, back in 1936-37, had adopted a realistic policy in fighting elections under the 1935 Act, and was able to win even in Madras, then a strong-hold of the Justice party. There was a strong feeling in Goa that the local Congress had become an upper caste Hindu affair. Whether the blame should go to the Congress High Command or the local leadership, its policies with regard to issuing of tickets or assigning of constituencies were disastrous. The Congress list was revised three times and candidates were allotted constituencies where their prospects were dim. Congress members were hopelessly divided among themselves. The Congress leadership failed to adjust to post-Liberation realities, especially to the emergence of new power-and-influence groups. The AICC representative failed to handle the election question with the requisite vision. Had the Congress entrusted the matter to any of its seasoned electioneers, then the results would perhaps have been different. The Congress bickerings at the top, following the implementation of the Kamraj Plan, also perhaps contributed to the ineffectiveness of the Goan Congress during the elections.

Thirdly, as a party that claimed to rule the country it was a trifle over-confident. Also the local leaders derived their over-confidence from another source. They felt that they had done enough as heroes of the Goa liberation movement, and votes would naturally come to them. They had also developed the exclusiveness of outlook that all groups with a background of self-sacrifice normally engender. In short, the Congress had come to take it too much and too easily for granted that political power was its exclusive right.

Fourthly, two years of freedom had given much ground for discontentment among many sections of the population. The

prices of food articles had gone up. The local population, accustomed to getting easily foreign liquor, found itself deprived all of a sudden of such facility as a result of restrictions. What was worse, there were complaints that non-Goans were given more quota than Goans. There were complaints that officials were transferred too frequently, and that, before they got settled, they were uprooted.

For instance, the announcement of Shri T. Shivasankar's departure was, in the early stages, a matter of considerable local criticism (P. 2, Navhind Times, September 1, 1961). At the same time there were complaints that officers who were posted to Goa ought not to have been sent to Goa at all, since they did not behave properly. Then there was the inevitable complaint of a population accustomed to the somewhat quick, though summary, methods of the Portuguese, that the new regime had too long a red tape. Rightly or wrongly, the local population tended to identify the new administration with the Congress party. In consequence the sins of omission and commission perpetrated by the new set-up visited severely on the local Congress Party. Even promises made by Central representatives to Goa such as Shri C. Subrahmaniam's of a steel plant for Goa or Shri K. D. Malavia's of Rs. 12,50,000 for the welfare of Goan mining workers, failed to wipe off the image of unpopularity.

The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party : The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party emerged as the single largest party, and with the assistance of two independent candidates who had its support at the elections, the Party mustered 16 seats to win the absolute majority in an assembly of 30 members. It polled the largest number of votes, 38.74%. 14 of its 27 candidates got elected and only 4 of them lost their deposit. These facts clearly indicate its impressive electoral achievement.

One decisive factor in their election success is the personality of Shri Dayanand Bandodkar. His contact with the grass-roots was considerable. Though he does not possess any high, formal

educational qualifications, he has a fund of sound commonsense. He was more realistic and flexible in his policies, with regard to election strategy and tactics. He was also accommodating, and did not hesitate to make personal sacrifice if the party's interests demanded it. He stood down in favour of Shri Peter Alvares as his party's candidate for the Panjim Parliamentary constituency. As a philanthropist he had made a name, though he was best known in the northern area of Mapusa. His hold on the lower classes and castes was firm. He was shrewd enough to exploit the Congress inability to work out a communal or caste balance in its election policy.

Secondly, the party had a simple and emotionally rousing slogan. Though presumably its slogan looked like being linguistic it was, in fact, calculated, in the guise of language, to appeal to communal and caste feelings. This was a powerful weapon. The language appeal was a simplified, rough and ready symbol for a whole complex of feelings and interests, which may be described as communal. There is no getting away from Prime Minister's reaction that the elections "were mainly fought on communal lines." (The Hindu, 15th December, 1963). The demand for merger with Maharashtra was not strictly linguistic since the majority of Goans spoke Konkani, not Marathi. It is relevant here to state that there is a strong scholarly opinion which regards Konkani as an independent language. Although it is said to belong to Indo-Aryan group the Dravidian impact on it is so great that it has Dravidian intonation. It is also established that it is older than Marathi. For historical reasons it did not develop its own script. Thus there appears to be no ground for regarding Konkani as a dialect of Marathi. The merger was on communal lines and caste lines. As against the United Goans, the Hindu sentiment was worked up, and as against the Congress, the caste feelings were stirred up. It played up the Hindu sentiments by alleging that if the United Goans came to power, they would work for a return of the Portuguese and with it the revival of Hindu suppression. Though its candidates were not remarkable

in terms of education, economic or social status, and parliamentary experience, they came to power on the tides of communal and caste appeal.

Thirdly, the party could set up and efficiently mobilise an effective electioneering personnel, supplied and even manned by political parties and leaders from Maharashtra.

Fourthly, it was able to make a special appeal to the rural voters. In fact, it was the only party which penetrated the rural electorate most efficiently. It told them, according to our impressions gathered during interviews with rural electorate, that the party would introduce sweeping land reforms. It would give the land to the tiller and would exempt him from tax obligations. It told the tenants that as soon as it came to power, it would introduce the Maharashtra Zamindari Act. Neither the Congress nor the United Goans whose work in the rural areas was negligible were able to counter this pseudo-economic propaganda of the party. The Congress, though committed to land reforms, failed to make effective propaganda use of it. Also, it made the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak's work easy that the tenants were non-Christian and non-Brahmin. Thus it could whip up the feelings of the tenants against both Christian and Brahmin landlords. That communal appeal played its part was borne out by the election results. By and large, the bulk of the Hindu votes went to this party. According to an interesting analysis of election results by Shri Suresh G. Amonkar, in the Navhind Times (December 19, 1963, P. 12), the party scored 31.55% of votes as against the United Goan 43.33% in the constituencies in "Old Conquests", a predominantly Christian area. In the "New Conquests," a predominantly Hindu area, the party polled 59.4% as against the United Goan 12.67%. Shri Amonkar's finding is worth quoting and pondering over. He says, "... The aim of this analytical study is to focus the attention of our people and leaders on the unhealthy and pernicious communal and religious basis on which the first election in Goa was

contested." Thus the merger issue was no longer linguistic, but it was mainly communal.

At this point a brief reference may be made to one of the dangerous trends in Indian politics, and that is, giving undue importance to regional, linguistic or such narrow loyalties to the detriment of national interests, especially after the formation of linguistic states. A tendency towards territorial ambition has been taking an unhealthy turn in India. The border agitations, "Morchas", and language riots have become unfortunately frequent. There are some regions which have exhibited a creditable sense of tolerance in such matters. In the case of Pondichery, also an ex-colony, no such cry for merger has been raised. It is amazing how much passionate interest is being taken in Maharashtra over the possession of small bits of territory. One wonders why a municipal body as that of Ahmadnagar or Bombay should evince deep interest in the merger of Goa. The Goan elections have brought to the fore the unhealthy extent to which it exists.

The United Goans Party : Like the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party, this party, too, had good leadership in the person of Dr. Jack Sequeira. A medical practitioner turned businessman, he has qualities of leadership. He gave his party a good organisation, and personally supervised its election campaign. There was no doubt that he was able to rally round the loyalties of his party workers by the sheer force of his personality. While Shri Bandodkar had the assistance of Maharashtraian leaders and parties, Dr. Sequeira had to do the fighting with purely local resources of men and money. His accessibility to the common electorate was even easier than that of Shri Bandodkar. There are no reports of any public speech made by Shri Bandodkar whereas Dr. Sequeira was one of the most active public speakers for his party.

Secondly, next to Maharashtrawadi Gomantak, they had a very well-organised election machinery, always looking fighting-fit. This was a remarkable achievement in view of the fact that

it was done for the first time, with purely local material and without the benefit of external assistance. The rank and file of this party's workers looked even more dedicated and devoted.

Thirdly, this party had a simple slogan, though not as simple as that of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak. Like the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak, it also used heavily religious appeal. Though it could have defended its claim for separate state-hood on sound economic and political grounds, it did make use of the communal appeal. Its victories at the elections, like those of the Maharashtrawadi Gomantaks, bear out this fact. In the "Old Conquests" constituencies where the Christians predominate, it polled the highest percentage of votes whereas in the "New Conquests" constituencies with an overwhelmingly Hindu population, it obtained only 12.67% of the votes polled. These figures tell their own tale more effectively than any verbal commentary. But this picture is not complete without a rider. Though, on the whole, the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak supporters and the United Goans supporters were split along communal lines, the number of marginal Hindus who could support the United Goans was definitely higher than the number of marginal Christians who could support the Maharashtrawadi Gomantaks. The upper class conservative Hindus tended to support the idea of separate state-hood on psychological grounds as well as on grounds of self-interest, as revealed in our interviews.

Fourthly, this party, like its successful rival, benefitted from Congress leaders' confusing speeches. Some Christian voters who were wavering between the Congress and the United Goans, and even pro-Congress Christians, were driven towards the United Goans.

Fifthly, the United Goans derived their impressive coherence from the position of being a minority. Indeed it is possible to argue that the United Goan appeal to the Christian community was the gesture of a minority against what they considered to be a threat to their way of living. Ever since the liberation, the Christian community witnessed a systematic move for merging

Goa with Maharashtra. It was no wonder that they got alarmed. First they hoped that the Congress would protect them, and only when the Congress failed to take a clear line in their favour, they hurried up to organise themselves. Hence their communalism was basically the reaction of a minority at bay. To add to their fears, the policy of the Centre in deputing officers from Maharashtra or Mysore, both interested States, only aggravated the situation. There was a feeling that some of the officers did not maintain the traditional neutrality of the civil service. Had the Centre sent officers from unconcerned States like the Andhra or Madras, the situation would have been perhaps different.

The Frente Popular : The complete failure of this party with a clearly Communistic bias, especially in the labour-centred areas, may be taken to mean a total rejection of extreme leftism by the Goan electorate. This party set up candidates for 8 seats, got 1.73% of the votes polled, and had had six of the candidates lose their deposits.

Independents : There were in all 60 Independent candidates in the field, contesting 27 out of 30 seats. Between them they polled 10.62% of the votes cast. 52 of them lost the deposit. Of the 3 who actually won, 2 were supported by the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak in the elections. Thus only one of them, from Diu, was strictly an Independent. Could it be that the electorate appreciated the essentials of parliamentary democracy in which only parties can form governments ? It is also possible that the issues and parties were so dramatically identified that the Independents had no prospects of winning.

6. Some conclusions : The Future

Our survey led us to make a few broad generalisations, and to offer a few comments on the political future of Goa.

Firstly, it is our feeling that whatever the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak might claim, the issue was not linguistic. There can be no dispute that the number of people in Goa, who claim

Marathi as their mother-tongue is about 1.5% and to claim to merge Goa with Maharashtra on purely linguistic grounds is untenable.

The Language Pattern

As per the 1960 census, the linguistic map of Goa is as follows :

	Language	Number speaking	Percentage
1	Konkani	497,227	84.3%
2	Marathi	9,142	1.5%
3	Urdu	7,883	1.0%
4	Portuguese	8,972	1.3%
5	Hindi	1,143	} less than 1%
6	Gujarati	926	
7	Kannada	813	
8	English	441	

Secondly, we are of the opinion that caste and communal factors dominated unhealthily at the cost of more pressing economic ones. It is well known that Goa under the Portuguese was not economically developed. There were large-scale migrations to India, and even to Africa, motivated by economic causes. Most parties in the elections did not bother much about such issues as economic development, rehabilitation of Goan emigrants and others. The Congress, the only party to come out clearly with an economic platform, did very badly in the elections. The economic implications of merger with Maharashtra were nowhere set forth before the electorate prior to the elections. It is only after the elections that Shri Dayanand Bhandodkar, the Chief Minister of Goa, has sought to justify the merger on economic grounds. But it is not at all clear how this is going to be. There has been no detailed working out of such alleged advantages. The crucial issue will be the rate of economic growth of Goa. Will the merger with

Maharashtra accelerate the economic growth? If past is any guide, it seems hardly likely. In any case, the development of Mormugoa, already declared as a major port by the Centre, does not depend on merger with Maharashtra. On the contrary, it is a reasonable prediction that Goa may be economically exploited by some interested parties in Maharashtra. Apart from the question of economic benefits for Goans, the merger would seal the virtual extinction of Konkani, as one of the surest consequences of imposing Marathi on Goa, in the event of the merger. We feel that the first general elections in Goa were not, in this respect, healthy. Non-economic and secondary issues were allowed to dominate the elections. The attention of the electorate was diverted from essential to non-essential issues.

Thirdly, it is our impression that the general elections, though perhaps inspired by laudable motives on the part of the Centre, came a little too soon. The people should have been allowed to settle down for some time, and face basic issues like their economic development. The holding of elections unsettled the atmosphere. It stirred up group passions. It directed the interests of the people towards unimportant political issues at the cost of basic economic ones. There would have been no harm, and much positive good, if the elections had been held later.

Fourthly, it is our considered opinion that the election results do not indicate any decisive vote on the issue of merger. Let us look at some statistics. The percentage of voters who rejected the merger move was approximately 30.2. The percentage of voters for immediate merger was 38.78. In the face of these facts, none has any right to impose on the people the wish of 38.78% of the population. Anyway, the general elections were not exactly a referendum, and the whole idea of using it to establish such fundamental changes as merger of one part of the country with another, or the demand for the total disappearance of a territory in its existing form, was highly improper. In view of this argument, we fail to see how the fact of both the parliamentary candidates elected being Maharashtrawadi Gomantak

could be taken as a mandate for merger. We have already indicated in foregoing pages the untenability of accepting the merger issue in the simplified form in which its protagonists have presented it. Even if a referendum were to indicate that a majority of Hindus wanted it, there would be yet a substantial minority of Christians who seem to be stoutly opposed to it. Thus we are convinced that the election results do not, as popular views assert, amount to any mandate for the merger of Goa with Maharashtra.

The merger versus non-merger conflict may lead to political instability in Goa. Since no party commands a safe majority and the present Government is none too secure, this is more than likely to happen. In that case, the present Government may fall consequent upon internal squabbles, thus paving the way to President's rule in Goa. If Goa is to face mid-term elections, it is too early to predict the re-alignment of political forces. In the first general elections, while the MG party was Maharashtrawadi, and the UG and Congress were not, in the mid-term elections a new broad-based Bharatwadi Gomantak party may emerge as the most powerful group.

QUO GOA ?

What about the future of Goa's political set-up? One thing emerges clearly from the study of election results. As we have pointed out time and again in the course of this study, the electorate was split along communal lines. It is also clear that there is a fusion of communal and regional loyalties. The election results indicate that the United Goans have won their seats in constituencies along the coastal belt which are predominantly Christian. Dr. Sequeira is an exception as he was elected from a slightly non-Christian constituency. (Table on Pages 116-117).

Election Results, Constituency – wise and Community – wise for Goa

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S.No.	Name of the Constituency	No. of Hindu Voters	No. of Catholic Voters	No. of Muslim Voters	Majority	Member Elected	Party Successful
1.	Pernem	10,169	644	43	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
2.	Mandrem	12,213	2369	33	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
3.	Siolim	6746	5236	22	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
4.	Calangute	5759	7880	29	Christian	Christian	U-G P
5.	Aldona	5397	6904	24	Christian	Christian	U-G P
6.	Mapuça	7115	3760	195	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
7.	Tivim	8938	2151	9	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
8.	Bicholim	9692	315	340	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
9.	Pale	9519	634	163	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
10.	Satari	10,856	113	548	Hindu	Hindu	Ind. (M-G P Supp.)
11.	Sanguem	8419	3016	407	Hindu	Christian	M-G P
12.	Siroda	10,244	2622	114	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
13.	Ponda	10,011	1063	228	Hindu	Hindu	Ind. (M-G P Supp.)

The First General Elections in Goa

14.	Marcaim	10,621	203	43	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
15.	St. Estevam	7382	3450	71	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
16.	Santa Andre	4840	5641	13	Christian	Christian	U-G P
17.	Panjim	4846	2879	542	Hindu	Christian	U-G P
18.	Santa Cruz	5678	6270	64	Christian	Christian	U-G P
19.	Marmagoa	5439	3705	798	Hindu	Christian	U-G P
20.	Cortalim	1530	9655	36	Christian	Christian	U-G P
21.	Margoa	3953	4401	465	Christian	Hindu	U-G P
22.	Benaulim	749	10,780	42	Christian	Christian	U-G P
23.	Cuncolim	3394	6978	230	Christian	Christian	U-G P
24.	Navelim	3470	9516	528	Christian	Christian	U-G P
25.	Curtorim	888	11,605	66	Christian	Christian	U-G P
26.	Curchorem	5519	5862	158	Christian	Hindu	M-G P
27.	Quepem	5524	3491	158	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P
28.	Canacona	9294	3246	47	Hindu	Hindu	M-G P

The Maharashtrawadi Gomantaks have won their seats in areas which are predominantly Hindu. Thus both merger and non-merger are issues which have secured no acceptable majority support. If the merger demand is persisted in, it would lead to the territorial dismemberment of Goa. The predominantly Hindu area may have to be merged with Maharashtra, and the remaining area, may be continued as it is. The area north of river Mandovi may have to be merged with the adjoining Hindu areas, and the rest of the territory may be preserved as a Union territory. Such a partition of Goa may be supported by an observation from the Official Draft Plan for Goa, 1963-1966. It says "..... Culturally, socially and even linguistically, the western part of Goa has been and is different from the rest of the country. The eastern part of Goa, however, which is larger but more sparsely populated, had a more limited association with Portuguese and Latin culture, and is consequently more like the neighbouring areas outside Goa". Partition may become inevitable. We, however, hope that things will not develop to the extent of forcing a division which in any case is not desirable. But it is doubtful whether such a course of action would be endorsed by the Centre and whether it would be in conformity with national solidarity. The most common tendency, as amply evidenced in our own country, is for the people of one area to resist merger with bigger units. We have the instances of Nag Vidarbha, Kolhapur and Coorg, to mention a few. Even when merger has been enforced, the people of these areas have not ceased to clamour for a revoking of the merger and a restoration of the status quo. Even in the case of Goa, there is always the possibility that the Goan people may agitate for the release from merger. This would perpetuate disintegrating regional tensions. Historical forces operate from different angles and to different degrees in different contexts. Political wisdom lies in a recognition of this truth. It would do no good to precipitate matters.

Moreover these are not the days when areas can be transferred or mutilated, without any regard for the considerations

of harmonious understanding, an indispensable factor in stable administration. A Shivaji or a Hyder Ali might have succeeded in taking Goa by force or in retaining it by force. But then they did not have to reckon with a Central Government or the need for consulting popular opinion. But now new political forces have come to the fore and it would not be prudent to go against these forces.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - A

Goa Pradesh Congress ELECTION MANIFESTO

1. December 19, 1961, saw the end of 451 years of Portuguese colonial rule over Goa, Daman and Diu. With the liberation of these territories, the Independence of India is complete.

2. The liberation from foreign rule opened a new chapter in the way of life of the people of these areas. Within less than a year of achievement of freedom the new way of life gave the people of this Union Territory the first ever held elections based on adult franchise to elect their representatives to run the affairs of the Gram Panchayats. And now they are called upon to elect their representatives to the Parliament and to the Legislative Assembly enabling them to run their own government through their elected representatives.

3. On the eve of elections it is but natural that the Goa, Daman and Diu Pradesh Congress Committee should present to the people the principle that will guide the policies of the Congress. The Principles are evidently the same as presented in the Election Manifesto of the Indian National Congress of 1962. There are, however, certain issues of local importance which need to be stressed in this Manifesto.

4. The Congress is of the opinion that our major problem is economic development of Diu, Daman and Goa. The existing inequalities are ethically wrong and obstruct progress on all fronts.

Our endeavour, therefore, will be to bring about a social change based on the establishment of a technologically mature Society in the framework of "SOCIALISTIC ECONOMY" that will ensure to every citizen dignity, economic security and equality of opportunity.

5. The real progress of any country depends on the approach to the solution of the following five problems :

(i) Food, (ii) Shelter, (iii) Clothing, (iv) Education, and (v) Health.

In other words, it all depends on how one tackles the problem of poverty, ignorance and disease.

It is the policy of the Congress to eliminate these social evils, laying stress on education and planned development.

6. It is the opinion of the Congress that in any scheme of development, human values are as important as economic values. Investment in people must, therefore, be given a prominent place. Expenditure on education and health facilities is an investment for human values. It improves the standards of the people. The ultimate aim of the party is to make education free at all levels. As a first step to achieve this aim, the primary education will be made compulsory and free. The medium of instruction will be Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi and Konkani.

Wherever possible, arrangements will be made for mid-day meals with the cooperation of the people. Lack of resources should not stand in the way of education and therefore, a wide-spread scheme of Scholarships, Freeships and loans will be provided for boys and girls who have shown merits both in general education and technical or other specialised training. Greater attention will be paid to economically backward classes.

7. Medical assistance will be extended throughout the Union Territory with a view ultimately to have a system of socialised medicine. First Aid Centres will be established to put the remotest villages in immediate contact with the Central Hospitals.

8. Land Reforms as proposed by the Planning Commission will be fully accepted and implemented. Tenants will be given security of Tenure and their arbitrary eviction will be stopped. Rents will be generally reduced to one-sixth of gross produce and steps will be taken to give all possible incentives to bring about increase in production. Fragmentation will be discouraged and every effort will be made to consolidate holdings. Progress in agriculture depends upon cooperation. Our Comunidades are essentially based on the co-operative principles.

With the passage of time, due to various reasons, the Comunidades underwent some unhealthy changes. It will be our endeavour to reorganise them on the lines of co-operative farming on voluntary basis.

9. Co-operative movement will be accelerated and encouragement will be given to start Consumers' Co-operatives in the cities and towns to check rising prices. Service Co-operatives and Farming Co-operatives will be given all types of assistance.

10. Panchayati Raj is an attempt to decentralise power and create a sense of self-reliance among the villagers. This basic experiment in Democracy has already shown encouraging results. The success of this experiment will depend on the assistance that is made available. The Congress will extend all its support to make this movement a real success.

11. **INDUSTRY** : The industrial complex of this territory shows typical signs of a backward economy. There are no large-scale and medium-scale industries, with the exception of mining. The development of this territory with vast resources of mine ore depends on the exploration of ore with an industrial bias. All attempts in this direction will be encouraged. Every incentive will be given to medium and small scale industries.

The development of industries, building, construction and repairs of roads, expansion of port and other activities will help us to check unemployment and raise capital income.

12. Electric power in Goa, today, is produced by diesel plants with a negligible power capacity. Most of the power is

used in mining industry or for lighting the bigger cities. The cost of power is exceedingly high. It will be the endeavour of the Congress to meet existing unsatisfied demand for cheap power for lighting, domestic and industrial purposes.

13. **TRANSPORT** : This territory is served at present by a net-work of skeleton transport services operated by private agencies. The quality of these services is uneven and their extent is limited.

Priority will be given to set up a State Transport Corporation.

In a planned economy like ours, efficient and well-organised system of transport and communication is vital to the success of our plans. Expanding agricultural and industrial production presupposes a corresponding expansion in transport capacity. It is proposed to raise the road mileage particularly in areas with poor communications and improve the existing roads.

14. **HOUSING** : The shortage of housing which existed during the Portuguese time has aggravated after freedom; and it is most acute in cities like Panjim, Vasco and Margao. The Congress will give high priority to building houses for low and middle income groups, and encourage housing co-operative societies.

15. **TOURISM** : It is well-known that Goa is potentially one of the most important tourists' centres in the Country. If it is developed on modern lines tourist traffic in Goa will attract a large number of foreign tourists. The Congress will do its utmost to preserve the attractive features of town and country alike and to create facilities to attract tourists. One of the essential pre-requisites of tourism is a good hotel accommodation. Every effort will be made to give the same types of incentives such as loans from Industrial Finance Corporation and partial tax holidays, as in the rest of the Country for building new hotels.

16. The question of integration of Goa into the adjoining territory has been raised. The Government of India have made it clear that the future of Goa and whether it should merge into the adjoining territory of Maharashtra will be ultimately decided according to the wishes of the people of Goa. For the present this question does not arise as we have to stabilise and strengthen the economy and facilitate the changes that are taking place because of the integration of Goa in the Indian Union.

17. The Congress has always stood and stands today for a united non-sectarian and secular India. It believes that only on this basis can our Country progress and achieve greatness. It is to maintain and persevere with this basic approach and the policy enunciated in this Manifesto that the support and co-operation of the electorate of Goa is sought by the Congress in the task that faces the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu.

UNITED GOANS

ELECTION MANIFESTO

Since 19th December 1961, the urge for self-realization within the Union of India, has been an oft expressed aspiration of our people.

With the enthusiasm generated by rejoining India, this urge was expressed by a number of independent political parties, fighting for the common goal from separate platforms.

Recognizing the need for unity to achieve this cherished aim of our own welfare state within the Union of India, these independent organizations met and for the sake of our people and the common cause, welded themselves into one single party, UNITED GOANS.

UNITED GOANS is the timely instrument for the fulfillment of our goal.

UNITED GOANS are pledged to push forward to the fullest our right and claim for a full-fledged state within the Union of India, where every man will have his due, where employment, food, clothing and medicine will be available to all, where strength and harmony will prevail, to the glory of the people of our State and the Pride of our Country.

STATEMENT OF POLICY

UNITED GOANS chief aim is to work for the Unity, Peace and Prosperity of the people of Goa, Damao and Diu and of our Nation, India, on the basis of Democratic Ideology, and for the early attainment of STATEHOOD within the Indian Union.

The Policy of UNITED GOANS is to :—

Statehood

1. Demand STATEHOOD, in and outside the assembly of the Union Territory of Goa, Damao and Diu, and in Parliament.

Government

2. Offer for election persons known for their integrity and respected for their proven worth, who, when elected, will provide honest and efficient Government.

Language

3. Recognize that Konkani is the language known to all in Goa; Marathi, as the educational and cultural language of a large section, holds an important place; and Gujarati is the language of the people of Damao and Diu.

Education

4. Provide full educational facilities in English, Marathi, Hindi, Gujarati, Portuguese, Urdu and Konkani.

5. Introduce free and compulsory primary education, and subsidize secondary and higher education, with emphasis on agricultural and technical education.

6. Found the University of Goa with English as the medium of instruction.

Agriculture

7. Introduce land reforms including that of the Comunidades, based on the principle of land to the tiller, to ensure social justice and greater production and productivity.

8. Encourage land holders unable to till the land, to do so by forming co-operatives.

9. Provide irrigation facilities and bring fallow land under the plough, ensuring development, especially of neglected areas like Sanguem, Satari, Canacona, Bicholim, Pernem, Quepem, Damao, Diu, etc., establishing model villages.

10. Assist in the formation of Service Co-operatives and Co-operative Banks where tools and implements, fertilizers, improved seeds, technical advice and credit facilities will be made available for efficient cultivation.

Plantations

11. Improve, expand and encourage plantations of coconut, cashew nut, betelnut, pineapple, banana, rubber, coffee, black pepper, and forestry.

Industry

12. Protect and facilitate the expansion and modernization of existing industries such as mining, fishing, canning, cashew nuts, coconuts, timber, brewing and distilling.

13. Promote the rapid but rational industrialization of our territory, to strengthen our economy and bring employment to our people, by providing cheap power and water and assisting, in making available facilities such as finance, raw material, and technical assistance.

14. Encourage domestic and cottage industries at village level, with special attention to dairy farming, poultry and animal husbandry.

Export

15. Press sound policies and incentives to increase the volume of mineral ore and other exports.

Labour

16. Press for the extension of relevant Central labour legislation.

17. Introduce further labour legislation within its powers to safeguard the interests of both employees and employers.

Political Sufferers

18. Help rehabilitate political sufferers.

Social Services

19. Step up campaigns for public health for prevention and eradication of disease.

20. Offer free medical aid to the needy by providing State Hospitals, Mobile Medical Units, Maternity and Child Welfare Centres, within access of every village.

21. Implement projects for rehabilitation of the handicapped.

22. Subsidize hospitals and old age homes, through State funds and re-establishment of lotteries.

23. Promote housing facilities for the lower income group by encouraging the formation of Housing Co-operative Societies.

Village Welfare

24. Improve and build roads, provide cheap electricity and transport. Encourage the establishment of libraries, and recreation centres.

Essential Commodities

25. Stabilize prices by establishing and supervising fair price shops at all centres, and encourage consumer co-operative societies.

Sports and Culture

26. Encourage and aid sports, youth welfare, cultural and artistic institutions.

Tourism

27. Promote Tourism by all possible means, and provide and encourage the establishment of the necessary facilities.

Prohibition

28. Oppose any attempt at introducing prohibition.

FRENTE POPULAR

PROGRAMME

The tremendous enthusiasm with which the people of Goa welcomed the National Army of Liberation was the most eloquent reflection of anxiety with which they had awaited their freedom from colonial domination.

“ Operation Vijay ” was no more than the triumphant culmination of the long struggle Goan freedom fighters had carried on for years and against tremendous odds against Portuguese colonialism. For the general mass of the people, the rout of Portuguese colonialism on December 19, 1961 signified the end of years of suffering and sacrifice. It represented the end of the Salazarist fascist oppression with which the Portuguese colonial regime maintained its hold on Indian soil, with the active co-operation of big business, big land-lords, smugglers, black marketeers and other self-interested, anti-national elements—both Goan and non-Goan.

Naturally, the Liberation inspired the people of Goa with a new hope : the great and legitimate hope of a new life, of not only political freedom but of social and economic justice.

Unfortunately, even after almost two years of liberation, that hope still remains an unfulfilled dream, due to the wrong policies of the Central Government in relation to Goa and an inept bureaucratic regime.

Either ignorant or deliberately opposed to the basic principles of India's national policies, those at the helm of Goa's administration have, to the great satisfaction of both the internal and external enemies of Goa's freedom and India's anti-colonial stand, discredited Liberation and Indian Democracy.

The First General Elections in Goa

The already oversized bureaucratic machinery has been further bloated with unnecessary and, for the most part, inefficient personnel. As though aiming at the perpetuation of the old regime the erstwhile collaborators with the Portuguese colonialists have been retained in the new administration. Many of the old traitors hold key posts in the new set-up. And not only that. They hold particularly privileged position in the sympathies and confidence of those in places of authority. Goan lackeys of Salazar from the police with a record of sadistic persecution of nationalists in the pre-liberation days continue to be guardians of law and order.

The Goan people as such have yet no voice in the Administration. And in the Parliament sit two nominated individuals chosen on communal basis, from the local Congress Committee, who might well represent the Congress Government but never the Goan people.

The welcome introduction of the Indian laws and regulations has been rendered ineffective by retaining at the same time the laws and regulations of the colonial regime, making possible, as in certain cases, the arbitrary application by those wielding the power of applying those laws and regulations.

While most of the time and energy of the new administrators seems to be employed in adjusting and re-adjusting the administrative machinery, no attention has yet been given to the regeneration of the economic conditions of the general mass of the people.

Unemployment is growing and prices are soaring, as a result of the Central Government's financial policy and the laissez fair attitude of the administration, allowing profiteering to flourish unhampered.

As in the old regime, arbitrariness, nepotism and corruption seem to be the hall-mark of the new bureaucratic set-up. And dissatisfaction reigns among all sections of the people.

The First General Elections in Goa

Development schemes remain on paper. Of agrarian reforms there is only a make-show in the form of arbitrary orders by the Governor, which can be revoked by equally arbitrary counter-orders, and with no machinery for their implementation.

Panchayats elected with great enthusiasm by the people, exercising their full franchise rights brought to them for the first time by the liberation, remain paralysed for the absence of the means to function.

The Indian Labour Laws enforced in Goa as a result of the tenacious fight put up for them by the Goan workers, exercising their right to organise themselves in trade unions—and announced with great fanfare on the first anniversary of Liberation—still remain inadequately implemented.

The people look on this sorry state of affairs with dismay and indignation. They wonder what has become of the rights and benefits that the Indian Constitution has extended to them. They wonder what has become of the Indian Government's policies of economic and social welfare of the people, the "socialistic pattern of society", the basic principle of India's economic policy.

A change in the prevailing conditions is imperative. And the time has come for the Goan people to set about bringing in that change. The enactment of the Union Territories Act opens a new chapter in liberated Goa's existence as an integrated part of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India !

With an elected representation in Parliament, an elected Legislative Assembly and a Council of Ministers responsible to the Legislature, we are now equipped to further develop and strengthen the democratic rights achieved by us to usher in the genuine democratic regime such as our liberation must imply : a regime of equality of opportunities and economic welfare of all.

The need of the moment is, therefore, for all those who stand for the democratic rights of the people to forge a broad, united

front to resist the reactionary forces in the country interested in maintaining the status quo, that is, the semi-feudal colonial conditions still prevailing and undermining the political, social, economic and cultural advancement of the Goan people as a whole.

Such a front already exists but needs to be further strengthened and expanded. That front is the "Frente Popular" (Janata Agadhi).

The Frente Popular is an organization of different classes and social groups of the people and enjoying the support of the most representative trade unions and kisan organisations.

It has to its credit several agitations launched to safeguard the interests of the people. Rallies and demonstrations against price increase and black-marketeering were organised by the Frente Popular and as a result, fair-price shops were opened by the Government particularly in Vasco da Gama, Marmagoa Harbour, Sanvordem-Curchorem, Assonora, Sanquelim, Bicholim and other places. It also organized agitation for obtaining democratic rights and in support of the just demands of the workers and peasants.

The Frente Popular stands for :

1. Agrarian Reforms : Introduction of Agrarian Reforms and a Tenancy Act, assuring a better deal to cultivators, providing incentive for intensive and extensive cultivation with advanced methods of agriculture.

(a) Distribution of uncultivated State lands to landless peasants.

(b) Distribution to peasants of the lands of big zamindars in excess of a fixed ceiling.

(c) Elimination of the nontiller middle-man exploiting the poor peasant.

(d) Stoppage of eviction of tenants.

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(e) Re-organization of Comunidades in a manner to ensure the collective benefits of the whole village.

(f) Encouraging and aiding the formation of agricultural co-operatives ; supplying of selected seed, fertilizers, modern implements and enlightening the cultivators in modern methods of agriculture.

(g) Immediate stoppage of eviction of Mundcars and guaranteeing their right to own the gorbatt on the basis of reasonable compensation fixed by the government.

(h) Full protection of toddy tappers and grant of facilities for improved methods of liquor production and the formation of co-operatives.

2. Industrial Reform

(a) Full implementation with adequate machinery of the Labour Laws already in force in Goa and further introduction of the laws not yet in force.

(b) Assistance for the formation of industrial co-operatives, hospitals, housing schemes and other benefits.

Industrial Development :

(a) Opening of a steel plant and a pig-iron factory in Goa.

(b) Starting a ship-building yard to take full advantage of the Marmagoa bay.

(c) Development of hydro-electric power.

Development of small Industries :

(a) Loans and aid for coir, canning, cashew-nut, matches and other factories.

(b) Developing the fishing industry ; financial aid to fishermen to introduce modern mechanized methods for deep sea fishing and for forming co-operatives.

(c) Aid to goldsmiths rendered unemployed by the Congress gold policy.

(d) Facilities for small traders and small mineowners.

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Judiciary Reforms :

(a) Introduction of the Indian criminal, civil and other laws.

(b) Reform of jails organised on fascist basis.

Social Education and Cultural Reforms :

(a) Harijan and backward classes to be provided with social and financial aid for their quick development and welfare.

(b) Free medical centres in all villages and towns for lower income groups.

(c) Subsidies for housing schemes for lower income groups.

(d) Free secondary education for all children.

(e) Scholarship for capable students from the lower income groups for higher education.

(f) The establishment of a University with all faculties.

(g) Encouragement of all cultural talent with generous grants and subsidies.

(h) Development of the Music Academy in Panjim into an all-India Music Centre.

Further, the Frente Popular (Janata Aghadi) will work for the establishment of a clean and efficient administration rid of red tape, arbitrariness, corruption and nepotism.

The Frente Popular rejects the Congress policy of prohibition and will fight against its introduction in Goa.

The Frente Popular opens its doors to all sections of the Goan people. It stands for full democratic rights, for a society based on high social and moral standards, for no interference in religious affairs and respect for all religious creeds.

The Frente Popular stands for secularism, democracy and socialism for the end of all exploitation of man by man.

APPENDIX - B

**Questionnaire for a Random Survey of Vote-Intention of 1% of
Voters in a Selected Constituency, prior to
the General Elections in Goa,
December 1963**

- 1 Name :
- 2 Sex :
- 3 Age :
- 4 Marital Status : Single / Married / Widowed / Divorced or Separated.
(Strike off the unwanted item.)
- 5 Religion and Caste :
- 6 Occupation :
- 7 Income :
 - (i) Less than Rs. 1000/- per annum.
 - (ii) Rs. 1000 and more, but less than Rs. 6000/- per annum.
 - (iii) Rs. 6000/- and above, but less than Rs. 12,000/- per annum.
 - (iv) Rs. 12,000/- and above per annum.
(Tick off the item relevant.)
- 8 Literacy :
 - (i) Cannot sign.
 - (ii) Can sign only.
 - (iii) Can read only.
 - (iv) Can read and write.

9 Education :

- (i) Elementary
- (ii) Middle School
- (iii) Secondary
- (iv) Incomplete graduation
- (v) Completed graduation
- (vi) Completed Post-graduation

10 Do you know that an election will take place soon ? Yes/No

11 Is it good to have Elections ? Yes / No

Give reasons :

12 Does your name appear on the voter's list ? Yes / No

Were you told about it by any Party Worker ? Yes / No

Otherwise who told you about it ?

13 Who tells you about political affairs ?

- (i) Newspapers
- (ii) Gossip group
- (iii) Radio
- (iv) Political workers
- (v) Anyone else, and who ?

(Tick off the relevant item from i to iv, and for v, note the answer against it.)

14 Who is the most likely candidate to succeed ?

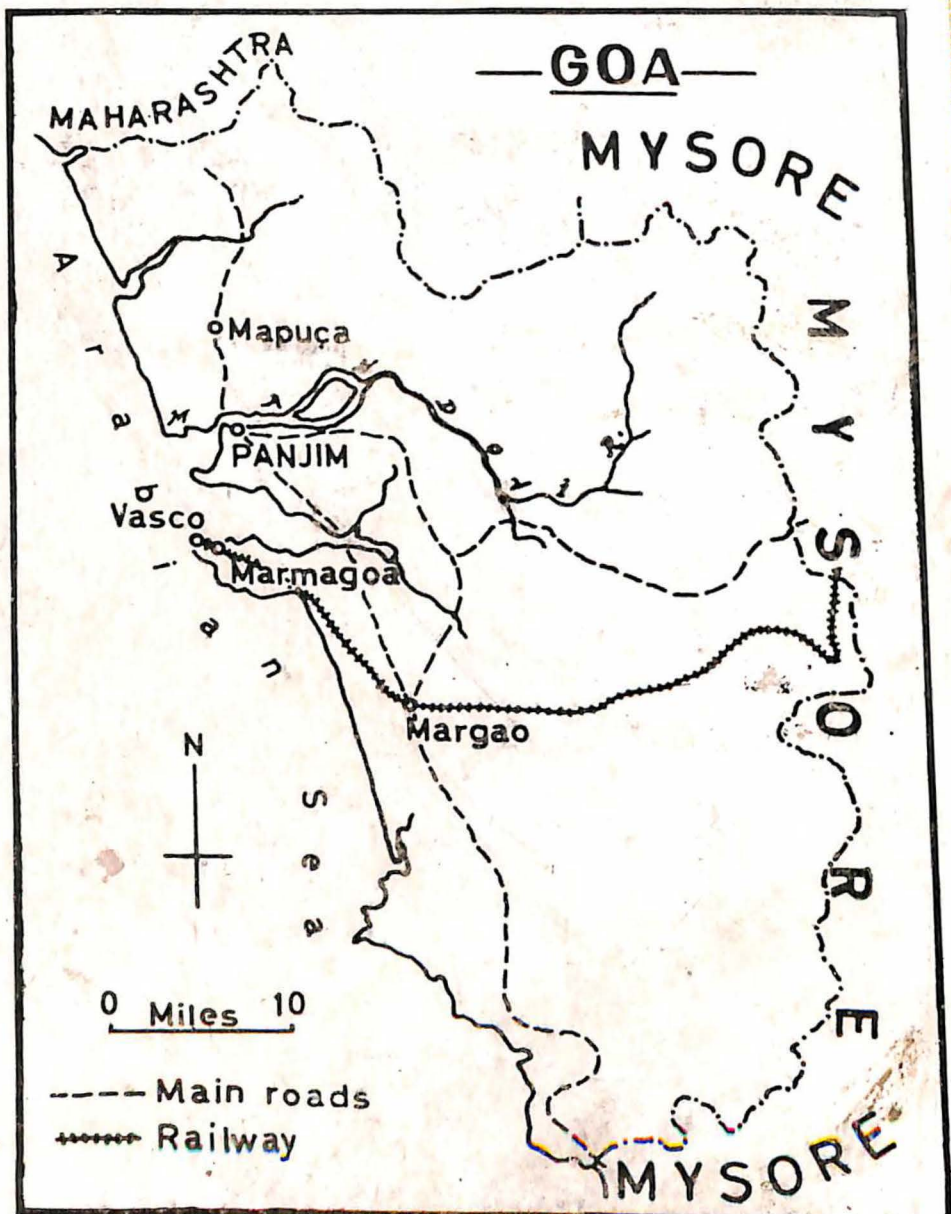
15 For which symbol would you like to cast your vote ?

16 Issues :

- (a) (i) Has anybody told you about the Maharashtra Ekikaran ? Yes / No
- (ii) Who has told you about it ?
- (iii) Do you like it ? Yes / No
- (b) Do you feel that you are more benefitted under the present Government than before ?

16/13

Yes / No



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