

University of the Philippines

Lorenzo M. Tañada: The Lawyer and the
Nationalist, 1930-'45

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INTRODUCTION

Lorenzo A. Tañada is considered to be one of the main pillars of the contemporary nationalist movement in the Philippines. Even at 89, the Grand Old Man continues to struggle for and uphold nationalist aspirations.

In the postwar period, he joined Keco in his nationalist crusade against the Parity rights and economic nationalism. At the height of the dictatorship, when the people were cowed to fear, Tañada, together with other anti-dictatorship lawyers, stood to the defense of the people's and nationalist activists' rights. He threw his full participation in the anti-US-Marcos dictatorship movement without second thoughts until its downfall.

Today, despite his critical support to the Aquino government, our subject unhesitatingly opposes the continued presence of the US military bases in the Philippines and brings to the fore sidelined issues that concern Philippine sovereignty.

Indeed, few men with special reference among the government officials who have been with him in the parliament of the streets in the previous regime can match the nationalism espoused and lived by Lorenzo M. Tañada.

To this, many revere the man for his unyielding nationalist. But while these people, contemporaries, activists among sectors, credit the man, only a few have witnessed or simply traced his life in the vital and early period of his political career in the late American direct colonial rule and the Japanese period.

It is for this reason that this writer attempts to draw a study of the man at the start of his career as a lawyer and nationalist. Before a man be given such credits this writer thinks that a close study and review of his past must be embarked on to find out whether the subject is cleansed of tarnished record of public service or duly deserves the adulation the Filipino people pay him. Corollary to this, his limitations as a nationalist must be pointed out and his eventual transformation clearly impressed.

To fully understand a dynamic man like Tañada, it is of utmost importance to contextualize the gathered personal data to the existing socio-economic and political condition

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of the time. This is why a concise historical feature is presented to situate his world views and experience in the period. A brief appraisal of the nationalist movement in the period is also made to study his role in the process of social change and to prevent the isolation of his performance as a nationalist. Only after this can we holistically view the subject of study.

Statement of the Problem

This study attempts to shed light on the following questions:

1. What existing social condition prevailed in 1930-'45
2. What were the opposing forces at active play?
3. How did the nationalist movement as a whole react to this social condition?
4. What did Tañada contribute to and how did he appraise the nationalist movement?
5. What were the effects of the socio-economic and political problems to the amateur Tañada?
6. How did he personally respond as a lawyer and a nationalist to the pressing issues of the period?

7. How did this period lay down the nationalist movement

Objectives of the Study

With these conceived problems at hand, this study hopes to realize the following objectives:

1. To provide an analytical overview of the social conditions in this period.
2. To identify the social forces at active play and the social relationships among them.
3. To assess the nationalist movement in this period.
4. To determine the organizational and theoretical level achieved by the nationalist movement in the period, which affected the involvement of Tañada.
5. To find out whether this period established the foundation for Tañada's present involvement in the nationalist struggle.

Hypothesis

To this, this writer tentatively advances the following hypothetical statements:

1. That the economic crisis' intensity is directly proportional to the nationalist movement's upsurge.

2. That there is direct proportion between the strength of the nationalist movement and political regression.

3. That the level of political consciousness among the people and particularly Tañada has high correlation to the organizational and theoretical level achieved by the nationalist movement in the period.

4. That Tañada's class has bearing vis-a vis his nationalist involvement.

Theoretical Framework

This study is focused on, limited to and operates within the basic conception that man, as a political and intellectual individual can be situated in social dynamics.

It will be assumed hereon that Tañada, apart from his identification with the middle class at that time was himself a growing intellectual. Clark Kerr, John T. Dunlop, Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers in their The Industrializing Elites and their Strategies, identified "five ideal types of elites who customarily and variously

take the leadership of the industrialization process. . . They are (1) dynastic elite; (2) middle class; (3) revolutionary intellectuals; (4) colonial administrators; and (5) the nationalist leaders. The three: middle class, revolutionary intellectuals and the nationalist leaders play a more significant role in most of the underdeveloped Asian and African countries." They added, however, that "it is the political elite in the underdeveloped countries which has been pre-eminent in deciding the course of their development. They are to be found in most cases, in the nationalist leaders and revolutionary intellectuals."¹

It must be emphasized, nevertheless, that such elites prior to their ascent to their stature, in any of its dimensions. Such individuals are direct product of his economic class, its culture and interests. It will be assumed hereinafter that Mañada, apart from his identification with the middle class, was himself an emerging intellectual elite. According to Bottomore in his book Elite and Society, such elites "are influenced very strongly

¹Clark Kerr, John T. Dunlop, Frederick H. Harbison and Charles A. Myers, *Industrialism and Industrial Man*, Chapter 3, "The Industrializing Elites and their Strategies", p.50 in T.B. Bottomore, Elite and Society, (Penguin Books; England, 1982), p.96.

by their social class origins.² The class origins and possibilities are defined by Karl Mannheim:

Another factor which was equally important and perhaps more important, was the social origins of the intellectuals, talented individuals, that could ally themselves with the working class movement.³

These may reinforce his faith with the existing order, but it may take another round. In the same work of Bottomore offered Mosca's Teorica del governo parlamentare, he argues that these elite group is a more or less independent group standing between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.⁴

An individual's political awareness may provide options towards the transcending of his class, such actions are best influenced by environmental variables (i.e. education, mass media and other kinds of exposure) and concrete events of impact. Mannheim further adds that:

They were attracted to the Socialist Movement because they found there a place of honour, and also in some degree, an ideal of social origin which has some of the characteristics: rationality, impartiality and other worldliness, which are vital to the intellectual and political life itself. *ibid.*

² *ibid.*, p.75.

³ Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, p.136 in Bottomore, *ibid.*, p.73.

⁴ Mosca in Bottomore, *ibid.*, p.72.

Bosen, in the last part of the same work, claims that:

If there is any social class prepared to set aside if only for a while, the private interest and able to perceive the common good with the detachment needed, it is certainly the one which, thanks to the intellectual training, has what should make for nobility of character, for broad horizons and for enlarged faculties...that class, and that class alone, will freely sacrifice a present good in order to avert a future evil.⁵

This betrayal of one's comfortable status does not end here. The transcending of class ideology and of social status may take involvement that is qualitatively better; such, for instance, is the participation in the nationalist movement in any of its levels and dimensions. Castro suggests:

Men do not remain the same from the time they are born to the time they disappear from the earth. I think that man is also like a river, constantly flowing. Someone once said that no one bathes twice in the same river.⁶

In the same book of Bottomore, he emphasized T. Hodgkin's claim that "the nationalistic political elites are recruited very largely from the middle classes and specifically from the educated middle class."⁷

⁵ibid., pp.72-73.

⁶Fidel Castro, Nothing Can Stop the Course of History, (La Habana, 1985), p.33.

⁷C. Hodgkin in Bottomore, op.cit., p.100.

The leaders of nationalist movement obviously form one of the most important elite groups in the Asian and African countries, where the impetus for economic development came originally from the struggles for political independence. The nationalism of the developing countries is a consequence of the struggle for independence from alien rulers. ^{ibid.}

However, there can be no safe generalization. The transcending process cannot always have a progressive driving force. At times, class interests can be a driving force for some other articulation of the status quo. There can be observed in the popular notion that the elites are ready to break alliance with the imperialist power to challenge its economic alliance. This is in fact a mere assertion of the elite class, that the alliance with the nationalist and revolutionary movement is simply tactical; the ultimate goal is the achievement of upperhand control over the unchanged economic substructure. Evidently, Raymond Aron in The Opium of the Intellectuals as cited by Bottomore, claims that intellectuals of bourgeois background

have tended to become less radical critics of social as a whole and to be more concerned with solving the kind of short-term, specific problem.

But then he added that "in the underdeveloped countries

⁸ Raymond Aron, The Opium of Intellectuals included in Bottomore, *ibid.*, p. 77.

at the present time, intellectuals most often form a cohesive and radical elite which plays a significant part in political life."⁹

This writer believes that further qualitative development of the intellectual amounts to qualitative involvement; which is in fact more demanding.

Hodskin claims that although "nationalist leaders have not always been either intellectual or revolutionaries but they are more often liberals, not revolutionaries, engulfed by moral and social doctrines."¹⁰

The bourgeoisie can be steered with the leadership of the nationalist and democratic movements, if there are substantial changes sympathetic to this effect. In such case, the bourgeoisie can be guided towards an eventual qualitative social transformation.

Operationally, Tañada can easily fit into this context of analysis. His phenomenal involvement in the nationalist movement amidst his bourgeois lineage can be perplexing but nonetheless explainable.

Methodology

Historical and descriptive methodologies are used in this study. These are used mainly to analyze and gather data on the period's socio-politico-economic condition. Historical approach is used to define the economic condition while the study on Tañada requires descriptive study method. Other data, not provided by printed materials require interviews.

The interviews are divided into two phases: I & II. Due to time constraints on the part of Senator Tañada, such interviews are carefully maneuvered using a set of questionnaires.

The entirety of the data gathered is analyzed using the described framework. Subsequent inference of social sciences' theories also aid the analysis.

Scope and Limitation

The study covers the political metamorphosis of Tañada during the period 1930-'45. As a necessary component thereon, the prevailing socio-political and economic

environment that may have contributed to his present participation in the nationalist movement are also considered.

The study, nevertheless, is limited to the most basic and primordial data. This is so because of time and material constraints confronting this writer.

Chapter 2

Main Historical Features

The study on Tañada cannot simply be isolated from the complex interweave of his environment.

The Philippine economy in the years 1930-'45 remained in the hands of foreign powers and local elite. Before the war in 1941, the United States' intention to transform and direct the Philippine economy was overwhelmingly fulfilled. Even during the Commonwealth period, the US' dominant and decisive role on the foundation of economic as well as political policies was transparently observed. But worse, the successful war of aggression by the Japanese proved more costly.

In a short period of four years, not only was the Philippine economy reduced into more lamentable condition, rather, resources were exploited in alarming proportions.

These facts of economic subservience and dislocation however did not bring bad news to the Filipino elite. With their fine arts of political and economic collaboration, they secured shares in profits from the system.

On the other hand, the masses of people were made to believe that economic emancipation is at its advent with the growth of industries for itself. Beyond the skyrocketing figures of development especially in the pre-war period lied the dismal truth of mass poverty and powerlessness among the people.

Unfortunately, social inequity was not at all eliminated. The political climate was laden with events and maneuvers that consolidated elite's hold on power under the American supervision.

Throughout the decades, the US-tailored Philippine politics as tool for deception and unhampered rule. As Constantino puts it, "They gave them a debating society, the Philippine assembly and were thus able to channel their energies along safe and innocuous lines. At the same time, the developing colonial economy rewarded them with the boons of prosperity and leadership."¹¹

In the same breadth, the eventual Philippine independence was floated. The Filipino elite took this as a road to independence. But succeeding missions proved that Filipino politicians were virtually begging for independence.¹²

¹¹ Renato Constantino, Introduction to a book by Hernando Abaya, Betrayal in the Phils., (New York, 1946), p.XV.

¹² Renato Constantino, A Past Revisited, (Quezon City, 1975), p.332.

In the beginning of the 1930's, the Filipino politicians, headed by political rivals Quezon and Osmeña, rode on the crest of people's consistent commitment to freedom. Although in reality, these groups had inkling about the possible economic setbacks in their interests, as they themselves were economic big time, missions were sent to Washington to negotiate the possible independence.

The first was led by Osmeña who was rewarded with the Rare-Laws Cutting Act. Quezon, alarmed by the success of the mission, moved to stir up debates in the legislative assembly and successfully maneuvered for another mission.

Whatever activities were embarked on by the political leadership, the fact that the Filipino elite remained defensive for its position and possessions brings all these to the dustbin of failures for the Filipino people.

Culture is an essential component of social complexity. The exposure of Tañada to the mass media, education and other dimensions of cultural exposure, should be of great consideration. The kind of culture that existed in this period was an articulation of the political and economic structure laid down by foreign colonizers. It was designed in a manner that would proliferate subservience

to both US and Japanese imperialists.

In the American period, liberal and accessible education was launched to pacify resistance and to coopt the elite segment of the population to fill up government bureaucracy. English became a symbol of status quo among the ilustrado class.¹³ The curricula fashioned by the Americans literally Americanized the mentality and mode of consumption of the Filipinos. As Constantino analyzed this phenomenon, Filipinos regarded the US as a superior model worthy of emulation and whose products should be preferred from what is local.

Besides this colonial education inculcated in the Filipino minds, arts and literature were also used to perpetuate Filipino subservience. At the start of the US regime, political decrees prohibited the exhibits of arts and publications of writings whose undaunted motive was independence. What was substituted for these was the proliferation of western materials and textbooks that drove the consciousness of the Filipinos away from the objective assesment of Philippine realities.

¹³Renato Constantino, Miseducation of the Filipino people, (Foundation for Nationalist Studies, Quezon City, 1982), p.20.

Religion remained a bulwark of conservatism but lesser impact comparative to the Spanish regime. But worse, the media whose audience was significantly high, adopted similar intentions upon the introduction of modern technology. The people were kept from their true social condition

The Japanese colonial rule did not alter this cultural subservience among the people. What was further ushered in was the kind of fascist ideology that would facilitate its domination. In terms of cultural influence, the people refused to yield as they remained hostile to the Japanese.

The elite conveniently absorbed the colonial culture but the people remained adamant in their commitment to genuine freedom. As time went by however, the people slowly lost determination and was swallowed by the pangs of colonial order. With these prevalent culture, the ideology of colonial economics and patronage effected the incalculable social disease among the Filipinos. Even the nationalist movement realized the order as a built-in handicap in organizing and propoganda work in liberation process.

Chapter 3

The Nationalist Movement in the Period 1930-'45

In any history, a prevailing unjust social order breeds an insurgent movement, organized at the grassroots level. This movement aims to effect structural changes in the society. It is nationalist as it resolutely struggles for genuine freedom and independence from any foreign power.

In the Philippines, similar order prevailed: the peasant and worker majority were living in subhuman conditions; political democracy was absent, as the masses remained powerless and defenseless; and a national identity slowly moving into oblivion. These realities gave birth to a nationalist movement bearing clear-cut principles and programs mainly based to the basic masses.

The period was rich in pages of struggle of the various organizations that comprised the nationalist movement. These organizations continued to address in vigorous manner the social malady that provided essence and that conceived the social unrest.

The nationalist movement as a whole, embraced the participation of the cross sections of the society: workers, peasants, professionals, religious and others. However, based on the form of struggle adopted and the agenda each offered to the people, two classifications can be derived from these various organizations. One constitutes the radical left while the other, the liberals.

Comprising the radicals were the Communist Party of the Phils. (CPI) and the Socialist Party of the Phils. (SPP). The liberals may be represented by the Civil Liberties Union (CLU).

The CPI represented the most advanced class of the workers. The SPP on its part, carried the struggle for the emancipation of the peasantry, while the CLU offered a venue for the progressive cause of the professionals.

Although these popularly-known organizations varied in emphasis due to sectoral difference and audience, common nationalist and popular agenda can be derived from their programs of action. Politically, genuine sovereignty must be established and the political participation of the people must be secured. Economically, the just distribution of national wealth must be realized. During the Japanese war, both the radicals and the liberals adopted the

anti-fascist stance and participated in the Japanese government's overthrow.

The Radical Left

Comprising the radical left were the CPP and the NPP with their affiliates. Termed as radicals having advocated openly the overthrow of the US colonial government and having employed extra legal means of struggle to realize its goals. As the threat of fascist incursion however, in the late '30's heightened, these radicals were overwhelmed by the popular front idea and later on adopted a softer relationship with the US.

With better ideological foundation than the revolutionary movement in 1896, the CPP was founded by well-known and effective labor-union leader, Crisanto Evangelista in the late 1930's. Katipunan ng Anakas Papis and Kalipunanang Pambansa ng Magbubukid sa Pilipinas were its chief organizations. The Party leaders drew influence from the worldwide communist movement. They adopted in their principles the Marxist-Leninist outlook.¹⁴

Having openly adopted a radical platform, the CPP immediately became the subject of the state repression.¹⁵

¹⁴Jose Maria Sison, Struggle for National Democracy, (Amado V. Hernandez Foundation: Manila 1972), pp. 174-17

¹⁵Renato Constantino, A Past Revisited, (Quezon City, 1975), p. 363.

In 1931, a few months after its foundation, the CPP was declared illegal and its leaders, including Evangelista, were incarcerated.

The SPP, on the other hand, became the hotbed of radicalized peasants. Founded in 1929 by a landed intellectual who betrayed his own class,¹⁶ Pedro Abad Santos, assumed the heavy task of popularizing dissent against the unjust social order through legal and extra legal forms of struggle. After the failure of the anarchic SAKDAL movement in 1935. But unlike the radicalism espoused by the outlawed CPP, the Socialist Party did not openly advocate the overthrow of the US colonial regime through armed struggle. Learning from the SAKDAListas, the SPP combined legalism with radicalism. The peasant-based organization used a "wide variety of tactics, from massive resistance to electoral campaigns, from protracted strikes to the burning of rice and cane fields and carting away of farm produce."¹⁷

With its famous advances, by the second half of the

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 379.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 379-380.

1930's, the SPP has almost completely established chapters in the whole Central Luzon.

In 1938, after the legalization, the CPP and SPP adopted a merger. During the Japanese occupation, this combined strength bearing the name of the CPP was transformed into a revolutionary army of peasants and workers better known as HUKBALAHAP (Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon, People's Army Against the Japanese). This revolutionary army, believing in the idea of Popular Front, fought side by side the colonial army directed by the US, the USAFE against the sole enemy, the Japanese military force and US local collaborators.

The Civil Liberties Union

Although the radical left obviously out-numbered liberal organization among the nationalist organizations, these liberals had share of contribution in the cause of Philippine liberation from the Japanese. One of these organizations worthy of mentioning is the Civil Liberties Union (CLU).

The CLU was founded by an exclusively professional circle in late 1937 in anticipation of growth of fascism in

Asia-Pacific region. With this possibility, the founding group foresaw a worse scenario whereby the people's rights to the economic and political may be totally disregarded.

While the left may have adopted an earlier radical program for independence, this liberal group of 19 at the time the organization was formally launched, adhered to the Commonwealth government and opted a rather moderate method, i.e., by working within the bounds of the law, to advance its goals and objectives.

When the time came to defend the country from Japanese incursion, the CLU assumed the intelligence work for the resistance army under the command of the US armed forces. Thus, it was also involved in underground quasi-guerilla.

Gains and Setbacks of the Nationalist Movement in the period

The route the nationalist movement was committed to take was not all smooth nor rough. Observably, to every gain by the movement, there was corresponding setback. But by and large, setbacks proved more costly.

A number of observable advances can be noted in the nationalist movement in this turbulent 1½ decades. First, the nationalist movement was freed from the old ilustrado

leadership as the latter integrated itself within the status quo. With this, this collaborating elite exposed its anti-people character and became targets of the people's attacks.¹⁸

Another was the participation of a segment of the upper-middle class professionals that attracted quite a number of urban-based intellectuals.

Ideological influence from abroad provided the militant section of the nationalist movement with more scientific method of social analysis. No longer were these organizations confined to economism instead they realized that political struggle is inextricably attached to economic struggle.¹⁹

During the Japanese-Filipino war, armed struggle developed as a formidable method to achieve national liberation. Although solely directed against the Japanese, armed struggle as an effective form of overthrowing an unpopular regime revived the revolutionary spirits of the people.

But most importantly, movement gained the support of the people. At that time of the US regime, the militan

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 348.

¹⁹ *ibid.*; p. 349.

organizations had spread all over Central Luzon. With the Philippine war against Japan, the masses indirectly and directly participated in the guerilla warfare waged by the revolutionary KUKS.

But one single blunder that almost rendered all gains worthless came upon the issue of Popular Front. As the Popular Front idea hovered among the minds of both US policy makers and Commonwealth leaders, the nationalist movement especially the militant left adopted this without clear cut direction. The temporary alliance of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists with the US provided the CPP leadership with unprincipled use of the United Front policy.²⁰

Absorbed by the Popular Front, the CPP-HUKBALAHAP gallantly fought Japanese imperialism. It inflicted the most fatal blows that weakened the forces of the enemy. However, sidelined was the decades-entrenched rule of US imperialism. The painstaking process in exposing the evils of U. colonial regime, in a sudden shift in policy, was relegated by the nationalist movement. The opportunity

²⁰Kenato and Leticia Constantino, The Philippines: A Continuing Past, (Foundation for Nationalist Movement, Quezon City, 1978), p. 148.

to weaken and eventually overthrow both imperialists was lost, completely different from the great experience of the Chinese Communists in the same period.

As a result, the insignificant role of the US became magnified. Filipinos then while completely hostile against the Japanese, longed for the return of US colonial rule.²¹ Worse, the US easily maneuvered to belittle the decisive role in the liberation process of the radical left.

Not a few masses were even alienated from the nationalist movement. Both the militants and liberals committed these grievous error. Expectedly then, upon the return of the US, she grabbed Philippine liberation from the Japanese and easily assumed the colonial rule she enjoyed in the pre-war period.

With this, the nationalist movement had to start from where it took off three decades ago.

²¹ ibid., pp. 148-150; Sison, Struggle for National Democracy, p. 177.

TANADA: The Lawyer and the
Nationalist (1930- '45)

"Nationalism is a virtue of a man that makes him place the right of the people over and above his own right or that of his group or political party. When conflict arises between the interest of the people and that of an individual or any party, the conflict must be resolved in favor of the people. In case conflict arises between the interest of a nation and that of another, it must be the interest of an individual's nation that must be upheld and defended."²²

Uttered in comprehensible words and phrases, devoid of high-sounding words, Ex-Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada defines nationalism in his own way. Traditional politicians, in the hope to gain the people's sympathy for narrow and personal purposes, manipulate this concept. Tañada, on his part, seeks to explain to the people this indispensable virtue an individual citizen must possess to pursue

²²Interview with Lorenzo Tañada at his residence, Quezon City, December 14, 1987. See Appendix 2, p. 91.

genuine emancipation of this nation from foreign grips.

In all revelation, he unclothes this virtue by living and giving flesh and blood to his words. Undaunted by enemies and critics,²³ he finds strength in this virtue and his philosophy tempered by the risks it costed him.

In the pre-war period, he nurtured nationalism in himself. Within and outside the government office, this became a religion to shed direction to his performance. Not a few contemporaries may have faltered to pursue this 'idealism' and bartered nationalism for quantitative embezzlements. Tañada refused to adopt the same unprincipled service to his people.

In the course of his service, this same 'virtue' induced the man to belong in the nationalist movement. Taking the late American period as the start, Tañada, now 89, hardly walking, continuously provides the nationalist movement the spirit of genuine nationalism.

²³Quoted from Claudio Teehankee's remark on Lorenzo Tañada. See Appendix 3.

Family background

Shortly before the outbreak of the Filipino-American war, Tañada was born to Captain Vicente Lopez Tañada and Anastacia Martinez in Gumaca, Quezon. Born on August 10, 1898, he was one of the five offsprings of the couple.

The family belonged to the well-off principalia class with at least two members in his family's family, Vicente and Doonracias, serving as gobernadorcillos in town.²⁴ To illustrate the sufficient resources the family enjoyed, each individual child received formal education in known universities at the time. Lorenzo, for one, took his secondary schooling in the elite De La Salle University in Manila.

Among the children, it was Lorenzo who rose to national prominence and economically developed through self-toil. In the course of his career, he improved his lot.

For his part, Lorenzo was wedded to Expedita Zaballer Ebarle, from a prominent family of Ebarles in Lucena and a graduate of Assumption and Phil. Women's University.

²⁴ Ileana Maramag, ed., "A Profile in Filipinism," Nationalism: A Summons to greatness. (Phoenix Publishing House, Inc.: Quezon City, 1965), p.x.

The couple was gifted with nine children, all of whom afforded to land in schools. Proud as a father, Tañada often refers to three of his sons who were equally capable to obtain Masters degree in Law in Harvard University.

To many, his life is already a complete one. But to Tañada, this is untrue without his being involved in the liberation movement.

Education

Like most provincianos, the young Tañada took his elementary education in his hometown in Gumaca. It was only by force of circumstance that he pursued his grade school to finally acquire the diploma in Atimonan, a nearby town, 24 kms. away from Gumaca.

For his intermediate and high school, Tañada dared to enroll at De La Salle University. After graduation, he enrolled at University of the Philippines for a Bachelor of Arts degree and eventually went to Law school. Four years later, in 1928, Tañada abandoned the Law firm where he was an Associate, to take Masters of Laws in Harvard University. In 1936, he emerged as a Doctor in Civil Law

from the Dominican University of Santo Tomas.

His education has not been as smooth as one may be impressed. Challenges made the young Tañada set out to prove himself. Not a few times his determination was shown to relate this point.

One of his trials welcomed his entrance at De La Salles. Chided because of his provinciano accent and difficulty to cope with the English medium, Tañada silently proved himself and rose to become number one upon graduation.

Another instance was about his pursuit of a Masters degree in law. Despite discouragements from a woman counselor to Filipino scholars, the determined Tañada, upon topping the scholarship exam, entered Harvard. Although scuzzed by academic loads and requirements, his efforts paid off in the end. Tañada earned the respect of his Harvard professors. One of them, Felix Frankfurter, in a letter to Mrs. Williams in 1928, attested: "I have seen him intimately in class. I have read some of his written work and I can say with conviction that Mr. Tañada's work discloses a high quality of ability and workmanship. He is one of the best students from the Philippine islands

²⁵ibid.,p.x1.

we have had here during the last 10 years."²⁶

In youth, Tañada was not only determined to pursue his academic ambitions rather, remarkably had lived values that would affect his career and outlook: honesty, responsibility, courage to stand for principle and nationalism to name a few.

He prides on an experience, Maramag accounts, that clashed him with his uncle in a big crowd. In 1913, at the age of 15, Tañada singlehandedly opposed the move of Guisaca town mayor, Deogracias Tañada, who was a Mason, to close down a Catholic church on flimsy pretext. As a Catholic himself, the young Tañada, knowing that this move was only an offshoot of religious conflict, articulated the opposition of the people at the presence of his uncle mayor. This earned him the awe of his townfolks.²⁷

Love for truth is another virtue Tañada has developed in his formative years. In his vivid account, Tañada attributes this to his father's hatred of lies.

Once, the young Tañada was punished by his father in this charge. For his prize, he was made to stretch on

²⁶A letter from Felix Frankfurter to Gerorgia S. Williams as quoted by Maramag, *ibid.*, p.XIII.

²⁷*ibid.*, p.X.

a bench and was whipped.²⁸ This experience made him refrain from lying.

Nationalism also took root in his early academic years. During his studies of law, Tañada involved himself as a cadet major in ROTC. Having recently won an oratorical medal, ROTC chose Tañada to speak on its behalf on Armistice Day celebration. He was to speak in line with prominent guests. However, upon learning of the content of his speech, the ROTC Commandant Col. Chester Davis, maneuvered to ease Tañada out of the speakers' list. Tañada, whose mother was to listen to her son speak, persuaded President Palma to give him the chance over the commandant's protest. Indeed, Tañada's speech was "seditious" in the context of American colonial rule. It called upon Filipino cadets to maximize military training so that in case America does not loosen its grip in the country, they should be the ones to fight for its independence. As a consequence however, Tañada had to resign the major post in ROTC upon the advice of Filipino Deans.²⁹

These virtues of the young man will create an impact to his political and professional career. In retrospect,

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. XII.

these were learned by Tañada not through any textbook. He simply discovered and lived them.

Tañada As A Lawyer, 1930-'45

Without any doubt, Lorenzo M. Tañada belongs to the elite breed of Filipino lawyers who have displayed exemplary dedication and service to the Filipino people. Many lawyers of equal, if not better caliber have opted to pursue the path of personal aggrandizement through collaboration with the status quo, relegating to the sideline of this elite breed of nationalist lawyers, not long enough after the establishment of colonial American rule, has become instantly wealthy and powerful. With the turnout of events however, this section was slowly unmasked and exposed to the people as they tried to correct the social inequities. This became a subject of criticism and revolution by the people. However, they remained deeply entrenched in the seat of power.

With his credentials and distinct brilliance, as reflected in his written works still in academic institutions, with his hardly-matched record of performance even

in his early years of law practice, Tañada could have easily been driven into similar occupation. But his strong commitment to nationalism, his devotion for truth, justice and civil liberties, his cause of genuine service to the people took him to another path. Like a growing number of Filipino lawyers today who channel efforts to the road to national freedom, Tañada with his own brand of service to the people, refused to be taken in by the system. This service became his paramount preoccupation as a lawyer.

One would be surprised to know that despite this widely-acclaimed career performance, Tañada's boyhood ambition was primarily to become a doctor. It was only when the youthful Tañada landed on his fifth grade in elementary that his ambition shifted to become a lawyer. What decided the sudden change was a murder incident in Atimonan at that time. In all his curiosity, he waited for the hearing of the case and incidentally impressed by the eloquence of Agustin Alvarez, an outstanding lawyer in Tayabas.³⁰

After high school at De La Salle, without entertaining any secondary profession, he set out for a degree in Law at UP.

³⁰ *ibid.*

Immediately after passing the bar examination in 1925 he began his practise of law in the leading Filipino law firm at that time, that of Casus and Delgado. Tañada became the last assistant in the firm.

After some time, Claro M. Recto and Jose Abad Santos joined the firm. In his assessment, Tañada viewed this as a move of Quezon, then the leading and the most influential Filipino politician, to add merit to the premier law firm and be tagged as a local counterpart of big American law firms.³¹ Tañada based his perception to the fact that Abad Santos was the favorite and closest adviser of Quezon. Indeed, the firm became Quezon's consultant.

In his desire to continue his studies in Harvard in 1928, his stay with the firm was cut short. Brief as it was, though, this experience was made remarkable by the chance to work with political bigwigs such as Recto and Abad Santos.³² Furthermore, his association with Recto sparked the start of the nationalist dynamic duo that will leave lasting legacy to the nationalist movement in the latter decades.

³¹Interview with Lorenzo Tañada at his residence, Quezon City, December 1, 1987. See Appendix 1, p. .

³²Karamag, . . . p. XIII.

Studying at Harvard provided an interregnum in his practice. Unmindful of this, Tañada, like all ambitious lawyers, trekked the road to higher studies and specialization. To him, whatever experience he may have had, had he not gone to the US, was fully compensated by his degree obtained. In here, Tañada refined and developed his abilities and skills in unique excellence reflected in the assessment of his Harvard professors. The degree was not handed in a silver platter. Tañadā, in all candour admits, "the professors certainly squeeze your brains dry. No sloopy thinking for them. You simply had to buckle down to real hard work or out you go."³³ But in Maramag's words, Tañada however, was equal to the challenge.³⁴

Upon his return to the Philippines in 1929, Tañada worked for the government as the 7th and Las Assistant Fiscal of Manila. This was in fulfillment of the stipulation requiring all pensionados to render 1½ years of service for every year the beneficiary spent in studies abroad. Having spent a year, Tañada was obliged to render

³³ Lorenzo Tañada as quoted by Maramag, *ibid.*

³⁴ *ibid.*

service at least the amount of time required him. But Tañada remained as the Assistant Fiscal of Manila until 1936.

In his term as a government official, Tañada lived the principle of honest and good government. As a government official, the man believes his record must remain untainted by any kind of anomalous deed in order to serve the people with full moral authority. This conviction drove him to prosecute any individual regardless of political and social status caught involved in illegal cases. To illustrate this in a singular case involving political stalwarts, Maramag has this to put: "In a case involving the prosecution of powerful political moguls caught in a monte raid in the Carambola Club, Tañada was matched against two of the ablest criminal lawyers of the country, refused to be cowed by the pressure exerted on him and fearlessly prosecuted the parties."³⁵

His strong conviction was shown again in 1945, when the same commitment was exhibited as he prosecuted collaborators with the Japanese. After the war, Pres. Osmeña appointed Tañada, one of the few lawyers whose loyalty

³⁵ibid., p. XIV.

and integrity and whose specialty falls on constitutional and political law required by the post, to the position of Solicitor General. The bulky task delegated upon him was to prosecute the government officials under the Commonwealth government who turned allegiance to the Japanese during its occupation in the selfish hope to maintain their political and economic interests. In his usual strong conviction, Tañada spared no one even among the cream of Filipino collaborators, with the exception of Manuel Roxas whose record of treason was covered up by no less than Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

This successful mass prosecution of collaborators however, was eclipsed by the amnesty pronouncement made by President-elect Roxas in 1946.

During his term as Assistant Fiscal, Tañada taught as a professor in several law schools: National Law School, Philippine Law School, Far Eastern University and Ateneo de Manila. Everyday, Tañada allotted 4 hours for this profession, starting at 4:30 p.m. until 8:30 in the evening. Having to teach in several schools, he had to negotiate the distance among these. In his experience, Tañada revealed with pride that only a few number of lawyer

professors can maintain such hectic schedule. Adding humor to it, he quips, "we were a few professors like that who did not see the sunset."³⁶ This arrangement was not found to last however. Marcos issued an executive order prohibiting government officials from teaching for more than 1 hour a day. Tañada, anticipating a possible financial difficulty with his growing family, decided to give up his government post and accept a partnership with Delgado, then working in Court of Appeals.

Immediately after his resignation from the government, he was offered the First Assistant position by the leading American partnership known as Dewit, Perkins, Bradey & Ponce Enrile with a salary of ₱500.00. Tañada thought this offer was an opportunity not to be missed comparing the salary offered to a much meager amount of ₱333/mo. salary he grossed while in the government. Given the real value of peso and a more stable prices of consumers goods at that time, the former rate can sufficiently accommodate Tañada's family needs.

But to some people's surprise, when Delgado asked him to establish a partnership even without assurance as

³⁶ *ibid.* Tañada, see Appendix 1, p.74 .

to how much the business will earn, that they would have to depend on floating cases, Tañada opted to join Delgado.

Several factors and reasons can be derived from this. One, Tañada displayed a noteworthy character, i.e., non-preoccupation with financial gains. He could have acceded to the offer to secure more stable financial status but he declined because Tañada admits that in this period, despite financial problems, his family did not suffer although they struggled.³⁷

Another, the decision definitely did not promise a stable job but Tañada chose the painstaking process of establishing a Filipino firm. In this case, however, he had all the reasons to be confident. Besides having Delgado as an associate, a very popular lawyer at that time, Tañada for his part established his own name in the fiscal service having prosecuted undauntedly big political powers. Third, the decision exhibits his preference to put his service in a Filipino law office. Even if well-compensated he felt working under a foreign firm was uneasy. He is more content to work in a local firm even if not too certain about its fate.

³⁷op.cit.,p. 85 .

As a private practitioner, one case that put him in the ranks of the best lawyers in the country was the case of Tomas Confesor. Confesor was a famous guerilla in Panay who ran for the position of governor in Iloilo. He was against the odds, pitted against Roxas, the candidate of Quezon and the Lopezes and Zuluetas of Iloilo.³⁸ But as a folk hero, it was not a surprise when he topped the elections.

But one day, Tañada found Confesor in his doorstep seeking for his legal services. Confesor had four charges all piled up against him. In demonstration of his mastery in political and civil laws, Tañada won them all. One may be impressed that this was an easy job accomplish but a closer study of the political forces involved, one will find out that Tañada had the least chance to win the case. He was practically battling against the wealthy political stalwarts in the region, not to mention the backing Quezon was providing them. But Tañada was apt to be the match. In his account as consequence of the victory, Tañada remembers, "that added name to my fiscal (performance)!"³⁹ Tañada rose to national prominence.

³⁸ ibid., p. 75 .

³⁹ ibid., p. 76 .

not important, however, his career as lawyer became synonymous to uncompromising devotion to civil liberties. This went to the extent of being personally scolded by no less than Pres. Manuel Luis Quezon. But over all this, he, by involving himself to this unscrupulous endeavor will be won closer to the nationalist movement.

In 1937, Tañada was organized as a member of the popular Civil Liberties Union (CLU). In Abaya's assessment, the CLU objectives was to fight for nationalism, democracy and social justice in the Phils. The focal point was to defend the civil liberties of the people and the constitution.⁴⁰ Even in its inceptive stage, the middle class professionals -led organizations had already taken the cudgels for the people to denounce any form of violation of the people's civil liberties.

Upon the summons of Francisco Lava, shortly after his resignation from the government, he was won over to the CLU. At first, Tañada was apprehensive, bearing vague ideas of what CLU was. But after his assessment that,

⁴⁰ Hernando Abaya, The CLU Story: 50 years of Struggle for Civil Liberties, (New Day Publishers: Quezon City, 1987)
p.2.

indeed "nobody came out formally and regularly against the government everytime it encroaches upon the rights of the people,"⁴¹ he cast away his apprehension and decided to join the Union.

The CLU lived the organization's principles. With special exercise of civil rights of individual citizens, not withstanding his or her political and economic status in the society.

A popular case that international attention was the case which involved Antonio Bautista, then president of CLU.⁴² Apprehensive to the expansionist policy of the Japanese imperial forces, Bautista, in public forum, advocated for the boycott of the Japanese products. He fiercely warned, "every ounce of metallic ore sent to Japan will return in the form of bombs and bullets. Every centavo spent on the Japanese goods is an impediment to Phil. independence. Cheap Japanese goods today mean slavery for all of us tomorrow!"⁴³ Upon the immediate protest of the Japanese consul, the Manila mayor, Juan Posadas, filed

⁴¹see appendix 1, p. 81.

⁴²Hernando Abaya, The CLU Story, ...pp.4-6.

⁴³As quoted by Abaya, *ibid.*

a criminal complaint on the ground that Bautista was inciting to war and provoking retaliation from the Japanese. A little later, the same individual submitted another charge alleging Bautista of violating neutrality as Japan was having a clash with China. The incident also rocked the unity of the CLS. Macuel Lim, the first past chairman, and who was believed to have Japanese corporations as clients along with the other members, withdrew their defense to Bautista, concomitantly their membership in the organization.

Bautista was eventually arrested and jailed but bailed out.

Among those who remained in the organization, they unwaveringly stood to the defense of Bautista. Consequently both charges were dropped by the Civil Fiscal and Court of First Instance.

Tañada stood as one of the legal counsels to Bautista particularly in the charge that concerned Phil. neutrality. Tañada took the initiative to seek for the opinion of US Admiral Seyre, his colleague in Harvard, on how he considered the clash between China and Japan. Being a colony of US, the official view on the issue must be that of the US officials. To his surprise, he learned that the US

referred the "war between Japan and China only as an incident which rendered the charge of violating neutrality in the penal code baseless.⁴⁴

To the resigned, even before the first charge was dismissed, the Union clarified through a letter that its position was not to defend the boycott advocacy (although the organization unanimously voted in favor of the boycott) but the civil liberty of an individual to freely express his views. It emphasized that in cases where the Union disagrees with the views of the president, it should not cease from the defense of his right to say them. It was only purely coincidental then that Bautista was the president of the Union and therefore this bore no significance to the defense.⁴⁵

In here was a moment of test to the Union's commitment to its conviction amidst the organizational setbacks that battered it in the course of fulfilling this cause. It was not an easy stage for the crisis nearly crushed the unity of the Union as expressed by the resignation of some prominent founding presidents. Tañada, himself in his

⁴⁴see appendix 1, p. 82 .

⁴⁵Abaya, The CLU story, ...p.5.

account, was very fearful of the situation, anticipating that the clash within may cause dismemberment of the Union. But after all, the debacle only served as a tempering upon which emerged, reaffirmed to its commitment, a more solid organization.

But this commitment gained more repercussion from the authorities by its courageous expositions and charges. President Quezon was among these political bigwigs. In one incident Quezon sent for Tañada only to scold him. Tañada agitatedly remembers that Quezon, in an overweening and commandeering tone said, "Tañada, why don't you organize a political party? Why do you hide behind CLU?"

Tañada softly answered, "Mr. President, I am not a politician and we are only interested in the protection of the people's rights. When the government..."

"Oh, no," he interrupted, "you always come out against me!"

"Well, precisely, Mr. President." Tañada snappishly replied.

"When you do not violate the people's rights, we keep quiet. We approve of the government's actions. But when you, in our opinion violate the rights of the people, then we expose that. That is the reason why whenever, you say,

we come out, the views are always against you. We are not mad against you. We are against the violations of the people's rights."⁴⁶

Notwithstanding the odds that went along the cause, the CLU, and particularly Tañada, strode on to fulfill this noble task. Even without conceivable material gains, the man, with his vision that the full exercise of civil liberties becomes an inextricable component of democracy, selflessly endeared himself to the cause.

Not many lawyers at this time chose similar commitments to uphold. Only a few, even in the CLU, as proven in the crisis wrought by the Bautista case, outgrew the narrow confines of personal aggrandizement. But Tañada was different. As a lawyer, he provided this profession the same nobility attached to teaching. Unlike the common notion that dirty politics is the twin brother of being a lawyer, Tañada proved that his breed is an anathema to this kind. This he did with all conscious effort at the start and early years in the profession.

⁴⁶see appendix 1, ...p. 81 .

Tañada: The Nationalist

Tañada's nationalism was plainly manifested during the Japanese period. Observably, in the pre-war period much of his time was devoted to career practice and to civil liberties. It bore witness to the string of successes that rose him to national prominence. Although his involvement in the CLU in the second half of the 1930's signalled his organized participation in social and political issues, the defense civil liberties became the focal struggle. Limited attention was focused on nationalist concern like national sovereignty. When the Japanese war of aggression came, that was the time that Tañada directly took part in the nationalist struggle as an underground quasi-guerilla.

The period marked the predominance of the militant left in the struggle against US and local elitist dominance over Philippine affairs. At the time the CPP worked clandestinely, peasant uprisings signified the continued protest of the mass population in the 1930's over the inequitable social realities. The more dynamic SPP, adaptive to conditions but whose militancy can hardly be denied primarily ventilated the more sensitive issues of foreign domination,

powerlessness among the people and economic deprivation among the many poor. With the emergence of the CPP as a legal party in the mid-30's and the eventual merger of both CPP and SP adopted in 1938, it was made clearer their primal role in the nationalist movement. It was only when the radical left uncritically absolved by the united front triggered later disarray among the radicals. Before this however, it remained critical of the US dictated joint.

The CLU on its part threw its support on the Commonwealth government and chose to work within the system. Tañada himself admitted that without civil rights encroachment by the government, the CLU will probably be silent. Personally, he viewed the commonwealth period as road to independence, believing that the US somehow knew "sooner or later the Filipinos will have to be independent."⁴⁷ However, he was cognizant of the fact in all these documents and agreements about independence and the 1935 Constitution, were not without US decisive nod. Looking at the difference between the Hare-Hawes Cutting Law and Tydings McDuffie Law, Tañada discussed these documents of independence which

⁴⁷ see appendix 2, p. 35 .

created the Commonwealth period as indistinguishable except for the provisions on the US military facilities' presence in the Philippine soil. The 1935 Constitution, on the other hand, according to Tañada was "colonial in a sense that it had to be patterned after the constitution of the US and had to be approved by the US President "⁴⁸ before ratification by the Filipinos. On the Philippine economy, Tañada was less critical of the US control. Although he recognized the fact that many Filipinos were below the living standards, Tañada did not see that this period created the foundation for the US neo-colonial control on Philippine economy.⁴⁹ Tañada's nationalism then was remarkably shown at the time the Phils. was directly at war with the Japanese for this constituted a threat to the nation's eventual independence when the Commonwealth period was agreed to end in 1945.

The Bautista case, however, clearly defined the nationalist position of the CLU. It is necessary to mention here that in the convention of the CLU and a division of the house was called, unanimously it adapted the boycott

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 25 .

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

policy of the Japanese products. Although CLU members failed to foresee the eventual Japanese incursion in the thirties, the position was a contribution to the worldwide struggle against imperialist aggression being waged by the Axis power. Thus, it was indirect but active defense of the country. And Tañada was an active participant in this case.

Shortly before the war, in January 1941, the CLU involved itself against the loan grant to the Jai Alai corporation by Agricultural and Industrial Bank.⁵⁰ It was R. Manino Corpuz, the CLU secretary-treasurer, who sued the corporation and its secretary Jose Trillo, in his capacity as a minority stockholder of the corporation. His demand was the disclosure of the corporation's accounts. Tañada, with Antonio Bautista and Juan David composed Corpuz's legal panel.

The CLU was fighting from the legal and propriety points of view. It argued that the loan was illegal since primarily the bank was "created by the state for the exclusive purpose of financing Phil. agriculture and industry."⁵¹

⁵⁰ Abaya, The CLU Story, ...pp.23-27.

⁵¹ As quoted by Abaya, *ibid.*

On the other hand, the position of the CLU from the propriety ^{side}, was very clear. In a letter, the CLU stated, "The Jai-Alai is an alien game played exclusively by aliens. The Jai-Alai corporation was organized mainly through the initiative of aliens... Is it our national interest that we should ^{give} financial preference to alien interest because the loan is sound from the standpoint of pure business? Are we prepared to say now that although many applications for loans by small Filipino businessmen and small farmers have not been accomodated. The bank is justified in granting loans to alien interest which run counter to the nationalistic spirit of the constitution?"⁵²

Besides this fact the corporation was "engaged in unconscious exploitations and sordid activities destructive of the vital fiber of the nation!"⁵³ Gambling for one cannot be justified by the revenues it delivers.

Despite this however, the decision was made in favor of the loan grant. The decision was based purely from the legal point of view unresponsive to the propriety issue. But as a consequence, the Jail Alai Corporation had to

⁵² *ibid.*

⁵³ see appendix 2, ...p. 86 .

ing the accounts by December 1941.

Although the case was lost, what was brought to public attention was the outright denunciation of the immoral business that is, Jai-Alai and mispriorities the financial bank has committed. To Tañada, the case will have lasting effects as he remembers, "until now I have aversion towards Jai-Alai."⁵⁴

Not long after the case was resolved, the war broke out. At the same time, Tañada left the Delgado-Tañada association to embark on a solo career. The period proved not lucrative for his profession. This was not however, the preoccupation of the man, his mind was captured by another venture: to contribute to the overthrow of the Japanese forces in the land. With this, Tañada set out to become a quasi-guerilla along with his colleagues in the CLU.

Several weeks after the war outbreak, a core group from CLU convened to overthrow the Japanese imperialism. Belonging to this brave men were Lorenzo M. Tañada, Antonio Bautista, Amadeo Dayrit, JEL Reyes and Rafael Reyes. All in all, these were 15 men that founded the FREE PHILIPPINES, the name they adopted from CLU and non CLU- nationalists.

⁵⁴ see appendix 2, ...p. 86 .

Since the organization was established underground, its membership expansion was done in an extremely cautious method. No one with questionable tinge of nationalism was allowed to join to ensure the effectivity and preservation of the movement.⁵⁵

Basically, the Free Philippines was established to keep high the morale of the Filipino as well as allied forces in the field. By the very nature of its objectives the movement remained unarmed. To effectively realize the objective, The Free Philippines put up a paper, bearing the same title, the counter-propaganda of the Japanese imperialism with the collaboration of the local elite which betrayed the Commonwealth government. A lot of noteworthy and gallant experiences covered this distinguishable task.

The Free Philippines furthermore did not only continue its responsibility to propaganda work. It had the double task of an intelligence unit for the Allied forces. It gathered information on the strength and location of the Japanese forces. It also monitored the enemy's movement to free the Allied forces from fatal attacks. Generally ,

⁵⁵ Abaya, The CLU Story, ...p.38.

the contribution of the Free Philippines cannot be over emphasized. However, it has corresponding sacrifices and errors after all. Death took over the lives of some if the colleagues in the movement for one. For its errors, the group worked exclusively for the Allied Forces, controlled by the US Armed Forces, which completely cut ties and contacts, if ever there were, of the genuine army of the Filipinos, the HUK-ALABAP's.

During the inceptive stage of the struggle, counter-propaganda strategy was given the highest priority by the movement.⁵⁶ Free Philippines came out with mimeographed publication, edited by Liling Roces, precisely to "counter the deluge of half-truths, fabrications and lies dished out by the Japanese." After its foundation however, the publication was not unwelcomed by facilities problems. The initial issue was met by overwhelming response from the people. Therefore what came to be an indispensable necessity was the additional printing facilities like mimeographing machine, typewriters, stencils and reams of printing papers for some to expand the circulation. To this, Bautista suddenly was reminded of the availability of a mimeographing machine and other office materials in a building on plaza

⁵⁶ ibid., pp. 39-40

Servantes. But what appeared to be the succeeding problem was how to successfully take it. Being athletes in schooldays, both Tañada and Bautista were tasked to accomplish the project. Maramag, in her account described the whole operation:

Faced with the lack of printing equipment to publish the underground news sheet "Free Philippines," Tañada turned "burglar," scaled a firescape to reach a window on the third floor of the building to get into the office of C.S. Salmon, an executive of Insular Life, to "commandeer" the latter's timeograph machine. He succeeded in getting it out, closed the door behind him, but he and his companions discovered, to their dismay, that he had forgotten the stencils. So off he went into Salmon's office which had been sealed by the Japanese Imperial Army as alien property. Had the Japanese caught Tañada, it would have meant death.⁵⁷

Also, Tañada is the one to deliver Free Philippines its first typewriter in similar but diplomatic feat. In his book, Abaya narrated the event:

Free Philippines got its first typewriter from the Jose Rizal College of R. Hidalgo, Quiapo. Tañada recalls that one day he had approached the genial Jose V. Hernandez, Director of the College, to ask him if the College can spare a typewriter for an important assignment. He did not have to elaborate. The accommodating educator nodded in the direction of a typewriter in a corner of the room, and told Tañada with a smile, "I'm turning my back..." He did and Tañada got the typewriter."⁵⁸

The Free Philippines realized its very objectives in keeping the Filipinos hope for independence from the Japanese colonial power. In fact not only was the people's morale

⁵⁷Maramag, ...p.XV.

⁵⁸Abaya, The CLU Story, ...p.41.

remained high but rather they became agitated to contribute their own effort for the liberation. In a published manifesto that coincidentally came out with Emperor Hirohito's birthday, it exposed and ridiculed the Emperor's divinity. Effectively, the march scheduled to celebrate the occasion turned out to be a dismal failure. The people did not troop to the streets but instead distributed the leaflets that contained the manifesto.⁵⁹

The movement, besides the effective counter-propaganda task, further strode on to assume the intelligence unit role. The main idea was to monitor the activities of the central government, estimate their strength, note their locations especially in the provinces for the effective use by the Allied Forces. Whatever information the unit had, these were sent to Col. Manzano to the US Army who, in turn delivered the data to Col. Villamor of Air Force. The latter then relayed the information through communication facilities to Gen McArthur stationed in Australia. In return, the so-called Allied forces sent messages which were then disposed by the intelligence unit in the Phils.

The Free Philippines intelligence unit was headed by

⁵⁹ibid.

a core group composed of Tañada, Bautista, Roces and Reyes. The three were eventually captured and with the exception of Reyes, both Bautista and Roces met their deaths in military hands.⁶⁰

To get the necessary data, the intelligence elements keenly monitored the daily developments in the Japanese central government in Manila through the Hodubu-Domei-managed TWT publications and Kalacañang. From these, official declarations, decrees of the Japanese military administration were easily taken by the CLU-manned center in the city.⁶¹

As regards the strength and location of the Japanese forces in the provinces, the Free Philippines sent out elements to acquire these.⁶² Tañada was one of them.

Abaya, in a recent tribute address to Tañada, described the courageous Tañada: "Can you picture the old man of politics now, only a year short of 90, as a young man in shorts, riding in a bike, with his bronze face half-hidden by a widebrim balangot hat, making his rounds for clandestine talks with key CLU partisans?"⁶³

⁶⁰Bautista was claimed by the military captors to have escaped but disappeared thereon.

⁶¹Abaya, The CLU Story,...p.43.

⁶²see appendix 2,...p.85 .

⁶³see appendix 4.

Indeed the movement contributed a lot in both propa-
ganda and intelligence works. But these efforts, no matter
how effective to the cause had corresponding sacrifices and
setbacks. As the political and propaganda work of the Free
Philippines snowballed, coinciding with the intensified
guerilla warfare by both guerilla armies ^{of} ~~and~~ the Allied forces
and the Left, the latter effecting more fatal strokes, the
Japanese imperialist government responded with increased
coercive force to preserve its rule. Tañada was not spared
by the harassment and risk of death. The increased sur-
veillance among suspicious elements was adopted by the drea-
ded military rule behind a puppet constitutional regime.

One day, as Tañada was working in Escolta office, he
noticed a man constantly keeping an eye on him. When con-
vinced that the man was after him, Tañada immediately
abandoned his office for the province the next day. Tañada,
remembering the day he ran from the Japanese lawless prose-
cution accounts:

The following day, my brother-in-law, Serafin de Lara
and I biked from Manila to Quezon. That was more than
200 kilometers. We passed through several Japanese
entries. Thank God, I was bringing plenty of candies
for my children. Everytime we passed an entry, we were
searched. And when they found the candy they said,
"Can we have some?" That sort of made them kind. They
didn't know I was running away from them. It took us
three days to reach Quezon."⁶⁴

⁶⁴see appendix 1, p. 77 .

Tañada was fortunate to escape the might of the Kempi-tai. But in the course of the intensified political repression by the Japanese, losses were inflicted in the organization. Lilina Koces, the author of the agitative manifesto was arrested and was eventually executed. The same fate befell Antonio Iantista. Amado Layrit, among several writers in Free Philippines also met a hero's death in the hands of the military. These were only a few among the many lives that were buried along the road to victory against the Japanese rule.

But as its most strategic mistake was their exclusive work for the Allied forces. No contacts of any sort was made to bridge ties with the revolutionary army of the HUKBALAHAP's, fighting the same enemy. To this, Tañada admitted that it really threw its out and out support to the US controlled guerillas. Seemingly then, the organization had totally brushed aside relationship with the radical left. Given the fact that the assessment proved the HUKBALAHAP's provided the most fatal blows to the Asian imperialists, it is important to note that had the Free Philippines intelligence findings been channeled to the revolutionary left, the Filipinos could have more effectively done the patriotic task of liberating its people probably through their sole efforts.

But Tañada, in his assessment of the nationalist left viewed it active but lacking the significant support from the people. It had left the urban residents unorganized having as its base located in the provinces. Also he admitted that the government (Commonwealth) had its share to this culpable plight, having deprived the nationalist left the media it needed to ventilate its positions. Compounding this, he added the attitude of the people then in relation to the nationalist left was a mixture of doubt and support. This was due to the fact that many Filipinos in many ways were benefitted by the temporal economic boon and other forms of social services. Education was introduced and became accessible to the great majority of people, modern medicine were applied to cure the people suffering from cholera, chicken pox and malaria, to name a few.

His paramount assessment however, was about the very capacity of the Filipinos to struggle for its own independence. Tañada believed that there was no practical way to do except to side the US army. To develop a maneuver against the two colonizers was totally out of the Free Philippines' framework of struggle, with belief that the Filipinos cannot sustain an all out war solely depending on their efforts.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 91 .

Taking into account this interpretation of the situation, Tañada made it virtually impossible to gain independence through the Filipinos' exclusive strength.

Despite this point of view however, Tañada proved himself to be a nationalist. After the war, participants in the underground propaganda and intelligence network, many among them, applied for backpay and accepted the promotion to high military ranks. Even within the CLU and Free Philippines, some people grabbed this postwar opportunity. But Tañada, with Roberto Concepcion and JBL Reyes refused to do the same. Tañada, on his part said, "we did it not for the US but for our people."⁶⁶

Although late, in 1951, the Philippine government acknowledged the patriotism of the three through the Legion of Honor Award.

The period was indeed rich in development and transformation of the man, Lorenzo M. Tañada. Freed from dishonest description of himself, he impressed the gradual development of a man as a natural path to his future involvement in the nationalist movement. Devoid of self-protecting mechanisms, he admitted indirectly his limitations at the time as a nationalist.

Truly, this man only proved his worthy nationalism the more.

⁶⁶see appendix 1, ...p. 83 .

Conclusion and Recommendations

The era saw the Philippine society in transition. It ushered in a new relationship between the colonizing and colonized countries. Certain domestic developments within the US, concomitant to the upsurge of social unrest in the Philippines forced the former to adopt a policy whereby its control will be maintained while there is a semblance of true independence in the colony. The Commonwealth period commenced this highly adaptive neo-colonial policy of the US.

In this period, there was an equally essential transformation in the social relationships among the classes at active interplay. Contrary to the apparent submission to the status quo of the oppressed in the past, the classes of workers and peasants did not only reach a high level of organization, as witnessed from the established nationwide organizations; these organizations were gradually liberated from the elite domination and leadership that had poisoned them. A clear distinction among the social classes had

been made, analytically categorizing each as enemy of change, otherwise or other more. Also a section of the upper-middle class intelligentsia had come out with strong convictions on nationalism, civil rights defense and good government. Thus, in retrospect, a revolution even before the war was emerging as highlighted by the intensifying contradictions among the oppressed and oppressive classes.

It was only through a transparent failure to possess the correctly dynamic policy in the wartime period that swayed the nationalist movement from a definitive victory against colonialism, be it in the old or new form. The irony of it all was that while the oppressive elite had successfully filtered into developing conditions and preserved itself through collaborations, the insurgent movement simultaneously failed to advance. Both the forces of the revolutionary masses and the middle-class liberal nationalists were doomed to near decay. The liberal nationalists, where Tañada was a part of, steadfastly believed that the policy adopted in the period of war was strategically correct and therefore welcomed the return of the American colonial rule. The revolutionaries, on the other hand, critically analyzed that it missed an opportune but it was then too late to rectify.

This was where the context of Tañada's nationalism was founded. Coming from a well-to-do class, the class that did not bear the brunt of economic crisis and inequity, Tañada had certain limitations attached to his brand of nationalism. His type of nationalism was liberal, that which subscribed to the gradual and within-the-set-up^{process} of social transformation. This was why Tañada opted to participate in the liberal CUG where he can express his nationalism within the bounds of constitutional framework. How to achieve a cause in this method depends on the efforts of those who struggled.

In their version of struggle, together with other liberal-minded colleagues, Tañada failed to be in the mainstream of the nationalist movement, that was the militant left that sought the ^{immediate} dismantling of foreign domination in the Philippines. This was basically due to the fact that this sector where our subject belonged was not agitated by the social malady at the period. Tañada, indeed saw the suffering of the masses but he failed to analyze the realities of the time from the standpoint of the oppressed classes. In addition to this, Tañada having been born and brought up in the American colonial period and environment, professed doctrines of democracy imbued by the American

liberal educational institutions. Progressive thought and revolutionary ideas were confined to the militants' ranks and did not infiltrate the minds of the majority in the intelligentsia sector. Thus, the radical formula of social change was not attractive to the man.

The absence of personal need to economic struggle, having sufficient resources to provide his family a decent living, led him to a different concentration. To him "other" arenas of struggles where he could flirt. To mention some, the defense of civil rights the Commonwealth guaranteed and the crusade for graft and corruption free government. In fact, this was the nucleus of his personal involvement which was in consonance to his professional interests. With this, he was clearly responding to the issue near the well-off middle-class preoccupation.

But when there was a complete incursion of Philippine soil which subjected the Commonwealth government to an operation interregnum, and on individual's rights and civil liberties by the Japanese forces, Tañada showed fearless disavowal of colonial rule, eventually joining ranks of the Philippine revolutionaries assuming propaganda and intelligence tasks correspondingly.

This critical assessment does not intend to undermine

the liberal nationalist Tañada embraced. As proven by his intrepid performance, Tañada maximized this available venue to assume his self-assured nationalist task and responsibility. Besides, the militant left which was supposed to lead the nationalist struggle, had in fact its own share of fault in this respect. It failed to provide the leadership it must command to ensure the right path to genuine liberation of the country from foreign control. Worse, it blundered at the ripe time to defeat both the Japanese and American colonial powers. In this way, it prodded, by way of unprincipled alliance, the notion that it was only through the alliance with the US can the Philippines be freed from colonialism.

Tañada's integrity and credibility as a nationalist cannot be questioned nor doubted. Despite the full cooperation with the US Policy they adopted, it was transparently obvious in the end that his wartime efforts were not in any way designed to accumulate and rev up his personal prestige for postwar benefits. Although it could have been apparently convenient for him to follow the collaborator's suit, he was discordant over the idea. He spurned any form of back payment after the war's conclusion simply for reasons that he did not work to serve the US but the

interests of the Filipinos. Later, in his might, he prosecuted all those who opted for greener pasture during the war of plunder and collaboration. No sharp distinction for him was significant among these collaborators, whether they argued that it was the best interest of the people that they chose this disdainful path or otherwise. There was only one kind of nationalism for Tañada at that time and that was to fight the Japanese imperialism at its most brutal form.

This only displays that Tañada's nationalism had consistently lived to the interest of the Filipinos. As he said, time and again, the interest of the people should be prioritized in all instances over that of the individual or any minority grouping, and between that of two nations, an individual must place paramount bias to his own.

Tañada, in epitome, had dropped significant amount on the bank of Philippine struggle in this period. Limited and wrought by class confinements though, the man survived the experiences others had, even radicals like Taruc, with his uncompromising convictions. And furthermore, these limitations were not to stay permanent in the man. As witnessed by history in the past two decades of dictatorship Tañada has had significant qualitative developments in

struggle and selflessly contributed efforts to the nationalist movement.

Indeed, no man bathes twice in the same river, as Tañada's nationalism experienced. Wide difference in philosophy, struggle could now be made between his prewar and wartime exploits and today's performance. He proved with all sincerity that he can transcend his class interest as often times it collided with the interest of the poor majority. He admits in all candor that what created the infrastructure to his present dauntless struggle for sovereignty and democracy was the period 1930-'45, the time of transition. Without this period of politicalization and tempering, Tañada today may not probably be in the headlines of nationalist movement's journals.

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APPENDICES

December 1, 1987

Ex-Senator Lorenzo Tañada's residence

Interviewed by Lamberto Francisco A. Ramirez

Lambert Ramirez: I'm from U.P. Manila, Senator. I'm doing a thesis on your early years as a politician and lawyer, specifically during the period 1930-'45. Roland Simbulan is my thesis adviser.

Lorenzo Tañada: I was not a politician in 1930. I started taking part in politics in 1957 when I became a candidate for Senator. Of course, before that, I voted but I was never a candidate. I participated in the election of public officials but it was not a personal participation, i.e., personal in the sense that it was for me.

Lambert Ramirez: Oh! I see. Senator, can you give me a brief background of your career as a lawyer? When did you start to be a lawyer?

Lorenzo Tañada: Well, I started practising Law upon my admission to the Bar in 1925. I was the Last Assistant in the office of Camus & Delgado. After a while, Recto joined the Law Office.

Lambert Ramirez: That was in the 1930's?

Lorenzo Tañada: I am not so sure. (laughing) My memory doesn't reach that far now. Shortly after I've been working with Camus & Delgado, Recto joined us and the Law firm became Camus, Delgado & Recto.

Then we heard that Quezon wanted to put up a Law firm that perhaps he could match with the big American Law firms. There were several Law firms that time and Quezon wanted a Law firm that could match it. Jose Abad Santos, the martyr of Pampanga, joins us and the Law firm became Santos, Camus, Delgado & Recto. That, at that time was the biggest Law firm in the country.

Because Abad Santos was the favorite Adviser of Quezon, our Law firm became a consultant of President Quezon.

But I did not leave the law firm because I took the government examination for scholars to be sent to the U.S. at that time and I won the first place. So I was sent to the US.

Lambert Ramirez: That was in the year 19...

Lorenzo Tañada: That was in 1927. Then I took my Master of Laws in Harvard Law School. When I came back, I had to repay the government by rendering 1½ years of service for every year I spent abroad.

I was appointed 7th, the last Assistant Fiscal in the city of Manila. While I was Assistant Fiscal, I taught in several Law schools in the afternoon.

Lambert Ramirez: One of them was UP?

Lorenzo Tañada: No! UP was not one of them (laughter). I taught in Ateneo, Philippine Law School, National Law School, Far Eastern University, one hour a day. I started teaching in the afternoon at 4:30 after office hours and I ended at 8:30 everyday. We were a few professors like that who did not see the sunset (laughter). We were all in school, no?

Quezon issued an order, Executive order, prohibiting government employees and officials from teaching more than 1 hr. a day. So you can imagine how much it affected me!

At that time, I could negotiate the business between Intramuros & Padre Faura, where Ateneo was and between Intramuros and Far Eastern. I have decided that I would not be able to move in my growing family with a salary of ₱333.33/mo. So I resigned from the government.

Delgado, who at that time became a member of the Court of Appeals, heard that I was resigning. He called me. I was his former assistant and he told me that if he had known that I was resigning, he would have offered me a partnership. At that time, Dewit, Perkins, Bradey & Prince Enrile, the biggest American Law firm had asked me to be the First Assistant with a salary of ₱500.00 and I thought it was (laughter) something that I should not miss. But when Delgado told me that he would make me partner, but without any assurance as to how much I would earn, that he had no retainers, that he'd have to depend on floating cases!

I still decided to join Delgado and not the American Law firm. I said I will risk it. Our office became known as Delgado & Tañada. By that time, modesty aside, I was already a little more popular than I was before I entered the government service because of my work in the fiscal service, prosecuted people.

Lambert Ramirez: What year was that, Senator?

Lorenzo Tañada: I have to go to the office. You'd like to go to the office for the dates? Because I don't remember the dates.

We were not having difficulties because Delgado was very popular. He was one of the best Filipino Trial Lawyers who graduated in YALE University. At the same time, I also had already earned a

little name as Prosecutor Attorney.

But shortly before World War II, an election was held in Iloilo and one of the Candidates was Tomas Confessor, the famous guerilla leader in Panay. He was running for election for Governor and he was running against the candidates of Quezon, Roxas and the Lopezes and Zulueta in Iloilo. It was a big fight because Confessor was very popular. He was the most popular guerilla figure in Iloilo.

Lambert Ramirez: A sort of folk hero?

Lorenzo Tañada: Yes. He beat the candidate of Quezon. The next thing heard was that he was being prosecuted for violation of election offenses.

One day, when I was in Baguio taking a short vacation. He asked me to be his lawyer.

I said, "how can I be your lawyer when your lawyers are Dewit, Parkinson & Enrile?"

He said, "No. They decided not to continue as my lawyer because as Americans, they said they don't want to be in any way entangled in a fight involving political positions."

And so I accepted. On the following week, I went to Iloilo to defend him. I was given the copy of the information against him.

I told Confessor, "Look, Governor, the first thing that we have to decide is whether you will agree to the breaking up of the charges against you. They are all joined in one charge and it is not fair that you should be charged with so many offenses under one charge. Not fair to you, not fair to me. (laughter) Because if I acquit you in three and you're convicted in one, people will say I still lost the case. Now, if I lose the case, and you are convicted not only for one, but for three, the people will say, "what kind of a lawyer is this?" He's being prosecuted for one offense."

He says, "You know, Tañada, in politics, you must fight. If you think that I'm being charged for several offenses and it is not fair, and you want to break up the charges, you feel I would care how much bail they would charge me?"

So I moved on the dismissal of the information that the ground would include several charges. The following day, Quezon sent their special charge: four cases were filed against him.

"You see, now people know you are charged with four cases. And even if you get convicted,..." He did not expect he would win because Quezon controlled the government at that time.

Lambert Ramirez: He was the President of the Commonwealth at that time?

Lorenzo Tañada: He was the president of the Senate! Day following, the accused was furnished with four charges. The hearing was

held for 1 month. Fortunately, I won them all! He was very, very happy.

That added name to my Fiscal because here was a politician who was fighting all the political powers in the Philippines: Roxas,.. Capiz, Panay; Quezon,.. the whole Philippines; The Lopezes, these rich people were also against him.

Lambert Ramirez: How about Osmeña?

Lorenzo Tañada: Ah, no. He was ^{from} Cebu. He did not intervene. That made me a little more popular. Unfortunately, not long after the victory, the war broke out. We were occupied by the Japanese. Delgado & I tried to keep our Law firm during the occupation but it was impossible. There were very few cases. What we earned was not enough to pay the janitors and the stenographers.

So I told Judge Delgado that I was planning to put up Law Office of my own. I said I would try my luck.

He told me, "but this is the worst time for you to start! We are fighting it hard, You'll fight it hard!"

But I said it cannot be any harder because what we earned, we spend with stenographers and assistant.

Delgado said, "Ok, I wish you luck."

So I put up my Law office: Tañada Law Office in Escolta, renting one room.

Lambert Ramirez: How much was the rest?

Lorenzo Tañada: (laughter) I do not know anymore how much it cost. Renting one room and with only one employee, stenographer & janitor.

Lambert Ramirez: That was during the war?

Lorenzo Tañada: During the war! We had a little work, mostly preparing documents on the sale of properties. I had no assistant. I could not afford one.

But one day, after the Bar examination, Claudio Teehankee, who was my student in Ateneo came and applied for a position.

(laughter)

I said, "I don't have any position. I handle everything here because there's not much work."

He said, "No, but I am not interested in the salary." because he was well-to-do. His father was a very popular Chinese doctor.

I said, "You want to work? Well and good. But not a single centavo because I cannot guarantee you that we'll earn that much."

He said, "No, I am not interested in money. I want experience. That is how Teehankee became attached to me."

During that time, I was engaged in underground work against the Japanese. One day, I noticed from my room, there was always one man standing near the elevator. The same person standing there. I'm suspecting this man. So I told my assistant, Teehankee, "Look, I'm suspecting that that man is watching me. I will go down, I'll go to the restaurant and find out whether he will follow. But you stay here and you see what he will do."

In fact I did what I planned and I saw. I went to the restaurant. I could see that he was following me and stayed at the other side of the street while I was at the restaurant. I went to the Crystal Arcade. Did you come to know the Crystal Arcade?

Lambert Ramirez: I'm not sure, Senator, if its still existent right now.

Lorenzo Tañada: This was the most beautiful building in Escolta. I went there because from there I could see below, at the center of the building. I could see from the first floor that he was watching there.

I told Teehankee, "Well, I am convinced that he is following me. You can take care of the Law Office. I'm going to leave right away for the provinces."

The following day, my brother-in-law, Serafin de Lara & I, biked from Manila to Quezon Province. That was more than 200 km. We passed through several Japanese entries. Thank God, I was bringing plenty of candies for my children. Everytime we passed an entry, we were searched. And when they found candy, they said, "Can we have some?" That sort of made them kind. They didn't know that I was running away from them.

Lambert Ramirez: You were using two biken?

Lorenzo Tañada: Two biken. .It took us three days to reach Quezon. We are not professionals! (laughter) We slept in San Pablo, then in Lucena. Then on the third day, we had to bike that zigzag, steep road.

Lambert Ramirez: Senator, were the armed forces manning the checkpoints Japanese?

Lorenzo Tañada: Yes, Yes, Japanese. Hay, sus! Everytime we passed a checkpoint, I gave 5,10 candies. Then we stayed in my hometown, Gumapa. But again, something happened. The guerillas attacked the town and the fight lasted for about 3 hrs. . .

After the fight, everybody was rounded up and brought to the military camp of the Japanese. My entire family, 9 children (laughte

two helpers and my wife & I were brought there.

Perhaps I was able to convince the Japanese and said: "I have no connections with the guerillas. If I had known, I would have left before they attacked." So at about 10 or 11:00 p.m., we were released.

I did not lose time to look for a boatman whose services I can engage to bring me to a town in the island of Palawan or to a barrio. I went there and there were no Japanese in that island. Everytime that they would come to visit the island, there was a system of telling the people the Japanese were there.

So we were safe. After that, I went back to Manila with my family.

After the war, I was being appointed as a Judge. Wow! I thought that was heaven! That was my ambition. Well, the Americans were still moping up when my cousin brought that news to me.

I did not, however, last as judge although I was enjoying it. Secretary of Justice Quisumbing sent for me. He wanted to find out whether I would accept appointment to the government. No, to another position with the government.

I said, "What? I am satisfied with my position." because I was thinking that I am now a judge. It's a matter of years only and I may be appointed to the higher positions in the Judiciary.

He said, "Well, we are looking for one who has not served in the Japanese government during the occupation to appoint him as Solicitor General and Chief of the Office of Special Prosecutors."

I said, "Give me 24 hours and I'll consult my wife."

"You are a good man. You must always consult your wife."

"Of course, she's the mother of my children. She should know."

I said jokingly. "I want to see you here tomorrow, whatever may be my decision."

"Yes, sir!"

Well, I asked my wife. She said, "Well, its up to you. I don't know anything about this position in the government."

I prayed for guidance and I accepted. I became the Solicitor General and Chief of the Office of Special Prosecutors.

Lambert Ramirez: Senator, before we tackle your involvement in Civil Liberties Union (CLU), I would like to know the legal cases you were handling when you were still a lawyer under Delgado Association.

Lorenzo Tañada: The most important was the Confessor case that attracted national attention. But I didn't enjoy the effect of my victory there because the war came. During the war, there was no practise. We just drafted documents, defending small cases, violation, ordinances and laws. There was nothing there during the war!

When I was appointed judge and later, Solicitor General, I had to handle only government cases and when I was already Solicitor General, I prosecuted the cream of Filipino lawyers: Laurel, Recto, Paredes, Alas and all the leaders who collaborated with the Japanese. I didn't hesitate to charge them when I found there were charges.

Lambert Ramirez: How about Roxas, Senator?

Lorenzo Tañada: Roxas, there was a complaint against Roxas but no evidence. I think the Americans saw to it that there were no evidences against him.

Some leftists, Amado Hernandez, too or more very popular went to my office to find out why I am not charging Manuel Roxas.

Well, I told them, "Here is the folder of Roxas cases hardly anything. There's no evidence." And I knew that he was connected with the underground during the occupation. "Now, if you believe there is evidence, produce one. I will charge if I find the evidence sufficient."

"Ah, no, no!"

I said, "Look, there is a period within which we must file all these cases. Those not filed before the people's court at a certain period must be filed in the ordinary court so don't lose time," because they were my friends also. "I suggest that you go to Malacañang right away, from here. Complain against me for not filing an information against Roxas." Don't you know that they did! They went to Malacañang and in no time, my telephone was ringing. It was the Secretary of Justice who was calling.

He said, "This is Secretary of Justice Quisumbing"

"Oh, yes! What is it that I can do for you?"

He says, "What is happening?"

"Why? What is happening? Why do you ask me that?"

"Well, there are people here complaining against you."

"Ah, yes. I told them to go to you to tell you that I will not file a complaint against Roxas. But if you have evidence, go ahead. And if you still want to prosecute Roxas or the government, in spite of lack of evidence, then I am resigning so that someone could prosecute him."

And Quisumbing says, "Hey, Tanny we are not going to quarrel with you. If you don't have evidence, we will not force you."

Of course, they will not force me because Roxas was on the other side. He was a Liberal and Osmeña was a Nacionalista.

Lambert Ramirez: But do you personally believe that Roxas did not have any connections with...

Lorenzo Tañada: that's true, that's true! He was clever. Instead, he was being visited by us, secretly.

So that is what happened in the case of Roxas. I am telling

you that because you are not the only one who asked me why Roxas was not prosecuted. I think he was a friend of Mc Arthur.

The conversation on the telephone ended this way: "Mr. Secretary, I am here. I'm always ready. If you want Roxas prosecuted, I am ready to give up the position."

"Ah, no, no! Don't talk like that."

I did not prosecute. That time, the candidates were already campaigning. Roxas was in Davao.

This story that I'm going to relate to you was related to me after the election by Senator Cabile who was a Liberal, no? Cabile told me that they were in Davao campaigning and they were having breakfast when a news item reported that Tafiada refuses to prosecute Roxas. That was news! And do you know Roxas made a remark during the breakfast: "My God, this man must be human," he says. "I hardly know him! He was with tears in his eyes in joy because if I had prosecuted him, that would have tilted the battle, the results of the election... Treason!

Speaking of Roxas, he won, of course because Osmeña was sick. He could not campaign.

Lambert Ramirez: Senator, may we go back to your involvement in Civil Liberties Union (CLU). How did you get in contact with the organizers of the CLU?

Lorenzo Tañada: Well, they approached me. I still remember. I was still practising law. It was Paquito Lava who was then working in the Bureau of Justice and JBL Reyes who was also working there. I have just resigned from the government and they asked me if I would be interested in joining the CLU.

I had vague ideas of CLU. "It depends on what objectives we'll have."

"This was intended really for civil liberties." Before that time, nobody dared come out formally and regularly against the government. Everytime the government encroaches upon the rights of the people.

As a matter of fact, I mentioned yesterday at the anniversary, "I will not tell you much of my participation with the CLU because you have heard enough of me." They all laughed.

All the time, I tell them how it was organized: that one day, Quezon, my ninong (sponsor) in marriage sent for me. He asked me in his imperious way, "Tañada, why don't you organize a political party and not hide behind civic organizations?"

I said, "Mr. President, we have no intentions of becoming a political party."

"Then why?"

"May I explain, Mr. President?"

"Yes."

"This organization was put up to protect the civil liberties of the people. Everytime there is an encroachment on the people's rights, we come up and defend as much as we do. If there are no rights encroached upon, we do not say anything. That's why everytime we came out, it's against you," (laughter) sabi kong ganoon (I said).

And he said, "Ah, is that so?" He did not know me!

Lambert Ramirez: What is an example of a case you handled under CLU?

Lorenzo Tañada: For example, our chairman Antonio Bautista was asked to speak at the Grand Opera house. And he spoke and advocated for the boycott of the Japanese goods before the war. Naturally, the Japanese authorities were complained.

They said, "this is an attack on our people," and all this, and all that. "This is an unneutral act," because at that time, Japan was at war with China.

Because of the pressure, he was prosecuted for violation of the penal code for committing an unneutral act. The war was between China and Japan.

I have read that the war in China was not war between China & the US because the US considered it only as an incident. (laughs)
Very nice, no?

So I went to the High Commissioner, Admiral Sayre. He was kind to me because he also happened to be a graduate of Harvard University. We knew each other.

I asked him if there's war between China and Japan.

He said, "No. There's no war. There's only an incident!"

They did not recognize the clash as war.

"Well, could you give me a note if I ask for it in writing saying there's no war between China & Japan?" I asked.

And he said, "Yes."

So I was very happy and did not anymore wait for the note. I immediately told my fellow members in the CLU that we have nothing to worry about the case because I believe we can discuss it.

And they asked, "How?"

"Because there's no war. The US considers it only as an incident."

"Is that so?"

"Yes and the Ambassador is prepared to write to me to say that there is no war!"

So we moved to the dismissal of the case.

But suddenly, the witty man, Justice JBL, snappingly said, "I do not agree with the dismissal of the case."

"Why?"

"We must object to the withdrawal because if the withdrawal and you agree, there will be no jeopardy. Anytime afterwards, you can be prosecuted. And besides, this is your chance to be a hero!"

Bautista, who was under bail, said, (laughingly narrates) "Look, I have no reason to doubt you. But if the judge makes a mistake because of pressure, then I'm the one going to jail, not you."

And everybody had a laugh.

Another case was about Jai Alai, against Madrigal and many others.. But that is the most prominent because it became an international dispute.

Lambert Ramirez: How about your involvement with the government during the war with the Japanese. What were the activities you were conducting at that time?

Lorenzo Tañada: Well, to begin with, the original was too ideal: to keep the morale of the people, to circulate leaflets informing the people of the progress of the war because you cannot easily get a radio. The editor was Liling Roces, the author of Thorns & Roses. But it did not last. That alone was not worth than we had.

We used to go to the provinces to gather military data: how many companions are stationed in Batangas, Batangas. And we reported all the military information that we are asked to Col. Villamor. He was then a famous airman, the first to meet the Japanese in frontal right.

Lambert Ramirez: Was he in the USAFB, the counterpart of HUKBALAHAP? (Hukbong Bayan laban sa Hapon, People's Army Against the Japanese.)

Lorenzo Tañada: I think he is connected with the US Army. I'm not very sure. We used to send him the data. He was in Bacolod. He used to work with Anglapua, one of my companions. We went to the provinces, looked at the military camp, found out from the people how many there are, and all these, and all that.

Lambert Ramirez: Did you have any contact with the HUKBALAHAP at that time, Senator?

Lorenzo Tañada: I do not know what contacts we had in Pampanga but I was not sure whether it was HUKBALAHAP but it was under an American US Officer.

I remember this because we were asked to look for a pair of shoes for that American. But we could not find (laughter) because the shoes are very long. I can't find. I was in Gandara looking for these shoes. Finally, someone among us found and it was still Panahan. He's very brave. He was the one who drove the truck to the provinces to bring whatever we could buy for the guerilla.

He says, "I can defend myself about illegal possession of weapon." That was the big joke of all. He used to do that, even in very small matters.

Lambert Ramirez: Senator, can you consider that as the start of your nationalist involvement?

Lorenzo Tañada: Yes. As a matter of fact, we did it not for the US but for the people. When the war was over, we were asked to file our petition or request for back pay. JBL Reyes, Chief Justice Conception who was also with the movement, the three of us refused. We said we did this not for the US.

Lambert Ramirez: How about the other members of the CLM?

Lorenzo Tañada: Ah, the others, yes. The ordinary ones. As a matter of fact, there were people who, after the war became Majors & Colonels. But we did not know they were engaged in the underground in order to get the money. So we refused. It is official.

But after that, the government recognized our participation and awarded us.

December 14, 1987

Ex-Senator Lorenzo Tañada's Residence

Interviewed by Lamberto Francisco A. Ramirez

Lambert Ramirez: The period 1930-'45 was the time when the Commonwealth government was established. It was also when the Phil. Constitution was ratified. How do you view the economic situation then?

Lorenzo Tañada: Well, I am not an economist. But I think at that time, we were better off because we didn't have so much to worry about our foreign debts. Now we are deeply indebted. - Not only that, our economy was practically shattered by Mr. Marcos' greed. So I think we were better off at that time. The outlook today is quite deemed with so much to pay, even in interest alone. That is my opinion.

Lambert Ramirez: Nationalist historians like Teodoro Agoncillo & Renato Constantino assessed our economy at that period as the period wherein foreign control was established over our economy. Do you agree that the period gave way to the present foreign domination over our economy?

Lorenzo Tañada: No, because foreign control was established when we were given our independence in 1946.

Lambert Ramirez: Did you see any sufferings among the people especially among the masses?

Lorenzo Tañada: The masses until now are still suffering. They have not changed a lot and that's why it is rather disappointing that we have not concentrated practically to the exclusion, in so far as I'm concerned, of other big projects. We should have concentrated on them.

Lambert Ramirez: How were you affected by the economic condition in the 1930's? I remember that there were uprisings among the masses like Tayug uprising in 1931 and Sakdal uprising in mid 1930's. Were you in any way affected by the economic crisis being a lawyer at that time?

Lorenzo Tañada: Not at all!

Lambert Ramirez: Not at all. (laughter)

Lorenzo Tañada: I've been, in the sense that I didn't grow rich. I kept on struggling but not suffering. So I do not consider 1935 as a period of economic, shall we say, crisis.

Lambert Ramirez: How about the Japanese period, Senator?

Lorenzo Tañada: O, the Japanese, worse! That's bad, very bad! 1941, about '41, '42, I had about 8 or 9 children already (laughs) but I didn't suffer. I really didn't feel it.

Lambert Ramirez: Going now to the political situation at that time, how do you view the Commonwealth period. Was it really established to pave way for a truly and genuinely independent Philippines?

Lorenzo Tañada: No! I don't know the motive behind the establishment of the Commonwealth but I think the intention was to give us freedom in the belief that after so many years under the American custody, we have progressed enough to govern ourselves. That is how I look at it.

We have always demanded for complete, immediate & absolute independence. We fought but the US knew we would need more time for preparation. That's why at about 1930-'35, the promise was made: to give us independence after 10 years.

Our leaders thought that we were already prepared to be independent, even not (laughter). Yes, because the demand for independence or the feeling for independence was already strong.

Somewhere in 1898, even in 1900, we fought the Americans. We thought that we could govern ourselves and so many died in that uneven conflict. So this question of motivation, I do not know whether that's the purpose of the Americans but they cannot avoid it. They knew that sooner or later, we will have to be made independent.

Lambert Ramirez: Senator, how do you view the 1935 Constitution? Is it really pro-Filipino or still some sort of a colonial constitution?

Lorenzo Tañada: Well, colonial in the sense that the Constitution had to be patterned after the constitution of the US, had to be approved by the US President. That is colonial, no question!

In 1935, yes Recto was practically the architect but with limited powers. There were conditions imposed that should be complied with in the drafting of the Constitution. The bill of rights must be there, the separation of powers and all these and all that. And that it must be approved by the US.

Lambert Ramirez: Did 1935 Constitution adhere to they very aspirations of the Filipino people?

Lorenzo Tañada: Yes.

Lambert Ramirez: Senator, I would just like to go back to the squabbles among the politician, particularly between Sergio Osmeña & Manuel L. Quezon on the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act and the Tydings-McDuffy Law. How do you think these two differ? I think these two laws are laws which would eventually pave way for the independence of the Philippines?

Lorenzo Tañada: Yes, no question. Both laws promised independence but the main difference was the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law provided for the retention right away of the American bases. Quezon differed. Quezon said that it is not independence if we retain the bases. And so he went to the United States.

Many of his followers were afraid because they believed that the US have already acted officially on the subject. He could not perhaps secure a better one.

So within that so short a period from the time of approval. But I don't know what he did. He was able to get the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act changed into Tydings-McDuffy Law.

The only difference was the provision which automatically granted the US bases was taken away. And we were even given the promise of neutrality. And that was good enough.

Lambert Ramirez: I understand that you were not a politician yet when you began to be a lawyer. But were you involved in any kind of discussion regarding politics, some venue like 'Kapihan' where members discuss political matters?

Lorenzo Tañada: Well, there was no Kapihan at that time. 1938 was the time we organized the Civil Liberties Union. And that was the beginning of getting the people interested in public issues, especially those affecting their freedom and their liberties. But now, we have plenty of organizations for that purpose.

Lambert Ramirez: Can you give me some highlights of the issues you discussed and name the people you discussed them with?

Lorenzo Tañada: For example, Jai Alai. We objected to it on the ground that it was 'gambling' in an active form. But it was a monopoly, so we stood up against it. We brought the matter to the court against Madrigal, who was the favorite economic friend of Quezon. Madrigal was one of the richest already at that time.

I think it was a mistake on the part of the present government to revive it. It's gambling and it affects the moral fiber of the people. So we went after it but we failed.

Sometime before the war, Dr. Antonio Bautista, our president, very able leader, trained in the US, advocated for the boycott of the Japanese goods. As I mentioned to you earlier, he was prosecuted because the Japanese government appealed to the government of the Philippines and said that it is a serious charge on friendly relations. He was prosecuted for violating the penal code, violating our neutrality, endangering the war with the Japanese because it was contended that there was a war between the United States, China & Japan. But High Commissioner Admiral Syre attested that there was no war. We decided to move for the dismissal of the case. It was dismissed after so much publicity have been given to it.

When I became the president of the CLU, I said in accepting that I'll popularize civil liberties. I had already in mind the holding of a national inter-university oratorical contest. It was never done before. And after I've been there for sometime as president, I asked UP, Sto. Tomas, Silimar, Philippine Law School, the leading schools all over the country and they accepted. We were very happy. We asked Ateneo also to participate and also asked for the use of their theater in Padre Faura.

We invited Quezon and Quezon who was not sympathetic to us because we always criticized him whenever he commit mistakes in so far as the liberties of the people are concerned or whenever he encroaches upon our freedom, refused.

Well, I went to the next man, Vice-President Osmeña and he accepted.

Before we could hold the contest, Quezon must have read the papers because it was publicized that the contest is something that is attracting the people. So one day, I received a call from Malacañang.

Fortunately or unfortunately, he said, "Tañada, I am accepting your invitation."

"But President, we have already invited Osmeña and he has accepted when you refused."

"That's your problem," Quezon said.

You can see there that when he wants something, he doesn't stop, even if it hurts friends.

I, in his place, I'll say, "Well, I'm sorry. I thought the invitation is still open," no?

But he didn't tell me. He said, "that's your problem."

So I called a CLU meeting and said, "Oh, we have a difficult problem here."

I told them what happened. And they wanted Quezon (laughs). There's a big difference between a president and a vice-president and Quezon was more aggressive than Osmeña.

So we decided to see Osmeña. Paulino Garcia, who will later on be Secretary of Finance and I went because Paulino was a friend of Osmeña. We went to see Osmeña.

"Ah, ninong (Godfather), we have a problem." We related to him the problem.

Osmeña, the gentleman, pure gentleman, without raising his voice said, "Give it to him. When the president of the country asks for something and which you can give, give it to him. I am yielding."

You know, that incident made me admire Osmeña more. There goes a man with very nice, polished, soft way who says, "Give it to him."

I was relieved. I went back to Malacañang and told the President, "I have reported to my organization and they are agreeable." I didn't tell about Osmeña anymore. They are agreeable.

He said, "Alright. I'm glad to hear that. Now I want... I will give medals to the winners."

"Mr. President, we wish we could accept but we have already ordered for the medals." We call it CLU, not Quezon!

He might have felt he's asking too much. "OK, nevermind."

The medal was named CLU.

When he spoke in the contest, he referred to that incident: He offered but they did not accept believing perhaps it's better to give than to receive (laughs).

I'll never forget that! Now comes the speakers. Albert, a representative of Phil. Law School and a very fiery orator, young fellow delivered his speech and attacked the evils of Quezon in his presence (laughs). Well applauded!

When Quezon spoke in the end, he made the famous statement, "I prefer a government run like hell by the Filipinos than a government run like heaven by Americans," trying to relieve the reaction of the people in the setting. (laughs)

It was a very successful thing. It was followed by another where we asked him to debate with Sumulong, a very deep thinker, like Recto. I forgot what the issue was.

But when they were debating, the people were inclined to Sumulong against Quezon.

Lambert Ramirez: I can research on that, Senator.

Lorenzo Taffada: Yes. But when Quezon saw that he was losing, he left. "I don't like what's happening. There's a clap in this gathering."

"A clap who always claps, huh!" I said laughing.

Sumulong, who was a little weak of hearing and poor eyesight did not know that Quezon left. (laughs) He continued to speak. Quezon was no longer there. When he realized that, he was embarrassed. These things made the CLU more or less popular.

One day, Quezon told some of our leaders like Gov. Santayana of Quezon to resign. I forgot what the issue was. He even asked Manuel Lim, a very popular lawyer and Dean of Ateneo Law School, H.B. Reyes and others.

We thought that the CLU will break up but fortunately, it did not. As a consequence, we were able to celebrate the 50th anniversary last November.

Lambert Ramirez: I've read about that. Senator, did the CLU predict in 1938 that there will be a war between the Philippines and Japan?

Lorenzo Tañada: There was no idea, no idea. Because remember, the Japanese was the one who attacked Honolulu. It was a treacherous attack without declaration. We didn't know there'll be a war. We were beginning to be afraid of Japan and so Bautista delivered that fiery speech in Opera house against the Japanese. We didn't know.

Lambert Ramirez: How would you assess the nationalist movements then like CCP & SPP?

Lorenzo Tañada: It was an active organization, very active, but few following. As I said, the people were not yet trained into facing issues. It was only after that we were granted our independence, rather when the promise of independence has already been made.

Lambert Ramirez: Are you saying, Senator, that the propaganda of the nationalist movement at that time was not effective that it cannot reach the people?

Lorenzo Tañada: They have. Abad Santos, the old man Abad Santos and CRISANTO Evangelista helped a lot. But they reached only a very small percent of the people. The papers hardly publicized their speeches. They were successful in Laguna where they had the SAKDAL uprising, and another uprising in Pampanga. But it was not a national uprising or considered a national one.

Lambert Ramirez: Did you hear about the United Front?

Lorenzo Tañada: I have heard of the United Front but they were not, shall we say, organized enough with their following.

Lambert Ramirez: Did you have any contact with the HUKS?

Lorenzo Tañada: No

We kept to ourselves our leader because that was a propaganda against the Japanese. Our leader was Liling Roces. We also had a good writer, "Good Evening, Judge," Armando Dayrit, who was the wildest columnist in the Hills at that time. But I never had an occasion to work with people who did not belong to our organization. We were very careful about associating with people who are not members of the so and so organizations.

Lambert Ramirez: I heard that you said something about being in an intelligence group for the guerillas. Is this an American backed guerilla group?

Lorenzo Tañada: Intelligence group for the Americans, more than anything else. The American professional soldiers were interested in determining the number of soldiers in every town or province. The place where they stay for bombing, I suppose, purposes.

The data we gathered were given to Col. Fanzano of the US Army, who was, for a time, imprisoned in Bataan.

Because I was studying in La Salle, I lived as a boarder in their house, paying for my board in a runstreet. When he was released, he knew me, he came to see me. I told him that we had an organization and he was very happy.

We made arrangements that whatever we gathered will be turned over to him. He would classify and send it to Col. Villamor, our hero at that time, the pilot who faced the Japanese in the First attack of the Japanese in Manila. He would relay it to Villamor and Villamor would relay it to headquarters of McArthur in Australia. That was how we operated. We sent them also, naturally, copies of what we circulated to inform the people of the situation of the war, what the allied forces are doing, where they are and if they're nearing the Hills., all that.

Yes, we made a mistake one day (laughing) with carrying the news in the radio. It says, "The American forces are already in Palawan." But what was heard was not Palawan but 'palao' (laughter). We didn't publish that because we could not believe that it could be true. I think somebody went farther and they said it is Palao!

Lambert Ramirez: Did you have any publication at that time?

Lorenzo Tañada: Free Philippines, a magazine. The editor was Liling Roces together with Armando Dayrit. Abaya was also with us.

Lambert Ramirez: But Liling, I think was assassinated during the Japanese period.

Lorenzo Tañada: Yes. He was arrested and brought to Fort Santiago and there killed. My gosh, you can imagine our feeling! Who will

be next? First was Bautista. Well, to us it was natural because even if he was not with us, his speech asking the people to boycott the Japanese before the war is enough ground for him to be the subject of search. And he was found, no? That's true!

Lambert Ramirez: What is your concept of nationalism? Was it already being established during the war?

Lorenzo Tabada: My concept of nationalism is very simple. It's the quality of man. We call it virtue. That makes him place the right of the people over and above his own right, the right of his group or party. That's it!

There's a conflict between the right of the people and your right. The conflict must be resolved in favor of our people. Conflict between the right of the people as against the other people, its own people and that must be defended.

Lambert Ramirez: I'd like to pose a question, Senator: Do you see any contradiction between your concept of nationalism and the way you helped the allied forces, particularly the Americans, to topple down the Japanese and eventually controlled us again after the war?

Lorenzo Tabada: No. No conflict whatsoever. Because of helping the American or the Allies at that time, in helping also our own people against the imperialists, the tyrants, the militarists.

Lambert Ramirez: According to Renato Constantino, the nationalist movement at that time, instead of taking advantage of the situation by overthrowing both Japanese and American forces, tended to hate in a very high level the Japanese intrusion. Can you comment on this?

Lorenzo Tabada: Because we could not go to war against the US who was protecting us. And who are we to go after both? (laughs) What resources or means?

Lambert Ramirez: I think Constantino is trying to say that the nationalist movement had a contribution to creating some sort of a longing for the Americans to return during the war.

Lorenzo Tabada: Maybe, maybe. But the fact is comparing what the Spaniards did during their 300 years and what the Americans did during the short period. We have acknowledged that the Americans deserve our gratitude.

For example, during the time the Americans came, it was a regular thing for cholera, small pox and other contagious diseases to occur on epidemics. Now we don't have small pox.

Before, you seldom see a young man or a lady (laughs) without marks of small pox. Bulutungin! We don't hear anymore "bulutong." So we owe to the Americans, the fact that they have improved our health programs.

Then, as against the practice of the Spaniards of keeping us ignorant, America established educational schools, brought concessions. We learned that and the people appreciated that. We cannot work against it at that time.

It's very easy to say now (laughs) but before, when you were actually receiving the benefits...

So that's why we supported because that's the only way by which we can get rid of the Japanese in the Philippines.

Lambert Ramirez: So to sum up, Senator, can you consider the period 1930-'45 created your foundation for your political involvement in the nationalist movement?

Lorenzo Tañada: (laughing) I don't know. I really don't know. It was a natural growth and even if we actually engaged in political activities, I didn't become a candidate until after the war.

Lambert Ramirez: But certainly, the political activities made you aware the more about the issues being confronted by the Filipinos.

Lorenzo Tañada: Ah, yes, yes.

Lambert Ramirez: In that case, we can say that this is a period, is one important stage in your life.

Lorenzo Tañada: Very important!

Lambert Ramirez: To your politicalization.

Lorenzo Tañada: Yes, yes!

end

BIODATA OF

Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada

Personal Circumstances:

Date of Birth: August 10, 1898
Place of Birth: Gumaca, Quezon
Parents: Vicente Tañada and Anastacia Martinez

Scholastic Achievements:

Elementary School: Gumaca and Atimonan, Quezon
Intermediate & High School: De La Salle College, 1918
Bachelor of Arts: University of the Philippines, 1920
Bachelor of Laws: University of the Philippines, 1924, and
passed the Bar the same year
Master of Laws: Harvard Law School, as a government
pensionado, 1928
Doctor of Civil Law: University of Santo Tomas, 1936

Honorary Degrees:

De La Salle University	April 7, 1968	Doctor of Educ.
Phil. Women's University	April 23, 1960	Doctor of Laws
Phil. College of Commerce	April 22, 1970	Doctor of Phil.
Ateneo de Manila	March 26, 1983	Doctorate on Human Letters

Positions Held:

Assistant City Fiscal of Manila, 1929
Judge, Court of First Instance of Manila, 1945
Solicitor General and Chief of the Office of Special
Prosecutors, 1945-1947
Elected Senator of the Phils. (first place), 1947
Chairman, Senate Blue Ribbon Committee, 1951-1955
Elected Senator of the Phils., copying 2nd place,
1955
Senate Minority Floor Leader, 1955
President, P. N. Bar Association
President, P. N. Bar Federation
Member of Executive of the Phils., 1952 & 1958
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 1952-1955
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 1955-1958
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 1958-1961
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 1961-1964
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 1964-1967
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 1967-1970
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 1970-1973
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 1973-1976
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 1976-1979
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 1979-1982
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 1982-1985
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 1985-1988
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 1988-1991
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 1991-1994
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 1994-1997
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 1997-2000
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2000-2003
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2003-2006
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2006-2009
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2009-2012
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2012-2015
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2015-2018
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2018-2021
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2021-2024
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2024-2027
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2027-2030
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2030-2033
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2033-2036
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2036-2039
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2039-2042
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2042-2045
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2045-2048
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2048-2051
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2051-2054
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2054-2057
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2057-2060
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2060-2063
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2063-2066
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2066-2069
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2069-2072
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2072-2075
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2075-2078
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2078-2081
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2081-2084
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2084-2087
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2087-2090
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2090-2093
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2093-2096
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2096-2099
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2099-2102
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2102-2105
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2105-2108
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2108-2111
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2111-2114
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2114-2117
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2117-2120
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2120-2123
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Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2156-2159
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Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2165-2168
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2168-2171
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2171-2174
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2174-2177
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2177-2180
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2180-2183
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2183-2186
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Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2189-2192
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Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2201-2204
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2204-2207
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2207-2210
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2210-2213
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2213-2216
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2216-2219
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2219-2222
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2222-2225
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2225-2228
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2228-2231
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2231-2234
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2234-2237
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2237-2240
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2240-2243
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2243-2246
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2246-2249
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2249-2252
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2252-2255
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2255-2258
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2258-2261
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2261-2264
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2264-2267
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2267-2270
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2270-2273
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2273-2276
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2276-2279
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2279-2282
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2282-2285
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2285-2288
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2288-2291
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2291-2294
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2294-2297
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2297-2300
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2300-2303
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2303-2306
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2306-2309
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2309-2312
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2312-2315
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2315-2318
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2318-2321
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2321-2324
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2324-2327
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Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2333-2336
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2336-2339
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2339-2342
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2342-2345
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2345-2348
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2348-2351
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2351-2354
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2354-2357
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2357-2360
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2360-2363
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2363-2366
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2366-2369
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2369-2372
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2372-2375
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2375-2378
Chairman, Senate Committee on Public Works, 2378-2381
Chairman, Senate Committee on Agriculture, 2381-2384
Chairman, Senate Committee on Forestry, 2384-2387
Chairman, Senate Committee on Social Welfare, 2387-2390
Chairman, Senate Committee on Health, 2390-2393
Chairman, Senate Committee on Labor, 2393-2396
Chairman, Senate Committee on Education, 2396-2400

Chief Oppositor against the establishment of the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant before the Puno Commission
Chairman, Nuclear-Free Phils. Coalition (NFPC)
Chairman, National Coalition for the Protection of Workers' Rights
Chairman, Anti-Taxen Coalition (ABC)
Honorary Chairman, Movement of Attorneys for Brotherhood, Integrity and Nationalism, Inc. (MABIANI)
Advocate & Founder, General Nuclear Disarmament Defence Council - Political detainees at Bicutan, etc.
Chairman, Nationalist Alliance for Justice, Freedom & Democracy
Chairman, Justice for Aquino, Justice for all Movement (JAVA)
Chairman, PAVAN
Member, Kongreso ng Mamamayan (Pilipino KONGPIL)
Member, Contact

PROFESSOR & Author

Professor of Constitutional and Political Laws at UST, FEU, Phil. Law School, ELQ University and Ateneo de Manila
Author of Constitution of the Phils., Annotated
Co-Author of Political Law of the Phils: Modern Phil. Legal forms, and also of important Law books adopted for use by leading colleges & universities in the Phils.

Labor Activities

Author of the Tañada Picketing Law, Rep. Act No. 1167.
Author of Rep. Act No. 3600, prohibiting the transporting or escorting of persons by peace officers and/or armed persons seeking to replace strikers in entering and/or leaving the strike area.
Legal adviser of the Federation of Free Workers (FFW)
Active supporter of free trade unions & champion of labor legislation in the Senate
Chairman of the National Coalition for the Protection of Workers' Rights.

Commentaries:

"...Manuel Luis Quezon, Claro Mayo Recto and Lorenzo Tañada y Martinez. One a fiery orator and mercurial President; the second a far seeing statesman, a master of wit and stylist; and the third --- an advocate supreme."

Justice JBL Reyes

"Many times, Tanny's adherence to his ideals and principles were to lead to lonely paths and he was to be derided by self-proclaimed practical realists as quixotic, and a frustrated Sir Galahad, but none could question his sincerity and integrity."

Justice Claudio Techankee

"He is a man of absolute and confident defiance, of iron constitution, inexhaustible energy and total concentration ... he is idealistic, but never rigid and inflexible. And in retrospect, it now seems that he has been expending all his faculties, so that when the moment came, he could lavish them on the salvation of freedom and liberty of his people ... tell me, can I ever find a better mentor and guide?"

Ricoy Aquino

Monday, 1 December

Dear Tani,

All the while I was introducing you, Tato and Nito Quesada were in very audible chatter, to my great annoyance-- so that whatever I had to say about you lost its impact.

Here's what I said:

Tañada is a household word, just as Recto, his mentor is.

We are familiar with the details of his colorful life as a no-nonsense city fiscal, as the chief state prosecutor of collaborators with the Japanese, as a senator who served a number of terms and, in his late years, is a staunch parliamentarian of the street who has left his mark on Mendiola, unbullied and unintimidated by the water cannons and truncheons of General Lila's burly riot squads.

But few of you know Tani as a young freedom fighter in the resistance against the Japanese. The CLU went underground to fight predatory fascism at its most brutal form: Japanese militarism. It adapted the name Free Philippines -- an intelligence unit in direct contact with Allied Intelligence in Australia.

Can you picture the grand old man of politics, now only a year short of 90, as a young man in shorts, riding on a bike, his bronze face half-hidden by a wide-brim balangot hat. That's how I met Tani for the first time. Like him, I also moved around on my bike in keeping my underground contacts, and we often met and exchanged notes.

Tani was one of the top four in command of Free Philippines. The other three were Antonio (Tony) Bautista, Rafael (Liling) Roces and, present here today, the lone survivor among the six CLU founding members, Jose (Peping) Reyes.

Tani's three comrades suffered under savage Bushido justice in Fort Santiago -- Liling was beheaded for treason, Tony (his captors said) escaped, presumably by jumping into the Pasig, but his body was never found. JEL arrived, a

mere skeleton of his former robust self.

Toni eluded arrest but the dreaded Kempeitai police took his trusted secretary instead. He was never heard from again.

Underground GMA's immediate task was to counter Japanese propoganda. It published the first underground newspaper, also named Free Philippines, which had Liling Roces as editor. It not only exposed Japanese duplicity but named Filipino collaborators in govern and in business.

Of Toni, the rucilla, let me quote from my book:

Page 40, starting "Initially...(to end of quoted paragraph of article), then page 41, the parenthetical paragraph about how you get a typewriter from Jose Rizal College's Hernandez.

Our market was an unexpected success. We had counted only at 180 at the most -- 215 actually partook of the lunch. And I sold all the 100 hardcover copies, plus about that number of the bookpaper copies. I picked that gavel we gave you, and also arranged for Peping's medallion.