

Educating Opinion, Invigorating Intellectual Links, Promoting International Solidarity: T. B. Cunha's Anticolonial Nationalism¹

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Abstract. The present study approaches T. B. Cunha's years in Paris, in particular his writings along the 1920's, linking such activity to his intervention in major debates that primordially ran in intellectual magazines and newspapers, namely regarding the role of the intellectuals, the Indian National movement and anticolonial thought and activism. As a Marxist anticolonial nationalist thinker, acting when such family of thinkers was gaining form, his writings should be inscribed in the process of affirmation of the autonomy of anticolonial thought and movement, anticipating directions lengthily explored latter by other better-known authors. These writings are furthermore important to read his action, along the thirty years that followed, for the cultural and political liberation of Goa from Portuguese colonialism.

Keywords: Anticolonial nationalisms, Indian National Movement, Intellectuals from the Colonies in Europe, Intellectual movements and periodical press, T. B. Cunha

Recurrently named the “father of Goan nationalism”, Tristão de Bragança Cunha (Chandor, 1891–Bombay, 1958)³ was, without doubt, the most influential intellectual of the Goan movement for liberation from Portuguese colonialism. Cunha's main thesis was that Goa and Goans were Indian and for that reason the territory should be considered by India as an Indian territory occupied by a foreign power, and Goans as Indian citizens. As such, he denied any historical, moral or legal authority to the fascist Portuguese Government position that Goa was a non-negotiable, integral part of Portugal, but instead insisted that the Indian government should on no occasion allow room for any suggestion that it recognized the legitimacy of such claims. He defended this thesis even against the opinions or hesitations of the Indian national leaders, considering to be an error, for instance, the recognition of Portuguese sovereignty over Goa by the Indian government, after India's independence. Throughout the 1950s, by recalling the fascist character of the ruling power in Portugal, he vehemently opposed the idea that liberation could be achieved through reasonable negotiation.

Although during this period, Goans debated different views and sentiments regarding the political and cultural identity of their land, when speaking of Goan nationalism this article will refer to the current of thought that argued they were part of the Indian nation. While pointing out that even before T. B. Cunha started his involvement in the situation of Goa under Portuguese colonialism there was already a Goan movement of pro-Indian activism inside and outside the territory, the claim that he was the “father” of such a current of thought will be accepted. Such recognition is justified, not only because of his symbolic initiative of taking a Goan delegation to the 1928 annual conference of the Indian National Congress (INC) for the Goan branch to be acknowledged, but also due to his capacity to draw up a set of theories and lines of argumentative reasoning. These were fundamental in defending the cause of Goa’s integration in the Indian nationalist movement, and not least, to spur his activism, which guaranteed the social outreach of the movement. I refer namely to his arguments regarding Goan identity, the nature of Portuguese domination of Goa and its consequences on the Goan mind and living conditions, as well as concerning the political management of the Indo-Portuguese conflict.

Similarly to other intellectuals of his time, engaged in either political or cultural movements, the press was the means chosen by T. B. Cunha to expose and debate ideas in his spheres of interest, both in magazines published for more educated circles and in newspapers for vaster audiences, though some of such material ended up being republished in the form of books and pamphlets. In most cases, T. B. Cunha’s work not being an exception, these articles were dispersed in different periodicals, some of them not referred to by any biographer, being for that reason particularly difficult to track. Along with the importance of recovering texts that may be fundamental to clarifying the authors’ thought, research in this area allows us both to reintegrate such texts in the publications (magazines or other periodicals) where they appeared, and to better understand how these articles contributed to concrete political, cultural or intellectual debates. As such, this line of research underlines the important role played by the periodical press up to the 1960s in configuring modern ideas via major debates that marked contemporary intellectual history. In the case of T. B. Cunha, the academic interest in his writings has been largely restricted to the texts published in *Goa’s Freedom Struggle (Selected Writings of T. B. Cunha)* (1961). The main focus of this memorial volume, organized by a committee formed by some of his close collaborators, was a representative selection of his articles and speeches published in *Free Goa* (1953–1958), together with some significant early pamphlets. However, it totally ignores his early contributions to the press in Portuguese and British India, as well as his role in publications such as *Azad Goem* and *The Goan Age* in the 1950s. Moreover, it also completely ignores his articles published in France, where he lived for 14 years.

This article will approach his activity in Paris, guided by the scarce information known about this period of his life and by some of the writings that I have located in several newspapers and magazines, a significant task never

before undertaken. During his stay in Paris, the Goan activist joined with a new generation of Indian intellectuals acting in different European cities, particularly post-First World War Paris. By that time Paris had become the international hub of various vanguards and resistance movements, some of which were clearly anti-colonial and involved intellectuals originating from the colonies of different European Empires. These Indian intellectuals aimed to counter the narrative of British propaganda regarding the Indian situation and the liberation movement, a narrative in which the British were supported by the hegemony of Reuters over the production of news. For these actions they counted on the support of some eminent French left-wing intellectuals. In most cases the left-wing periodicals in which these Indian intellectuals published did not focus on the colonial question. Yet, in the context of the aftermath of the war and the ongoing Soviet Revolution, the emergence of Asian and African anti-colonial movements and the attempts to create pan-Asian and pan-African anti-imperial fronts caught the attention of the left-wing European intellectuals who wanted to understand such movements, being themselves involved in fighting the alliance between capitalism, imperialism and aggressive politics. Contributions to the debates of the day or those which led to a better knowledge of the conditions and events in the colonized countries, tended, therefore, to be welcomed. The periodicals in which T. B. Cunha published, along with the contents of his writings, give evidence of such a hospitable environment.

This phase of his intellectual activity needs to be connected to his activism in India after his return in 1926. We should make it clear that the years spent in Paris were fundamental to the construction of his intellectual mind-set, to his national and international networks and, not the least, to his intellectual authority in India. I shall argue that T. B. Cunha's nationalism was essentially anti-colonial, anti-colonialism being a motor for liberation (physical and mental) and the basis for his analysis of home affairs and international relations. Contrary to other Indian and European intellectuals of his generation, he was uninterested in building a mystic or idealistic counter-orientalist discourse on Indian politics and cultural identity. Neither had he any sympathy with external attempts to appropriate the liberation movement. Rather, he insisted on the autonomy of India's political and cultural dynamics, even if he read them as a part of a wider anti-colonial trend. He supported the construction of Indian modernity within a national context, while still aiming to be a leader in (and in dialogue with) the cultural and political vanguard of his time.

A Meeting in Lisbon

During my PhD, while doing preliminary research on early manifestations of Goan pro-Indian nationalism in Portugal, I came across newspapers polemics between Goan students regarding a telegram expressing solidarity with the Indian nationalist students in England. These students also discussed an initiative to create a Hindu Nationalist Party⁴ in Portugal. Apparently, these acts had been motivated by the presence in Lisbon, in December 1925, of some Indian students

from Oxford, one of them with the surname, Paniker (Lobo, *O Desassossego* 459; Lobo, “The Return” 131). Regardless of the polemics, this contact seemed to confirm the linkage of Portugal to a network of political interaction amongst Indian nationalist student communities in Europe. I was puzzled as to why these Oxford students, identified in such vague terms, ended up not attending the meeting in which the party was born, after having had an initially enthusiastic dinner with the Goan activists.

Much more recently, I was able to discover a part of the solution to this mystery in the autobiography of K. M. Panikkar (1895–1963). In these memoirs, Panikkar refers to his stay in Portugal in December 1925, in the company of V. K. John, a young nationalist student at Oxford who later became a leading lawyer in Madras (Panikkar, *An autobiography* 57). By then, Panikkar was already a journalist and historian, having recently edited the Gandhian Bombay daily, *Hindustan Times*, founded in 1924. Apparently, the purpose of his visit to Portugal was to do research for his book, *Malabar and the Portuguese*. Panikkar recalled being helped in Lisbon in the process of collecting and translating source material by some Goans, particularly one Furtado.⁵ He also recognized the role of the Goan painter, António Piedade da Cruz, by that time also in Portugal, above all for introducing him to the Portuguese diplomat, Alberto da Veiga Simões⁶, who helped him in his research⁷ and opened the doors to the Portuguese press.⁸ But there is not a single mention of any political activity, neither of the dinner with the Goan nationalists, nor of the meeting Panikkar decided not to attend. As such, he does not offer any direct explanation for his remaining distant from the Goan youth initiative. Given the context of his visit to Portugal, it becomes plausible that the journalist and scholar, although happy to publicize his link to the Indian national movement, was less keen to raise any suspicions of being engaged in political activities in the country at the time. The Portuguese authorities, in a moment of diplomatic tension with Britain over labour conditions in the Portuguese African colonies, could welcome an anti-British Indian nationalist, but would probably not show the same sympathy with any attempt to connect the cases of British and Portuguese India.

Irrespective of Panikkar’s actual political links with the Goan youth in Portugal, there are several instances of contact by this group with nationalist centres in Europe and India (Lobo, *O Desassossego*; Lobo, “The Return”). Several of these students would very soon establish lasting political links with T. B. Cunha, following his return to India. It is even possible that these links had already been opened at a private level while Cunha was in Paris, as at least one of the Goan intellectuals in Lisbon associated with these students, António Aleixo Santana Rodrigues, had lived in Paris at the end of the First World War. In fact, in the early 1920s, Rodrigues was the first Goan to write in Lisbon’s periodicals in favour of the Indian national movement. As for Panikkar, he piqued my interest because he was the author of the “Preface” to the *Goa’s Freedom Struggle (selected writings of T. B. Cunha)*. In this “Preface”, he revealed that he had met Cunha in Paris, a connection that confers particular authority on his statements regarding Cunha’s political role in the French press:

During the years of his stay in Paris he became in effect nationalist India's first ambassador to that country, utilising every opportunity he had or could create to explain the Indian point of view to the French public. In this connection his most notable achievement was when, single handed, he was able to break through the news blockade which Britain had established in respect of the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre. It is Tristão Cunha who exposed in the European press the full extent of that tragedy. (...) He wrote with ease and elegance in French and the biographical study of Mahatma Gandhi which he contributed to the French press created at the time a great impression in France. (V)

A Long Sojourn in Paris

Curiously, Panikkar did not dedicate a line to T. B. Cunha in his autobiography, although he described in some detail his first stay in Paris as well as the lasting ties he established with several intellectuals and political activists on that occasion. Interestingly, it was immediately after his visit to Portugal that he travelled to Paris in January 1926, extending this visit until the end of the year. By that time T. B. Cunha was on the eve of his return to Goa, where he arrived by the end of July. This means that the two intellectuals could only have crossed paths in Paris for a few months, but it is certain that they frequented the same political circles and, in most cases, also contributed to the same French periodicals. Yet, it becomes clear that Panikkar's knowledge of Cunha's participation in the French press before this period, namely regarding the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, could only have reached him either in India or by hearsay in Portugal or Paris. The present state of my research allows me to confirm that T. B. Cunha contributed with some regularity to the French press during the 1920s, although his role in raising awareness among the European public about the atrocities committed by the British authorities in Amritsar in April 1919 still needs to be proved.

Tristão de Bragança Cunha arrived in the French capital in 1912 to enrol at the *École Supérieure d'Électricité*. In 1907, his brother, Francisco, had also left Goa for Paris to study Letters at the Sorbonne, having furthermore followed the classes of Sylvain Levi at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* (Lobo, *O Desassossego* 404). Francisco de Bragança Cunha (Cuelim, 1887–Paris, 1954) would thereafter maintain his relationship with Levi, creating a reputation as an Indologist, although there is no sign that he published in that field. He was one of the promoters of the work of Rabindranath Tagore, namely in Germany (1913), and assisted the Indian writer as a translator upon his visit to Europe in 1921 (Lobo, *O Desassossego* 404–405).

According to James Campbell Ker, a senior officer of the British Home Department, in May 1916, Francisco de Bragança Cunha was stationed in Zurich, serving as a translator of pro-German literature for circulation in neutral countries. The same Ker reveals that his younger brother, Plácido de Bragança Cunha, by then studying in Calcutta, in late 1915 had provided to two Bengali revolutionaries some letters of introduction to acquaintances in Goa. The letters served to facilitate the movements of these revolutionaries, who were involved in the German Batavia (Java) Plot. As by then Portugal had still not entered the war, the plan was to use Goa, a neutral territory, for a joint military action in India (Ker 284). This plot was

a relevant episode in the alliance between groups of Indian revolutionaries and Germany during the First World War, united by their common enmity towards the British.⁹ By that time there was already a British Indian nationalist group close to Baal Gangadhar Tilak that had been operating for some years in the region of Goa known as the New Conquests. Pressured by the British secret services, the local Portuguese authorities ended up deporting the group (Hatakar; Lobo, *O Desassossego* 268–269).

These scarce clues, calling for deeper research, point to an early involvement of the Cunha brothers in nationalist activities both in Europe and India.¹⁰ This means that, once in Paris, after studying in a French college in Pondicherry where he may have already absorbed the nationalist atmosphere,¹¹ Tristão most probably found his brother involved in such circles. Yet, there is hardly any knowledge of T. B. Cunha's first years in France, apart from his graduation and practice as an electrical engineer. He may have travelled with his brother to Switzerland, or at least visited him on some occasion. If not before, in Paris, they may have first met Romain Rolland¹² on such a trip, as by then the latter was living in Switzerland. In any case it is certain that T. B. Cunha began a lasting relationship with the French intellectual during his stay in France, as he suggests in the article "Romain Rolland's Indian Diary", published by *Free Goa* on April 10, 1955.

It is only around the 1920s that his activities and political circles are better documented. Nishtha Tombat, in her unpublished PhD thesis of 1995, summarizes the known biographical information on T. B. Cunha, with regard to his French connections:

Pannikar and others have mentioned that Cunha came into contact with numerous international luminaries during his stay in Paris, such as Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland, Ho Chi Minh and Chou En Lai. He was able to establish strong ties with each of these persons, and took part in different activities with them. (202)

In her work, Tombat was able to add relevant information regarding his political links in France that she learnt through an interview with the Goan freedom fighter, Ravindra Kelekar, in 1990. Kelekar shared information passed on to him by the Gandhian pacifist, Horace Alexander. After a series of interviews with T. B. Cunha, the British Quaker reported that Cunha mentioned sharing a room in Paris with Ho Chi Minh for a period of six months, that is, at some point during the Vietnamese's second residence in Paris (1919–1923). Kelekar further mentioned that the Chinese leader, Zhou Enlai, stated in his memoirs "that the only reliable information on the Indian national struggle was obtained by him from Cunha" (202).

More recently, Klaas Stutje has written a remarkable study on the Perhimpunan Indonesia movement in Europe during its anti-colonial nationalist period (1917–1931). I thank Dr. Stutje for generously sharing the manuscript of his PhD thesis before its defence at the University of Amsterdam, which took place in June, 2016, as well as for the articles from *Indonesia Merdeka* mentioned below. In this study, Stutje traced several students acting in different European

capitals, principally, Arnold Wilson Mononutu during his stay in Paris from the summer of 1925, when he resided in one of the hotels favoured by Indonesians in the Quartier Latin. Stutje offers us a vivid description of the political geography of this Paris district in those days.

The Quartier Latin attracted the Indonesians not only because it was near the university and provided cheap housing, but also because it was the epicentre of anti-colonial and nationalist politics. Within 300 meters from Taverne Pascal and Hôtel Soufflot were located the Association des Étudiants Hindous de France, Association Mutuelle des Indochinois, the Khana Ratsadon/Thai People's Party, the Association des Étudiants Chinois and the leftist faction of the Chinese Guomindang nationalists. Often, these office buildings sheltered several organisations at the same time, providing ample opportunity for cooperation and cross-fertilisation between the different nationalities and political groups. (89)

As implied by Stutje, this traditional centre of the Parisian *bas-fonds* and artistic life had become the home of an informal international school of politics and a space in which plans for joint international action were hatched. We may define such environment as that of a counter 'Society of Nations' formed by anti-colonial movements, along with other more or less radical movements. Having been recently elected vice-chairman of the Perhimpunan Indonesia, Mononutu represented the radical faction which had for the first time stated their nationality as "Indes Orientales" instead of "the Netherlands" or "Dutch East Indies" (Stutje 83). The mission of the 26-year-old Mononutu was to work for the new political goals of the organization, aiming at the reinforcement of "intra-Asian" ties and raising the international visibility of the "Indonesian question" (Stutje 84).

Klaas Stutje informs us that in a letter to a friend, Mononutu refers to efforts to meet several activists and academics. Amongst others, he mentions Tristão de Bragança Cunha, whom he invited to contribute to the monthly, *Indonesia Merdeka*, which started being published in Rotterdam in 1923 (Stutje 89). The fact is that T. B. Cunha's links to the Indonesian movement and its journal preceded his contact with Mononutu in 1925, as already in early 1924 the periodical featured a review of a book that Cunha was trying to publish, *Gandhi, Ses Idées et Son Action*. The editors of *Indonesia Merdeka* quoted the Goan activist's reading of his difficulties in finding a publisher. T. B. Cunha attributed the "bad will"¹³ of the French publishing houses to what he believed to be their unwillingness to expose the French public to "some truths too unpalatable to be understood by the parasites of this country"¹⁴ ("Varia" 15–16). As far as I could find, T. B. Cunha never managed to publish this book, though he often recalled its existence and tried to have it published in different languages, amongst which Russian.¹⁵ Because this book chiefly aimed to enlighten the European public, once back in India and involved in a different political context, it seems that he lost interest in the project. Yet, this and other articles show that Cunha not only publicized the existence of the book, but actually circulated the manuscript within his political circles.

Indonesia Merdeka

The Goan activist ended up contributing to *Indonesia Merdeka's* double issue of June–July 1926, just before he left Paris (Cunha, “Le Rôle des Étudiants dans les Mouvements Nationaux des Pays Coloniaux” 34–36). Although the journal was in Dutch, his article appeared in French, at that time still a recognized international *lingua franca* amongst intellectual elites. The editors of the nationalist publication, when presenting the Indian engineer to its public, emphasized Cunha’s firm defence of an Asiatic Bloc against Western imperialism (34). In doing so, they underlined an important common position regarding the need for an anti-colonial Asian front.

In fact, in August 1926 the 25-year-old leader of the Perhimpunan Indonesia, Mohammed Hatta, would be one of the delegates to the Sixth International Democratic Congress at Bierville, an initiative which had been sponsored since 1921 by the Catholic pacifist and social activist, Marc Sangnier.¹⁶ What marked a change in that year’s meeting was a statement by the Asiatic congressmen. By the end of July, Hatta had had a meeting with Panikkar, amongst other Asian nationalists brought together by Mononutu, with a view to the creation of an “Asian bloc” at the conference. As a result, a manifesto of the group, drafted and read out by Panikkar, made a strong statement about the right to self-determination for all nations, and the importance for future world peace, of ending colonial imperialist oppression (Stutje 103–104; Panikkar Autobiography 63–65). Six months later, the same Hatta would be at Jawaharlal Nehru’s side at the Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism organized by the German communist leader, Willi Münzenberg (Brussels, February 10–15, 1927). Gathering delegates from all continents, this meeting resulted in the creation of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence, which very soon would be dominated by the Comintern, generating strong internal tensions.¹⁷ Once in India, T. B. Cunha did not attend any of these meetings, but it is certain that he kept in contact with the board of the League, as the Goan Section of the INC was invited to the Second Anti-Imperialist World Congress, first planned to be held in Paris on July 20–31, 1929.¹⁸

Returning to his contribution to the youth journal, *Indonesia Merdeka*: his article addressed the students’ role in the anti-colonial nationalist movements (“Le Rôle des Étudiants dans les Mouvements Nationaux des Pays Coloniaux”), a text which Klaas Stutje has described as ‘fanonian’ *avant la lettre* (Stutje 90). In fact, it contains some of Cunha’s most cherished ideas, developed later on in various texts regarding the Goan case—namely, the idea of the enslavement of the mind/soul, and the idea of denationalization. While not totally new in Goan political debate, these ideas were for the first time fully developed and clarified in ideological terms. Cunha’s purpose was to elucidate and defend the direction towards revolutionary militancy taken by the contemporary intellectual youth groups formed by students from the *oppressed countries* in Asia and in Africa, a direction contrary to the *free countries’* tendency to generate increasingly conservative and reactionary youths. He underlined that this former tendency

represented a shift among the colonized *intellectual class*, created and educated by the colonizer to be the main *support* and *instrument* of its domination:

Not to mention that this instruction was always delivered to us sparingly, the quality of this teaching has been harmful to us. It is a perfidious form of domination trying to instill poison in our brains. It aims to denationalize our intellectual class by imposing upon it a foreign culture and to force it to abandon the arts and the letters of its own country. It imposes upon that class a language that is not its own and compels it to stuff its memory with useless science. With the subtlest methods, it [our intellectual class] has been given the soul of a slave.¹⁹ (34)

Because he was certainly aware of the already long-standing debates regarding the proletarianization of the intellectual workforce, Cunha was able to use such theories in the analysis of colonial societies. According to him, the colonized middle class, constrained by the structural impoverishment of its country and the colonial obstacles to free self-development, had become used to the privileges offered, in exchange for their loyal services, by the colonial state machinery and its associated institutions. As a result, this middle class had become totally dependent on the system and for that reason invested in the instruction of its children to secure their future. The problem was that, given the natural limits of such an employment market, the children's future was no longer guaranteed, thus creating amongst the youth a sentiment of revolt and of a shared destiny with the other exploited classes. The strength of this group came from its education, designed to serve metropolitan interests. As a result, it was quite knowledgeable about the exploiters' minds and fighting tactics. This knowledge could now be used to serve the cause of the exploited. Such an advantage made the colonized middle class the natural leader of the liberation movement. Using a martial image, Cunha visualised this *westernized class* as being the "chief of staff" (*état-major*) of the revolutionary army composed of the labouring and productive classes:

To the intellectual youth is assigned the role of enlightening it [the army], of organizing it for the fight and of preparing the decisive battles that are approaching.²⁰ (Cunha, "Le Rôle des Étudiants 35)

Moreover, on the eve of the Bierville Conference, T. B. Cunha claimed that in the forthcoming period of revenge (*sic*) by the colonial peoples, the nationalists had to be prepared for conflict, and should be able to resist the appeals of the "sentimental pacifists,"²¹ whom he declared to be often no more than conformists that in practical terms should be called "opportunists". The target of this derogatory statement was the Indonesian writer, Noto Soeroto, who had recently placed his faith in the capacity of both Eastern and Western men to avoid a racial conflict.²² Attacking Soeroto, Cunha recalled that such conflict already existed, wreaked on the bodies and pride of the victims of colonialism, a situation that Soeroto chose to ignore, as if he did not belong to the same race. At the time, he argued, counselling pacifism to the victims of colonialism was a call to remain

resigned to the status quo, whilst conflict was the path to restore equal terms. Analysing Soeroto's statement, Cunha concluded that the Indonesian was expressing his "slave mentality" when trusting the will of the conquerors to gradually allow the expression of desire for self-determination.

With the publishing of this article, T. B. Cunha entered the conflict among Indonesian intellectuals that opposed Arnold Mononutu to Soeroto, or, to be more precise, the nationalists against the collaborationists. This conflict had led to the latter's expulsion by Mononutu from the Perhimpunan Indonesia in December 1924, marking a nationalist radicalization of the organization (Stutje 83–84). Simultaneously, Cunha's attack on the moderate and pacifist positions within the nationalist movements of the moment, accusing them of serving the interests of the dominant powers, may be read as much as a clarification of his position regarding the internal tensions of the Indian nationalist movement as a statement in the ongoing international debate about the status and role of intellectuals.

Cunha's theories on the role of an intellectual youth influenced by colonial education in the founding and subsequent leadership of nationalist movements would soon be reflected in his active connection with local youth movements after returning to Goa. Not only did he continue to interact with the leaders of the nationalist group living in Portugal, he also assisted in the development of the nationalist youth movement in Goa. Berta de Menezes Bragança (1911–1993), daughter of the republican journalist, Luís de Menezes Bragança (Cunha's cousin), would become his political collaborator, with the specific task of mobilizing Goan youth towards nationalist militancy. Cunha readily supported any cultural initiative that might have political resonance, increasingly one of the few legal forms of opposition left in the context of the Portuguese dictatorship in place since 1926. Such initiatives appeared largely in the press, for example in the magazine, *O Académico*, published by the Goan Academic Union in the early 1940s.²³ Conversely, his reaction to essays expressing detachment from such a political mission, speaking against what he saw as youth's natural impulse towards national struggle, would be immediate and crude, as was the case of an article published in *Free Goa*, on December 10, 1956 (Cunha, "Goan Students are Mised"):

There is no example of youth having refused to take active part in national struggle on the clumsy excuse that it is not concerned with politics (. . .) Mental enslavement is incompatible with liberation. (2)

He gave short shrift to the idea of political non-commitment of the youth. In general terms he believed it impossible for intellectuals to detach themselves from major struggles, such as the liberation of their countries.

Les Continents

This bi-weekly, was the first periodical published in Paris by the black elites of the French colonies, being the organ of one of its radical wings: the pan-Africanist Ligue Universelle pour la Défense de la Race Noire. Both the Ligue and its newspaper were created in 1924 on the initiative of the Dahomean Prince Kojó

Tovalou-Houenou. *Les Continents* was published between May and December 1924. Its closure was a direct result of the financial constraints created by a lawsuit for defamation brought against it by the Senegalese deputy, Blaise Diagne.²⁴ The journal was edited by Houenou, who was often accused of having close links with the French communist party. Its staff consisted of Jean Fangeat, Prince Ouanillo Behanzin and the Goncourt prize writer, René Maran.

Bringing racial problems to the centre of the debate and arguing for the development of a black consciousness, rather than defending African national independence, the aims of the League and its journal were anti-colonial. The journal described colonialism as a practice of exploitation of the African continent and its peoples, without any respect for or recognition of their right to their homeland, and as a violation of basic human rights through racialized politics.

As with other contemporary anti-colonial critics, including many active within the Portuguese Empire, the editors of *Les Continents* considered that the legitimacy of the French presence in Africa was fully dependent on its political attitude. They demanded that the French practices be changed, with a view to the full integration of the African people into the Republic, i.e., they regarded the legitimacy of the French power in Africa as depending on a policy of African equality vis-à-vis European French citizens. Such an approach to colonialism was directly linked to the “assimilation” model, whose theoretical framework was constructed in France and had had a strong influence on Portuguese constitutionalism since the nineteenth century. This model pointed to the creation of a unified pluri-continental nation.²⁵ In concrete terms, the League defended the assimilationist model and the right of colonial subjects to full citizenship within the metropolitan nation, with all necessary consequences both in terms of social and political rights and in terms of access to the benefits of “civilization” and “progress”, particularly equal instruction. By that time other lines of argument, with clear goals of liberation, had begun to criticize this model, comparing it to the British style of colonialism that did not aim to create a pluri-continental nation. The British model seemed to them more intent on respecting the traditions and cultural rights of the colonized, namely, the right to use their native languages. By this I mean that they attributed the alienation of the colonized to the hegemony of the colonialist language and curricula. T. B. Cunha implicitly supported this point of view against the assimilationist model when explaining the process of “denationalization” and the “mental enslavement” of the colonized elites. His position was thus opposed to that of the League, which defended the assimilationist model and expressed highly critical views regarding the French colonial theorists and administrators who considered that such a model should be abandoned. Against assimilation, this new French colonialist current of thought defended the political management and institutionalization of the “otherness” of the African “indigene” population, through a differentiated system of education. The aim now was not to create French citizens, but to prepare a loyal and obedient workforce. For that purpose, this faction considered it useless and even counter-productive to teach the French language and

curriculum to Africans.²⁶ As for the leaders of the Ligue Universelle pour la Défense de la Race Noire, namely René Maran, the fight for cultural, political and civil equality in opposition to this new trend in French colonialism was seen as completely compatible with militant activism regarding the restoration of African pride in their own civilization and history.

Even if T. B. Cunha had strong reservations about such opinions, his early contribution to the newspaper reflects not only his contacts with its leaders, but also the recognition of the importance of this new movement for African political self-awareness. In such circumstances he could work to influence the group's views on the colonial question and anti-colonial action. Anil Nauriya notes the interest of the journal in Gandhi, evident since its first issue featuring an unattributed review of Romain Rolland's book, *Mahatma Gandhi*, which gathered together a series of articles previously published by the magazine, *Europe*, in 1923. An article by René Maran about Gandhi and his non-violence movement was given particular attention, being reproduced in the New York journal, *Opportunity*, in February 1925. Nauriya underlines how well-informed Maran was and draws attention to his critique of Rolland's biography of Gandhi. Maran accused Rolland of having totally neglected the "noblest" years of Gandhi's activism, when he was in South Africa "groping to find THE PATH" (Nauriya 85). Given that Cunha himself was particularly attentive to Gandhi's activism in South Africa, and also given his relationship with the journal, there are grounds to believe that Maran relied on information provided by Cunha, who most probably shared the manuscript of his own book.

Significantly, Cunha offered a political analysis of the state of affairs in the Indian national movement in his article on June 15, "Vers l'Indépendance de l'Inde". He predicted the imminent return of the Swaraj Party to civil disobedience and described Gandhi's Satyagraha. The fact that Cunha chose to contribute to the new-born African publication with a description of India's nationalist struggle is not innocent, as it advocated the creation of liberation movements as the way to oppose colonialism. Cunha had been quite disturbed by the picture created in Europe of Gandhi as a mystic and utopian leader, due to his idea of non-violent resistance to the British dominion in India. Cunha attributed this picture to a superficial approach to Gandhi's writings, in which such images were created through the frequent use of religious allegories that Gandhi as well as other Indian politicians used to make themselves understood by the Indian population. In accordance with an image that was becoming popular in Europe, Gandhi was a religious apostle primordially focused on the moral and spiritual purposes of humanity, being for that reason compared to Christ and Buddha. Contradicting such an image, Cunha defended the thesis that Gandhi was a great political leader who, far from being motivated by pacifist aims, conceived Satyagraha as a tactical method adequate to Indian means, capable of opposing the repressive machinery of the British. According to Cunha, any serious approach to Gandhi's thirty-year-long career as "political agitator" would show that, far from being a mystic, Gandhi was a "realist man

of action”, who had the political capacity to transform the nationalist fight into a national movement. Moreover, Cunha pointed out the lack of originality of Gandhi’s strategy, as there were previous examples of non-violent resistance in other Asian countries:

[Non-violence] is a mode of struggle for unarmed peoples to defend themselves against the powerful weapons of their dominators. Gandhi cannot claim sole paternity of such a discovery. In recent times, similar means were employed by the natives of Korea and China against the tyranny of the Japanese government. In India, non-violence allowed the nationalists to pursue, without excessive violence, the task of uniting their country. Somehow, it [non-violence] was necessary to overcome the period of preparation for independent life, an indispensable stage in all people’s life. (“Vers l’Indépendance” 2)²⁷

Cunha emphasized that when proposing such a method, Gandhi was not defending pacifism as an essential feature of the Indian nationalist struggle, but as a tactical approach which, the Indian leader admitted, could be changed to other tactics if they were considered more adequate at a later stage. Cunha himself believed that such a moment was close, and he predicted that it would take the form of “a fierce fight where victory will be achieved by the strongest”²⁸ (“Vers l’Indépendance” 2).

Gandhi in European Polemics

This and other texts of T. B. Cunha published during those years reinforce the need to examine his thoughts on Gandhi’s work, a debate initiated by Tombat’s examination of the texts gathered in Cunha’s memorial volume. In fact, these articles deepen our understanding of his views on Gandhiji’s political thinking and his place in the freedom struggle. In the context of his political writings and action in Paris, it is relevant to go back to Cunha’s relationship with Romain Rolland. Amongst Cunha’s biographers, António Furtado (1898–1988)²⁹ was the sole to suggest the impact of this relationship on the French intellectual as he prepared his book, *Mahatma Gandhi*. According to Furtado, having already written his own book, T. B. Cunha lent his notes to Rolland. The fact is that I could not trace any data that might confirm this statement. Rolland does not mention Cunha in his acknowledgements, but recognizes the historian and politician, Kalidas Nag,³⁰ as his guide through the “forest” of Hindu thought. There is also no reference to Cunha in Rolland’s “Indian Diary”. Most important, by this time their views on Gandhi’s thought and role were so far apart that even if Cunha had shared his notes with Rolland, the French writer could hardly have subscribed to the opinions they contained. Yet, Furtado was right in his suggestion that Rolland’s work was preceded by Cunha’s study. The Goan intellectual may have been motivated to write the book in reaction to the French intellectual’s first references to Gandhi, which anteceded his more in-depth study. Yet, as I shall show, Cunha’s work would play a significant role in the debate provoked by Rolland’s reading of Gandhi.

The place of Romain Rolland, a left-wing intellectual, has been shown to be instrumental in the creation of a favourable public opinion in Europe regarding the Indian independence movement. His approach to the Mahatma resulted in a portrait of a man with a message concerning mankind, individual and collective action and the relations between people. This construction of Gandhi's image proved to be important to what we may call a wave of left orientalism arising in the late nineteenth century. This wave of eclectic influences and aims, bridging Eastern and Western intellectuals, fed in broad terms into the idea of the Orient as mankind's spiritual reservoir.

As David Fisher emphasizes, Rolland's Gandhi cannot be disassociated from his 1921–1922 polemic with Henri Barbusse, of whom he was a brief companion in the movement, *Clarté*.³¹ This was a debate that touched, on the one hand, on the harshening of the Soviet regime and the closure of debate within the Third International, as well as on the practical significance of the pacifist movement in which he had played an important role since the Great War. On the other hand, the polemics it contained marked a new episode in the controversy over the status and role of the intellectual, which started in 1919 with three manifestos published within the context of the Versailles Peace Conference. These manifestos not only led to arguments between left- and right-wing intellectuals, but also paved the way for dissension among left-wing intellectuals.³² As the most important controversy in the French press of the 1920s, it had an international dimension and worldwide impact, and ended up involving a number of individuals. This confrontation between Rolland and Barbusse, regarding the involvement of intellectuals in politics, has been analyzed by several scholars. It took place after Barbusse and the *Clarté* movement drew closer to the French Communist Party and pro-Soviet militancy. The debate was first provoked by Barbusse in the article, “L'Autre Moitié du Devoir: A propos du ‘Rollandisme’”, which he published in *Clarté*, in December 1921. In this article, Henri Barbusse attacked the Rollandists' intransigent defence of the autonomy of the intellectual from any political organizations or clan, a position stated by Rolland in his 1919 manifesto which in fact had also been subscribed to by Barbusse. At this stage, Barbusse accused the Rollandists of defending moralistic and unrealistic ideas and of having an ahistorical commitment to pacifism. David Fisher summarizes his critique in the following terms:

The Rollandists remained pessimistic because they were unable to enlist completely in the social revolution: they lacked a unified doctrine, a coherent method of inquiry, and a viable program to replace what they condemned. (. . .) Barbusse advanced the model of *Clarté*, an implicit revolutionary commitment to the Third International and to Leninist socialism. Socialism was synonymous with scientific infallibility, realism, reason, advanced republicanism, and true internationalism. The strength of *Clarté*'s commitment to socialism derived from its capacity to unite philosophy and action, “idea and will.” [According to Barbusse] “Violence is in the totality of the revolutionary social conception only a detail and only a provisional detail.” (91–92)

It is not my intention to follow the ins and outs of this seminal debate. It suffices to underline that at some point Rolland introduced the idea of Gandhi's non-violent resistance and the non-cooperation movement as a practical solution to the problem of working towards change without sacrificing pacifist and moral values, a path that in addition allowed space for individual reasoning and led to the negotiation of conflicts. This was a choice that he could contrast to the idea that commitment to social and political change implied the abdication of individual and civil liberties, blind obedience to organized group strategies and, when necessary, violent action. Rolland being a firm opponent of colonial imperialism, which he believed to be anchored in an alliance between militarism and capitalist greed, he considered Gandhi's political philosophy to allow one to envisage an alternative to the escalation of violence between imperial states and their Asian and African opponents, as well as a solution for European impasses. According to Fisher,

Romain Rolland's Gandhian phase was, in part, a flight from socio-political preoccupations into oceanic metaphysics.³³ The Orient offered attractive regenerative possibilities for Europe; Indian thought might give receptive Europeans ontological as well as political options, introduce them to an alternative ethical system, encourage them to rethink their discredited values. (116)

Acknowledging his limited knowledge of Gandhi's thought, Romain Rolland thereafter dedicated some time to studying his writings. As a result, he published his reading of Gandhi in the magazine, *Europe*, between March and May 1923. In early 1924, he released the book, *Mahatma Gandhi*. In 1923, soon after the end of Rolland's series, Barbusse published an article in issue 39, July 13, of *Clarté*, the lengthy "Révolutionnaires d'Orient et d'Occident: A propos de Gandhi". For the purposes of the present article it is particularly significant that in the introduction, Barbusse recognized the role played by T. B. Cunha in his approach, a tribute that has passed unnoticed until now:

It is within this order of ideas that I wish to submit some reflections to my friends of Clarté. They are supported by precise documents;³⁴ in particular, a remarkable essay by a young Hindu, T. B. Cunha, about the life, ideas and actions of Gandhi, a work which soon will appear in the bookstores.³⁵ (314)

This passage justifies my paying a certain degree of attention to this text. Like T. B. Cunha, Barbusse argued that Gandhi was a realist and a practical spirit, in the French intellectual's own words: a *practical idealist*. 'Practical idealism' defined Gandhi as a true revolutionary: far from moving within the realm of utopian sentimentalism, he was committed to transformative action. Yet, as opposed to Cunha, Barbusse's main point was to state that Gandhi distanced himself from the Russian Revolution due to his ignorance of communist doctrine and Soviet reality. In fact, Barbusse argued, the "Oriental" revolution was closer to communism and the Russian experience than Gandhi realized. According to

Barbusse, to argue that Gandhi was moved by mysticism was to misunderstand his thought and action. Although recognizing that religiosity played a significant role for Gandhi, since in India it could not be otherwise, Barbusse pointed out that his Hinduism was both anti-mystic and anti-fanatical, being rather eclectic in its influences and reformist in its approach. The French intellectual considered that the same kind of misunderstanding accompanied European views about Gandhi's relationship with nationalism. In fact, Barbusse pointed out that what actually brought Gandhi closer to the communists was that, contrary to *xenophobic* nationalism such as the Irish and the Egyptian movements, his quest was moved more by social concerns than nationalist ideology. Barbusse thought Gandhi's attention to the untouchables, to the victims of capitalism, and his fight against industrialism, should be read as a typical form of class war, a fact that Rolland had failed to understand:

It is impossible not to notice Gandhi's ongoing concern to be supported directly by the mass of workers and peasants. It seems quite inexplicable that Romain Rolland should declare Gandhi to be the man, not of the majority but of the minority. For the self-proclaimed elite of writers and intellectuals he manifests but a haughty condescendence.³⁶ (316)

Moreover, similarly to T. B. Cunha and citing Gandhi, Barbusse contradicted Rolland's reading of the Indian's pacifism, by insisting that his commitment to non-violence was not a moral principle or an end in itself, but rather a political means of achieving Swaraj. This tactic fitted the Indian context of the moment, as it enabled Gandhi to mobilize the unarmed Indian masses into resistance and to unite the different communities around a common aim. Furthermore, similarly to Cunha, he insisted on Gandhi's openness to other methods of struggle, even violent ones, as Rolland acknowledged with astonishment. Unlike Rolland, Barbusse praised Gandhi's political flexibility regarding political tactics:

We believe, on the contrary [unlike Rolland], that this is totally in accordance with the genius of the Mahatma: that it corresponds to the language of a true leader of the masses, a true builder of societies, who is not at the service of abstract ideas, and we are not surprised to learn that the apostle has frequently spoken like that. Indeed we state: If Lenin had been in Gandhi's place, he would have spoken and acted like him regarding the form to give to the irreducible war between the exploited and the exploiter—because they are men of the same sort, men of prodigious reckoning who, looking down over the bustling continents, know how to measure the pros and cons!³⁷ (318)

Barbusse further recalled that non-violent action had always been the weapon of slaves when awakened to their class rights and duties, in a stage preliminary to revolution. Non-violent and violent action were both admissible tactics, but from a moral point of view, self-sacrifice as an individual right was not admissible. According to Barbusse, it was only the circumstantial case of serving a transcendent collective aim that made such suffering tolerable. Circumstances arose and justified

both the Indian and the Russian peoples' sacrifices. What differentiated Gandhi from Western revolutionaries was his rejection of material progress and insistence on a return to a patriarchal age, a view that Barbusse attributed to the Indian leader's unawareness of the scientific instruments of sociological analysis. If he had understood international communism, if only he had been aware of this "scientific gospel" ("*évangile scientifique*") that drove the Soviet Republic, if he had been aware of Russia's non-colonial policies in Asia, Barbusse had no doubt that Gandhi would have adhered to the Communist International. In the meantime, Gandhi, like the communists, was haunted by the misuse of his principles by some followers who were prone to compromise. Such was the case of the Swaraj Party when it attempted to force "parliamentary nationalism" ("*nationalisme parlementaire*"), that is, when the Swaraj Party proposed to nationalize the Assemblies (national and regional parliaments) created by the British in India by allying non-cooperation with nationalist legislative initiatives.

Like the communists, Gandhi had become the target of utopians, such as Rabindranath Tagore—the "Hindu Romain Rolland" ("*le Romain Rolland indou*")—who did not believe in the necessity for disciplined action. Such a position ultimately led them to a conservative belief in the immobility of the status quo.

What should we conclude? (. . .) it is necessary to establish profound and comprehensive contact (superficial contacts are clashes), between the Oriental revolutionary movement and the Occidental movement.³⁸ (320)

Consequently, Barbusse appealed for an approach between the Eastern and the Western revolutionaries, united by their commitment towards practice:

Reach out your hand, make yourselves known to each other, you who are both touching models of an almost religious [self] sacrifice, freely given so that others may benefit; you who the English, proud robbers of the world, hate equally apiece; you who incarnate action-thought against dream-thought; you who, repeatedly, give flesh and blood to the word: practice.³⁹ (320)

The Rolland–Barbusse discussion of Gandhi and the nature of the Indian movement provoked several reactions and nourished parallel polemics among intellectuals, both well known and lesser known. An examination of this ongoing debate allows not only a better understanding of T. B. Cunha's work during his last years in Paris, but also an evaluation of his contribution to these polemics. As in the case of other Indian intellectuals, what differentiated his positioning, and had an impact on the debate, was the change of perspective from a Western to Eastern standpoint and political agenda. This change may be appreciated via his writings and through the knowledge that he served his European contacts as an inside informant concerning the Indian situation. His aim, and that of the other Indian intellectuals acting on the European stage, was to promote a more sophisticated view of the Indian national movement and the context that framed the action of its leaders.

Barbusse's approach to Gandhi could have hardly been the same without T. B. Cunha's involvement. His text proves the importance of Cunha's early relations with the *Clarté* movement and its mentor. Yet, contrary to what is frequently suggested by his biographers, he was not a regular contributor to this or the other seminal intellectual magazines which reached the world from France, such as *Europe*, which was inspired by Romain Rolland's ideas⁴⁰, or Louise Weiss's *L'Europe Nouvelle*. The fact is that in each of these three cases, only one article appears under Cunha's name. Here we return to the issue of his difficulty in publishing *Gandhi, Ses Idées et Son Action*, which would thereafter be used to introduce T. B. Cunha to the European public, serving as a credential for his opinions. Why, despite moving within European circles and being positively referred to by actors with open access to the French editorial scene, was he unable to publish the book?

One possible explanation is that Cunha, not being a subject of the British Raj, could not be presented as a spokesman of the Indian movement in an authoritative publication. His own Christian name, which did not have Hindu or Muslim exoticism, also disappointed European expectations regarding Indianness.⁴¹ Because of this position at the margins of Indianness, Cunha's work may have also failed to serve the purposes of the different political groups acting on the European stage. My reading is suggested by T. B. Cunha himself when, as cited by the editors of *Indonesia Merdeka* in the abovementioned presentation of his work, he accused the French publishers of boycotting the book because it contradicted stereotypical views on India. In other words, it may not have actually served the agenda of either the pacifists or the communists. If a reference to this book was important to the editors of these periodicals to justify the occasional "Indian" perspective, its actual contents probably did not serve to confirm the views of any of the European groups.

Moving to an Indian Point of View

Recently, I was able to track down several of T. B. Cunha's post-1920 contributions to *L'Humanité*, the main organ of the French Communist Party, once again confirming his close ties to Comintern circles, if not an affiliation with the Third International. The "Seconde Opinion sur le Rôle de Gandhi"⁴² is significant here. Published on February 10, 1924, the "Second Opinion" was a letter that Cunha directed to Parijanine⁴³ in response to his review of *Mahatma Gandhi*.⁴⁴ On February 3, the communist writer, while paying tribute to the book, had criticized Rolland's approach to Gandhi's pacifism as a model of action. As a Leninist who believed that the world had reached a stage of "universal violence", Parijanine refused to accept that pacific methods could serve the proletariat in its international revolutionary combat against the forces of capitalism and imperialism. He argued that such methods would not serve the cause of India's liberation either. The editor of *L'Humanité* stressed the mystic, contemplative character of Gandhi's pacifism, its "Tolstoian" roots, and defined it as a proposal for "pacific revolt, achieved through individual renunciation, moral purity and contemplation".

In his short letter to Parijanine, T. B. Cunha censored the French communist for adhering to the opinion prevailing in Europe about Gandhian non-violence, pointing out that this opinion had become unacceptable after Barbusse's article about Gandhi, published in *Clarté*.⁴⁵ Cunha recalled that Barbusse had based his article on source material provided by himself. He emphasized that Gandhi was a realistic man of action and not a "pure" Tolstoian and that his tactics were fundamental to India's recent, gigantic progress towards emancipation. Cunha's letter is remarkable for criticizing the European communists' lack of interest in the reality of India, an attitude that they also displayed regarding other colonized societies. He decried their readiness to reproduce what may be called "orientalist commonplaces" as they appealed for unity in the fight against the "international regime of money". Such indifferent ignorance would result in their failure to penetrate colonial societies, which remained themselves ignorant and indifferent to the agenda of the European International.

From at least September 26, 1924 until October 2, 1925, T. B. Cunha contributed to another periodical linked to the Third International, *La Vie Ouvrière*, which by that time had become the organ of the revolutionary unions. So far, I have been unable to access this publication, but some of its tables of contents published by *L'Humanité* allow me to state that he continued to contribute material on India in particular and the colonial situation in general. In fact, his first contribution bore the title, "Gandhi et le Bolchevisme", which indicates his interests.

By November 7, 1925, his prestige was sufficient for him to become one of the guest contributors to an issue of the magazine, *L'Europe Nouvelle*, dedicated to Oriental affairs. Unlike earlier publications, this magazine, founded in 1918 and having as chief-editor the pacifist and feminist, Louise Weiss,⁴⁶ had no association with radical political circles, being dedicated to international affairs and committed to the peaceful resolution of international tensions within European imperial states. Weiss had been engaged with the League of Nations, an institution that maintained ambiguous positions regarding colonialism as, while defending ideas of self-determination and standing against any subjugation of one people by another, it had guaranteed the legitimation of colonial relations through the creation of the mandate system. This system institutionalized the tutelage by European powers of the non-European peoples that were considered "not yet" prepared to achieve their independence and progress in the new international order. It did not go unchallenged, though. The League's ambiguous positions were already being denounced by anti-colonial circles disillusioned with the outcome of the post-war project.

Cunha was presented by the editors as the Goan author of a biography of Gandhi, which had been translated into several languages, and the Parisian correspondent of a number of Indian newspapers, which information only added to his credentials. This reference to Indian newspapers is a clue that calls for proper research. Additionally, the editors mentioned that Cunha had declared that he was unaffiliated to any party. The essay, "Les Luttres Politiques dans

l'Inde", is an important political text in the evolution of Cunha's thought and positioning within the currents of the Indian Congress. Yet, the idea of the issue published in *L'Europe Nouvelle* was to present an objective approach to Indian affairs, contradicting what he considered to be mistaken ideas in the European press that contributed to forming Western opinion, and which, as he pointed out, were based exclusively on British sources. The essay presented a reading of India's politics since the 1919 Constitutional Reform, which he deemed a caricature of a representative regime, and the resulting non-cooperation movement launched in 1920, leading to a violent British reaction.

The first "error" to be scrutinized by Cunha concerned the standard Western vision of that "formidable" movement as totally centred on Gandhi's pacifism. Arguing against this vision, he maintained that the non-violence of the non-cooperation movement was a tactic necessary for an unarmed people faced with a powerfully armed adversary. He insisted on the Indian collective will to rebel against foreign domination, which had always been an inspiration for mass mobilization in Indian history. What is new in this essay, when compared to previous texts, is that it is a clearer defence of "the people" as the real motor of history; a devaluation of Gandhi's capacities as a political leader; a direct critique of his penchant for negotiating in order to resolve conflicts; and an insinuation that his leadership could become a problem for the nationalist cause. Referring to his leadership of the non-cooperation movement and its suspension after the Chauri Chaura confrontations, Cunha stated:

Gandhi, who is wrongly considered a mystic idealist, on that occasion committed the sin of excessive realism. As during his long political career, Gandhi was used to participating in battles of limited scope, this time he revealed himself to be unprepared for a great task. Attracted by temperament to a politics of concessions and horse-trading, he became frightened at the pace of events. Being a practical man, who had in sight immediate ends, Gandhi lost track of one essential idea: the liberation of the country from a foreign yoke. Nonetheless, he was frank enough to confess his incapacity to lead a movement that he saw as a calamity given the enormity of the forces at work and their gigantic proportions. His hesitations and scruples have led to the progressive abandonment of the tactic of non-cooperation in its original form and to the adherence to the new political approach that had been initiated during his incarceration.⁴⁷ (1490)

In other words, Cunha accused Gandhi of weakening the liberation cause by suspending the non-cooperation movement. According to Cunha, the birth of the Swaraj Party was a soft version of the movement which was created to contest the legislative assemblies under the motto, "parliamentary obstruction". In fact, it represented a retreat, even if the initiative had the virtue of furthering the isolation of the government vis-à-vis the Indian people, which had a clear impact on British political circles. Our Goan analyst argued that in India, even the moderate party was by then demanding no less than Dominion status. As for the other nationalist currents, he remarked that the Swaraj Party and the Gandhian non-cooperators—known as "no changers" for their opposition to any change in the original attitude of the movement—who represented the

majority of the nationalists, were now proclaiming the Indian people's right to define their own constitution and future, only disagreeing on the means to achieve such goals. In any case, those advocating violent revolution were a minority and acted in isolated, secret groups.

The author also reserved some space to discuss the British thesis that India was incapable of self-government due to religious divisions. Accusing the British of being the root cause of such hostilities, he argued that this was a non-problem, as realization of their shared enslavement had led, through the initiative of the INC, to the united political front between the Hindus and Muslims in the name of liberation.

More relevant for him was the intensification of social conflict in the country, which he explained as being the outcome of the exploitation of the Indian people and the resultant draining of their wealth to Britain. This exploitation had provoked multiple peasant revolts, strikes and popular demonstrations which were violently repressed. Cunha's intention was to demystify the idea that such social convulsions were orchestrated by the Bolsheviks. He attributed this idea to the British, who used it to hide from Europe the miserable reality they had created in India, and to frighten the nationalist bourgeoisie in India itself. Cunha pointed out that it would be enough to read the Indian press, even the most radical of papers, to understand that no trace of Bolshevik ideology and practice was to be found, as it was unknown to both the Indian proletariat and the intellectual youth. Yet, British propaganda was so successful that it actually convinced the European communists that Communism was already well grounded in India. Cunha pointed out that these communists' misunderstanding of the Indian situation was due to the information spread by British propaganda. Their misunderstanding was so great that many believed that the leader of the Swaraj Party, C. R. Das, was a revolutionary opposed to Gandhi. These misinformed communists failed to understand that, on the contrary, Das was closer to bourgeois positions than Gandhi, who had always been responsive to the grievances and aspirations of the masses. In short, T. B. Cunha underlined the autonomy of the Indian movement, which he believed should not be subjected to manipulation or the propaganda of any external forces. In his reading, the British were frightened by the Russian proximity to India, but that was a kind of tension with imperial roots, arising between two powers that menaced the future of India. In fact, Cunha was convinced that armed confrontation between the two "giants" would happen sooner or later.

Imperial Ideology and Anti-Colonial Movements

Regardless of his relations with Henri Barbusse and the Third International, the fact is that only one article appears under Cunha's name for *Clarté*, published on October 15, 1925 ("Wembley, la Foire Impérialiste"),⁴⁸ just two weeks before his contribution to *L'Europe Nouvelle*. The issue was a political examination of the 1924–1925 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, on the eve of its closing. The article contrasted the purpose of the Exhibition as announced by British propaganda—showing the civilizing role of the Empire throughout the world—to what Cunha saw as the real aim of that Empire, the exploitation of the world's

natural resources (“Wembley, Image of the Smuggling Empire”⁴⁹), and its hidden reality—the violent exploitation of millions of adults and children around the world:

All over the world, the sentiment of revolt is growing against this monstrous enterprise which was exalted in Wembley and whose true end is *to corner the material resources of the earth for the benefit of the “English race”* as was cynically admitted by one of the organizers of Wembley, the “socialist” J. H. Thomas. But if Wembley symbolizes the climax of the fast ascension of the Empire, it is also a symbol of the beginning of its irreparable fall. And that fall will sound the death knell of all imperialisms.⁵⁰ (310)

T. B. Cunha had already returned to Goa, when he published his last article, as far as I could find up to now, in a French publication, the magazine, *Europe*, where, a month after its launch in February 1923, Romain Rolland started publishing his study of Gandhi. Cunha’s article again dealt with the Bolshevik question, this time the party’s role in anti-colonial nationalisms in general, even if focusing on the case of India. Significantly, “La ‘Main de Moscou’ et l’Orient” appears in the March issue of 1927, that is, soon after the foundation in Brussels of the League against Imperialism and for National Independence by, amongst others, Jawaharlal Nehru, the future architect of the non-aligned movement. Nehru’s interest in communism and the Bolshevik experience would clearly not be accompanied by the wish to have the League taken over by the Comintern. Cunha used the occasion to develop his argument regarding the autonomy of the nationalist revolts and of social conflicts in Africa and in Asia, denying the idea that such movements had their origin in communist organizations guided by the Soviet State. The British information services were again accused of being the source of such falsehoods. He also expounded the thesis that the real British problem was not the spread of communism, but the geostrategic power of Russia that menaced the survival of its colonial imperial interests in Asia.

What makes this article particularly interesting is the fact that it added a new explanation of the naïve manner in which Western opinion embraced such a theory: the dominant racism towards the Asian and African peoples which made it difficult for Europeans to conceive that “inferior races” were capable of autonomous thought and action. He mentioned how the racist theory of white superiority was being used to justify the need for European dominion over the other races, serving as the basis of an imperialist ideology inculcated in Western minds from primary school upwards. Additionally, Cunha accused the producers of Orientalist studies (“science livresque”⁵¹) of being at the service of this imperialist agenda. Convinced that these peoples were fated to be perpetually enslaved, Western belief in its own superiority was reassured by the idea that liberation movements had only sprung up due to the involvement of European/Soviet communists (who were still of the “superior” race).

According to Cunha, such beliefs regarding the importance of communist influence in subjugated countries like India had become popular despite the reality of these countries. He pointed out that in India British propaganda accusing the

Bolsheviks of violent anti-religious policies had, in fact, created a real horror of communism. Even politicians such as Gandhi, not to mention the Indian terrorists, accepted this accusation and became suspicious of Bolshevism. On the one hand, Cunha refuted these accusations regarding Soviet religious politics; on the other hand, he ridiculed the so-called efficiency of Bolshevik propaganda by noting that its main press organ that aimed to guide the Indian struggle was a miniscule monthly leaflet, written in English, printed in Paris and totally ignorant of Indian conditions. He also pointed out the timing of events, to show how the new-born Third International could hardly have played a role in a movement that preceded it. The “Great Chinese Wall” against objective information created by the British had, in addition, so far guaranteed the Bolsheviks’ irrelevance in India. At this point, Cunha admitted that they had indeed been trying to extend their efforts to India. Such a goal, which Cunha considered to be grounded in an erroneous approach to historical comparativism, not only remained unaccomplished, but served as a pretext for a new outburst of British violence:

The Bolshevik literature which reduced colonial matters to vague doctrinaire generalities and that pronounced itself to be presenting facts apparently identical to the history of the Russian Revolution marvelously lends itself to this game where the English propagandists excel.⁵² (410–411)

Unaware of the real conditions of the colonized countries, the anti-colonial Comintern continued to perpetuate the racist division of intelligence and power in the world, formulated by colonial ideology:

Have we not been able to read, coming from the pen of an important personality of the Comintern, this stupefying sentence that testifies to their enthusiasm for their own work: “The emancipation of the oppressed people will happen under the direction of the vanguard of the Western proletariat”. And yet, that same vanguard of the proletariat is reduced to judging the situation of the people, to whom it so generously offers its protection, based on the gossip of the bourgeois press!⁵³ (412)

Contrary to such visions, Cunha insisted on the need for recognition that liberation of the oppressed peoples would come from within, as they needed no direction or support from Western organizations and ideologies to achieve their aims:

But while we resort to these stories to try to misrepresent the nature of the revolt of the East, she [India] still pursues her march with giant steps and by her own means. Secret conspiracies have their place in cinematographic scenarios but not in real life. Colonial revolt is the natural reaction against the exploitation that burdens the mass of people, who constitute a considerable part of humanity, and results from their suffering a long enslavement. There lies the sole source of its strength and the guarantee of its triumph.⁵⁴ (412)

Final Remarks

Hopefully this study may promote interest in T. B. Cunha’s involvement in international debates on the crucial political ideas and tensions of the twentieth century, as well as the role of intellectuals in society. In the 1920s such debates

were nourished by intellectuals in different parts of the world as well as in European centres, above all Paris. My study aims to show the importance of viewing such participation at its locus of enunciation, the press (magazines, journals and newspapers), where the seminal ideas, ideologies and tensions of the 20th century were being shaped, discussed and spread in different ways. In fact, the first decades of the 20th century, inaugurating a trend that continued until the 1960s, were marked by the birth of intellectual movements with different, and sometimes clashing, projects for the political and cultural transformation of the public sphere. Usually these movements used the press as their primordial means of spreading ideas, especially by publishing magazines and journals which, when launched, were normally accompanied by a manifesto. Titles such as *Clarté* or *L'Europe* in France, *Seara Nova* or *A Águia* in Portugal, and *New Age* in England, irrespective of their aims and impact, not only brought together the members of the movements that they represented or tried to create, but also ended up becoming, due to their prestige or through intellectual identification, spaces that attracted outsiders and newcomers, as we saw in the case of T. B. Cunha. As such they are fundamental to our present understanding of the different intellectual circles of that period, which, as Klaas Stutje writes, had concrete expression in the geographies of European imperial cities such as Paris or London. In this respect also, by following the presence of Cunha's writing in various periodicals, we can imagine the Paris in which he moved, mobilized by these different intellectual circles, and the spaces where they intersected.

At this time, the “father of Goan nationalism” did not occupy himself with Portuguese India or the Portuguese Empire. Rather, his focus was the British Empire and the Indian nationalist movement for liberation. He used them as a point of departure to think about not only colonial imperialism and anti-colonialism in broader terms, but also the place of intellectuals in the transformation of the status quo. We need to pay attention to his desire to counter hegemonic views circulating in the West about the Eastern world and the colonial situation under the British Empire, and to widen the Western public's vision of the world through an Indian lens. His approach to the violence of colonial ideology and its agents, and the analysis of its impact on both Eastern and Western minds, anticipates in several aspects the post-colonial criticism regarding Orientalism. The influence of Marxism on his mind-set, shown in his historical and political analysis, and on his vision of intellectual engagement, seems clear. His approach to different Bolshevik circles, taking into account the profile of most of the titles to which he contributed, also seems clear. Notwithstanding such political links, his position was marked by independent thinking and by the liberating perspective of an anti-colonial nationalism, which included a refusal to be under the tutelage of, or in subservience to, the Western agents of his natural political family, that is, the Marxist circles.

As I have already pointed out, several ideas and political views, which appeared in an embryonic state in the articles published by T. B. Cunha in France, would be developed by him upon his return to India. He arrived in Goa in July

1926, where the first signs of deep change were being felt due to the Portuguese anti-democratic revolution in May. Soon after, he started to elucidate the political changes in Europe, in India and other places to the Goan public, and to introduce it to the thought of many Western communist intellectuals by reproducing some major texts they had published in European periodicals and commenting on them in the local press. In fact, it becomes clear that Cunha returned with a program of political action, using for that purpose the knowledge, experience, political framework and intellectual links garnered during his years in Paris. Firstly, he aimed to make accessible a general critique of imperialism and to mount a critique of Portuguese colonialism in which we can perceive the influence of Marxism, in particular regarding the interpretation of Portuguese history in India. Secondly, he aimed to encourage the transformation of the Indian nationalist movement into a nationalist anti-colonial movement beyond the artificial borders imposed by the colonial empires. Lastly, and related to the previous aim, he intended to channel local sympathies and political activism towards Indian nationalism in Goa. He wanted to impress the idea of Indian nation on Goans and therefore promote united Indian nationalist activism on both sides of the frontiers created by the colonial empires.

T. B. Cunha's history in Paris and in India, forces us to think of him not only as the father of Goan nationalism, but also as a significant early actor in the Indian anti-colonial nationalist movement, from which perspective he never ceased to argue the case of the Portuguese enclaves in India.

Notes

¹ I thank Dr. Helga do Rosário Gomes for her continuous help in my academic searches, in the case of this study, with the access to the journal, *Les Continents*. I also thank Dr. Isabel Vaz for the copy of António da Cruz's article in *Goa, Men and Matters* ("Father of Goan Nationalism"). The revised version of this study benefited substantially from the patient reading done by the editors (Cielo Festino, Paul Melo e Castro and Robert Newman), helping significantly the clarification of ideas, and turning my writing into acceptable English. Of course, any remaining problems are my responsibility.

² This article was carried out as part of the FAPESP thematic project, "Pensando Goa" (proc. 2014/15657-8), and my Post-doc project, "The Home and the World", supported by FCT (SFRH/BPD/97264/20). The opinions, hypotheses and conclusions or recommendations expressed herein are my sole responsibility and do not necessarily reflect the ideas of FAPESP or of FCT.

³ Soon after his death, *Free Goa* dedicated an issue to T. B. Cunha in October 1958, and in the following year published several memorial articles. The first approach to his writings is due to António da Cruz (La Croix), between November 1958 and June 1959 in the same newspaper, afterwards gathered in the volume, *Goa, Men and Matters: Goa's Freedom Struggle*. There was also an unsigned biography written by Berta de Menezes Bragança, who also dedicated considerable space to Cunha in her book, *Landmarks in My Time*. Apart from several short tribute articles, studies on T. B. Cunha include Tombat (1995), Desai (2000) and Parobo (2015).

⁴ The abundant use of the term, Hindu, in this period did not necessarily express a religious or communalist approach to politics, such as was being proposed by the emerging Hindutva ideology, and it was used to mean Indian. Yet, it inescapably transported at least an underlining of the cultural role of Hinduism in the Indian identity and mindset. I approach the polemics that such use of the term, Hindu, by the nationalist movement arose in Goa in my article, "The Return to Indianness".

⁵ Although Panikkar evidences a clear difficulty in dealing with Portuguese names, such as those used by the Goan Catholic community, it is almost certain that he refers to António Furtado, a law student

and member of the group of young Goan nationalists, who will be mentioned later in this article.

⁶ Acting as Envoy in Berlin of the Portuguese Government, Veiga Simões met and took a keen interest in António Piedade da Cruz's work, while the painter was studying at the German Academy of Fine Arts (<https://cruzostudio.wordpress.com/cruzo/biographical-sketch/>). In 1958, Cruz would author a sketch of T. B. Cunha for the tribute issue released by the newspaper, *Free Goa*.

⁷ Panikkar later dedicated the book to Veiga Simões.

⁸ For instance, at the daily, *Diário de Lisboa*, to which he was invited to speak about the Indian national movement, he was presented as the director of Gandhi's newspaper in Bombay and also as acquainted with Tagore, the two most known Indian names in Portugal ("O Oriente" 5).

⁹ Such an alliance would again be essayed during the Second War under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose, hoping to negotiate India's independence following an invasion led by the German-Japanese alliance. Francisco would offer his full support to this move (Cunha, "Conceitos").

¹⁰ It is sustainable to speculate that Francisco de Bragança Cunha may have been in contact with the circles of Madame Cama in Paris. It is to be remembered that most Indians related to her circle were compelled to leave Paris during the First War.

¹¹ By that time the French enclave received several anti-British nationalist exiles, namely Auribindo Gose.

¹² During the war, Rolland started living between Switzerland and Paris, having changed permanently the French capital for Villeneuve in 1922, where he lived until 1937.

¹³ "mauvaise grâce".

¹⁴ "quelques vérités un peu désagréables à entendre pour les parasites de ces pays-ci."

¹⁵ See J. L., "Les affaires"; "Engenheiro".

¹⁶ Marc Sangnier's work is nowadays followed at the Institute Marc Sangnier. For a brief bio, see its homepage, <http://www.marc-sangnier.com/>.

¹⁷ Petersson (*We Are Neither Visionaries*; "Hub of the Anti-Imperialist").

¹⁸ The "Invitation to the second antiimperialist world congress of the League against Imperialism and for national independence" includes a list of Organizations and Persons that announced their intention to accept the invitation to attend the Congress (W. E. B. Du Bois Papers). The meeting ended up being held in Frankfurt, a reflex of the internal tensions regarding the growing appropriation of the organization by the Comintern. Following the 1929 meeting, Hatta would become *persona non grata*, and in 1930 Nehru resigned from the Executive Committee. Irrespective of such dissensions and the short life of the League, Fredrick Petersson, based on his through research on the history of the League and the new documents released after the fall of the Soviet Union, defends its crucial importance in the history of the anti-imperialist movement, the 1927 meeting being a marker in this history.

¹⁹ "Sans compter que cette instruction nous fut toujours distribuée au compte-gouttes, la qualité même de cet enseignement nous était néfaste. C'est une forme perfide de domination qui a pour but de distiller le poison dans nos cerveaux. Elle vise à dénationaliser notre classe intellectuelle en lui imposant une culture étrangère et en l'obligeant à délaissier les arts et les lettres de son propre pays. On lui impose une langue qui n'est pas la sienne et on l'oblige à se farcir la mémoire avec une science inutile. Avec les moyens les plus subtils on lui façonne une âme d'esclave."

²⁰ "A la jeunesse intellectuelle revint le rôle de l'éclairer, de l'organiser pour la lutte et de préparer les combats décisifs qui s'approchent."

²¹ "Pacifistes sentimentaux".

²² Cunha alludes to Soeroto's article, "Orient et Occident", published in the journal, *Le Monde Nouveau*, in April 1926 (Ligt 311).

²³ See Cunha's article, "Conceitos". The magazine counted the collaboration of several intellectuals linked to the nationalist movement, such as Berta de Menezes Bragança, António Furtado, Lúcio de Miranda and P. S. Vardé, amongst others.

²⁴ About the journal, the League and the pan-African movement, see Egonu ("Les Continents"), Ikonne ("Rene Maran"), Khalfá ("Naissance"), Langley ("Pan-Africanism"), "Conférence des Intellectuels d'Afrique", and Marjomaa ("The LACO").

²⁵ Regarding the "assimilationist" model and its impact in Portuguese colonialist and anti-colonial debates, see Xavier and Silva (*O Governo dos Outros*).

²⁶ For cultural-political discussion of the language question in Goa, in the 19th and 20th centuries, see: Pinto (*Between Empires*), Lobo (*O Desassossego*) and Fernandes ("Citizenship Experiences").

²⁷ “[La Non-violence] est un moyen de lutte accessible aux peuples désarmés pour se défendre contre la puissance des armes de leurs dominateurs. Elle n’est pas une découverte dont Gandhi puisse revendiquer pour lui seul la paternité. En Corée e en Chine, à une époque encore récente des semblable moyens on été employés par les indigènes contre la tyrannie du gouvernement japonais. Dans l’Inde, la non-violence a permis aux nationalistes de poursuivre sans trop de heurts la grande œuvre de l’unité de leur pays. Elle était en quelque sorte nécessaire pour franchir le période préparatoire à la vie indépendante, étape indispensable dans l’existence de tout peuple.”

²⁸ “une lute acharnée où la victoire appartiendra au plus fort”.

²⁹ Previously referred to as one of Panikkar’s contacts in Lisbon, António Furtado maintained a lasting political relation with T. B. Cunha, which would be strengthened by family ties when he married Berta de Menezes Bragança in 1947. United by their common political militancy, the couple was forced into exile in Bangalore in 1950. In 1953, following Cunha’s return to India after a sojourn in Portuguese jails, the trio started the newspaper, *Free Goa*, which would be published until Goa’s liberation from Portuguese rule.

³⁰ Kalidas Nag was one of the founding members of the Greater India Society in 1926, and published in 1950 the study, *Tolstoy and Gandhi*.

³¹ On the Clarté movement and magazine, see Nicole Racine (“The Clarte Movement”), Guessler Normand (“Henri Barbusse”) and Alain Cuenot (*Clarté 1919–1928*).

³² Following the trend of these type of public statements, all manifests were signed by several intellectuals. The first text to be published was Henri Barbusse’s “Un Manifeste des Intellectuels Combattants”, on 17 January 1919 in the newspaper, *Le Populaire*, appealing to all combatant intellectuals of the world to detach themselves from national agendas and unite in a fraternal embrace to reconstitute the International of Thought. Furthermore, the manifest stated its support for Woodrow Wilson’s project for permanent peace. On June 26, Rolland published in *L’Humanité* the “Fièrre Déclaration d’Intellectuels” (better known as the “Déclaration d’Indépendance de l’Esprit”), which also counted Barbusse’s signature. This manifest appealed to all intellectuals to detach themselves from the “selfish interests of any political or social clan” and to serve only the cause of humankind, being the intellectual’s first duty to “show the polar star, in the midst of the tourbillon of passions, in the night (. . .). We will honor only the truth, free, without frontiers, limits, without race or caste prejudices”. Finally, on July 19, the conservative, Henri Massis, was the author of the manifest, “Pour un Parti de l’Intelligence”, published in *Le Figaro: Supplément Littéraire*, that reacted to the “Déclaration”. It stated the need to form a party of the “national intelligence to serve the national interest”, and by doing so they were serving the cause of civilization, as they “believed—and the world with us—that it is the destiny of our race to defend the spiritual interests of humanity”. It furthermore clarified that such a party aimed to oppose “bolshevism which, from first, attacks the spirit and the culture, to better destruct the society, nation, family, individual.”

³³ Romain Rolland’s “oceanic” metaphysics refers to the spontaneous feeling of the eternal, previous and independent of any religion. It was first coined in a letter to Sigmund Freud in 1927, “simple and direct fact of the *feeling of the ‘eternal’* (which can very well not be eternal, but simply without perceptible limits, and like oceanic, as it were)” (translation of William Parsons cited by Ayon Maharaj, “The challenge”, 474).

³⁴ This information appears as a response to Rolland’s initiative of opening his series of articles with the bibliography that supported his thesis, an inventory that emphasized the “Indian” sources of his study.

³⁵ “C’est dans cet ordre d’idées que je voudrais soumettre quelques réflexions à mes amis de Clarté. Elles ont pour point de départ une documentation précise; notamment, un remarquable essai d’un jeune Indou, T. B. Cunha, sur la vie, les idées et l’action de Gandhi, ouvrage qui ne tardera pas à paraître en librairie.”

³⁶ “Il est impossible de ne pas noter le perpétuel souci de Gandhi de s’appuyer directement sur les masses ouvrières et paysannes. Il me paraît assez inexplicable que Romain Rolland ait dit que Gandhi était l’homme, non de la majorité mais de la minorité. Il n’a manifestement pour la partie de la population proclamée (par elle-même) l’élite, pour les lettrés et les intellectuels, qu’une condescendance assez hautaine.”

³⁷ “Nous l’estimons, au contraire, tout à fait conforme au génie du Mahatma: c’est là le langage d’un vrai manieur de foules, d’un vrai constructeur de sociétés, qui n’est pas le jouet d’idées abstraites, et nous ne sommes pas surpris que l’apôtre nous apprenne qu’il a souvent parlé de la sorte. Et nous

disons: Si Lénine s'était trouvé à la place de Gandhi, il aurait parlé et agit comme lui en ce qui concerne la forme à donner à la guerre irréductible entre l'exploité et l'exploiteur – parce que ce sont des hommes de même espèce, des calculateurs prodigieux qui, penché au-dessus des continents animés, savent mesurer le pour et le contre!"

³⁸ "Que devons-nous conclure? (. . .) il est nécessaire d'établir un contact profond et compréhensif (les contacts superficiels sont des chocs), entre le mouvement révolutionnaire oriental et le mouvement occidental."

³⁹ "Tendez-vous la main, faites-vous connaître les uns aux autres, vous qui êtes d'un côté et de l'autre, d'émouvants exemples de sacrifices religieusement consentis pour que d'autres en profitent; vous que les Anglais, brigands somptueux du monde, détestent autant les uns que les autres; vous qui incarnez la pensée-action contre la pensée-rêve; vous qui, à l'envi, mettez de la chair et du sang dans la mot: pratique."

⁴⁰ For the history of the magazine, *Europe*, see Nicole Racine ("La Revue Europe"), David James Fisher (*Romain Rolland*), and Special Issues of *Europe* (1955, 1973, 1974, 1998).

⁴¹ By this time, several Goan Catholic writers, T. B. Cunha included once he returned to India, would occasionally or systematically adopt "Hindu" pen names as a way of stating their Indianness.

⁴² The article appears signed by "T. Blunha", a typographic error of the newspaper. In fact, this would not be the only occasion in which Cunha's name appears misspelt, which creates a problem to any attempt at digital search based on OCR reading of documents.

⁴³ Parijanine was the pseudonym of Maurice Donzel, being the editor of the *L'Humanité* section "Les Lettres", which occasionally alternated with *A travers les Revues*.

⁴⁴ In fact, in 1923, Donzel had already commented on Rolland's articles published in the magazine *Europe*. See also his articles at *L'Humanité* published on April 14 and 30. Marcel Martinet, one of the writers of *La vie ouvrière*, also dedicated a considerable attention to Rolland's study of Gandhi, while writing at Donzel's section of *L'humanité*, "Les lettres", on May 15, 1923.

⁴⁵ Parijanine was also a regular contributor of the magazine.

⁴⁶ See Bess (*Realism, Utopia*).

⁴⁷ "Gandhi, qu'on considère à tort comme un idéaliste mystique, pécha au contraire en cette occasion par un excès de réalisme. Habitué pendant sa longue carrière politique à mener des batailles d'envergure limitée, il se révéla, cette fois, insuffisamment préparé pour une grande tâche. Porté par tempérament à des concessions et des marchandages, il s'effraya de l'allure que prenaient les événements. Homme pratique, visant à un but immédiat, il perdit de vue cette idée essentielle: l'affranchissement du pays du joug étranger. Il eut d'ailleurs la franchise de confesser son incapacité à conduire un mouvement qui lui apparaissait comme une calamité en raison de l'énormité des forces en jeu et de ses proportions gigantesques. Ses hésitations et ses scrupules le menèrent peu à peu à abandonner la tactique de non-coopération sous sa première forme et à adhérer à une nouvelle politique inaugurée pendant son incarcération."

⁴⁸ Once again there is an error in his name, which appears as "J.-B. Cunha".

⁴⁹ "Wembley, Image de l'Empire Trafiquant".

⁵⁰ "Partout dans le monde s'affirme de plus en plus le sentiment de révolte contre cette monstrueuse entreprise qu'on a voulu exalter à Wembley et dont le vrai but est d'accaparer les richesses matérielles de la terre au profit de la «race anglaise» comme l'a cyniquement avoué l'un des animateurs de Wembley, le «socialiste» J. H. Thomas. Mais si Wembley marque le point culminant de la rapide ascension de l'Empire, elle marque en même temps le point de départ de son irrémédiable chute. Et cette chute sonnera le glas de tous les impérialismes."

⁵¹ The expression does not have a brief or simple translation. It points to the construction of scientific discourse that is totally theoretical, closed in itself, without the support of data.

⁵² "La littérature bolchevique qui en matière coloniale se cantonne dans des vagues généralités doctrinales et qui se prononce sur les faits apparemment identiques de l'histoire de la révolution russe se prête merveilleusement à ce jeu ou les propagandistes anglais excellent."

⁵³ "N'avons-nous pas pu lire sous la plume d'une importante personnalité du Comintern cette phrase stupéfiante qui témoigne de leur enthousiasme pour leur propre œuvre: «L'émancipation des peuples opprimés se fera sous la direction de l'avant-garde du prolétariat occidental». Et cette même avant-garde du prolétariat en est réduite à juger la situation des peuples sur lesquels elle étend si généreusement sa protection, d'après les racontars de la presse bourgeoise!"

⁵⁴ “Mais on a beau recourir à de telles histoires pour essayer de travestir la révolte de l’Orient elle n’en poursuit pas moins sa marche à pas de géants et avec ses propres moyens. Les conspirations secrètes ont leur place dans les scénarios cinématographiques et non pas dans la vie des peuples. La révolte coloniale est une réaction naturelle contre l’exploitation qui pèse sur les peuples constituant une portion considérable de l’humanité et a ses causes dans le long asservissement qu’ils subissent. C’est de là seul qu’elle tire sa force et c’est cela qui garantit son succès.”

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