A Preliminary Profile of Women "Collaborators" in the People's Court Records

Ma. Florina Yamsuan Orillos

ABSTRACT

Sa gitna ng pagbangon ng bansang Pilipinas mula sa mga hamon at sulirani ng bunsod ng Ikalawang Digmaang Pandaigdig, isang importanteng usapin ang pumalaot—ang isyu ng kolaborasyon. Marami sa mga opisyales na naglingkod sa gobyernong Laurel na pinalakad ng mga Hapones ang inakusahan ng kolaborasyong pulitikal. Gayundin, may mga *elite* at sibilyan na pinaratangan ng kolaborasyong ekonomiko at kultural. Binuo ang People's Court noong 1945 upang maglitis ng mga kaso ng *treason* laban sa pamahalaang Pilipinas at Estados Unidos habang ang bansa ay napasailalim sa mga Hapones. Kabilang sa mga isinakdal sa naturang hukuman ay mga popular na personalidad bago at pagkatapos ng digmaan. Sa katunayan, naging paksa na ng mga naunang pag-aaral ang proseso ng paglilitis sa mga naturang personalidad. Gayunpaman, kapansin-pansin mula sa mga naiwang tala ng People's Court na may 130 pangalan ng kababaihan. Pinapaksa ng pag-aaral na ito ang kaso ng animnapu't limang kababaihan na naisampa sa People's Court. Nilalayon ng pananaliksik na matukoy kung anu-ano ang mga partikularidad ng mga kasong isinampa.

One of the ineffaceable consequences of the Second World War in the Philippines was that it left the nation divided. The root of discord was in the collaboration controversy. There were at least two perspectives from which the issue was viewed. The post-war Philippine government (with constant pressure coming from the United States government), the guerillas, and majority of the Filipinos who lost their loved ones during the occupation held the collaborators responsible for the physical devastation of the country, as well as for the ruthless killings of countless men and women who refused to cooperate and who repudiated the Japanese.

At the helm of this controversy were top-ranking Filipino officials and influential personalities. In the eyes of both the Philippine and United States governments, these people betrayed their country by working for the Japanese. However, from the point of view of the alleged collaborators, they merely cooperated with the Japanese for the good of the country and for the welfare of their countrymen under the circumstances of Japanese occupation. Aside from the numerous political personages, there were ordinary citizens who were also pinpointed as having collaborated with the Japanese during the war. These alleged collaborators were charged with the crime of treason and the arraignments were handed over to a special court—the People's Court (PC) which was created in 1945.

The records of the People's Court were kept in the repositories of the Department of Justice in Manila. However, a fire razed the building in the 1960s. Fortunately, the People's Court Papers (PCP) were salvaged from the pile of documents that were in danger of being reduced to ashes. These legal documents are now housed in the University of the Philippines Main Library in Diliman. To date, only a few researchers have looked into these documents. At least 261 boxes of court records are available. The court files of famous personalities in those times like Jose P. Laurel, Camilo Osias, Teofilo Sison, Guillermo Francisco and Benigno Aquino Sr. who were tried for treason are included in the UP Collection of the PCP.

The cases of collaboration became the focal point of numerous books. In David Joel Steinberg's *Philippine Collaboration in World War II*, the cases of Teofilo Sison, Bishop Cesar Ma. Guerrero, Jose P. Laurel and General Guillermo Francisco were dealt with. In Hernando Abaya's book, *Betrayal in the Philippines*, the role of Jorge Vargas and Jose P. Laurel, including Manuel A. Roxas as "collaborators" was also discussed. Teodoro Agoncillo tackled the collaboration cases of Jorge Vargas and Jose P. Laurel in his book, *The Burden of Proof: The Vargas-Laurel Collaboration Case*. Curiously though, the aforementioned authors primarily focused on men who

were accused of cooperating with the Japanese. Moreover, these works concentrated on the pre-war politico-economic elite who worked closely with the Japanese. It is important to note, however, that there are women who were actually tried in the People's Court for "collaborating" with the enemy.

The writer was able to find at least one hundred thirty (130) names of women in the People's Court Papers. Most of these women came from humble families while the others belonged to well-known clans. This paper aims to uncover the details of the cases of these women and the "crime" they were charged of perpetrating. Sixty five (65) cases of women out of the one hundred thirty (130) names that appeared in the PCP index were selected and reviewed for this study.

Historical Background

With the establishment of the Commonwealth Government in 1935, President Manuel L. Quezon and his cabinet had a lot of adjusting to do. After all, they did not have much experience in self-governance because of more than four centuries of colonial rule. The country had its own share of various political, social, cultural and economic dilemmas. Nevertheless, Quezon's administration did everything it could to prepare for the forthcoming independence that would be "granted" by America. The government was trying to improve the country's condition by formulating and implementing programs that would stabilize the economy, assure national security and ensure social equity.

However, this transition period was halted by the Japanese occupation of the Philippine Islands. Japan bombed Pearl Harbor in the first week of December 1941 and the United States subsequently declared war against Japan. Great Britain also declared war against Japan. World War II broke out.

In the Philippines, the Japanese made several landings in the North and South. One of their first accomplishments was the

destruction of the American planes stationed in Clark Field, Pampanga. Days later, major landings were made, specifically at Lingayen, Pangasinan and Mauban, Quezon. The two Japanese forces from these landings were set to meet in Manila and occupy the city. Meanwhile, the Philippine Army, together with the United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) could no longer hold back the enemy because of poor training and inadequate and defective equipment. MacArthur issued an order for the Army to retreat to Bataan. Manila was declared an open city and Quezon, Osmeña and some members of the cabinet were evacuated to Corregidor. It was of utmost importance that the key officials of the Commonwealth Government were not caught by the Japanese because even if the enemy occupied the whole country, "it would not have the same significance under international law as if the Government had been captured or had surrendered" (Steinberg 30). Before Quezon left, he appointed his Secretary, Jorge Vargas as mayor of Greater Manila Area and instructed him to do his best in catering to the needs of the Filipino people while cooperating with the Japanese to some extent. Jose P. Laurel was also left behind and he was sworn in as Secretary of Justice.

A month after the Japanese occupation of Manila, General Masaharu Homma delivered a speech in which he reiterated the Japanese intentions in the Philippines:

> "...you have now entered upon a new era of re-construction in this country. The re-construction which this country requires is now two-fold; it is both in materials and in spirit. In order to accomplish this task of re-construction which you have bravely taken up, you must eradicate all the fundamental evils, apart from your immediate work for the restoration of peace and order, the reparation of damages and the stabilization of popular sentiments, etc." (v)

In Bataan and Corregidor, MacArthur and his men continued to defend their line. The Japanese had followed them shortly but they suffered great losses because the troops, composed of American

and Filipino soldiers were firm in their stand to defend Bataan until the end. In the middle of this turmoil, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to escape from Corregidor and proceed to Australia. General Jonathan Wainwright who joined MacArthur at Bataan after stalling the Japanese in Calumpit, Bulacan replaced him as the commander of the USAFFE. By March 1942, the troops at Bataan were no longer getting support and rations from the United States. Finally, on April 9, the leader of the Bataan troops, Gen. Edward King and his men surrendered to the Japanese. Corregidor was now the center of Japanese offensive because Bataan already fell—the bombing continued and the soldiers never got enough rest. The USAFFE troops at Corregidor finally succumbed to Japanese forces on May 6, 1942. The Director-General of the Japanese Military Administration, Major General Hayashi delivered a speech stating, among others, that the Filipinos must cooperate "for the successful conclusion of the sacred war for the glorious rise of East Asia sponsored by Japan."

General Masaharu Homma of the Japanese Imperial Army began to appoint officials of the Executive Commission and Jorge Vargas was chosen to be its head. Moreover, Vargas was instructed to organize the departments of Interior, Finance, Justice, Agriculture, Education, Health and Public Welfare, and Public Works and Communications. The heads of these departments would be Filipinos too but a Japanese adviser would be assigned for each of these. The executive, as well as limited legislative powers at that time were concentrated in the hands of Jorge Vargas, although the Council of State served as an advisory council.

In May 1943, Prime Minister Hideki Tojo visited Manila and met with key Philippine officials. A month later, the Japanese announced that they would grant Philippine independence in October 1943. The Japanese were confused in choosing the best candidate for the position of president. Some of the candidates were Artemio Ricarte, Emilio Aguinaldo, Benigno Ramos, Ramon

Avanceña, Benigno Aquino, Jorge Vargas, Jose Laurel and Manuel Roxas. At first, the Japanese wanted Roxas to assume the post. But Roxas declined and cited his poor health as the reason. And so, Laurel was eventually chosen over the others. An organization called Kapisanan sa Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas or KALIBAPI was founded, with the function of preparing for the forthcoming "independence." A new constitution was drafted and in September 1943, delegates to the National Assembly were chosen. This Assembly elected Jose P. Laurel as the president of the republic, and independence was granted on October 14, 1943.

The Laurel Republic had to deal with a lot of serious economic and social dilemmas. The country was suffering from starvation because of lack of food supply, specifically rice, which was brought about by floods in 1943. The increase in demand for this staple by the Filipinos and the Japanese as well could not be met by available supply. Moreover, the resistance movements in the countryside were proliferating and the "peace and order" of the Japanese-sponsored republic was threatened. As a result, the Philippine Constabulary was given the responsibility of "pacifying" the guerillas. General Guillermo Francisco was appointed as the head of the Constabulary.

Meanwhile, the American forces were already undertaking operations in liberating the Philippines. On September 21, 1944, American planes flew over Manila and destroyed several Japanese garrisons and war equipment. The puppet government was pressured by the Japanese to declare martial law on September 22, 1944. President Laurel also created nine military districts, each with a governor who would "suppress treason, sedition, disorder and violence" (Steinberg *Philippine Collaboration* 97). On that same day, Laurel declared the existence of a state of war against the US and Great Britain, which would be effective on September 23, 1944 at ten o'clock in the morning.

By early October, the Americans had planned to seize Leyte from the Japanese enemies and later in the month, the Battle for Leyte

Gulf was fought. The Americans had succeeded in liberating that part of the Philippines. After the campaign, General MacArthur restored to President Sergio Osmeña the right to govern Leyte and formally proclaimed the resumption of the constitutional government (MacArthur 234). Meanwhile, the Japanese were constantly recruiting members for the Kalipunang Makabayan ng mga Pilipino or MAKAPILI, an organization founded on November 10, 1944 whose key figures included Pio Duran, Benigno Ramos, Marcos P. Ramos, Generals Artemio Ricarte, Leon Villafuerte and Andres Villanueva, Pablo Capa, Jose Baluyot and Aurelio Alvero (Steinberg *Philippine Collaboration* 109). The MAKAPILI was actually an organization whose other members were former Sakdalistas and Ganaps. These people were given much attention by the Japanese because of their pro-Japanese sympathies and armed them freely. Later, the MAKAPILI fought tenaciously for the Japanese.

During the days of his stay in Leyte, MacArthur decided to investigate the people who collaborated with the Japanese. On December 29, 1944 he issued a proclamation "providing for military measures to be taken upon the apprehension of citizens....who voluntarily have given aid, comfort and sustenance to the enemy." These people were arrested and investigated by the Counter Intelligence Corps. They were to be detained only for the duration of the war.[1]

By January 1945, MacArthur reached Lingayen, Pangasinan, from where he planned to liberate Central Luzon and Manila. On February 3, 1945, some of MacArthur's men reached Manila and released the prisoners captured and detained by the enemy. By July 1945, the Philippines was liberated from the Japanese, as declared by General Douglas MacArthur.

The Collaboration Issue

The war left the Philippines in a state of chaos and poverty. Many lives and properties were lost. The Osmeña government was

faced with the problem of rehabilitating and reconstructing Philippine society. The first step taken by Osmeña was to reconvene the Congress, whose members were elected during the 1941 elections. The Congress would be able to assist him in formulating plans and measures to stabilize the country.

In addition to the complicated problem of the restoration of peace and order, and the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country, Osmeña had to face another tough challenge. He was being pressured by the US government to prosecute the people who collaborated and cooperated with the Japanese, especially the top politicians who served in the puppet government. In the eyes of the Americans, those who collaborated were traitors to the Commonwealth Government, and to the United States Government. Hence, these people ought to be punished. Active guerillas also denounced the actions of those who connived with the Japanese, as well as with the Vargas and Laurel governments. Osmeña was caught in the middle because he had a different idea about the collaboration issue. Whereas the Americans regarded all persons who held important positions in the Japanese-sponsored republic as guilty of betraying their country unless proven otherwise, Osmeña opined that these persons should be treated as innocent until their guilt of committing treason to the country was established. He further posited that "every case should be examined impartially and decided on its merits." Wartime office holders fell into three categories: (1) those prompted by a desire to protect the people, (2) those actuated by fear of enemy reprisals and (3) those motivated by disloyalty to the US and Philippine Commonwealth governments and their cause (Agoncillo 120). Furthermore, Osmeña had an indifferent attitude toward persecuting the suspected collaborators because his two sons were actually alluded to as close associates of the Japanese during the war.

General Douglas MacArthur shared the sentiment of the top US government officials. He issued an order to investigate those

who connived with the Japanese when he reached Leyte in the last months of 1944. Many civilians were investigated and arrested by the US Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps. About six thousand people were probed, and some were actually detained (as per MacArthur's order) in the duration of the war. On August 23, 1945, captured civilians were finally entrusted to the Commonwealth Government upon the departure of MacArthur from the Philippines.

Meanwhile, Washington was closely monitoring the Commonwealth Government's wartime collaboration policy. US Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes blatantly pressured Osmeña to pursue criminal cases against top personages who held key positions in the Japanese-sponsored government, and who at that time, were serving in the legislative and judicial branches of the government. In a cable sent by Ickes to Osmeña on September 11, 1945, it was clearly stated that the US government would defer the appropriation of funds for the country's rehabilitation programs if the collaboration issue was not resolved and the policies regarding it were not formulated as soon as possible (Abaya 126).

On September 25, 1945, President Osmeña, with the concurrence of Congress, passed and approved Commonwealth Act 682, which was "An Act Creating a People's Court and An Office of the Special Prosecutor for the Prosecution and Trial of Crimes Against National Security Committed During the Second World War and for Other Purposes." The court was supposed to try cases of crimes against national security perpetrated between December 8, 1941 and September 2, 1945. A presiding judge was assigned to the People's Court, and fourteen associate justices were appointed to it by the President. Moreover, the court was split into five divisions, with three judges designated to each division.

Filipino civilians, as well as famous personalities in politics, business and society who allegedly "collaborated" with the Japanese by giving them "aid and comfort" were accused of committing treason against the Philippines and the United States of America.

The basic premise of the cases filed against them at the People's Court was that they were Filipino citizens owing allegiance to the Commonwealth Government of the Philippines and the United States Government. Furthermore, there was also a provision in Article 114 of the Revised Penal Code that stated:

> Any person who, owing allegiance to the United States or the Government of the Philippine Islands, not being a foreigner, levies war against them or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort within the Philippine Islands or elsewhere, shall be punished by *reclusion temporal* to death and shall pay a fine not to exceed 20,000 pesos. (qtd. in Delgado 12)

The records of people who were investigated by the Counter-Intelligence Corps earlier were turned over to the respective Courts of First Instance and eventually, to the People's Court. The verdicts of the People's Court were brought to the Court of Appeals, and for some of the controversial cases, were elevated to the Supreme Court.

Amidst these collaboration trials, the Filipino nation was divided—those who abhorred the collaborators wanted to punish the "traitors" by sending them to prison. The popular sentiment of this group was to penalize the officials who held important posts in the Japanese-sponsored government like Vargas, Laurel, Aquino, Recto, Yulo, de las Alas, Sison and Paredes, among others. On the other hand, the alleged collaborators argued that they had cooperated with the Japanese to shelter their countrymen from hardships and the brutalities of the Japanese occupation. They further opined that while they cooperated with the Japanese, they kept in mind the welfare of every Filipino.

Manuel A. Roxas, the prewar speaker of the House of Representatives from the Nacionalista Party was likewise implicated in the issue of collaboration because he served in the "puppet" government. However, his closeness with General MacArthur, dating back to the pre-war period, was his ultimate ticket to absolution from being tried for collaborating with the enemy. It was perturbing

to note that when the general liberated Baguio, he "rescued" Roxas, and at the same time "captured" four puppet officials, namely Jose Yulo, Antonio de las Alas, Teofilo Sison and Quintin Paredes (Abaya 60, 68). In the following days, these four collaborators were dispatched to the Ivahig Penal Colony; Roxas remained a free man. In the April 23, 1946 elections, Roxas emerged victorious—his Liberal Party won a majority in the legislature. In the middle of the presidential campaign, Roxas was highly criticized because of the role he played in serving the puppet government. But Roxas had the political backing of MacArthur and it was what he precisely needed to win the elections.

The debate over the collaboration issue continued after Roxas won the Presidency. Most of the personalities who were then being put on trial in the People's Court were friends and *compadres* of Roxas before and during the war. Roxas played safe and left it to the court to decide on their cases. Soon, however, most of the cases were dropped or dismissed for several reasons like insufficiency of evidence and because the two-witness rule in treason cases was not complied with. Those who were accused of political, economic or cultural collaboration with the Japanese were granted amnesty by virtue of Presidential Proclamation No. 51 issued by Roxas on January 28, 1948:

> ...all cases now pending before the courts for alleged offenses coming within the terms of amnesty herein granted shall be dismissed by the respective courts on their own motion or upon petition by the prosecution or the accused. (410)

The military collaborators like the Ganaps, Makapilis and Kempeitai members however, continued to be tried as criminal cases were filed against them (Terami Wada 93).

The People's Court Records on Women "Collaborators"

There are at least one hundred thirty (130) entries of names of women in the People's Court Papers indexed by the Special

Collections Section of the UP Main Library. The names of 65 women whose court papers can be found in the PCP were randomly chosen and each case was reviewed in order to determine the nature of the "crime" they were accused of committing. All of these women were accused with the crime of treason for various reasons. The following is a brief profile of the charges against the sixty five (65) women the author chose. The names of these women were grouped according to the nature of charges against them.

Twenty five women were charged with committing treason by being an informer or a spy of the Japanese.

Cecilia Afable of Baguio, Mt. Province was blamed for the death of two civilians when in January 1945, she pointed to the Japanese forces the house and premises of Nueto Lamsis as a secret hideout and quarters for the guerillas. In that same month, she pointed out a field of *camote* in Tuba, Mountain Province and the Japanese took all the camotes therein. Furthermore, from February to March 1945, she entertained as a house guest one Japanese named Asaki.[2]

Adela Luna Aguilar of Jolo, Sulu was tried in the People's Court because she joined and helped the Japanese soldiers in the identification and arrest of guerillas. In August 1944, she led and accompanied the Japanese soldiers and members of "Kaigun Jiutay" in the apprehension and arrest of 13 persons residing in Jolo Evangelical Church.[3]

Luisa Amores of Cordova, Cebu was held accountable for the death of several men. A certain Petra Bragaduit and her son, Vicente slept in the house of Amores; the following morning, when they were ready to leave for Leyte, their boat was stopped by the Japanese and the male passengers were all killed, including Vicente. The personal belongings of the other passengers were ransacked and confiscated.[4]

Clarita Ampon of Manila was accused of being an informer and spy of the Manila *Kempeitai*. She helped in the arrest of Salvador Domingo and Jose Ramirez. The case was eventually dropped

because of lack of evidence.[5]

Dolores Cas of Naujan, Oriental Mindoro allegedly consented to be a concubine of a Japanese civilian named Zogama and in that capacity, she pointed out guerilla suspects. The case was dismissed on December 25, 1949 because there were no witnesses.[6]

Rosario Collantes of Cebu City allegedly caused the arrest of Josefina Opolentisima, Concepcion Semblante, Mary Lagahit, Natividad Palang and Mary Palang. Josefina, Concepcion and Mary were killed by the Japanese on January 19, 1945. Natividad and Mary Palang were killed by the Japanese in the early part of 1945.[7]

Pacita Cortez of Baguio City was accused of having acted as informer or agent, bore arms, did guard duties for the enemy, joined and accompanied the Japanese in search of and apprehension of guerillas. She also helped and took part in recruiting forced labor for the enemy. Later, she joined the enemy in their retreat to the mountains.[8]

Erlinda/Ermilinda Erwin of San Juan, Rizal was indicted because of the following allegations: 1) on January 24, 1943, she caused the arrest of the whole family of Manuel Muyot whom she accused of being members of the guerillas, and nothing had been heard from any of them ever since. 2) she confiscated the following from the Muyot family: (a) jewelry worth P10,000.00 (b) P15,000.00 cash (c) seven native horses (d) four calesas (e) one piano (f) one refrigerator and (g) assorted furnitures through the help of Takashi with whom she was living in; 3) she caused the arrest of Flaviano Trinchera; 4) she pointed out to the Japanese all the male members of the Medina family in San Juan, Rizal and all were taken and severely beaten by the Japanese; 5) she caused the arrest of Jesus Platon whom she accused of being a guerilla; 6) she caused the arrest of Mr. and Mrs. Pedro Vera and nothing had been heard from any of them since they were arrested; 7) in the first week of February 1944, she caused the arrest of Gonzalo Zapata and nothing had been heard from him since the day he was arrested; 8) she caused

the confiscation from the house of Gen. Valdez and Dr. Wateros of all furnitures and these were brought to her house which she used to entertain the Japanese; 9) on February 4, 1944, she reported to the Japanese that a gang of guerillas were at No. 1558 Gen. Luna, Manila, as a result of which the said house was raided by the Japanese and the persons therein were all arrested; 10) on February 12, 1944, a group of American GIs visited the house of a certain Lolly Meadows and upon leaving, the house were fired upon, the shot coming from the house of Erwin; 11) she convinced the relatives of Mr. and Mrs. Antonio Escoda to give her money (P42,000.00) and clothes but she appropriated these for herself; and 12) she repeatedly told the people that the Americans would never come back. She was released from prison after posting a bail of P40,000.00.[9]

Luningning Galicia of Manila was held liable for the following offenses: 1) between August 1944 and November 1944, she held a position at the Maruchi Gumi, a Japanese entity engaged in transporting foodstuffs for the Japanese Army; 2) she acted as a spy and informer; 3) in September 1944, she reported an underground meeting of the guerillas to be held in Malacañang Palace; 4) in October 1944, she reported to the Japanese a certain Mr. Katipunan as a guerilla; 5) in November 1944, she reported Jose Yulo as harboring a Filipino who was a member of the US Army resulting in the capture and apprehension of Jose Yulo and the soldier, and the burning of Yulo's restaurant; and 6) in November 1944, she turned in and delivered to the Japanese a Chinese boy whom she pointed out as a guerilla and the boy was shot and killed by the Japanese. The case was dismissed on December 2, 1946 because of lack of evidence.[10]

It was alleged that Conchita Krueger of Baguio City, Mt. Province, in May 1944, caused the apprehension, arrest, confinement and torture of Joseph Krueger and Frederick Krueger for their guerilla activities and possession of a radio set. The case was eventually dismissed due to insufficient evidence.[11]

Eliza Lauson of Tanauan, Leyte became an informer and spy of the Japanese; it was her habit to point out to civilians as guerilla members.[12]

Maria Magsano of Dagupan City, Pangasinan was accused of being an informer and spy of the Japanese. The details of her indictment were: 1) between January 1942 and January 1945, she initiated, organized, presented and participated in musical programs and other forms of entertainment for officers and men of the armed forces of the Empire of Japan; 2) she disseminated Japanese propaganda; 3) on November 1, 1942, she caused the arrest of Gregorio, whom she pointed out to the Japanese and was tortured by the Japanese; and 4) on December 8, 1942, she organized and participated in a parade to celebrate the First Anniversary of the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor. The case was dismissed on March 19, 1948.[13]

Gloria Maluada of Sagay, Negros Occidental allegedly caused the arrest of Rafael Sobrimesana in December 1944. The man was an operative of the USAFFE who was later beheaded by the Japanese. The case was temporarily dismissed on October 30, 1948 because the two-witness requirement was not complied with by the prosecution.[14]

Esperanza Mamawal of Tarlac, Tarlac reportedly caused the arrest of Basilio Pangan, Estanislao Pangan, Porfirio Pangan, Teofilo Calpito, Alejandro Cabalu and Santos Copio.[15]

Marta Concepcion Ortega of Malate, Manila was charged with the zoning of the district of Malate that resulted in the deaths of thirty inhabitants. She also reportedly sold graphite directly to the Japanese Army.[16]

Purita Saldo of Bacolod City, Negros Occidental was incriminated because of the following: 1) on November 2, 1944, being a member of the Japanese Propaganda Office in this province and a teacher of Nipongo, she delivered a speech entitled "Words of Gratitude" where she extolled the Japanese for their good deeds

and this was subsequently published in the *New Negros Weekly;* and 2) on February 20, 1945, she caused the arrest of Jose Robinson, a guerilla suspect, and as a result of which, he was clubbed and tortured resulting in his hospitalization for three months.[17] The case was dismissed because the two-witness requirement in treason cases was not met.

Susana Samson of Iloilo City allegedly became a spy of the Japanese starting May 1943. Moreover, On May 24, 1943 she accompanied Japanese soldiers in arresting Jesus Tacorda, Manuel Namnio, Ramon Tacorda and Jose Gutierrez.[18]

Teresita Santa of Tacloban City, Leyte was known to be a spy and informer of the Japanese Kempeitai in Tacloban. In at least one occasion, she gave information on the movements of the Cinco Bandits in Northern Leyte.[19] The case was dismissed because there was no available evidence and the whereabouts of the accused was not known.

Patricia Santos of Lipa, Batangas was alluded to as a Japanese informer and spy because 1) in early 1945, she pointed out to the Japanese a certain Amado Reyes as a guerilla officer; 2) from September 1944 until 1945, she became an interpreter and employee of Nan Po Shukay, a Japanese firm organized to purchase vegetables and other foodstuff for the Japanese Army; 3) from September 1944 until 1945, she confiscated food, vegetables and meat from the civilians of Lipa and turned them over to the Japanese garrison in there; 4) in September 1944, she furnished the Japanese with information concerning guerillas and activities of the underground movement; and 5) she caused the arrest of Paquito Reyes and Ataling who were tied and tortured by the Japanese.[20]

Isabel Sudario of Dagami, Leyte was implicated with being a spy and an informer because of the following: 1) she distributed propaganda materials, including leaflets urging guerilas to surrender; 2) she led a Japanese patrol in search of the Command Post of the 3rd Batallion, 94th Infantry Regiment of guerillas of Leyte; and 3)

sometime during 1943, she pointed out to the Japanese the hiding place of Zacarias Ganato.[21] The case was dismissed on February 21, 1948, pursuant to the Amnesty Proclamation of President Manuel A. Roxas.

Margarita Taal of Cagayan, Misamis Oriental purportedly informed the Japanese of the whereabouts of a guerilla, Isabelo Daang who was arrested by eight Japanese soldiers, beaten and imprisoned. She also gave information on Edgardo Saarinas and Rufelito Lago, both guerilla agents.[22]

Antonia Tuazon of Quezon City reportedly caused the arrest of Hipolito Yamson, Antonio Pilapil, Eliseo Legaspi and Vicente Ferrer on April 28, 1943. She identified these men as being the Big 4 in the guerilla organization.[23]

Blesilda Royeras Versoza of Tanauan, Leyte was arraigned because of being an informer and a spy. The details of the charges against her were as follows: 1) on April 1943, she identified Dionisio Creer (who was then in jail) as a guerilla and stated that 'he may be a blind man but he could use his mouth and brain making him a useful man to the guerillas"—Creer was eventually executed by the Japanese; 2) Simeon Lanzon was killed when she shouted "Kill him! He is one of the members of the guerillas who burned our houses and stole our goods;" 3) in April 1943, she pointed to a civilian as a guerilla and he was killed right there and then; 4) in August 1943, Victorino dela Cruz was brought to the Japanese garrison and killed; 5) she caused the arrest of Felipe Padillo who was arrested and killed by the Japanese; 6) a certain Francisco Tomis was arrested and killed after she pointed him to the Japanese; 7) in July 16 1944, she said the following in public: "The bolomen came to town only to rob or loot the civilian properties because they did not fight the Japanese; as a matter of fact, one of them was killed;" 8) in 1944, she told Rufo Ocampo to come back to town because the Americans would not come back for at least ten years; 9) in March 1943, she told Esteban Soyosa to cooperate with the Japanese as no aid would be coming; 10) in December

1943, she told Demetrio Radana that no more aid would be coming from the Americans because they had no more ships and planes; 11) on September 12, 1944, she engaged in propaganda work telling the people that airplanes were sent to kill civilians and that American troops would never arrive because the Japanese Navy had control of the entire Pacific Ocean; 12) in December 1943, she informed Maria Soyosa that it would be useless to wait for American planes; and 13) she entertained Japanese soldiers and civilians.[24] The case was dismissed on April 26, 1950 upon her death.

Gloria Veyra of Tanauan, Leyte was also incriminated as an informer and spy of the Japanese. She was suspected of being 1) an informer of guerilla members and activities; 2) in November 1943, she engaged in pro-Japanese and anti-American propaganda and said the following in public: "You should stay in town. The Japanese teach us better form of government. Don't think that there is any aid coming, for the Japanese are very powerful. If you don't stay in town, the Japanese will shoot anyone outside of town;" 3) on June 4, 1943, she pointed out Celedonio Dandan as a member of Capt. Cinco's guerilla force; 4) in August 1943, she pointed out Victorino Cinco as a guerilla; 5) in January 1944, she accompanied twenty soldiers in search of guerillas; 6) in April 1943, she pointed out Francisco Tomis as a guerilla; 7) in August 1943, she pointed out Victorino Preciosa as a boloman for the guerillas and who was killed by the Japanese; and 8) in April 1943 she pointed out Simeon Lanson as a guerilla.[25]

Another controversial collaboration case was that of the granddaughter of General Artemio Ricarte, Ma. Luisa Dominguez or Luzviminda Dominguez or Minviluz Dominguez or Minbirusu Dominguez. However, her court records could not be found in the PCP Collection of UP. The following summary of her case was taken from the *Official Gazette:*

1) From January 1942 to February 1945, she acted and rendered services as interpreter, employee, propaganda agent, informer, guide

and spy of and for the different units of the Japanese Military Forces including the Hodobu, the Watari Group Intelligence Section and Japanese Military Police at Fort Santiago, collaborated with and aided the different sections of the Japanese army in their activities in Manila and Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao, such as disseminating propaganda, reporting anti-Japanese activities and actively aiding the Japanese Military Forces in comandeering and confiscating houses of Filipino civilians for the use by the Japanese; 2) in February 1942, on the occasion of the fall of Singapore, she went around the different districts of Manila and delivered public speeches on the significance of the fall of Singapore, inducing citizens to make a common cause with the Japanese; 3) on February 5-10, 1945, she accompanied a detachment of Japanese in the district of Malate and Singalong pointing out houses and guiding them in their preparations for defense against American and guerilla forces; 4) on February 10, 1945, she accompanied a detachment of Japanese soldiers in the vicinity of Kansas, Herran and Singalong St. where civilians had taken refuge from the raging fire...and pointed out male civilians in the group as guerilla suspects... more than 50 were apprehended, tied up and brought by the Japanese in a house in Herran St. where, except for a few who were able to escape, were brutally massacred by the Japanese soldiers.[26] She was convicted by the People's Court with a sentence of lifetime imprisonment (*reclusion perpetua*) and a penalty of P10,000.00. She was eventually released.

Eight women were tried in the People's Court for rendering services and providing aid and comfort to the enemy.

Tarciana Albite of Famy Laguna allegedly worked in the Japanese garrison washing the clothes of the Japanese soldiers, helped in the kitchen and was very friendly with the Japanese. Her husband Benito Valdesera joined the United Nippon. The case was dropped on March 5, 1946 because of lack of concrete evidence to sustain the charges against her.[27]

Valentina Aquino of Mandaluyong, Rizal was the Chief of Institutions at Welfareville (an orphanage, leprosarium and mental institution) when the Japanese occupied the building. There, she allegedly supplied, furnished and delivered food, bamboos and nipa thatches to the enemy. She entertained some Japanese at her house by serving food and drinks. In exchange for her "goodness" to the Japanese, they allegedly gave her all the furnitures found in the house of Dr. Fabella, which the Japanese were occupying at that time. She was acquitted on August 15, 1946.[28]

Julia Cantos of Batangas City rendered her services to the Japanese by operating her cinematograph to disseminate Japanese propaganda. She was also accused of hiring a Nippongo teacher from Manila to conduct free lessons to the public and advertised this through posters and her cinematograph. Moreover, she acquired/ procured and bought machineries and other war materials. Cantos even furnished and provided quarters for the Japanese Imperial Forces. The case was dismissed on February 14, 1948.[29]

Joaquina Dy of Guagua, Pampanga served as cashier of Sokushokudo, a cafeteria operated by Japanese civilians connected with the Kempeitai in Dau, Angeles, Pampanga between February 1944 to November 1944. The cafeteria was later transferred to Fort Stotsenberg. It was also alleged that between February to November 1944, she uttered and expressed her preference for the occupation of the Japanese in the Philippines than the return of the Americans. In November 1944, she fled with the Japanese managers of the cafeteria to the hills of Pampanga. The case was dismissed on February 16, 1948.[30]

Estrella Magbanua of Bacolod City, Negros Occidental was charged in court because she mended the clothes of some Japanese. She answered that she only did so because she was a dressmaker. During the heavy bombing of Negros Occidental by the Americans, she fled to the mountains together with a Japanese couple. The case was dropped because she only fled to the hills to escape from danger.[31]

Emilia Tamayo of Barugo, Leyte purportedly gave aid and comfort to the enemy. In November 1943, she allegedly rendered her services to the Japanese Army by propagating the greatness and benevolence of Japan, and by convincing the guerillas and civilians to come down from their hiding places and surrender to the Japanese. She also entertained and fed several Japanese soldiers.[32] The case was dismissed on February 21, 1948, pursuant to the Amnesty Proclamation of President Manuel A. Roxas.

Imelda Tugasi of Cebu City worked as a cook and waitress at the Provincial Capitol after her husband died.[33] She was eventually released from prison.

Thelma Villacorte of San Juan, Rizal allegedly gave aid and comfort to the Japanese through her brother, Raul, who associated with the Japanese. She married Takesaki, a manager of the Taiwan Tekko Sho (iron works) and subsequently lived in the house of the Villacortes.[34] The case was dismissed because she went to the mountains with the Japanese and it was likely that she was already dead.

Six women were indicted because of economic collaboration—they purportedly engaged in the buy-and-sell business.

Gloria Asiniero of Cebu City was known as a major woman dealer in Cebu City from July 1942 until shortly before the arrival of American forces in Cebu in March 1945. She sold large quantities of spare parts of trucks, machineries, tires, twisted iron bars, sawali nipa roofing, rice and grain to the Taio Sangyo. She was detained starting August 7, 1945. She was covered by the Amnesty Proclamation of President Manuel A. Roxas.[35]

Lourdes Lansang of Manila opened a place of business in Manila and procured, purchased and acquired war materials and equipment such as automobiles, scrap iron, steel plates, galvanized iron sheets, nails and the like for the purpose of selling them to the Japanese between January 1943 to November 1944. The case was dismissed, pursuant to the Amnesty proclamation of President Manuel A. Roxas.[36]

Lucrecia Martiri of Sta. Mesa, Manila was alleged to have engaged in the buying and selling of trucks and other automobiles with the Japanese Army and Navy, and that she used Japanese notes in her business transactions. The case was provisionally dismissed on March 20, 1946.[37]

Carmen Planas, including the whole Planas Family—Concepcion, Alberto and Severino of Manila allegedly engaged in the buy-and-sell business. The details of the case filed against the family were as follows: 1) they procured, supplied, furnished and delivered essential war materials (trucks, automobiles, tractors, electric motors, steel cables, wires and other machinery) to the Japanese Imperial Forces; 2) they sent out agents and purchasers to procure these things and advertise for the said war materials; 3) they opened their establishment and held themselves out in public as buying and receiving for purchase the said war materials; and 4) they assembled, repaired and overhauled or caused to be assembled, repaired and overhauled trucks, motors, automobiles, tractors and other machinery, at which business address (966 Folgueras, Manila) these materials were inspected for approval by officers/purchasing agents of the Japanese Imperial Forces.[38] Carmen Planas filed a petition that her case be tried separately but the People's Court did not grant the petition.[39]

Rosario Villarea of Dulag, Leyte also engaged in the buy-and sell business. She also pointed out Julio Fiel as a guerilla.[40] The case was dropped on March 8, 1946.

Alice Williams of Mandaluyong, Rizal, engaged in business with Teodosio Urbiztondo and Manuel Miranda from October 1943 to April 1944. They bought paints, graphite powder, hardware, plumbing equipment, marine pitch and other materials for the repair of ships and vessels, and sold and delivered materials to the Japanese Navy, Akatsuki Butai (a Japanese Navy Unit), and the Tanaka Building Construction Company. In the last quarter of 1944, Japanese naval and military officers came to her house where she

gave food and drinks and entertained them by playing the piano and by singing Japanese songs.[41] The case was dismissed on February 17, 1948, pursuant to the Amnesty Proclamation of President Manuel A. Roxas.

Seven women were accused of being mistresses or concubines of Japanese soldiers and civilians.

Emerenciana "Mary" Cunanan of Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija was suspected of being the mistress of Capt. Minatoya, head of the Japanese Kempeitai of Cabanatuan City and hence, she might have transmitted or communicated some information military in nature.[42]

Anita Medina, of Pasay, Rizal was believed to be the mistress of Misuguchi, a member of the Kempeitai. In 1945, she helped Misuguchi escape from the guerillas who were looking for him. Sometime in 1944, she informed her lover that a Filipino known as "Eseng" was a member of the ROTC Hunters guerilla, as a consequence of which, he, together with six others were apprehended by Misuguchi, and tied and maltreated by the Japanese. The case was dismissed on February 14, 1948 due to insufficient evidence.[43]

Josephine Michael of Cebu City was rumored to have married Lt. Yoshida of the Cebu City Kempeitai.[44] She later testified that she became intimate with the lieutenant because she wanted to save her father who was arrested by the Kempeitai for hiding gasoline and aiding in the escape of several American civilians.

One of the most controversial collaboration cases tried in the People's Court was that of socialite Haydee Herras Teehankee of Manila. She was rumored to be the number one girlfriend of Col. Akira Nagahama, Chief of the Manila Kempeitai. The papers containing the formal charges against her were not found in the PCP. However, in one of the papers in Amparo Karagdag's case where Teehankee was interviewed by a CIC Agent as a witness, it was clearly mentioned that:[45]

> On 7 March 1945, this Agent interviewed Mrs. Haydee Herras Teehankee, at Bilibid Prison, who stated in substance as follows:
>
> The charge that the subject (Karagdag) was a girl friend of Col. Nagahama was entirely without truth inasmuch as Mrs. Teehankee herself had been the number one girl friend of Col. Nagahama. She assumed that it was a case of mistaken identity as both women are mestizas and similar in appearance...
>
> Comment: Mrs Teehankee gave a very intelligent and seemingly straightforward story. She has been interned at Bilibid on a similar charge. (1)

The final result of the case cannot be found in the PCP or in the Official Gazette. However, it was on record that on October 2, 1945, Teehankee filed a petition to the People's Court for her release due to lack of evidence and for the People's Court to set the bail for her provisional release from prison. On October 4, 1945, Antonio Quirino, Associate Judge of the People's Court required the Solicitor General to file his comment and recommendation. The following day, the Solicitor General filed his recommendation stating that on the strength of evidence at hand, the reasonable bail was to be fixed at P50,000.00. On October 9, 1945, Leopoldo Rovira, Presiding Judge of the PC referred the petition to the 5th Division of the PC and added that it should be denied notwithstanding the recommendation of the Solicitor General. On the same day, Pompeyo Diaz, Associate Judge of the PC denied the petition due to the gravity of the offense.

On October 19, 1945 Teehankee filed with the Supreme Court a petition for *mandamus*[46] and *certiorari*[47] on the grounds that the judges of the PC acted in excess of jurisdiction and with grave abuse of discretion (Clapp 280, 75-76). The Supreme Court ruled that the original decision of the PC denying her petition to post bail for her provisional release and her subsequent motion for reconsideration be set aside. This decision was promulgated on December 20, 1945.[48]

Rosalina Timbang of Tarlac, Tarlac purportedly became a concubine of at least two Japanese officials. Prior to the outbreak of the war, her husband was a member of the Ganap Party in La Paz, Tarlac. Later, he joined the Japanese Army and left her. She then became the mistress of Sgt. Maizi and Capt. Yamaska.[49] The case was dismissed on February 17, 1948, because the two-witness requirement was not met by the prosecution.

Lilia Perez Villanueva of Paco, Manila was accused of having a relationship with Major Fugi Sugimoto of the Manila Kempeitai and Major Nishimura. These two soldiers disclosed to her that they were disguised as Chinese and that their objective was to organize a spy ring and to remain in Manila during the American occupation.[50] The case was dismissed on March 5, 1946.

Estrella Villegas of Floridablanca, Pampanga supposedly lived in with Japanese and American soldiers.[51] The case was dropped on March 5, 1946.

Nine women volunteered to be members of the Kalipunang Makabayan ng mga Pilipino (MAKAPILI).

Generosa Dia, Gregoria Dia and Muncia Dia were all indicted because they allegedly enlisted and voluntarily joined the MAKAPILI between December 1944 and June 1945. All three were later released from prison because there were no witnesses and the case was eventually dropped.[52]

Elisa Dictado allegedly enlisted and voluntarily joined the MAKAPILI in Manila. The case was dropped because of the absence of witnesses.[53]

Cesaria Ferrer voluntarily enlisted and joined the MAKAPILI in San Pedro, Laguna. The case was dismissed on February 9, 1949 due to insufficient evidence.[54]

Salud Generalla of San Jose, Caloocan, Rizal enlisted, joined and served in the MAKAPILI. It was also alleged that she wrote a letter addressed to Matsuyama Butai, a Japanese military unit

wherein she revealed the hiding place of two Americans. The case was provisionally dismissed on December 16, 1946.[55]

Catalina Gregorio of Laguna enlisted, joined and served in the MAKAPILI. The case was dismissed due to insufficient evidence and failure to satisfy the two-witness requirement in treason cases.[56]

Maria Pamatmat of Sta. Cruz, Laguna voluntarily enlisted and joined the MAKAPILI in Sta. Cruz, Laguna. The case was dismissed on September 29, 1949 because witnesses could not be found.[57]

Maria Tatlong Hari of Manila was believed to have voluntarily enlisted and joined the MAKAPILI.[58] The case was dismissed on January 23, 1948 because of lack of evidence and the two-witness requirement was not met.

Two women deliberately cooperated with the Japanese in the proliferation of propaganda.

Rosario Gallego of Catbalogan, Samar organized a Nipongo School in Catbalogan Samar and attended Japanese social functions on several occasions. The case was dismissed on December 13, 1946.[59]

Paula Patron of Dumaguete, Negros Oriental was charged in court because of the following: 1) on May 26, 1944, she joined, served and rendered services in the Public Opinion Intelligence Section (the duty of which was reporting guerilla activities and apprehending guerillas and was organized as an instrumentality of the Japanese Imperial Forces); 2) on May 28, 1944, she submitted a report to Teodoro Lajato about the guerillas who were operating in the area; 3) sometime in 1944, she pointed out a civilian as a guerilla; 4) on July 5, 1944, she caused the arrest of two guerillas F. Escalante and Mantes; and 5) on July 21, 1944, she accompanied many Japanese soldiers to get arms. The case was dismissed on July 6, 1946.[60]

A woman enlisted in the police force of the Japanese. Esperanza Garcia of Manila served as a policewoman for the Japanese Imperial

Army between June 1942 and November 1944. Furthermore, in June 1945 at Caloocan, Rizal she sheltered and concealed Ishikatsu Tanaka, an officer of the Japanese Imperial Army. She was later released from prison after posting a bail of P15,000.00. Her case was eventually dismissed.[61]

A woman was implicated for being an informer, a spy and a mistress at the same time. Amparo Karagdag of Manila was believed to have been an informer and spy of the Japanese, and a mistress of Col. Akira Nagahama, chief of the Manila Kempeitai. Because of her close liaison with the Japanese officer she might have transmitted information about the guerillas.[62] In one of the CIC Agent's reports, she admitted having lived with a high-ranking Japanese official as a mistress but she denied having any relationship with Col. Nagahama.[63]

In one of the CIC Agent's reports, Karagdag admitted having been the mistress of Sergio Osmeña, Jr., a buy-and-sell magnate but denied any knowledge of his manipulations of war materials.[64] She also admitted that she became the mistress of Benigno Aquino, Sr. starting December 1943.[65]

The case was dismissed on February 20, 1946 because the court ruled that "it was more of a question of disloyalty to her husband than disloyalty to her country."[66]

Nena Peña of Antipolo, Rizal was suspected of acting as an informer of the Japanese Kempeitai from October to December 1944 and of living with some of the soldiers. The case was dismissed on March 11, 1946.[67]

At least three women cooperated with the Japanese for other purposes.

Constancia Labata of Tacloban, Leyte was indicted because of cooperating with the Japanese. A certain Capt. Okada gave large sums of money to her father-in-law, Hospicio Labata for the purchase of copra and other goods for the Japanese in Leyte. The case was dismissed because if there was any case at all, it might be against

Hospicio Labata, her father-in-law and Paulino Labata, her husband.[68]

Ester Villamar (Miyachi) Santos of Manila was accused of collaborating with the Japanese because she was a full blooded Japanese and was only adopted by a Filipino couple.[69] She was released from prison on December 11, 1945.

Apolonia Zapanta of Manila allegedly collaborated with the Japanese. In return, several American houses were given to her by the Japanese. As of the date of indictment, she was suspected of being in Baguio with the Japanese.[70] The case was dropped on March 5, 1946 because her whereabouts were unknown.

A woman was incriminated because of providing aid to the Japanese and allegedly consented to be a comfort girl. Emeteria Mascarenas of Boac, Marinduque was suspected that from January 1944 to January 10, 1945, she entertained Japanese soldiers at her home, treated wounded soldiers, sewed and laundered for them, brought gifts of food to the wounded Japanese soldiers. She acted as a comfort girl to the Japanese soldiers at Boac.[71] The case was dismissed on February 14, 1948 due to insufficient evidence and the two-witness requirement was not met.

The charge against Helen Kalitzky Webb of Manila was not known. It was on her records that she was a US citizen who served in many cabarets in China and the Philippines as a vaudeville artist. However, there were no trial papers in her folder. "Exhibits" were the only contents of the folder, confirming the fact that she was an entertainer.[72]

Analysis and Conclusion

Most of the indictments filed in the People's Court were cases of treason. Delgado posted four essential requisites in the commission of treason: 1) allegiance of the accused to the government against which the crime is committed; 2) existence in fact of government to which allegiance can be owed; 3) overt act of

either levying war against the United States or the Government of the Philippines or giving the enemy aid or comfort within the Philippine islands; and 4) intent.

For the purposes of this study, it can be said that the first two requisites were there. The Filipino people were obligated to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth Government and even if the country was occupied by the Japanese, there was an existing government-in-exile in the United States. The overt act committed by these women was the giving of aid and comfort to the Japanese. The nature of their respective actions were previously discussed. For the fourth requisite, it was readily and easily argued by the legal luminaries that from the start of the alleged "commission" of the crime, there was already intent.

The paramount question now is to establish if it was just and fair that these women were charged with the crime of treason. But first, it is necessary to ascertain the probable motives. It is unfortunate however that the compelling reasons of these women for doing such actions could not be determined from the court records. Therefore, it is necessary for the writer to develop some conjectures, taking cognizance of wartime conditions. During the three years of Japanese occupation of the Philippines, life was indisputably hard—there was a food shortage, the currency was unstable and many lives were incessantly threatened. As people struggled to survive, it is understandable for them to do whatever was necessary so that they could have food on their plates, and to try to eke out a living with whatever available means. In the case of some of the women, they had to cook or wash clothes or mend clothes for the Japanese so that they could earn a little. Then, there were those who were compelled to work for the Japanese to save their loved ones from harm. Some were forced and terrorized to serve and work for the Japanese in exchange for their lives.

The economic collaborators or those who engaged in buy-and-sell business could be classified into two: 1) those petty peddlers

who had to sell small items so that they could afford to buy rice, and 2) the big-time entrepreneurs who amassed huge profits from procuring and selling war materials and foodstuff. The latter were opportunists who disdained the plight of their fellow countrymen—they were the ones who should be sent to prison. Most of these big-time business moguls even belonged to the pre-war politico-economic elite.

The informers and spies of the Japanese who caused the arrest and murder of a number of men, as well as those who rendered their services for the promotion of the Japanese propaganda and especially those who enlisted in the Japanese Army and the MAKAPILI should be made to pay for their actions. Many people were brutally tortured and atrociously killed because of their actions.

However, one disturbing aspect of the cases examined above was the fact that women were actually indicted for allegedly providing to the Japanese, that is, as comfort girl. In this regard, it is important to note the shift of attitude towards the plight of comfort women in a span of more or less fifty years. In the mid 1940s, the issue of collaboration was very explosive so much so that even those who served as comfort girls to the Japanese were tried for treason. It is not known whether the court and its litigaters ascertained if this was a voluntary act on the part of the accused or if she was just forced into it like the predicament of many other Filipino women during the war. In the early 1990s, about 150 women came forward to tell their horrifying tales about how they were violently and repeatedly raped by Japanese soldiers. Comfort women from other parts of Asia also told their harrowing stories. The whole world was appalled listening to the gruesome narratives of women who were victimized in their early teen-age years. In the Philippines, as well as in other parts of the world, heartfelt sympathy poured out for these hapless victims of the war.

The Japanese occupation led to the extensive physical and material destruction of the country. But more than that, lives were

lost—families were torn apart, with some members encountering sudden, violent death in the hands of the Japanese and even his own countrymen. Women were affected the most. Under the most inauspicious circumstances, they had to struggle to survive the war years. Some chose to collaborate. After the war, their actions were seen as inappropriate and immoral. Worse, their deeds were treated as crimes against the State. However, there should have been a thorough process of inquiry and investigation. Their ultimate motives must be established and their stories must be heard. By doing this, a just and fair judgment would be reached on whether they were opportunists or real victims of a war they never wanted to happen.

Recommendation

The title of the present study is a "preliminary profile" of the women "collaborators" according to the People's Court Papers. As mentioned in the introductory part, only sixty five women were chosen by the writer out of the one hundred thirty entries of names appearing in the index of the PCP. It is of utmost importance then to continue the research, to examine the court records of 65 more women so as to complete the profile. The completion of this profile would enable the writer to present a broader and more comprehensive study on the women who were branded as "collaborators" and whose cases were brought to the People's Court. The rest of the court documents that have not been reviewed will surely yield more valuable information and insights.

Endnotes

[1] The results of the investigation of the Counter Intelligence Corps were eventually turned over to the People's Court. These papers were used as "Exhibits" for the cases filed against these persons. Those who were detained were not released after the war because they were already indicted in the People's Court.

[2] People of the Philippines vs. Cecilia Afable (Criminal Case 4870)

[3] People of the Philippines vs. Adela Aguilar (Criminal Case No. 4498)

[4] People of the Philippines vs. Luisa Amores (No Criminal Case)

[5] People of the Philippines vs. Clarita Ampon (Criminal Case No. 6872)

[6] People of the Philippines vs. Dolores Cas (Criminal Case No.898).

[7] People of the Philippines vs. Rosario Collantes (Criminal Case No. 809)

[8] People of the Philippines vs. Pacita Cortez (Criminal Case No. 4059)

[9] People of the Philippines vs. Erlinda Erwin (Criminal Case No. 1191).

[10] People of the Philippines vs. Luningning Galicia (Criminal Case No. 2593).

[11] People of the Philippines vs. Conchita Krueger (Criminal Case No. 1613).

[12] People of the Philippines vs. Eliza Lauzon (No Criminal Case).

[13] People of the Philippines vs. Maria Magsano (Criminal Case No. 4669).

[14] People of the Philippines vs. Gloria Malunda (Criminal Case No. 2269).

[15] People of the Philippines vs. Esperanza Maniawal (Criminal Case No. 4774).

[16] People of the Philippines vs. Marta Concepcion Orrega (No Criminal Case).

[17] People of the Philippines vs. Purita Saldo (Criminal Case No. 502).

[18] People of the Philippines vs. Susana Samson (Criminal Case No. 2264).

[19] People of the Philippines vs. Teresita Santa (No Criminal Case).

[20] People of the Philippines vs, Patricia Santos (Criminal Case No. 299).

[21] People of the Philippines vs. Isabel Sudario (Criminal Case No. 4509).

[22] People of the Philippines vs. Margarita Taal (Criminal Case No. 1279)

[23] People of the Philippines vs. Antonia Tuazon (Criminal Case No. 1195).

[24] People of the Philippines vs. Blesilda Royeras Versoza (Criminal Case No. 3308).

[25] People of the Philippines vs. Gloria Veyra (Criminal Case No. 3277).

[26] People of the Philippines vs. Ma. Luisa Dominguez (42 *Official Gazette* 2883).

[27] People of the Philippines vs. Tarciana Albite (No Criminal Case).

[28] People of the Philippines vs. Valentina Aquino (Criminal Case No. 3090)

[29] People of the Philippines vs. Julia Cantos (Criminal Case No. 4739).

[30] People of the Philippines vs. Joaquina Dy (Criminal Case No.495)

[31] People of the Philippines vs. Estrella Magbanua (No Criminal Case)

[32] People of the Philippines vs. Emilia Tamayo (Criminal Case No. 685).

[33] People of the Philippines vs. Imelda Tugasi (No Criminal Case).

[34] People of the Philippines vs. Thelma Villacorte (No Criminal Case).

[35] People of the Philippines vs. Gloria Asiñero (Criminal Case No. 236)

[36] People of the Philippines vs. Lourdes Lansang (Criminal case No. 4941).

[37] People of the Philippines vs. Lucrecia Martini (No Criminal Case).

[38] People of the Philippines vs. Carmen Planas, Concepcion Planas, Alberto Planas and Severino Planas (Criminal Case No. 3545).

[39] Carmen Planas was actually imprisoned for five months before she was finally investigated and released. See Diokno, 65.

[40] People of the Philippines vs. Rosario Villareal (No Criminal Case).

[41] People of the Philippines vs. Alice Williams (Criminal Case No. 4949).

[42] People of the Philippines vs. Emerenciana Cunanan (Criminal Case No. 365)

[43] People of the Philippines vs. Anita Medina (Criminal case No. 4968).

[44] People of the Philippines vs. Josephine Michael (No Criminal Case).

[45] People of the Philippines vs. Amparo Karagdag ("Confidential" Report of CIC Special Agent 2680 dated March 28, 1945, p. 1).

[46] *Mandamus* – a writ by which a court directs a public or corporate body or officer, or a lower court or judge to perform an official duty..

[47] *Certiorari* – a writ by an appelate court as a matter of discretion, directing a lower court to certify the record in a case that was not appealable as of right.

[48] People of the Philippines vs. Haydee Teehankee, "Supreme Court Decision," December 20, 1945.

[49] People of the Philippines vs. Rosalina Timbang (Criminal Case No. 1197).

[50] People of the Philippines vs. Lilia Villanueva ("Confidential" Report of CIC Agent 2223, March 9, 1945, p. 3).

[51] People of the Philippines vs. Estrella Villegas (No Criminal Case).

[52] People of the Philippines vs. Generosa Dia (Criminal Case No.14696); People of the Philippines vs. Gregoria Dia (Criminal Case No.1991) and People of the Philippines vs. Murcia Dia (Criminal Case No.4180).

[53] People of the Philippines vs. Elisa Dictado (Criminal Case No.4104).

[54] People of the Philippines vs. Cesaria Ferrer (No Criminal Case).

[55] People of the Philippines vs. Salud Generalla (Criminal Case No.6420).

[56] People of the Philippines vs. Catalina Gregorio (Criminal Case No.4173).

[57] People of the Philippines vs. Maria Parnatmat (Criminal Case No. 4433).

[58] People of the Philippines vs. Maria Tatlong Hari (Criminal Case No. 4147).

[59] People of the Philippines vs. Rosario Gallego (Criminal Case No. VII/X-5-III).

[60] People of the Philippines vs. Paula Patron (Criminal Case No. 5363).

[61] People of the Philippines vs. Esperanza Garcia (Criminal Case No. 1566).

[62] People of the Philippines vs. Amparo Karagdag (No Criminal Case).

[63] People of the Philippines vs. Amparo Karagdag ("Confidential" Report of CIC Special Agent 2126 dated March 20, 1945)

[64] People of the Philippines vs. Amparo Karagdag ("Confidential" Report of CIC Special Agent 2126 dated March 20, 1945.)

[65] People of the Philippines vs. Amparo Karagdag ("Confidential" Report of CIC Special Agent 2680 dated March 28, 1945, p. 2)

[66] People of the Philippines vs. Amparo Karagdag. Decision of the People's Court, February 20, 1946.

[67] People of the Philippines vs. Nena Pena (No Criminal Case).

[68] People of the Philippines vs. Constancia Labata (No Criminal Case).

[69] People of the Philippines vs. Ester Villarama Santos (No Criminal Case).

[70] People of the Philippines vs. Apolonia Zapanta (No Criminal Case).

[71] People of the Philippines vs. Emeteria Mascarenas (Criminal Case No. 4551).

[72] Folder of Helen Kalitzky Webb.

Works Cited

Abaya, Hernando. *Betrayal in the Philippines*. New York: Wynn, 1946.

Agoncillo, Teodoro. *The Burden of Proof: The Vargas-Laurel Collaboration Case*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press and UP Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Research Center, 1984.

Clapp, James E. *Dictionary of the Law*. New York: Random House, 2000.

Commonwealth Act 682 "An Act Creating a People's Court and An Office of Special Prosecutor for the Prosecution and Trial of Crimes Against National Security Committed During the Second World War and for Other Purposes" *Official Gazette 41*, (1945): 543-549.

Delgado, Francisco. *Memorandum on the Policies of the Commonwealth Government Regarding the Collaborators of the Japanese*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1945.

Diokno, M.S. "Up from the Ashes." *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People* Volume 8. Mandaluyong: Asia Publishing Co., Ltd. 1998.

Folder of Helen Kalitzky Webb in the People's Court Papers.

Ikehata, Setsuho. & Jose, Ricardo. *The Philippines Under Japan*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999.

Jose, Ricardo. "The Japanese Occupation." *Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People* Volume 7. Mandaluyong: Asia Publishing Co., Ltd., 1998.

MacArthur, Douglas. *Reminiscences*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1964.

People of the Philippines vs, Patricia Santos. Criminal Case No. 299. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Adela Aguilar Criminal Case No. 4498. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Alice Williams. Criminal Case No. 4949. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Amparo Karagdag. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Anita Medina. Criminal case No. 4968. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Antonia Tuazon. Criminal Case No. 1199. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Apolonia Zapanta. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Blesilda Royeras Versoza. Criminal Case No. 3308. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Carmen Planas, Concepcion Planas, Alberto Planas and Severino Planas. Criminal Case No. 3545. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Catalina Gregorio. Criminal Case No. 4178. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Cecilia Afable. Criminal Case No. 4870. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Cesaria Ferrer. Criminal Case No. 4238. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Clarita Ampon. Criminal Case No. 6872. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Conchita Krueger. Criminal Case No. 1613. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Constancia Labata. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Dolores Cas. Criminal Case No. 898. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Elisa Dictado. Criminal Case No. 4104. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Eliza Lauzon. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Emerenciana Cunanan. Criminal Case No. 365. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Emeteria Mascarenas. Criminal Case No. 4551. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Emilia Tamayo. Criminal Case No. 685. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Erlinda Erwin. Criminal Case No. 1191. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Esperanza Aquino. Criminal Case No. 3408. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Esperanza Garcia. Criminal Case No. 1566. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Esperanza Mamawal. Criminal Case No. 4774. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Ester Villaraman Santos. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Estrella Magbanua. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Estrella Villegas. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Generosa Dia. Criminal Case No.14696. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Gloria Malunca. Criminal Case No. 2269. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Gloria Veyra. Criminal Case No. 3277. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Gregoria Dia. Criminal Case No. 1991. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Haydee Techankee. "Supreme Court Decision," December 20, 1945. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Imelda Tugas. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Isabel Sudario. Criminal Case No. 4509. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Joaquina Dy. Criminal Case No. 495. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Josephine Michael. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Julia Cantos. Criminal Case No. 4739. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Lilia Villanueva. "Confidential" Report of CIC Agent 2223. March 9, 1945. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Lourdes Lansang. Criminal case No. 4941. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Lucrecia Martini. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Luisa Amores. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Luningning Galicia. Criminal Case No. 2593. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Ma. Luisa Dominguez. 42 *Official Gazette* 2883. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Margarita Taal. Criminal Case No. 1279. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Maria Magsano. Criminal Case No. 4669. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Maria Pamaranat. Criminal Case No. 4433. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Maria Tatlong Hari. Criminal Case No. 4147. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Maria Concepcion Ortega. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Muncia Dia. Criminal Case No. 4180. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Nena Peña. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Pacita Cortez. Criminal Case No. 4059. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Paula Patron. Criminal Case No. 5363. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Purita Saldo. Criminal Case No. 502. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Rosalina Timbang. Criminal Case No. 1197. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Rosario Collantes. Criminal Case No. 809. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Rosario Gallego. Criminal Case No. VII/X-5-III. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Rosario Villareal. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Salud Generalla. Criminal Case No. 6420. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Susana Samson. Criminal Case No. 2264. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Tarciana Albite. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Teresita Santa. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Thelma Villacorte. No Criminal Case. People's Court Papers.

People of the Philippines vs. Valentina Aquino. Criminal Case No. 3090. People's Court Papers.

Presidential Proclamation No. 51 "A Proclamation Granting Amnesty" *Official Gazette 44*, (1948): 410.

Soriano, Rafaelita. "Japanese Occupation of the Philippines With Special Reference To Japanese Propaganda." Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1948.

Speech by Major General Hayashi Director General of the Japanese Military Administration at the Auspicious Occasion of an All-Filipino Celebration of the Complete Occupation of Bataan and Corregidor on May 18, 1942. *The Official Journal of the Japanese Military Administration* Vol. 4. Manila: Manila Shimbun-sha, 1942.

Speech Given by the Chief of Staff of the Imperial Japanese Forces in the Philippines. *The Official Journal of the Japanese Military Administration* Vol. 2. Manila: Manila Shimbun-sha, 1942.

Steinberg, David Joel, *Philippine Collaboration in World War II.* Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1967.

Steinberg, David Joel. "The Philippine 'Collaborators:' Survival of an Oligarchy." In J. Silverstein (Ed.), *Southeast Asia in World War II: Four Essays.* New Haven: Yale University (1966): 67-86.

Terami-Wada, Motoe. "The Japanese Propaganda Corps in the Philippines." *Philippine Studies* 38 (1990): 279-300.