



**BARIKADA**

17/14.01

# **BARIKADA**

**Isang Makasaysayang**

**Pagtatanghal**

**Ng**

**GINTONG SILAHIS**

**UP THEATER**

**September 15, 16 & 17**

## **GINTONG SILAHIS-**

**Gintong Silahis.** Isang lumalawak na dula-ang pangmasa na naglalayong magpalaganap ng isang bagong kultura. Isang kulturang maunlad; isang kulturang nagtataglay ng wastong pagka-unawa sa lipunan at rebolusyong Pilipino; isang kulturang bahagi ng pakikibaka ng masang Pilipino upang makaahon sa pagkaalipin — isang pambansang demokratikong kultura.

Pinapalaganap ng **Gintong Silahis** ang bagong kulturang ito sa pamamagitan ng mga pagtatanghal ng dula, awit at mapanghimagsik na tula. Sapagka't nakalaan ito sa matatag na paglilingkod sa sambayanan, ang **Gintong Silahis** ay walang pinipiling tanghalan o panahon — ang malakas na bagyo man o ang matinding init ng araw ay hindi inaalintana ng mga naghihimagsik na kalobang may matibay na paninindigan, at higit pang nanaisin ang kalsada, bubong ng underpass, o basketball court, kaysa mga air-conditioned at de-kutson na awditoryum. Sa lahat ng sulok ng Pilipinas, ang mga balangay ng **Gintong Silahis** ay nagtatanghal; at ang mga dulang ipinalalabas sa bawat lugar ay iniaangkop sa kondisyon at mga tunay na pangyayari sa mga pook na ito nang sa gayon ay maabot ang damdamin ng mga mamamayan sa isang paraan na madali nilang mauunawaan at matatanggap.

Ang **Gintong Silahis** ay binubuo ng mga progresibong artista — mga manggagawa at estudyanteng kabataan na mulat sa katotohanan; mga partisanong handang ipaglaban hanggang sa tagumpay ang pambansang demokratikong mithiin. Katulad rin ng mga kasapi ng napakarami pang ibang rebolusyonaryong samahan, ang mga kabataang ito ay nakikibaka sa larangan ng kultura bilang pagtupad sa papel na dapat nilang gampanan sa rumaragasang himagsikan.

# ANG DULAANG PANGMASA

At, ngayon nga, sa kauna-unahang pagkaka-taon, ang **Gintong Silahis** ay magtatanghal ng isang mahabang dula sa Tanghalan ng Paman-tasan ng Pilipinas bilang nag-aapoy na hudyat para sa mga darating pang mapangahas na pag-tatanghal nito. Ang dula ay pinamagatang **BA-RIKADA**, isang dulang malayang ibinatay sa mga tunay na pangyayari noong Pebrero 1-9, 1970 sa Diliman na nagsimula sa pagtutol ng mga driver, kabataan, at lahat ng mga mamamayan laban sa panggigipit ng imperyalismong Amerikano, at hu-mantong sa pagtatayo ng makasaysayang bari-kada na nagsilbing pambuklod at pangmulat sa mga nandoon ng panahong iyon.

Sapagka't nasa kamay nito ang di-magaga-ping sandata — and rebolusyonaryong kamulatan — ang **Gintong Silahis** ay buong-tapang na la-lahok at magsusulong sa pambansang demokrati-kong himagsikang pangkultura tungo sa tiyak na tagumpay.

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# **THE UNIVERSITY AS A BASE FOR THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

**By the Revolutionary Writing Group of  
Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan**

## **DESTROY THE STATE MACHINERY OF THE RULING CLASSES**

The national democratic revolution is a protracted political struggle that aims to smash the state machinery presently controlled by imperialist-feudal interests and install in its place a state that belongs to a coalition of progressive classes. Based on the uneven development in our semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the Filipino masses shall, in the course of the Philippine revolution, destroy the organs of political power of the ruling classes from the lowest level up to the higher levels — from the barrios to towns and cities — and institute in their place the people's own organs of political power. The military bureaucratic machinery shall be smashed on a national level and a government of the people eventually proclaimed after a prolonged period of time.

## **RELY ON THE MASSES**

The national democratic revolution relies on the masses for its eventual triumph. Although economic power does not reside in the hands of the masses, it does not follow that they do not have the means whereby they can attain their own political power with which they can wage tit-for-tat struggle against the forces of the state.

Against the wishful thinking that the exploited classes should engage the ruling classes in purely economic struggle in order that they may eventually wrest political power, the masses can attain political power by organizing themselves and actively engaging the ruling classes in political struggle. Although lacking in material resources, the masses are a vast reservoir of human resources. Once they are enlightened about their true and basic needs and once they become active purveyors of the principles of national democracy, the ruling imperialist-feudal interests will inevitably be overthrown from their privileged positions.

The mobilization and organization of the masses for political struggle against the state is the process by which they gain political power. The problem of material becomes subordinate to the human factor.

## **DESTROY THE OLD CULTURE**

A process of enlightenment must necessarily go hand in hand with the attempts to organize, for ideology and culture must serve as the matrix for organizational work.





*“Though it has been said that ‘political power grows out of the barrel of a gun’, our political beliefs, which is part of culture, tells us where to point the gun — which is a very fundamental thing.”*

The influx of new ideas and beliefs among the masses is at the same time the destruction of the old culture and institutions that stand as buttresses to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal order. The old culture must be destroyed in order that the superstructure of the old society be broken, thus facilitating changes in the material base of society.

A new culture must be propagated in order that a solid base for the political power of the masses exist. This new culture — which in our case cannot but be national, scientific and mass in character — is the weapon of the people against the ruling classes and the guide towards the building of a new society. Though it has been said that **“political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”**, our political beliefs, which is part of culture, tells us where to point the gun — which is a very fundamental thing.

Once called the Second Propaganda Movement, the organized efforts to enlighten the masses is now termed as the national democratic cultural revolution to give a more precise and historical connotation to the process.

## **THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

Historically, the universities and colleges of Manila serve as the cradles of the cultural revolution. The present cultural movement, which started in the early sixties, was participated in mainly by members of the academic community at the start although as it developed, other sectors were drawn into its fold.

From the academic institutions, the national democratic cultural revolution eventually farmed

out into factories and into rural and urban communities, even as the content of the new culture was being continuously enriched by unrelenting practice in the course of the struggle.

From a handful of petty bourgeois members of the academic community, the number of activists grew to tens of thousands, not to mention the number of sympathizers of the movement. Despite the harsh suppression from the state, from the CUFA hearings of the early sixties to the recent suspension of the privilege of the writ of **habeas corpus**, the cultural revolution reached many sectors which were eventually organized for the national democratic struggle — workers, peasants, semi-proletariat, professionals, nationalist businessmen, and the lumpen.

Outside of Manila, many other storm centers of the cultural revolution sprouted — as far north as Baguio and as far south as Davao. The ferment has spread not only sector-wise but also territory-wise.

The numerous political actions — marches, rallies, demonstrations, pickets, barricades, mass teach-ins, protest classes, etc. — and the different venues of education used by the movement led to the politicalization of a great number of people about the basic issue: American imperialism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. In cases wherein state power was used by the state to halt political education campaigns, the masses concretely grasped the issue of fascism and more intimately realized the need to close ranks to militantly resist the trampling upon of democratic rights. For some, the need to smash the state machinery has become manifest.

*"For some, the need to smash the state machinery has become manifest."*

## ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS AS CENTERS

Although many other elements outside of the members of the academic community have joined the struggle, it does not necessarily mean that the role of the studentry in particular will be underplayed.

Because it is the most mobile sector of society, has the capability to grasp theory more easily and is the sector most enthusiastic about change, the youth, particularly the students, will continue to be the vanguards of the national democratic cultural revolution. The diffusion of national democratic principles into other sectors, while it generates a fever and dynamism among these sectors, does not lead to a decrease in the political tasks that the students may play. Rather at this time, when organized thrusts into these sectors are possible and necessary, the quantity and quality of student activists that can be fielded becomes more significant.

The students, from the days of "student power" to the days of national democratic activism, have been the leading force in the cultural movement, although there was limited participation and guidance from progressive faculty members in some academic institutions.

*"Universities . . . have been instrumental in developing the theory and practice of the cultural revolution more than any other institution up to the present."*

As a corollary to this, the centers of the cultural revolution were to be found in universities, colleges, and high schools in towns and cities.

The academic institutions have been the well-spring of many student activists who eventually go out of the academe to organize. They will continue to be so. The academic institutions, too, have had the record of militant and broad participation in mass political actions. They will continue to have that record in as much as the studentry is still the sector that will have the time to do such tasks. The level of political debate in the academe has been relatively higher than in other places. And the trend is towards an escalation of these debates — which has reached up to the issue of revisionism. In these sense do we speak of the universities as bases for the cultural revolution. They have been instrumental in developing the theory and practice of the cultural revolution more than any other institution up to the present.

## THE UNIVERSITY IN THE UNIVERSITY

Yet academic institutions, or particularly universities, can never be said to be **ABSOLUTELY** for the national democratic revolution. Just as in society in general where forces are being fast polarized into camps of reaction and progress, so within the university one finds two camps.

The university — or more precisely the institutional university — will inevitably be divided into two. That part of the institutional university that will relentlessly opt for basic changes in our society may be called the **university within the university** in the sense that it become a university unto itself with goals that are diametrically opposite to the institutional university. In the event of triumph, this university within the university, which at present remains subordinate by and large to the institutional university, will eventually become the institution of a new social order. As yet it has to perform the role of a counter-institution.

If the institutional universities are used by the ruling classes as conduits of the old culture and as factories that turn out cogs for the semi-colonial and semi-feudal order, the university within the university aims to serve the national democratic revolution by propagating the new culture (or counter-consciousness) and by turning out political activists for national democracy.

The line that separates the two is one of class loyalties. The institutional university may make protestations that it has no loyalty whatsoever except to certain ideals. But this idealist concept is merely used to hide the fact that it is no more than a dispenser of values that enslave the minds of the students and eventually turn them into battalions that serve the present social order. **WHILE**, the university within the university is avowedly partisan to the interests

of the oppressed classes. Contrary to the views of ivory tower intellectuals that truth and partisanship are two opposite things, the partisan believes that it is his very partisanship that makes him interested in the truth. To the partisan, the only people interested in hiding the truth are those who are loyal to the existing society.

It is not correct that the progressives in a certain university make primary the takeover of administrative functions of the institutional university — or to “seize” the university. Although holding strategic administrative positions may be of help, what is primary is to expand and consolidate the university within the university. The strategic guaranty that national democratic political power will continue to exist within the university is the detailed work in raising the level of political consciousness of as many constituents as possible from all sectors — administrative personnel, academic personnel and students — and the determined and systematic methods of organizing the university within the university. After all, the university within the university is what one really means when he speaks of the **university** as a base for the cultural revolution. The target of the university within the university, in its task of waging the cultural revolution, therefore, is not only the sectors outside of the university but also the other elements within the institutional university who may wish to join the ranks of those in the counter-institution.

So long as the present system remains within the big towns and cities, the institutional universities will always remain dominant. There may be cases wherein the university within the university may prevail over the institutional university — as when boycotts and protest classes are staged in contradiction to “normal” academic classes. There may be times when protest graduations are held. Or times when barricades are set up. In which case the administration — the direct link of bureaucrat-capitalists within the

academe — will release its suppressive powers such as suspension or expulsion of activists, or the state may directly intervene by sending armed state troopers into the university (as in the case of the Diliman Commune). Although the institutional university manages to remain dominant, the strength of the university within the university itself offers the possibility of a good defense against encroachments of the reactionary camp or even of tactical offensives against it.

The struggle between the two opposing political forces within the university is bound to exist as long as the whole of society remains basically unchanged, or even beyond that, so long as class struggle continues.

*“ . . . Progressive political power can exist in a university so long as work on political education is successfully performed.”*

In consonance with the general principle, progressive political power can exist in a university so long as work on political education is successfully performed. Fraternities and religious groups, for example, need not be forcibly broken up structurally. They will dissolve before the thrusts of the cultural revolution itself for these groups are but mere organizational expressions of the old feudal culture. Meanwhile, they may even be turned into fraternities and organizations of a new type, actively engaged in political activities.



It would be wrong to metaphysically refer to the institutional university as the base of the national democratic cultural revolution. It would be more precise to refer to the university within the university as the base of the propaganda movement.

Undoubtedly, the role performed by the activists of the academe is important for the whole of the national democratic revolution. Though tactically, the destruction of the organs of political power of the ruling classes is not discernible, strategically it prepares the ground for the eventual overthrow of the whole state machinery. Even the suspension of the privilege of the writ of **habeas corpus** was successfully countered, not with the bark of guns, but with mass mobilization and propaganda. Even under conditions of martial law, the national democratic revolution will go on. Not only the capability, but the daring and courage displayed by national democratic activists, augurs well the future of the Philippine revolution.

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A.B. 1911, L.L.B. (with honors) 1914  
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# **BARIKADA- mga bagong awiting revolusyonaryo**

## **1. IBAGSAK ANG IMPERYALISMONG KANO**

*Upang lumaya ang daigdig  
Magkaisa, magkaisa!  
Ang nakararami'y tiyak na  
Magwawagi, magwawagi!  
Ang bisig ng uring api;  
Manggagawa't magsasaka  
Kaya ngayon;  
Sama-sama nating  
Kabakahin ang pang-aapi.  
Ibagsak, ibagsak!  
Ang kaaway ng buong daigdig  
Makibaka, huwag matakot!  
Durugin natin ang kalaban  
Na marami nang inutang na dugo!  
Ibagsak, ibagsak!  
Ang imperyalismong Kano.*

## **2. AWIT NG BARIKADA**

*Barikada, barikada  
Magtayo ng mga—magtayo ng mga  
Barikada  
Upang ipamalas ating pagtutol  
Sa imperyalista  
Tinaas halaga ng langis at saka  
Gasolina  
Barikada, barikada  
Magtayo ng mga—magtayo ng mga  
Barikada  
Barikada, barikada  
Magtayo ng mga—magtayo ng mga  
Barikada  
Barikada, barikada  
Magtayo ng mga—magtayo ng mga  
Barikada!*

### 3. TAO ANG MAHALAGA

*Dapat nating malaman na  
Ang sandata ay isang bagay .  
Na mahalaga sa digmaan  
Nguni't hindi ito ang bagay  
Na mapagpasiya;  
Ang mga mamamayan hindi ang mga bagay  
Ang mapagpasiya.  
Ang mga mamamayan hindi ang mga bagay  
Ang mapagpasiya.  
Ang paligsahan sa lakas  
Ay hindi lamang paligsahan  
Ng lakas sa baril  
At lakas sa kabuhayan  
Paligsahan din ito  
Ng lakas sa tao  
At kapasayahang magwagi.  
Ang tunay na lakas  
Sa baril at lakas sa kabuhayan  
Ay nasa kamay ng mamamayan.  
Ang mga mamamayan hindi ang mga bagay  
Ang mapagpasiya  
Ang mga mamamayan hindi ang mga bagay  
Ang mapagpasiya.*

### 4. TIYAK NA BABAGSAK ANG MGA TIGRENG PAPEL

*Ang kaaway natin sa unang tingin  
Ay mukhang higanteng malakas  
Nguni't sa harap ng mamamayan  
Sila'y nanginginig  
Kaya't hindi sila magwawagi  
Nauubos unti-unti  
Kapag ang sandata'y hawak ng masa  
Mukha nila'y namumuti  
Sila'y tigreng papel—tigreng papel  
Walang tunay na lakas  
Sila'y tigreng papel—tigreng papel  
At tiyak na babagsak  
Sila'y tigreng papel—tigreng papel  
At tiyak na babagsak  
Sila'y tigreng papel—tigreng papel  
At tiyak na babagsak.*

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