

Salvador Araneta as Examined and Re-examined

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ABSTRACT

Salvador Araneta had a multi-faceted career as a lawyer, constitutionalist government official, civic leader, public intellectual, and corporate leader. What is remarkable about his career is that he left a great number of his writings, spanning 60 years. From his student years at the Ateneo and the University of Santo Tomas, up to his last days, writing on Mosquito Press providing an alternative to the prevailing regime. Scholars and writers alike have written about him, in every part of his career. This review with some notes aims to provide an overview of the study of Araneta's ideas as part of intellectual history and the history of the conceptualization of Philippine nationalism.

Keywords: Salvador Araneta, nationalist, public intellectual, economic history, historiography

Intellectual history always provides an overview of the development of a certain idea, which is always focusing on a thinker, or public intellectual, and his works. In certain cases, the evolution of policies and laws, often tied to certain ideological principles, is vital in shaping the discourse of the matter. A policymaker and writer who utilizes the media in expressing his ideas on various topics concerning the state is one of the approaches in this niche in the historical field. Many Filipino thinkers have been releasing their writings and some have even managed to preserve unpublished manuscripts. Among them, this review would like to focus on one: Salvador Araneta.

Salvador Araneta is primarily known in either the field of business, as he came from the famous Araneta clan, or in economics his participation in the great debate in the 1950s, where he stood as an advocate of economic nationalism. Another of his legacies is two educational institutions: the FEATI University and the present-day De La Salle Araneta University. A curious researcher pouring hours of research into the old newspaper will see his name in various articles, as he is also writing on various issues that he is always sharing with the public. His name is always associated with tracing the intellectual history of the Philippine economy and of the constitution.

Hilarion M. Henares, known as Larry, delivered a eulogy for his former Boss, whom he likened to a “great oak on a high hill,”¹ in his lifetime. As he passes away, Henares states further that “a tree is best measured when it is down. And now is the time to evaluate [his] legacy...”² As a person who always examined and re-examined issues and concerns through an analysis of events through his writings, this review, accompanied by some research notes, will provide a rundown on how Salvador is seen by scholars in various fields.

Salvador in Profile

The subject of this paper, Salvador Z. Araneta (1902-1982), is a child of Gregorio Soriano Araneta the famous lawyer during the early American period, and Carmen Roxas Zaragoza, a pioneering Filipina painter during the late Spanish era. He is the second eldest son and third among fourteen children of the said couple. Among his other prominent brothers are J. Antonio,³ Vicente,⁴ Luis,⁵ and Fr. Francisco, S.J. (1918-2006).⁶

He took up his studies at the Ateneo de Manila and later at the University of Santo Tomas. He went to Harvard University for his post-graduate course. After his education, he focused on the legal and corporate fields, and at times, worked as a part-time professor and civic leader. Some of the entities he became associated with are National Economic Protectionism Association

¹ Hilarion M. Henares, Jr. “The Uncaged Lion,” in *1030 R. Hidalgo*, Vol. I: The Family, ed. Antonio S. Araneta, Jr. (Manila: MARA, Inc., 1988): 93.

² Hilarion M. Henares, Jr. “The Uncaged Lion,” in *1030 R. Hidalgo*, 93.

³ Jose Antonio (1905-1985), known as Tony, is a long-time Treasurer of the Nacionalista Party and former Commissioner of Internal Revenue during the Magsaysay administration. Following his father and *Kuya* Badong’s footsteps, he became a well-known lawyer and engaged himself in various business.

⁴ Vicente Aurelio (1910-1983) is a former Administrator of Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration (ACCFA), a one-time Vice-Presidential candidate, and a running mate of Manuel Manahan in 1957. Like the rest of the family, he engaged himself into business, mainly on agro-industrial products. One of them is the Gregorio Araneta Machineries, Inc. (GAMI). He became the first President of the Araneta Institute of Agriculture (AIA) from 1946 to 1954 and took the role once more when the AIA became Gregorio Araneta University Foundation from 1976-1978.

⁵ Luis Maria (1916-1984) is a well-known architect, artist, and collector. Some of his designs are the Lourdes Church and the old Makati Medical Center, among many others.

⁶ Fr. Francisco, fondly called as Fritz, first Filipino to become a Rector and eventually, a two-term President of the Ateneo de Manila University. Like Salvador, Fritz is a writer of Philippine socio-economic realities.

(NEPA), Iloilo Negros Air Express Company (INAEC), which became later Far Eastern Air Transport, Inc. (FEATI), the White Cross Orphanage, among many others.

His first experience in public service was in 1934 when he became a Director of the Manila Railway Company. That same year, he was elected as the Delegate for the 1934 Constitutional Convention representing the Second District of Manila. After the war, he would be appointed to various government positions, especially in the Cabinet. In the 1950s, he became involved with economic policymaking, which is known as the “Great Debate.” From 1950 to 1952, he was the Secretary of Economic Coordination under the Quirino Administration. In 1954, he was appointed as the Secretary of Agriculture and Natural Resources but resigned later.⁷ He formally left the government in 1956, when he finally resigned as a member of the National Economic Council.

He returned to active leadership in various corporate entities, and on the other side, as President of Araneta University and handled various positions in other civic organizations. His busy schedule also included the delivery of lectures related to the economy and the constitution and writing articles concerning the issues of the day.

His last government service was his election as the representative of the First District of Rizal in the 1971 Constitutional Convention.⁸ In the Convention, he was one of many delegates who dissented from Marcos and his “constitutional wish list.” His term of service was cut short as he was on an intended short vacation in California with his family when Martial Law was declared. On the first days of the arrests, military men were looking for him in his residences in the Admiral Apartments in Ermita, and the White House in Victoneta, Malabon. Because of this, Salvador decided to stay indefinitely in the United States, until he was able to settle in Vancouver, Canada.

While in exile, he continued to deliver lectures and write articles critical of the Marcos regime. He was able to return when the state of Martial Law

⁷ His resignation was submitted because his brothers, who were then Collector of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, J. Antonio Arand then-Administrator of the Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration, Vicente, were removed from their positions.

⁸ By then, he is one of the three men who served in both 1934 and 1971 Conventions, the other two delegates were in the person of his rival in the Great Economic Debate, Miguel Cuaderno and the legal scholar Jose M. Aruego, Sr.

was “paper-lifted” in 1981. He continued to write some open letters to *We Forum*, a then-famous publication in the “mosquito press,” in the last months of his life. Mrs. Santiago recalls that even when he was on his sick bed, Salvador continued to write.⁹ On October 7, 1982, Salvador uttered his final words, “*No te veo*,” (I can’t see you) before he passed away due to a massive heart attack.

Biographies

Salvador himself attempted to write an autobiography and his attempt was already announced through publications.¹⁰ However, when he was completing the work, he suddenly passed away, leaving only an unpublished manuscript.¹¹ It later became more fragmented as his old home office in Malabon was flooded in the 1990s and Typhoon Ondoy in 2010. Another is when its temporary storage area suffered from a massive termite infestation in the 1990s. The surviving parts of the memoir are the ones that were rescued by the estate of Don Salvador. Despite what happened with the said draft, Michael Paul Onorato was lucky to have interviewed him. A portion of the interview was published by the California State University Fullerton.¹²

The first people to remember any person who has passed on are the ones closest to their heart. In Salvador’s case, he had so many people who remembered him, but very few wrote about the memories with him. The first and foremost biographer of every father is his child, and it was his fourth daughter, Maria Lina Araneta-Santiago, who wrote extensively on Salvador through the decades and became the publisher of his reprinted works. Some of these are *Salvador Araneta: A Man Ahead of His Lifetime* and the coffee-table book *Araneta: A Love Affair with God and Country*.¹³

⁹ Tons of yellow pads and scratch papers were filled with handwritten notes of Salvador. Many of the survived manuscripts are in the *Salvador Araneta Papers*, Araneta-Santiago Collection.

¹⁰ Salvador Araneta. *America’s Double-Cross of the Philippines* (Malabon: Bayanikasan Research Foundation, 1978): xx. Lilia Ramos-de Leon. “America’s double-cross of RP,” *We Forum*, July 4–9, 1981: 5. Some of the drafts of Salvador’s memoirs are incorporated in Maria Lina Araneta-Santiago. *Araneta: A Love Affair with God and Country* (Malabon: Sahara Heritage Foundation, 2007).

¹¹ Maria Lina Araneta-Santiago, *personal communication*, March 2017.

¹² Michael P. Onorato (Ed.). *Salvador Araneta: Reflections of a Filipino Exile* (Fullerton: California State University, 1981).

¹³ Maria Lina Araneta-Santiago. *Salvador Araneta: A Man Ahead of his time* (Malabon: Araneta Institute of Agriculture Press, 1986). Maria Lina Araneta-Santiago. *Araneta: A Love Affair with God and Country* (Malabon: Sahara Heritage Foundation, 2007).

Another biographical work is a tribute book published by the academicians from the Araneta Institute of Agriculture (AIA),¹⁴ which was the precursor of today's De La Salle-Araneta University (DLSAU). A commemorative book entitled *Glimpses on the Life, Philosophy, and Advocacies of Dr. Salvador Z. Araneta*¹⁵ was released by the DLSAU. The said work contains anecdotes about Salvador and some lessons from his writings.

Theses and Dissertations

Some of the dissertations written about Araneta were contemporaneous with his career. Many of them have dedicated a chapter for Salvador on his contributions and activities over a certain issue. One of them is the issue of rural development. Jose V. Abueva, in his dissertation, "Formulation of the Philippine Community Development Program,"¹⁶ provides an overview of how he helped in planning policies related to the issue. Moreover, an early history of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), an organization he co-founded, was integrated into the said work. Abueva provides an overview of how Salvador, together with other key players in PRRM and the government, made their plans to develop the Philippine countryside.

Another is about Don Badong's business career. Samuel Seidman's dissertation "Enterprise and Entrepreneurship in the Philippine Republic: 1949-1959,"¹⁷ describes and analyzes the business families of the Third Republic. The Aranetas are among them. Seidman discusses how the Aranetas (descendants of Don Gregorio), started in their real estate business before expanding out. At the time of writing the dissertation, Salvador was leading various corporations, such as the AIA Group (Biochemicals, and Feed Mills), Republic Flour Mills, and FEATI Group (FEATI Industries and FEATI Bank), among many others. His other brothers invested in other industries, with Vicente investing in machinery and agricultural products,

¹⁴ Eventually becoming Araneta University (1956-1966), Araneta University Foundation (1966-1978) and Gregorio Araneta University Foundation (1978-2002) before becoming DLSAU.

¹⁵ Ma. Corazon V. Tadena, Josefina B. Callangan and Abraham B. Blancaflor (Eds.) *Glimpses on the Life, Philosophy and Advocacies of Dr. Salvador Z. Araneta* (Malabon: De La Salle Araneta University, 2005)

¹⁶ Jose V. Abueva. "Formulation of the Philippine Community Development Program," Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959.

¹⁷ Samuel N. Seidman. "Enterprise and Entrepreneurship in the Philippine Republic: 1949-1959," Doctoral Dissertation, New York University, 1963

and Antonio, in financing and securing the participation of foreign companies in the Philippines, such as Philips Electric Lamp Company.

As a public intellectual, who managed to have time to write despite his business and civic careers, he conceived various concepts in constitution and economics. When he was a delegate to the 1971 Constitutional Convention, he first introduced the concept of *Bayanikasan*¹⁸ which he proposed as a philosophical guide of a new constitution. The concept is a mixture of nationalistic ideas combined with adapting various Western ideas on socio-economic policies. Caridad C. Guidote focused on the latter in her dissertation entitled, "The Intellectuals and the Problems of Development in the Philippines."¹⁹

Government Service

Two books focusing on Salvador's career as an economist were published by Ateneo de Manila University in 2016 and 2017. The first book is entitled *Central Banking as State Building: Policymakers and their Nationalism in the Philippines, 1933-1964* by Yusuke Takagi from the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies in Tokyo, Japan. The second one is *Liberalism and Postcolony: Thinking the State in the 20th Century* written by Lisando E. Claudio, now affiliated with the University of California, Berkeley.

Central Banking focuses on the Commonwealth era and pre-Marcos administration economics. Takagi discusses the dynamics and politics among economic policymakers. Unlike Claudio's approach, Takagi focuses more on the institutional aspect of Central Banking and the economic instrumentalities of the government. Takagi began his discussion in 1933 the year Araneta joined the Philippine Economic Association as one of its founding members. A chapter of the book is dedicated to the "Great Debate" of Philippine Economic History, wherein it shows the politics among the policymakers, with Araneta on the opposing side and his rival, Cuaderno, on the side of the administration. The Araneta-Cuaderno feud spanned from

¹⁸ Araneta coined the term coming from the Tagalog words bayan (country), bayanihan (togetherness), bayani (heroism) and lakas (might or strength), hence, calling for a "heroic unity for the country," so that it can have a genuine and effective democracy. Cf. Salvador Araneta. *Bayanikasan: The Effective Democracy for All* (Malabon: Araneta Institute of Agriculture Press, 1975). Possibly, the coining of the Tagalog term may be from one of his associates at the Araneta University, Engr. Gonsalo del Rosario, who is known for his "Maugnaying Pilipino." A quick glance at some documents in the Salvador Araneta Papers shows that some of his letters and writings, originally in English were translated by del Rosario in Tagalog.

¹⁹ Caridad C. Guidote. "The Intellectuals and the Problems of Development in the Philippines," Doctoral Dissertation, Université de Paris V (René Descartes), 1973.

Quirino up to Garcia regimes. Araneta attempted to make his comeback during the Garcia administration but failed to do so.

Liberalism and Postcolony is a biographical and hermeneutical approach to selected Filipino liberal government officials and their principles. Claudio presented four liberal thinker-technocrats, namely, Camilo Osias, Carlos P. Romulo, Salvador Araneta, and Salvador Lopez, known for their nationalist approach to state-making. Among Claudio's "Big Four," liberals, Salvador is different as he is the only one educated in a Catholic University and has alignment toward Christian Democracy. Claudio dedicated a chapter to Araneta. He had a different portrayal of Araneta as many would not notice him because of him being a part of the elite. Unlike Takagi, he focused on his ideas during his career as an economist. Claudio supplements the work of Takagi on Araneta, therefore, setting Araneta's niche in the history of Philippine economics.

Takagi, providing a perspective from the government, pictures Araneta at a disadvantage, as his proposals were not considered by the policymakers of the time. Moreover, Takagi states that the policymakers were affected by politics, notwithstanding their ideas.²⁰ This holds as Araneta has been seen as an ally of the so-called "sugar bloc" due to his marital relations. Claudio, who provided a much more sympathetic view, lifted Araneta, as his plans, which were not considered before, were already implemented by the administration of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. However, despite this fact, one should take caution on the matter because Araneta may have provided the right thing, but it was utilized to enable constitutional authoritarianism and this is amid crony capitalism that heavily affected the Philippine economy.²¹ Both works provided an overview of Araneta's works and ideas against the changing structure and flow of events.

Aside from books, various papers have some focus on Salvador. Supplementing that of Takagi and Claudio, Jose Victor Jimenez in his paper "The Nationalist Economic Crusade of Salvador Araneta,"²² focuses on the nationalist side of Takagi's structural interaction within the government and Claudio's liberalist interpretation of Araneta's economic ideas. Jimenez's

²⁰ Takagi, *Central Banking as State Building*, 180-183.

²¹ Claudio. *Liberalism and Postcolony*, 67-68.

²² Jose Victor Jimenez. "The Nationalist Economic Crusade of Salvador Araneta." Paper Presentation, De La Salle University Research Congress, 2019. <https://www.dlsu.edu.ph/wp-content/uploads/pdf/conferences/research-congress-proceedings/2019/tphs-II-016.pdf>

work is more of a narrative of Araneta's economic career as an advocate of a controlled economy and limited free trade, protectionism, and industrialization.

Writings on Araneta and Federalism are mentioned in *Towards a Federal Republic of the Philippines with a Parliamentary Government: A Reader*. Michael O. Mastura, a colleague of Don Salvador during the 1971 Constitutional Convention and was at the forefront of the federalist movement during the 1971 Constitutional Convention, has written his memories of the Federal Movement during the ConCon. Mastura stated that it was Araneta who first spearheaded the Constitution for a Federal country through his PHILCONSA draft. He also noted that Fr. Francisco Araneta,²³ the youngest brother of Salvador, was one of the supporters of the idea outside the Convention halls.²⁴ Furthermore, the later draft of Araneta in 1981 was briefly mentioned by Abueva in narrating the beginnings of Federalism in the Philippines.²⁵ Araneta was briefly mentioned in various works on the historical background of Philippine Federalism.²⁶

The "career that got away" of Don Salvador, the foreign service, was briefly narrated by Marciano de Borja in his *The State Department Boys: Philippine Diplomacy and Its American Heritage*. He was supposed to be appointed as the country's first Ambassador to the Court of St. James (United Kingdom), but the plan did not push through due to his stance on parity rights.²⁷

²³ Francisco Z. Araneta. *Structure of government* (Caloocan City: Convislam Press, 1972). The work of Fr. Araneta is also cited by the Batangueño delegate, Don Antonio de las Alas, Sr., the only non-Mindanaoan to push for Federalism in the halls of the the 1971 Constitutional Convention. Cf. Pacala. "The Impossible Dream."

²⁴ Michael O. Mastura. "Federation as Our Option," in *Towards a Federal Republic of the Philippines with a Parliamentary Government*, Jose V. Abueva, Rey Magno, Gaudioso C. Sosmeña, Clarita R. Carlos and Michael O. Mastura, eds. (Marikina: Kalayaan College: 2002): 224-225.

²⁵ Jose V. Abueva "Towards a Federal Republic of the Philippines with a Parliamentary Government by 2010," in *Towards a Federal Republic of the Philippines*, 89.

²⁶ Elizabeth F. Cureg and Jennifer F. Matunding. "Federalism Initiatives in the Philippines" in Simeon Agustin Ilago and Raphael Montes, Jr., eds. (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Diliman. Federalism and Multiculturalism. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Diliman, National Center for Public Administration and Governance, 2006): 180. <https://localgov.up.edu.ph/federalism-and-multiculturalism.html> Ronald J. May. "Federalism versus Autonomy: Debate and Practice in the Philippines." <https://iag.org.ph/think/1223-federalism-versus-autonomy-debate-and-practice-in-the-philippines>.

²⁷ Marciano R. de Borja. *The State Department Boys: Philippine Diplomacy and its American Heritage* (Washington, D.C.: Vellum Press, 2014): 181-182.

Assessing the Man

The main, central ideology of Araneta's corpus of writings is the idea of nationalism, which is prevalent in the majority of the works analyzed for this study. Claudio's "Diliman Consensus," which is class-based and mass-centered,²⁸ obviously portrays Araneta as a non-nationalist. On a similar tone, Takagi states that the technocrats analyzed in his study were also elite-based, and that would also include the subject of this study.²⁹ Both works focused on Araneta as a thinker during the time of the Great Economic Debate of the 1950s, as he was included in the roster of policymakers at the time.

However, although it may be perceived as a tangential aspect in the bigger picture of the economic history of the country, a study should also be conducted to assess Araneta's idea in the field. Araneta kept volumes of his writings ranging from the 1940s to the 1970s.³⁰ Beyond the debate, Araneta's thoughts have further developed and elaborated, but the principles of humane development and nationalism remain.³¹ An analysis of the writings can provide an overview of how Araneta's ideas developed. From his nationalistic writings of the 1920s to the 1930s, to the adoption of foreign ideas to the 1950s to 1960s, one can see how he crystallizes his economic ideas into one, central ideology of *Bayanikasan*, which is his constitutional-political ideology for a new Philippines.³² His economic ideas beyond the debate focused on "*puhunang panlahat*" or capitalism for all, "productive welfarism," and many others, which he later proposed during the Constitutional Convention of 1971.

As a businessman, Seidman portrayed him as a "creative" one among the Aranetas, along with his other brothers, J. Antonio and Vicente. Among the three, Salvador was perceived as the least venturesome entrepreneur, but the

²⁸ Claudio. *Liberalism and Postcolony*, 13-14.

²⁹ Takagi. *Central Banking*, 183.

³⁰ Writings, *Salvador Araneta Papers, Araneta-Santiago Collection* (SAP, ASC). His writings consisted of various notes and manuscripts are already processed but not yet sorted, but as of this writing, the bundles consists up to six crates of foldered papers.

³¹ Claudio. *Liberalism and Postcolony*, 56.

³² Salvador Araneta. *Bayanikasan: The Effective Democracy for All* (Malabon: Araneta Institute of Agriculture Press, 1976). The *Effective Democracy* is the "theory book" of the applied Bayanicratic theory as seen in Salvador Araneta. *The Bayanikasan Constitution* (Malabon: Araneta Institute of Agriculture Press, 1982)

most visionary among them. Moreover, he was described by Seidman as a management-oriented leader.³³ The weakness of Salvador in terms of entrepreneurial spirit of being risky and shrewd was complemented by his wife, Victoria, although her influence on the businesses might not be “a major one.”³⁴ The writer highly disagrees with Seidman’s assessment of the lady in the Lopez-Araneta couple in business.

Although Salvador is an idealist in business, it is Victoria, who is the pragmatist among the two. Victoria’s career deserves another full-length study, but the credits of various family enterprises of the couple should be equally given to her, contrary to Seidman’s statement which assesses the couple in an unfavorable or unequal aspect. Various accounts and documents show the co-equal, and at times, clashing decisions between the couple. Nelia Teodoro-Gonzalez recalled that instructions from the couple were given to her as the General Manager of the Products Division of the Araneta Institute of Agriculture. Another employee, Nora Bacus-Inciong recalled that Victoria wanted her to work as a cashier, but Salvador wanted to have her join the Faculty of the Araneta University.³⁵ Yearbooks from the Araneta University show that while Salvador is the President of the University, as well as its Products Division,³⁶ it is Victoria, who handles the financial matters of the corporation.³⁷ Normally, the husband-and-wife tandem sit *as co-equal members* of the Board of Directors of the corporations in which they are involved, namely, FEATI Bank and Trust Company, and Republic Flour Mills, among others.³⁸

Araneta’s political foray is of mixed reception. He is widely regarded as an “idealist” and “out-of-touch” thinker by his critics.³⁹ His concept of

³³ Samuel N. Seidman. "Enterprise and Entrepreneurship," 315, 321.

³⁴ Samuel N. Seidman. "Enterprise and Entrepreneurship," 315.

³⁵ Tadena, et. al. *Glimpses on the Life, Philosophy and Advocacies*, 99, 103.

³⁶ The Araneta Institute of Agriculture, as a corporate entity, is divided into two divisions, namely, Schools and Products Division. The former is the body governing the Araneta Institute of Agriculture, which became Araneta University before it separated in 1967 as a Foundation. The Products Division is the commercial side of the corporation. The writer elaborated it in his research paper, “From Theory to Practice: The Araneta Institute of Agriculture, 1946-1971.”

³⁷ “Officers and Administration,” in *The Harvest*, 1954-1963; “Articles of Incorporation,” Araneta Institute of Agriculture Records, *SAP*, *ASC*.

³⁸ FEATI Bank and Trust Company and Republic Flour Mills Records. *SAP*, *ASC*.

³⁹ Cf. Simeon V. del Rosario, *Weekly Nation*, July-August 1970 issues, and Jose V. Barrameda, *Weekly Graphic*, February 1971 issues. Both of them have unleashed written attacks against Araneta and his ideas, which he duly responded through those newspapers.

Bayanocracy is even mockingly attacked by his long-time nemesis Miguel Cuaderno as “bayani-crazy,” in a meeting before the 1971 Constitutional Convention.⁴⁰ Takagi went on to even say that Araneta is an unreliable member of the sugar bloc, albeit the writer disagrees with the term as he is an independent spirit in this political bloc of the 1950s, as shown in his writings and personal business interests.⁴¹

Salvador’s multi-faceted career remains to be reviewed scholarly; however, these studies and writings, which can be supplemented by the archives, as mentioned in the succeeding paragraphs, provide an ample overview of his ideas and contributions to Philippine history.

Archives

Salvador is a man who always goes for the record. His collection, of course, merits another article-length paper. He maintained documents on various matters, ranging from religion to science, including memoranda, letters, and simple notes. One of the long-time staff of the Araneta family recalled that Don Salvador’s library has a vault-like room filled with his files, aside from his office library.⁴² As stated earlier, floods and termite infestations made the collection a hapless victim. This is the second time that a portion of his papers has been lost, as he already made a miscalculation in 1944, when he stored his papers, and that of his father, in his office in Escolta. Those were destroyed in the Battle of Manila in 1945.

The collection, which is also called Salvador Araneta Papers, Araneta-Santiago Collection, consists of crates of documents, that fill a quarter of a warehouse.⁴³ It contained various files on Salvador’s business interests, civic

⁴⁰ Gilberto Duavit. *Wayward Politics: Revolutions and Constitutions* (Binangonan, Rizal: Guronasyon Foundation, 2007): 56

⁴¹ Takagi, *Central Banking*, 106. Araneta’s linkage to the sugar industry was due to his marital ties, as Victoria is the first cousin of the Lopez brothers. His direct connection to the said bloc beyond marital ties is him being a corporate officer of the Sugar central of the Lopezes and at the same time, their legal counsel during the 1930s. Araneta attempted to venture on the field, but he did not push through the plan. Cf. “Sugar Mill Project,” Araneta Institute of Agriculture Records, *SAP, ASC*.

⁴² Edna del Valle Tumala, *personal communication*, July 19, 2023.

⁴³ This is to distinguish the holdings of the the Araneta-Santiago family, through the Bayanikasan Research Foundation, from the Salvador Araneta Papers in the University of Michigan and Don Salvador Araneta Collection of the De La Salle Araneta University. The former was a donation of Don Salvador to the California State University Fullerton, while the latter was a donation made by his daughters.

organizations, and government files. But most importantly, it still contains a vast majority of his writings from the late 1940s to 1972. The writer encountered around two or three unpublished book-length manuscripts on constitution and economics, as well as some unpublished articles on many issues during his time. Furthermore, all these files are invaluable for scholarly and historical research. The writer is also currently working on research guides concerning Salvador's writings and archival holdings.

Closing Notes

Salvador's career as an economist and federalist was already covered by scholars. However, there are other approaches to assessing Salvador's legacies. His contributions to Philippine constitutional history remain unexplored. Aside from economics, his view on nationalism through his works can also be considered. Nevertheless, the writings of Salvador as a public intellectual, contribute to the history of ideas in the Philippines. With an archive haul on the other hand, coupled with continuously growing research paradigms, Salvador's career papers can provide a glimpse and new perspective on various historical concerns, such as the civic society and business sector's relations and interactions with the state and its political actors. Studying the perspective of a certain public intellectual at a time can make significant contributions to writing the intellectual history of the Philippines.

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