

# Lorenzo M. Tañada

## The Evolution of a Nationalist Leader

*Agnes G. Bailen\**

### *Introduction*

Hailed as one of the greatest nationalists the country has produced, Lorenzo Martinez Tañada was one of the few fearless Filipinos who sought the economic amelioration and self-reliance of the Philippines against foreign interference and domination. Joining the ranks of Claro Mayo Recto and Jose Wright Diokno, Tañada's contribution took the form of parliamentary struggle in the Nationalist Citizens Party and other campaigns to advance the "Filipino First" Policy.<sup>1</sup>

Having served 24 uninterrupted years spanning four successive terms from 1947 to 1971, Tañada mounted a relentless campaign against graft and corruption and for the protection of civil and human rights. Moreover, he pursued a firm and strong opposition against the violation of Philippine sovereignty and discriminatory treatment of Filipino employees by foreign-owned companies. Through all these, Tañada proved to be a staunch nationalist as he consistently defended the national interest over and above, and even against personal, selfish interest.<sup>2</sup>

This paper traces and analyzes the rise to political leadership of Lorenzo M. Tañada. It focuses on the development of his nationalist ideas over time in relation to significant socio-political events and forces that shaped his personal life. Finally, the paper assesses the impact of Tañada's nationalist ideas and his style of transformational leadership in Philippine government and politics.

This paper stresses the important components of the life of Tañada, namely, his life course stages and life experiences. Tañada's letters, papers and speeches served as the primary source base. The guidelines suggested by Norman K. Denzin in studying a life history and the typology of leadership presented by James McGregor Burns and Robert C. Tucker are employed in this paper.

---

\* Instructor of Political Science, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

The life course stages of Tañada include his childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, and middle and old age. His life experiences are derived from his education, career in sports, experience as a Reserve Officer Training Course (ROTC) officer while a student of the University of the Philippines, stints as a stage actor, his professional occupation as a lawyer, marriage, involvement in the anti-Japanese propaganda during the Japanese Occupation, family crises and illnesses. To evaluate his political leadership, the paper focuses on Tañada's nationalist ideas as the frame of reference in examining the three basic tasks of political leadership as cited by Tucker<sup>3</sup>: (1) definition of the collective situation; (2) means of dealing with the situation; and (3) prescribed mobilization of support. These tasks help point out whether the kind of political leadership exercised by Tañada was transactional or transformational as categorized by Burns.<sup>4</sup>

After determining Tañada's type of political leadership, an analysis of his leadership in Philippine government and politics is conducted. His various achievements as a political leader and political activist during the Marcos and Aquino periods are then evaluated.

It must be remembered that Tañada did not move in a vacuum but interacted constantly with his environment.

### ***Profile of a Filipino Nationalist Leader***

Lorenzo M. Tañada was born on August 10, 1898 in Gumaca (formerly Tayabas), Quezon. He grew up under the auspices of the American colonial government. Constantino says:

Lorenzo Tañada was born on the day Admiral Dewey and General Merritt were supposed to begin their assault in Manila. Because of bad weather, the mock battle of Manila occurred three days later. Tani, therefore, is as old as American intervention in the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

Tañada's grandfather, Pedro Tañada, was a goldsmith who married Apolinaria Lopez. The marriage produced an only child, Vicente L. Tañada. Vicente later married Anastacia Martinez, the widow of Marcial Azada with whom she had a son called Marcial. Anastacia or Asiang as she was often called bore Vicente five children namely: Natividad, Lorenzo, Mariano, Serafin, and Humildad.<sup>6</sup>

It came as no surprise later why Tañada joined politics. His father, Capitan Vicente, was the last gobernadorcillo of Gumaca while his uncle, Deogracias

Tañada, was one time mayor of the same town. Nevertheless, it was Tañada's mother who had a profound influence in his young life. He remembered her as "a stern disciplinarian who exacted the strictest discipline from her children." As he laughingly recounted, "my mother dominated the family such that everyone of us held her in awe."<sup>8</sup> He attributed his religious orientation and love for reading to his mother who was able to study in La Consolacion College in Manila. Of his mother, Tañada recollects thus:

My mother was a voracious reader; it was she who taught me and opened my world to reading, a habit I have developed to a point that my wife complains.<sup>9</sup>

His mother also ingrained in all her children a fear of God and imbued that "love and fear of God is the beginning of wisdom." She often asked her children to keep busy for she did not want her children to be idle.<sup>10</sup>

The childhood ambition of Tanny was to become a doctor. But an incident during his fifth grade in school changed this. The year was 1913, and the case involved the town police chief whose body was found washed ashore on the beach one day. The police officer was reportedly having an affair with a married woman. During the preliminary hearing of the case before the justice of peace, the eloquence of Agustin Alvarez, outstanding lawyer of Tayabas, enthralled the young Tañada which prompted him to pursue a law career. "I still remember his felt hat with the insignia of the Nacionalista Party. We were all ears as this lawyer spoke and I was so impressed by him," Tañada recalled. After the hearing he went home and told his mother. "Abogado na ako, Inay, ayaw ko na sa medicine."<sup>11</sup>

In 1918 he enrolled at the University of the Philippines where he took up a two-year bachelor of Arts and a degree in law. He graduated from the College of Law in 1924. Although he did not graduate with honors, he was able to distinguish himself in the university campus as a man of exceptional talent and versatility. He was a major of the UP ROTC, a performer (in fact a lead actor) of the U.P. Dramatics Club, an active sportsman (he was the goal-keeper of the University football team and two Olympic squads), as well as the winner of the coveted Heacock and Quezon medals in Forensics.<sup>12</sup>

Even during his university days, Tañada had already demonstrated his nationalism. After winning the Heacock and Quezon medals in oratory, the ROTC unanimously chose Tañada, then a third year law student, to represent the corps as one of the speakers in the Armistice Day celebration on November 11, 1923. It was a big campus affair. However, Colonel Chester Davis, commandant of the ROTC, put Tañada last in the roster of speakers (among them U.P. President Rafael Palma, Congressman Juan Luna, Senator Jose Clarin and an admiral of

the US Navy), then cut short the program on the pretext that it was getting late.<sup>13</sup>

Not a person to be deterred, Tañada walked up to President Palma and insisted on his right to address the crowd over Davis' protestations, if only for the sake of his mother who had come all the way from Gumaca to listen to him speak, even if she did not understand a word of English.<sup>14</sup>

In his speech, he told the cadets that they should take their military training seriously because if the United States would not grant Filipinos their independence, the Filipinos should be ready to go to battle and make the supreme sacrifice for their country. His views were nationalistic but bordered on the "seditious." Both Dean Conrado Benitez and Dean Maximo Kalaw advised Tañada to resign from the ROTC before Davis relieved him. But much to his surprise Davis bore him no grudges and persuaded him to remain in the ROTC.<sup>15</sup>

On May 7, 1927, Tañada married Expedita Zaballero Ebarle from the prominent Zaballero family of Lucena. Dading, as Expedita was called, was the eldest of two daughters by Alejandro Ebarle and Juanita Zaballero. She took her secondary schooling in from Assumption and graduated in 1926 from the Philippine Women's University with a degree in Home Economics. They had nine children: Gregorio, Lorenzo, Jr., Renato, Wigberto, Ma. Elena, Concepcion Expedita, Ma. Milagros, Ma. Anastacia, and Leonardo Vicente.

### *The Political Career of a Nationalist Leader*

Soon after receiving his diploma from the UP College of Law, Tañada was hired as an assistant attorney of the then leading law firm of Camus and Delgado which later became Abad Santos, Camus, Delgado, and Recto. This gave him the opportunity to meet with great minds like the late Chief Justice Jose Abad Santos and his long-time mentor and friend, the late Senator Claro Mayo Recto.<sup>16</sup>

Tañada left the firm when he was sent as a government pensionado to the United States. Upon his return to Manila in 1929, he was taken in as the assistant fiscal of Manila. His youth and inexperience were no drawback to his fledgling career. In a case involving the prosecution of powerful political moguls caught in a *monte* raid in the Carombola Club, Tañada came up against two of the ablest criminal lawyers of the country. He refused to be discouraged by the pressure mounted against him and fearlessly prosecuted the parties involved.

During the Second World War, Tañada joined the Civil Liberties Union (CLU).<sup>17</sup> This organization undertook anti-Japanese propaganda activities. The Araneta Law Office in the Insular Life Building on Plaza Moraga served as the meeting ground. In contact with the Anderson guerrilla group in Luzon and the Peralta group in the Visayas, the CLU helped publish the *Free Philippines* during the war.

The anti-Japanese propaganda activities of the group bolstered the people's morale but exacted five lives. Among the victims were Liling Roces, Amando "Good Morning Judge" Dayrit, Antonio Bautista, Dr. Ramon de Santos and Jose Apacible. Others were imprisoned and tortured.

Soon after the war, Tañada was appointed by President Sergio Osmeña as Judge of the Court of the First Instance of Manila. After three months in office, he was reappointed by the President as Solicitor-General and Chief of the Office of the Special Prosecutors.<sup>18</sup>

His first major task was to prosecute collaborators, many of whom represented the cream of Filipino national leaders of the time. The prosecution of Teofilo Sison<sup>19</sup> was his first job.

In 1947 President Manuel Roxas drafted Tañada to run as senator under the Liberal Party ticket. To the surprise of everyone, Tañada, a complete newcomer to the political scene, topped the senatorial elections.<sup>20</sup>

After this election, Tañada and Recto found themselves together again and both leaders made nationalism the anchor of their careers. It was during this time that Tañada carved a name for himself as a graft-buster. He campaigned vigorously for good and honest government. In 1949 he hit the headlines for his expose of then Senate President Jose Avelino's involvement in surplus beer transactions. This exposé led to the ouster of Avelino from the presidency of the Senate and his subsequent suspension from office.<sup>21</sup>

In 1956, Recto asked Tañada to be his running mate in the 1957 Presidential elections. Both leaders combined their forces in the Nationalist Citizens Party. Although they lost the election, they made much headway for the cause of nationalism and economic independence.<sup>22</sup>

One leading journalist once asserted that few men in the country could match Tañada's record of public service. This record was illumined with acts of integrity, honesty, conviction, character, and integrity.<sup>23</sup>

Tañada's political career was marked by his relentless crusade for reforms, and although his was a solitary voice in the wilderness, it inspired many to take up the cause of nationalism. In several instances, he was called the Don Quixote of Philippine politics. Like Quixote, he fought the windmills and did not care whether it was a friend or foe who got hurt in his quest for what was right.<sup>24</sup> He was a person who did not hesitate to sacrifice friendship for principles and good government.

Tañada was especially vigilant during the Marcos years. He blamed Marcos' martial law regime for the de-Filipinization of the Philippine economy. He acted as one of the most consistent and inspiring critics of the "Marcosian profligacy, treachery and abandonment of the national interest."<sup>25</sup> As Constantino asserts:

The policy of honoring even the onerous debts incurred during the Marcos period has shackled our people to an even heavier debt service burden. Import liberalization, deregulation, privatization, are all antithetical to the nationalist thesis so convincingly articulated by Tañada and his contemporaries.<sup>26</sup>

Later on, Tañada shifted to "street parliamentarism". Former Chief Justice Claudio Teehankee described him as the "Grand Old Man of the Opposition for he always stood for the rule of law, truth and justice, and civil liberties and human rights."<sup>27</sup> Teehankee added that:

He has invariably championed the cause of the poor and the oppressed and the less fortunate with the conviction that the liberties of one are not safe unless the liberties of all are protected.<sup>28</sup>

During the Marcos period, Tañada, despite his age and a serious heart problem, became the chair of LABAN, a mass-based opposition umbrella which was very active in its opposition to the Marcos administration. He had been a permanent fixture in all major mass protest actions.

He has marched the streets, spoken at mammoth rallies, braved tear gas and water cannons, confronted the military face to face, argued passionately before the Supreme Court in defense of human rights and engaged in countless other other daring deeds in a fashion that can't be reduced to a merely romance but an authentic linking of arms with the masses.<sup>29</sup>

He also became one of the leaders of the People's MIND (Movement for the Independence, Nationalism, and Democracy) which led the boycott movement during the 1981 presidential election. The following year, he co-chaired the National Coalition for the Protection of Worker's Rights with the late labor leader Ka Bert Olalia. After the Aquino assassination on August 23, 1983, he led the Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA) movement.<sup>31</sup>

His credentials as a nationalist are without doubt one of the finest, spanning not only the period after martial law was imposed but the years before it. An outstanding member of the Old Senate, he authored and passed progressive laws such as the Picketing Law, later known as the "Tañada Law" and much later rendered useless with the passage of various anti-labor legislation. He also chaired the Movement for the Advancement of Democracy with Jose Ma. Sison and Ka Bert Olalia in 1966, seeds which made him particularly ripe for the military picking come September 1972.<sup>32</sup>

Tañada actively campaigned for President Corazon C. Aquino when she ran against Marcos in 1986. And when he died in 1992, President Aquino eulogized him as "a teacher of the Filipino's will to be free." She further intoned that:

He has taught us the Filipinos will to be free, our love for freedom, must never rest, must never grow old. With a sharp sense of civic duty and a keen feeling of honor in action, he led the way.<sup>33</sup>

Amando Doronila described the mystique of Tañada in this way:

To many Filipinos, Tañada was the personification of the "man for all seasons." He served with distinction in the judicial system (as a judge, as a prosecutor in the people's court, and as a solicitor general), in the legislative (as a senator, mainly as an oppositionist for four terms), in the parliament of the streets, as a human rights campaigner against the Marcos dictatorship, and as a nationalist who never wavered in his engagement in the campaign to put substance to Philippine Independence, vis-a-vis the United States.<sup>34</sup>

## *Contribution to Philippine Nationalist Thought*

To Tañada, nationalism is the force that will enable the Filipinos to transform their country progressively. He defined nationalism as:

... the primal virtue of the citizens; that virtue which prompts him to place the common good of his people above his own private and personal good, above the interests of his party; that virtue that makes him willing, nay glad, to sacrifice himself that the nation might live. Nationalism is a virtue; it is therefore a habit of the will. But it is not only that; it is also a habit of the intellect; a mental attitude; a way of looking at things and judging them. A nationalist is not only one who is ready to die for his country. He is also one who is ready to think for his country.<sup>35</sup>

Such words capture the distilled reflection that had been the lifelong guiding philosophy of the "Grand Old Man of Philippine Politics."

According to Tañada, Filipinos should have control and use of the national patrimony before foreign nationals do. He believed that through a nationalist movement, the socio-economic problems facing the country could be solved. He pointed to the business class and the intelligentsia, together with a supportive government, as the sectors of society who will usher in development in the country. But, he also emphasized the importance and the role that the masses would play in the industrialization process. With the expansion of the home market attained through the broadening of the people's purchasing power, the problems facing the country could be solved. He argued that the imposition of martial law aborted the nationalist movement that was gaining momentum in the 1960s. Instead of coming up with policies that would further promote local interests vis-a-vis foreign interests, the Marcos government adopted a policy which opened all sectors of the economy to alien investors. This policy was backed by numerous presidential decrees that boosted not only the interests of foreigners but at the same time had delimited and decreased the privileges of numerous problems confronting the country.

He said that the solution to the socio-economic problems of the country lay in the hands of the Filipinos themselves. They must put their strengths together and adopt measures to prevent the country from being dragged into a nuclear holocaust because of the presence of the American military bases. Through their united effort, the U.S. government might be persuaded to remove its bases. If not, the case could be brought up to the United Nations and other international fora to pressure the United States to remove its bases in the country.



## *The Political Leadership of Tañada*

Tañada started out as a traditional politician. However, he was not a regular Filipino politician who sacrificed principles for political expediency. As shown by Tañada, a principled politician can survive in the political arena. He never permitted anyone, even his friends and very influential people, to sway him from matters he strongly believed in.

He was already a nationalist before he met Recto. The seed of nationalism was implanted in him while he was still a student. This became evident when he joined the Civil Liberties Union during the Second World War. However, it was Recto who opened the eyes of Tañada to nationalism as a means to solve the ills of Philippine society. Said Recto to Tañada: "Fighting graft and corruption is spectacular but it is a negative attack; what the country needs is a positive approach through nationalism."<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Recto's influence on Tañada was a turning point in his career — he was not only campaigning for good and honest government but he started advocating Filipinism, a program of good government popularized by Recto in the 1950s and continued by other nationalist after the former's death. Nevertheless, the maturing of Tañada's nationalist ideas came much later when Recto was no longer around to advance the nationalist crusade. It appeared as if the nationalist legacy was passed on from Recto's shoulder to Tañada's. According to Constantino, when Recto died in August 1960, everyone expected Tañada to take up the nationalist crusade. However, Tañada, in the eyes of Constantino, failed to become the towering figure in Philippine politics in the 1960s who would propel the newly-awakened nationalist consciousness of the Filipino people into greater heights as expected of him by Recto.<sup>37</sup>

It was sometime during martial rule that Tañada's maturation as a nationalist leader occurred. According to Ma. Socorro Diokno, the martial law experience was a turning point in the country in recent history. It jolted a lot of people's awareness. It made them question the very beliefs and ideas they had prior to that time.<sup>38</sup>

Tañada was one of those people who did that. He saw very clearly that what Recto and other nationalists like him were espousing in the 1950s and the 1960s were indeed true. He realized that the presence of the foreign military bases in the country was not really for the promotion of democracy and justice in the country as claimed by the Americans. The bases were in the country mainly for the promotion of American interests in the country and the Asia-Pacific region. He also saw clearly how U.S. presence in the country supported the dictatorship of Marcos.

Indeed, the huge influx of military and defense commitments and aids provided by the U.S. government to the Marcos administration had led to the flagrant and human rights violation in the country.<sup>39</sup> The support and aid given by the U.S. government to the Marcos administration helped prolong the dictatorship long after it had lost its legitimacy. In short, the martial law situation clarified and crystallized a lot of things which were only speculations and theories before the period.<sup>40</sup>

Tañada, who announced his retirement from politics in 1971, was once again motivated to play an active role in denouncing the Marcos dictatorship and U.S. intervention in the affairs of the country.

He considered national survival as the most crucial problem facing the Filipinos. He saw the foreign military bases and the Bataan nuclear power plant as the most serious threats to the survival of the Filipino people. The solution to this problem was the positive affirmation of nationalism in every aspect of Philippine society in order to break free from the bonds of colonial upbringing.

Knowing the inadequacy of relying on traditional methods of mobilizing the people, Tañada turned towards the formation of numerous organizations and the creation of various social movements. It was through his numerous organizations and participation in mass movements that he tried to educate the people and raise their nationalist consciousness. Among the various activist political organizations he joined and led were the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN), Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN), Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-LABAN), Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN), COMPACT, the Nationalist Citizens Party, the Civil Liberties Union, Nationalist Alliance for Freedom, Justice, and Democracy (NAJFD), Justice for Aquino, Justice for All (JAJA), Kongreso ng Mamamayang Pilipino (KOMPIL), the Movement for Attorneys Brotherhood, Integrity and Nationalism, Inc. (MABINI), and the National Coalition for the Protection of Workers Rights (NCPWR).

Thus, unlike Recto who attempted to raise the nationalist consciousness of the Filipinos mainly through the traditional fora of contestation and mobilization such as in the Senate and electoral exercises, Tañada resorted to nontraditional, vigilant methods such as mass rallies and demonstrations and the nurturing of non-party social formations.

### *Tañada's Principle of Politics*

When Tañada entered politics in 1947, his leadership was more transactional rather than transformational. Burns defined the former as that type

of leadership which motivates followers by exchanging with them rewards for services rendered. Transactional leaders approach followers with an eye for exchanging one thing for another; jobs for votes, or subsidies for campaign contributions. These transactions include the bulk of relationships among leaders and followers, especially in groups, legislatures, and parties.<sup>41</sup> Transformational leadership, on the other hand is more intricate and more powerful. Not only does the transforming leader recognize and exploit an existing need or demand of potential followers, he or she attempts to engage their full person to satisfy higher needs. This type of leadership results in mutual stimulation and elevation that convert followers into leaders and may transform leaders into moral agents.<sup>42</sup>

As a senatorial aspirant from a landed family in Quezon, Tañada relied more on the campaign machinery of the Liberal Party to be able to make it to the Senate. It was a bit ironic that he, the former Solicitor General tasked to prosecute collaborators, would join the Liberal Party which was full of people accused of collaboration. It seemed that he was no different from other politicians of the time. He compromised his sense of *delicadeza* when he joined the Liberal Party of Roxas — the same people he arraigned and prosecuted while he was the Solicitor General; and Head of the Office of the Special Prosecutors. It appeared as if his political ambition overrode all other considerations.

Even then, despite his being a transactional leader, Tañada was a principle-oriented politician. Where other politicians would commit anomalies to advance their own selfish interests, he saw to it that the public interest was safeguarded. In fact, he became a staunch advocate for good and honest government. He was very uncompromising on this issue and vigorously exposed the anomalies committed by his colleagues in the Senate.<sup>43</sup> Later on, he disassociated himself from the Liberal Party because of its rampant corruption. A few days later, he accepted the presidency of the Citizens Party.

The Citizens Party was founded on May 14, 1949 by a group of young professionals in a private house in a suburb of Manila. This civic organization was formed to undertake a campaign against the “festering sores of injustice and corruption.” It was a new political party designed to “break political traditions and inject new, uncontaminated blood into the poisoned arteries of our public service.”<sup>44</sup> The founding members of the new party included Raul Manglapus, Francisco Rodrigo, Simeon Gopongco, Patrocinio Dayrit, Aurelio Matuc, Juan Tan, Sixto Roxas, Vicente Jayme, Rene Dawis, and one or two others.<sup>45</sup>

Tañada was a relentless graftbuster because he worked hard for his money. He was noted for his frugality to the point that it was a source of humor for his friends, family and colleagues.

Although Tañada fought for the interests of the less privileged sectors in society, it was the plight of the laborers which he took up. He filed several bills in the Senate increasing the minimum wage of laborers but he never sponsored a land reform bill.

Although, by and large, Tañada was a progressive political leader, he was a conservative on the issue of land reform. In the early 1960s, President Macapagal's Land Reform Code was emasculated by over 200 amendments made in Congress. According to Manglapus, the concerted efforts of Senators Alejandro Almendras and Tañada were pivotal in watering down the land reform bill.<sup>46</sup>

Another incident which depicted his conservative stance on land reform was his refusal to divide his 350 hectares of land in Pio Duran, Albay. Upon learning of the land reform program of the government, 200 tenants of Tañada approached him for the redistribution of the land. Tañada refused to do so, arguing that the land would be more productive under his management.<sup>47</sup> He said that industrialization combined with the broadening of the people's purchasing power was the solution to the socio-economic problems of the country.

F. Sionil Jose, in a newspaper article, expressed his disappointment regarding Tañada's position on land reform thus:

I wish that his nationalism went far beyond the Anti-American bases issue, that he had supported, too, the struggle for agrarian reform. Like the late Claro M. Recto, he had opposed this single most important impetus to development and justice for the peasantry. In this, he differed from Diokno, Pelaez, Manahan, Manglapus — ilustrados like himself, who nevertheless, worked for the welfare of our landless farmers.<sup>48</sup>

Wilfrido Villacorta and Ma. Socorro Diokno differed from this view. Both believed that Tañada advocated land reform later in his life. Both insisted that Tañada was able to transcend his elite status to fight for the interests of the poor. They point out that Tañada fought and defended the poorer sectors of Philippine society later in his life, at a time when he could have just savored his retirement and let the younger generation take over. Villacorta asserted that "this fact more than compensates for whatever shortcomings he had, if he ever had those shortcomings."<sup>49</sup>

On the other hand, Constantino asserts that Tañada had failed to rise from his own conservative background:

Given the variegated aspects of the nationalist problem, there were many complicated issues which he had no time to learn. On these he would resolutely maintain his silence, reaping thereby misunderstanding and suspicion from the quarters that expected him to speak up.

Tañada is an example of a man who, despite his efforts to rise above the deadweight of tradition, has failed to cross the political barriers between what he knows to be obsolete and what he envisions as the new.<sup>50</sup>

Tañada was constrained by his class position, colonial upbringing and by his own personal ambition. But when he was no longer occupying any political office, he was then able to firm up his grasp of the issues and mature as a nationalist leader. He must be commended, just like Recto, who was able to break away from his colonial condition.<sup>52</sup>

Using Constantino's description, Tañada was "decolonized." In the mid-1980s, Constantino retracted his earlier assessment of Tañada. He declared that the latter had traversed the political barriers and, therefore, was more effectively able to lead his people. His vision of what should be was clear for the whole world to see.<sup>53</sup> He was therefore able to lead his people to reach for greater heights.

## *Conclusion*

Tañada's consistent and persistent quest for the liberation of the country against foreign interference and domination cannot be underestimated. From his student days at De La Salle University to his last fight against the ratification of the U.S.-R.P. Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Security in September 1991, he remained true to his beliefs that the country should be run by Filipinos themselves. Unlike most Filipino leaders who are known to change their mind to suit the time and circumstance, he always upheld his principles and remained true to the nationalist tradition he helped set, shape and advance.

Tañada was a unique political leader for he became more popular after retiring from public office. Though retired in 1971, he was forced to enter the scene once more but this time in a different arena and for a more urgent purpose: to struggle against the Marcos dictatorship and U.S. neocolonialism. He became part of and assisted the formation of numerous groups and various social

movements. It was through his participation in mass movements that he tried to educate the people and raise their nationalist consciousness. It was also through these organizations that he was able to demonstrate fully his transformational leadership, because, among others, in his dealings with the members of these groups he was able to engage their whole person. With vision, self-confidence, and inner strength, he was able to transform these people into leaders in their own right.

Indeed, few people can equal Tañada's unassailable record of public service much less his greatness as a man of strength, conviction, character, honesty and integrity. It would only be proper and right that he be ranked as one of the greatest Filipino nationalist leaders of modern times, along with Recto and Diokno.

## *Endnotes*

<sup>1</sup>Renato Constantino, The Essential Tañada (Quezon City: Karrel Inc., 1989), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>Michael Dueñas, "Lorenzo M. Tañada — Consistent Nationalist," Philippine Free Press, 16 September 1989, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Robert C. Tucker, Politics as Leadership (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1981).

<sup>4</sup>James McGregor Burns, Leadership (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1978).

<sup>5</sup>Renato Constantino, "Assessing Tani in a Framework of Our Struggles," Malaya, 17 August 1986, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup>Concepcion Expedita E. Silos, "Notes on Lorenzo M. Tañada," p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Lorenzo M. Tañada, Nationalism: A Summons to Greatness, ed. by Ileana Maramag (Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1965), p. x.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid, p. xi.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Amadis Ma. Guerrero, "Taps for an Elder Statesman," Graphic, 29 December 1971, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup>Tañada was a basketball and football enthusiast. While in La Salle he was a basketball player in the University of the Philippines, he was a football player. At one time he created a sensation of sorts when he was pushed against the goal net — along with the ball which he had blocked. Despite the fact that the football team was always beaten, Tañada became a member of the national football team and participated in the Osaka, Japan games of 1923 and in the 1925 Asian games.

<sup>13</sup>Tañada, Nationalism, p. xii.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>The CLU was established in 1939 to oppose the dictatorial tendencies of President Manuel L. Quezon. This organization was the Civil Liberties Union. The founding members of this organization were: Rafael "Liling" Roces, Jr., Dr. Paulo Garcia, Atty. Antonio Bautista, Dr. Francisco Lava, Atty. Manuel Crudo, and Dr. Manuel Lim.

<sup>18</sup>Tañada, Nationalism, xv.

<sup>19</sup>Teofilo Sison was the third-ranking official as Minister of State (Department of Interior) of the Philippine wartime government. Laurel and Vargas were still in Japan at that time.

<sup>20</sup>Tañada, Nationalism, xvi-xvii.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xvii.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xviii.

<sup>23</sup>Willie Jurado, "Lorenzo M. Tañada: Political Loner," Part I, Weekly Nation, 24 January 1972, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>Constantino, The Essential Tañada, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup>Desiree Carlos, "Nation's Conscience is a Booming Voice," Malaya, 19 August 1985, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>Sonia Dipasupil, "Meet the Ageless Warriors," We Forum, 24 September-30 September 1985, pp. 3, 15.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup>Booma Cruz, "Grand Old Man Tañada Laid to Rest," The Manila Chronicle, 3 June 1992, p. 7.



<sup>34</sup>Amando Doronila, "Tañada, A Man For All Seasons," The Manila Chronicle, 2 June 1992, p.1.

<sup>35</sup>Tañada, Nationalism, p. ix.

<sup>36</sup>Guerrero, "Elder Statesman," p. 13.

<sup>37</sup>Interview with Renato C. Constantino, Lorenzo M. Tañada, Quezon City, 13 June 1993.

<sup>38</sup>Interview with Ma. Socorro Diokno, Lorenzo M. Tañada, Quezon City, 27 May 1993.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Burns, Leadership, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>43</sup>During his first few years in the Senate, he was able to carve a name for himself as a relentless graftbuster. This was due to his persistent campaign for a good and honest government as well as his exposé of Senate President Jose Avelino's involvement in surplus beer transactions in 1949. This exposé resulted to the latter's ouster from the presidency of the Senate and his suspension from office.

<sup>44</sup>Vicente Encarnacion, Jr., "The Citizens Party — A Study of Contemporary Social Movements," M.A. Thesis, Submitted at the Graduate School of the University of the Philippines, August 1954, p. 42.

<sup>45</sup>From the Speech of Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada at the Launching of the Citizens Party, September 3, 1949, in Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>46</sup>Renato C. Constantino and Letizia R. Constantino, The Philippines: The Continuing Past (Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1978), p. 319; and Raul S. Manglapus, Land of Bondage, Land of the Free: Social Revolution in the Philippines (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1967), quoted in James Putzel, A Captive Land (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992), p. 116.

<sup>47</sup>Eufemio M. Mediavillo, "Tañada: Naiibang Mambabatas," Now, 15 January 1972, pp. 29, 59.

<sup>48</sup>F. Sionil Jose, "'Tañada's Shining Moments,'" in Two Cheers for Tañada," Manila Chronicle, 9 June 1992, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup>Villacorta, Tañada; and Diokno, Tañada.

<sup>50</sup>Interview with Wilfrido V. Villacorta, Lorenzo M. Tañada, Taft, Manila, 14 May 1993; and Interview with Ma. Socorro Diokno, Lorenzo M. Tañada, Quezon City, 27 May 1993.

<sup>51</sup>Renato Constantino, The Making of a Filipino: A Story of Philippine Colonial Politics (Quezon City: Malaya Books Inc., 1969), p. 280.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 296.

<sup>53</sup>Constantino, "Early Years With Tani," p. 9.

## ***Bibliography:***

### **Books**

Abaya, Hernando J. The CLU Story: Fifty Years of Struggle for Civil Liberties. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. Betrayal in the Philippines. New York: A.A. Wyn, Inc., 1946.

Arcellana, Emerenciana Y. The Social and Political Thought of Claro Mayo Recto. Makati: the National Research Council of the Philippines, 1981.

Burns, James McGregor. Leadership. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1978.

Constantino, Renato, ed. The Essential Tañada. Quezon City: Karrel, Inc., 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Nationalist Alternative. Rev. ed. Quezon City: Foundation for Nationalist Studies, 1984.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Making of a Filipino: A Story of Philippine Colonial Politics. Quezon City: Malaya Books, Inc., 1969.

Denzin, Norman K. The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods. 3rd ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods. Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Pub. Co., 1970.

Garcia, Ed and Nemenzo, Francisco. The Sovereign Quest: Freedom from Foreign Military Bases. Quezon City: Claretian Publications, 1988.

Nolledo, Jose N. The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines Explained. 1991 rev. ed. Metro Manila: National Bookstore, Inc., 1991.

Schirmer, Daniel B. and Shalom, Stephen Rosskamm. The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship and Resistance. Boston: South End Press, 1987.

Tañada, Lorenzo M. Nationalism: A Summons to Greatness ed. Illeana Maramag. Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1965.

Tucker, Robert C. Politics as Leadership. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1981.

## Articles

"At 89, Tañada Vows to go on Fighting." Manila Chronicle, 10 August 1987, pp. 1, 2.

Bernas, Joaquin G. "Sounding Board: The Giant Man." Manila Chronicle, 6-12 June 1992, p. 4.

Bernas, Joaquin G. "Occasional Reflections: A Description of Tañada as 'Communist'." Veritas, 12 January 1986, pp. 5, 11.

Carlos, Desiree. "Nation's Conscience is a Booming Voice." Malaya, 19 August 1985, p. 12.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Grand Old Man' feted at 86," Malaya, 12 August 1984, pp. 1-2.

Constantino, Renato. "Assessing Tani in a Framework of our Struggles." Malaya, 17 August 1986, p. 9.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Early Years with Tani: Recto and Senate Slot." Malaya, 18 August 1986, p. 9.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Economic Nationalism: The Old Warrior's Last Fight?" Malaya, 19 August 1986, p. 9.

Cruz, Booma. "Grand Old Man Tañada Laid to Rest." Manila Chronicle, 3 June 1992, p. 7.

Diokno, Jose W. "Foreword." In Tañada, Lorenzo M. The Bataan Nuclear Power Plant: A Monument to Man's Folly Pride and Refusal to Admit Mistakes. Reprinted by the International Affairs Program of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines and the Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC), 1992.

Dipasupil, Sonia G. "Meet the Ageless Warriors." We Forum, 24-30 September 1985, pp. 3, 15.

Doronila, Amado. "Tañada, A Man for all Seasons." Manila Chronicle, 2 June 1992, pp. 1, 6.

- Dueñas, Michael. "Lorenzo M. Tañada — Consistent Nationalist." Philippines Free Press, 16 September 1989, pp. 14-15.
- Guerrero, Amadis Ma. "Taps for an Elder Statesman." Graphic, 29 December 1971, pp. 10-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Taps for an Elder Statesman." Graphic, 5 January 1972, pp. 12-13.
- "I'll be active as long as I can — Tañada." Malaya, 31 December 1984, p. 3.
- "Interview PDP-LABAN Chairman Lorenzo M. Tañada." Observer, 27 June 1982, p. 34.
- Jose, F. Sionil. "Tañada's Shining Moments', Two Cheers for Tanada." Manila Chronicle, 9 June 1992, p. 5.
- Jurado, Willie. "Lorenzo M. Tañada: Political Loner," Part I. Weekly Nation, 24 January 1972, p. 4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lorenzo M. Tañada: Political Loner," Part II. Weekly Nation, 31 January 1972, p. 10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Lorenzo M. Tañada: Political Loner," Part III. Weekly Nation, 7 February 1972, p. 11.
- "Ka Tanny: Tunay, Palaban, Makabayan." Veritas, 18 August 1985, p. 15.
- Leuterio-Ilustre, Macrina. "One Against the Senate." This Week, 15 July 1956, pp. 36-37.
- Mediavillo, Eufemio M. "Tañada: Naiibang Mambabatas." Now, 15 January 1972, pp. 27-29, 59.
- Molina, Hilario C. "'Lone Wolf' in the Senate, Tañada: Outstanding Lawmaker." Philippine Panorama, 26 December 1971, pp. 18-19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'Lone Wolf' in the Senate, Tañada: Outstanding Lawmaker." Philippine Panorama, 2 January 1972, pp. 14-15.
- Nakpil, Carmen G. "Consensus of One: Better Right Than President." Weekly Graphic, 20 October 1965, p. 11.

- Nepomuceno, Antonio F. "Welcome Address: Tribute to Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada." In Tañada, Lorenzo M. The Bataan Nuclear Power Plant: A Monument to Man's Folly Pride and Refusal to Admit Mistakes. Reprinted by the International Affairs Program of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines and the Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC), 1992.
- Rama, Napoleon G. "1961's Four Outstanding Senators." Philippines Free Press, 3 June 1961, pp. 10, 74.
- Reyes, Ernesto. "Lorenzo Tañada Namayapa." Diyaryo Filipino, 29 Mayo 1992, pp. 1, 2.
- Simbulan, Roland G. "Introduction: Lorenzo M. Tañada: A Tribute to a Colossal Nationalist Leader." In Tañada, Lorenzo M. The Bataan Nuclear Power Plant: A Monument to Man's Folly Pride and Refusal to Admit Mistakes. Reprinted by the International Affairs Program of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines and the Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC), 1992.
- Son, Johanna. "Tañada — A Near-Perfect Specimen of a True Public Servant." Manila Chronicle, 2 June 1992, p. 3.
- "Tañada Gets Highest RP Award." Malaya, 11 August 1986, pp. 1, 7.
- Tañada, Lorenzo M. The Bataan Nuclear Power Plant: A Monument to Man's Folly Pride and Refusal to Admit Mistakes. Reprinted by the International Affairs Program of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines and the Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition (NFPC), 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Reckless Alienation of the National Patrimony: A Story of Two Contracts. Manila, Republic of the Philippines: Senate, 1964.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Challenge of Democracy." Philippines Free Press, 31 December 1949, p. 3.
- Tejero, Constantino C. "The Tañada's: Sons and Fathers." Sunday Inquirer Magazine, 22 April 1990, pp. 7-10.
- Villacorta, Wilfrido. V. "A Man Who Dreamt' In Two Cheers for Tañada." Manila Chronicle, 9 June 1992, p. 5.

## **Public Documents**

Commission on Elections. Consolidated List of Candidates for President, Vice-President, Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, Provinces and City Officials with their Respective Votes and Party Affiliations, 1946-1965 Elections.

Commission on Elections. Elected Officials, 11 November 1947 Elections.

The 1935 Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines.

Military Assistance Pact.

Military Bases Agreement.

Philippine Trade Act of 1946 (Bell Act).

Treaty of General Relations Between the United States and the Philippines.

## **Unpublished Documents**

Encarnacion, Vicente Jr. "The Citizens Party — A Study in Contemporary Social Movements. (M.A. Thesis, Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of the Philippines, August 1954.

New Manila. Jose W. Diokno Papers.

Pasig. Concepcion Expedita Silos Papers.

## **Interviews**

Constantino, Renato. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Panay Avenue, Quezon City. Interview. 13 June 1993.

Diokno, Ma. Socorro. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Kamuning, Quezon City. Interview. 27 May 1993.

Magno, Alexander. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Diliman, Quezon City. Interview, 15 October 1993.

Rosales, Loretta Ann. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Cubao, Quezon City. Interview. 7 June 1993.

Silos, Concepcion Expedita "Chona" E. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Pasig. Interview. 18 May 1993.

Tañada, Wigberto E. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Pedro Gil, Manila. Interview. 21 June 1993.

Tañada, Wigberto R., Jr. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Pasig. Interview. 18 May 1993.

Villacorta, Wilfrido V. Lorenzo M. Tañada. Taft, Manila. Interview. 14 May 1993.

### **Speeches**

"The Bataan Nuclear Power Plant: A Monument to Man's Folly Pride and Refusal to Admit Mistakes." Speech Delivered by Lorenzo M. Tañada, August 16, 1983 at the Quezon City Sports Club.

Opening Remarks by Honorable Lorenzo M. Tañada. In People's Review, April 6, 1988 at the U.P. Law Center Complex, Diliman, Quezon City.

Speech Delivered by Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada on the Occasion of the Conferment Upon him and Senator Jose W. Diokno (posthumous) of the degrees of Doctor of Laws (Honoris Causa), August 10, 1988 at the Abelardo Hall, University of the Philippines.

"We Will Survive." Keynote Address Delivered by Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada at the Inauguration of the Anti-Bases Coalition, February 12, 1983 at St. Joseph's College Auditorium, Quezon City.