Mindanao theater in the 1970s and 1980s, like the larger Philippine theater, could not but be moved by the sociopolitical events in the country. Forces that shaped contemporary Mindanao theater were the church, academe and people’s cultural organizations. The church helped bring about individual initiatives and the institutionalization of theater, particularly in communities. The academe bred committed students who formed progressive theater groups. These students and other cultural workers later banded together to evolve alternative cultural institutions that consolidated people’s initiatives in theater.

Dramatic presentations ranged from agit-prop pieces advocating revolt to morality plays and passion plays enlightening people about justice and peace issues. There were ethnic plays about struggle and liberation and satirical studies of Philippine politics. Dance dramas coexisted with stark two-man plays. Mindanao theater in the 1970s and 1980s was aligned with the vision and struggle of the oppressed class.

Mindanao theater practice in the early 1970s was shaped in part by a politicized Church sector. The Mindanao church was a radical church involved in organizing efforts through the Basic Christian Communities-Community Organizing (BCC-CO). Moreover, the social action centers (SACs) of the Maryknoll Fathers aimed at

develop[ing] and support[ing] sectoral organizations for peasants, laborers, fishermen, etc., raising their awareness and encouraging them to work collectively for economic and social ends (Kidd n.d., 81).

Church-based community theater in Mindanao began in the late 1960s through an alliance of the Church and the Philippine Educational Theater Association (PETA). Remy Rikken, a community organizer at the Tagum, Davao del Norte SAC, invited PETA to hold a one-week workshop for social action workers in Mindanao. Held in 1969, it was the first outreach program of PETA conducted by Socra-
tes “Soxy” Topacio, Lino Brocka, Lutgardo Labad, among others.
Serving mainly to introduce the people to the potential of creative drama, the workshop covered personality growth, educational enrichment and the discovery of Filipino cultural roots (Labad and Garruco n.d., 10). Karl Gaspar was one of the workshop participants who began producing his own plays in 1971.

After the workshop, SAC started experimenting with role-playing and problem-drama skits in their training seminars for the leaders of people’s organizations. Plays dealt with poverty, farmers’ rights, the need for unity and cooperation and were mostly improvised and scriptless affairs. Drama at this point was limited to seminars as a learning aid; the problem analysis aspect was still weak, i.e., not backed by structural analysis (Kidd n.d., 81). Church-related drama was to develop more fully in the years after the declaration of martial law.

**The Period of Individual Initiatives, 1971–76**

At the height of the First Quarter Storm (or FQS, i.e., nationalist and militant street demonstrations by students and workers in the first three months of 1970), theater began to be valued as an important dynamic force in the liberation movement (Magtoto 1991, 54). In socially restive Mindanao, activism was also accompanied by cultural presentations by the militant student and labor theater groups. The plays were fierce diatribes against the government and perceived enemies of the state that ended on notes of anarchy and/or rebellion.

One of the more prolific playwrights at this time was Karl Gaspar who wrote under the *nom de guerre* Melchor M. Morante. Fresh from his graduate studies at the Asian Social Institute (one of the hotbeds of student activism in Manila at the time), his concomitant attendance at mass demonstrations, and his encounters with PETA plays at Fort Santiago and in the streets, Gaspar taught college at the Holy Cross College of Digos in Davao del Sur in 1971. He organized his students into a Socio-Economic Society with a theater arm called *Mga Magdudulang Mayukmok* (MMM) or Theater of (and for) Little Folks (Gaspar 1985, xi). Composed of some fifty-odd students, this school theater group became the locus of the birthing of Melchor M. Morante (MMM). In turn, this group breathed life into his plays which deal with the local contemporary society now directly now obliquely.

The *Mga Magdudulang Mayukmok* performed the first political play in Digos in 1972, Gaspar’s “Kuskos Balungos, Nganong Atong Nasud Nag-antos? Ambot sa Langaw Pilay Idad sa Ok-ok” (“Fuss, Fuss,
Why Is Our Nation Suffering? I Don’t Know And I Don’t Care”). The play depicts a series of run-ins between the men who play God and the powerless. This one-acter presents the problems that beset the Philippines in the early 1970s (and the 1980s): corruption in government, petty (and not-so-petty) crime, prostitution, gang wars and prison riots, and election violence. The play ends with a ringing call to action, “Nagkinahanglan na nga kitang mga katawhan angay nga naay himoon aron nga ang atong nasud mahonong na paghilak!” (“It is imperative that we do something to stop the weeping of our Motherland!”) (Gaspar 1972). The play uses humorous but true vignettes to better tell of the malaise afflicting the country.


Galenzoga’s Maranatha (1974), which is Semitic for “Make haste, Lord,” is the most popular of the KDT productions. It tells of a stranger who saved a lake kingdom from a predatory black bird and from the oppression of military forces through the slippers he threw into the lake before his departure (Fernandez 1983, 22). Performed 135 times in 65 places all over the country, it is a message of liberation wrapped in Maranao legend and lore and Christian image (Temple 1980, 22). It is a dance drama in choreo-dactylogia (i.e., art of communication combining gesture and sound) that demonstrates drama’s efficacy as a tool for direct evangelization (Temple 1980, 89). Gaspar and Galenzoga are recognized as the pillars of Mindanao community theater (Horfilla n.d.).

In the urban centers, the anti-imperial struggle and the proliferation of plays in English in the universities were fora for student protests. Students formed theater groups in search of a Filipino nationalist theater. Kulturang Atin in Ateneo de Davao, Sining Kambayoka in Mindanao State University at Marawi and KOTA in Cagayan were organized in 1974. The restrictions of martial law were still being rigidly imposed, yet the people’s artists were organizing themselves.

At the University of Mindanao, erstwhile Ateneo student Nikki Gomez formed Tabunong Magdudula [Brown Players] with the help of Kulturang Atin in 1981 (Gomez 1989). The group presented social
plays, which were "easy to write and direct" such as "Mga Pirapirasong Dula," which tackles the demolition of the homes of the urban poor, among other subjects.

At the Mindanao State University in Marawi City, Lanao del Sur, PETA had a hand in forming the school theater group, Sining Kambayoka (SK). It popularized bayok, the Maranao balagtasan and presented Halik sa Kampilan, which told of injustice done and struggled against (KAFI 1983, 12). Its Mga Kuwentong Maranaw, which was performed in Manila in 1975, is a fusion of ethnic music and dance, martial arts, recitation and drama. It demonstrates how social comment in theater can be enlightening and vastly entertaining (Lumbera 1987, 104). Like PETA, SK was also nationalist in orientation. It utilized things indigenous to Mindanao in costume, dance, song and language and addressed itself to the majority of the local populace while telling of national concerns.

In 1976 (and 1980), Ateneo de Davao's Kulturang Atin presented Al Santos' Bundok ng Apo, a rock opera about a Bagobo tribe's efforts to defend their ancestral lands against landgrabbing lowlanders (Lumbera 1987, 113).

The declaration of martial law in 1972 changed the sociopolitical climate and the tenor of the Mindanao plays. The Communist Party of the Philippines was outlawed for obvious reasons; and the so-called left-leaning elements of the church were subjected to state power. The clampdown included parish cum cultural workers like Gaspar and company who had earned the ire of the local military with their plays that seemed to advocate anarchy. Gaspar and two others were arrested for an overnight detention and a three-month house arrest. It was all in the tradition of the "seditious" playwrights at the turn of the century.

Undeterred by official disapproval, Gaspar staged more plays in the early years of martial law. Instead of secular plays with political messages bursting at the seams, Gaspar wrote morality plays. These plays, however, were just as fiery as their predecessors as he introduced social justice themes extracted from the hard-hitting texts of Amos, Isaiah, Luke and Matthew, among others (Kidd n.d., 84).

"Ang Hukumanan sa Katapusan" ["The Last Judgment"] (1974) is a symbolic interpretation of the final judgment scene in Matthew's gospel in which five characters are tried by God. Eyes sees all the injustice but closes his eyes. Mouth is a rumor-mongerer. Hands is a landgrabber. Feet is a politician who tramples on the rights of others. Heart sees the injustice and joins the people's struggle for justice and peace.
From then on, church-related drama began to be used in enlightening the people about justice and peace (Magtoto 1991, 54). Plays were written specifically for the Alay Kapwa (AK) program, which was launched by the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) for the Lenten season.

[The program was] envisioned as an intensive "preaching of the Gospel" to awaken a genuine Spirit of renewal of our lives in Christ, and to begin to see a tangible realization of this goal, through a reconciliation with our neighbor, especially the deprived and the oppressed (MSPC Communications 1974) (Anon. 1974, 12).

The AK program was also a nationwide fund-raising effort to make the Philippine Catholic Church less dependent on overseas funding for its social action programs.

Gaspar organized a group of students and young professionals to perform AK plays. Some of these plays were written by Gaspar himself. Gaspar's AK plays adapted Biblical text to Philippine realities (Gaspar 1985a). In "Ang Makaluluoy Nga Nagyaka Daplin Sa Dalan" ("The Poor Man by the Roadside") (1977), the parable of the Good Samaritan is set on Philippine soil with modern day characters such as the ubiquitous newsboy, a bourgeois couple, and Parish Women's Club members as the indifferent people. Here, the Good Samaritan is a blind beggar named Caring who dies in her attempt to save a poor soul who is not unlike herself.

The reenactment of this parable is framed by the Jesus episode, "Lord, who is my neighbor?" The narrator, who appears before and after the play, underlines the didactic thrust of the play. He is also Augusto Boal's joker in action as he directly addresses the audience to explain the theme of social responsibility.

In the years of martial rule 1974–80, Gaspar wrote plays in accordance with the Catholic liturgical calendar (Gaspar 1985b). So Christmas 1975 was highlighted by "Ang Mensahe Sa Pasko Alang Kanato Karon" ("The Christmas Message For Us Today"), and the feasts of Sts. Peter and John the Baptist were celebrated with musicals: "Ikaw Si Pedro Ug Niining Bato . . ." ("Thou Art Peter and Upon This Rock . . .") (1976) and "Juan: Saksi sa Kamatuoran" ("John: Truth's Witness") (1978), respectively. Galenzoga himself wrote "Passio Christi" for Lent and "When the Day Dawns" for Christmas.
The Period of Institutionalization, 1977–80

The continuity of church-related drama activities was ensured when the Mindanao-Sulu Pastoral Conference (MSPC) Secretariat, held in 1977 elected Gaspar as the first layman Executive Secretary. Convinced of the power of theater as a pedagogical tool, the Mindanao church through MSPC, collaborated with PETA in a theater workshop for their church workers. Fernando "Nanding" Josef was one of the trainers. The training was instrumental in the birth of creative dramatics (CD), a conscientization program that has become a byword in Christian communities in Mindanao.

Launched in 1978, the CD program was intended as an alternative and effective venue of evangelization and conscientization. The worsening sociopolitical landscape in counterpoint with the peace and justice thrust of the Mindanao-Sulu Church made CD "a compelling option along with other micromedia such as rural mimeo press, the blackboard news, posters and others. All had one end in sight—the conscientization of the people" (Gaspar et al. n.d.). It was for a liberating education, one that awakened people to move towards making changes in the community (Horfilla n.d.).

The CD program produced Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's organic intellectuals through its mass training programs for community leaders and grassroots workers in popular education and community organizing, lay leadership seminars, communication skills workshops that branched out into popular media and popular theater. These intellectuals helped the oppressed gain a critical consciousness of their realities through community theater. It also did community research via structural analysis. In 1978, a Butuan theater group used CD practice, particularly structural analysis, for the clear delivery of the liberation message, for honing technical skills and for organizational planning. The frequent consequence of a CD training was the organization of a theater group. Parish-based drama groups were formed in about twenty dioceses in Mindanao-Sulu (Magtoto 1991, 54). The Appendix presents the principles and methodologies of the CD training program (MSPC Creative Dramatics Training Kit quoted in Lluch 1981, 129–30).

The range of plays the CD program engendered includes morality plays, social plays and biblico-historical plays. The morality plays tackle the social situation using the structures of the Bible, philosophy and the morality of forward-thinking individuals, like the liberation theologians (Horfilla n.d.). These challenge Christians to
commit themselves in faith to the call for social transformation of an oppressive society (KAFI 1983, 6). The Biblico-historical plays juxtapose Old Testament and contemporary events.

Also, since the plays were presented in chapels, churches and on makeshift community stages, the crowds were not of the same magnitude as those of the FQS mobilizations and rallies. Postperformance discussions were easily introduced. This practice involved the discussion of the issues raised in the play and their relevance to the contemporary situation.³ For instance, after a performance of "Usa Ka Adlaw sa Kinabuhi ni Manang Takya" ("One Day in the Life of Manang Takya") (1979) in Davao City, the spectators were divided into small groups and given a guide question for discussion. The chairpersons of these small groups then report their discussions to the larger group, after which a member of the theater group collates the results and shares social analysis. It made expert collaborators of the audience, transforming them from passive recipients to participants in the drama and the action it embodies.

Amid the mounting militarization in Mindanao, MSPC also provided assistance to the tribal Filipinos and started human rights work in support of the political detainees. Actively promoted were church programs, particularly the BCCs which, by then, had caught the suspicious eye of the military intelligence.

A 1979 military report states thus:

What is now emerging as the most dangerous form of threat from the religious radicals is their creation of the so-called basic Christian communities in both rural and urban areas. They are practically building an infrastructure of political power in the entire country (Gaspar 1985c, 12).

The unintelligent military responses to the perceived threat were mass arrests of the BCC lay leaders, and worse, torture and "salvaging" (summary or extrajudicial executions). Consequently, many Mindanao community plays produced at this time took up the following themes: intensifying repressions, harassment and militarization, poverty and economic crisis, repression in the labor sector, and the response of the Mindanao church for total human liberation (Anon. 1985, 12).

Gaspar's "Magbabaol: Dugokan sa Yuta'ng Katawhan" ("The Farmer: Fertilizer of the Native Land") (1979) seeks to counter the arguments given for the farmer-tenants' poverty. It traces the roots of poverty to the age-old question of land ownership. In song, slide
and symbol, the dramatic text demolishes the misconceptions propagated by the ruling class: Poverty is the lot of indolent Filipinos who have no ambitions, savings, nor college degree. Poverty is God's will. Poverty is the due of farmers who use unscientific farming methods. The theme of the play is the overriding need for community organizing, the need for the people to collectively fight for their rights in the name of social justice.

Conflict within the church silenced the social action program and the MSPC-CD in 1980. A CD limitation was thus recognized:

The CD program can only truly respond to the national situation today if it is linked with the movement of organizing the oppressed sectors, who are the principal agents of the struggle for national liberation. (Magtoto 1991, 54)

The phaseout was overcome when undeterred CD workers formed their own organizations or joined other groups which had similar cultural programs.

The Period of Alternative Cultural Organizations, 1980s

When Kulturang Atin was barred from operating in the Ateneo in 1979, the disenfranchised students and the pastoral workers from the defunct MSPC-CD program formed Kulturang Atin Foundation, Inc. (KAFI) in 1981. This cultural organization was also helped along by PETA who assigned Alan Glinoga as PETA regional coordinator for Mindanao.

Like PETA, KAFI engaged in cultural service programs, seminar workshops in theater, performances and cultural research to counter the realities of ideological domination. Their repertory work and outreach programs brought them closer to the communities (Magtoto 1991, 55).

The KAFI repertory arm is Sining Malay Ensemble whose productions include Halik sa Kampilan (1981); Severino Reyes' and Nicanor Tiongson's contemporized musical, Pilipinas Circa 1907 (1983); Nicanor Cleto's Higaang Marmol, a play about a poverty-stricken family who lives in a cemetery in La Loma, Quezon City; and Al Santos' Nukleyar (1984), an antinuclear rock musical-cum-documentary. All are low-cost and partisan productions.
Soon after, alternative cultural institutions, akin to KAFI, mushroomed. These included the Forum on Approaches, Research and Media Development (FARMDEV); Southern Christian College Research in People’s Theater (SCRIPT); Lanao Educational Arts for Development (LEAD, 1985); Mindanao Development Center (MDC) and Educational Discipline in Culture, Arts Development and Services, Inc. (EDCADS, 1986) (Horfilla n.d.).

These were formed along the line of formative alliances which bred organic intellectuals who guided people towards liberation. These cultural groups trained farmers and laborers, students, out-of-school youth, teachers and church workers in the art of war against the culture of silence. Using the language of theater, the groups empowered these people to help the rest of the dominated class clarify their aspirations for liberation. Many more groups were formed as a result of echo workshops in basic community theater.

In 1982, KAFI gathered the large number of Mindanao cultural practitioners in Midsayap, North Cotabato for Forum I, which aimed to find a direction among the cultural groups whose common endeavor was “to fight the dominant culture” (Magtoto 1991, 55).

In 1984, the range of Mindanao theater was showcased in a festival of people’s culture called “Kalasikas Mindanaw.” Slides and tableaux portrayed the evils of US imperialism, the extent of its exploitative character and the Filipino struggle in a fifteen-minute presentation. Other theater groups improvised on the storytelling form—the hufung of the T’bolis and the bayok of the Maranaos. The Manobo ritual, langkat as well as tested forms such as dance and choreography, song and lyrical narration were also used to mobilize people to participate in the nationalist struggle (MCTN 1985, 25).

Forum II was organized to include all the other theater groups which were not in the first forum. Conducted from 1984 to February 1985, sixty-six theater groups participated in the mini-conferences.

Because there was a need to align the theater movement with the particular needs and capacity of the subregions and the struggle of the Filipino people, a “center organization” was formed, “a federation of community theater groups, institutions, organizations and individual artist-teacher-organizers concerned with support cultural services and unified cultural advancement in Mindanao.” This was Mindanao Community Theater Network (MCTN) (Magtoto 1991, 55).

Meanwhile, Gaspar was arrested on 26 March 1983. On mere suspicion, he was taken to a safehouse, held incommunicado for two
weeks, and detained until 9 February 1985. Inside the prison on a trumped-up charge of political subversion, Gaspar established an educational program. He served as animateur, educator, and counselor, distributing books and other materials, leading the group in daily discussions and singing sessions. This daily session (between 5 and 9 p.m.), involving about fifty political detainees, developed into a continuing popular theater workshop in which the detainees acted out their experiences before imprisonment, their lives in prison, and their aspirations for freedom and a return to democratic rule.

While the country was staging protests against the brutal Aquino assassination and numerous other human rights violations, Gaspar was organizing the production of three collectively-created dramas on the life-experience of the political detainees, one of which was a sinakulo.

"Sa Pagpakigbisog Kamo Mabulahan!" ("In Struggling [for Justice], You Shall Be Blessed!"), also known as "Pasyon 1984," is an attempt at answering Vatican II’s call for creative liturgy, behind bars. Poetry, music, politics and Christianity live in exciting coexistence in this play-within-a-play. Its main character, Christ is Janus-like: one is a Biblical Christ who invites the disciples to follow him, heals the sick, and delivers the Sermon on the Mount. Halfway through this traditional interpretation, Christ transforms into a Filipino Christian worker in a garment factory. He then becomes a Christ who is real for our times and culture.

Worsening sociopolitical conditions engendered a series of Welgang Bayan in Mindanao. Cultural workers were an indispensable part of the proceedings. Their revolutionary songs, dances, murals and drama figured prominently in the massive protests.

With the EDSA revolt in 1986, cultural groups lay low, were silenced by the vigilantes, or opted for popular struggle (Magtoto 1991, 55). Those who believed in a more radical line broke away from MCTN and formed Mindanao Center for People’s Culture (MCPC) in 1987. "For effective societal transformation under the new dispensation," it aimed to "crush foreign cultural domination" and Cory Aquino’s “psychological warfare." (Magtoto 1991, 55). One of MCPC’s productions is Don Pagusara’s Gugma, Gugma sa Panahon ni Cora (1989–90), which took the Philippine government’s continued subservience to American foreign policy as its subject. Albeit using different trails, KAFI/MCPC and MCTN both campaign for national sovereignty. Both are recognized as Mindanao representatives to the Philippine theater network, BUGKOS based in Manila.
One of the most popular plays of the late 1980s was Bulawan, dialectical theater that resembles the dula-tula of the 1970s. Written in 1987, it tells the story of two friends who seek their fortune in gold and find much more. It goes on to impress on the audience the need to continue the struggle for liberation, notwithstanding the change in administration. It underscores the value of a critical consciousness vis-à-vis the society.

Another noteworthy production which takes on the continuing search for Filipino identity is MCTN’s Sinalimba (1987). Staged in Davao and Manila, it is "a journey to the roots" using tribal movement, myth and symbol. Colorful and lyrical, it features the legendary triumvirate—brave hero, lithe monster and the contested princess. Sinalimba is the royal boat of old Mindanao.

Conclusion

Theater in Mindanao is alive and kicking—revitalizing old forms and infusing more meaningful messages to meet the urgent demands of educating people on issues. Cultural work became a venue for organizing the people, empowering them, allowing them to liberate themselves from feelings of repression through literature and art, specifically theater. Mindanao theater is dynamic alternative education, Paulo Freire’s cultural action for freedom.

Notes

1 The subheadings used in the article are from an interview with Nestor Horfilla (1990).
2. Established in 1971, the MSPC is "a body of bishops, priests, religious and lay people representing the twenty ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Mindanao-Sulu meeting triennially for its one dominant aim of building truly Christian communities" (Gaspar 1985c, 1).
3. The discussion is a variant of the Boal technique of simultaneous dramaturgy where the spectators are encouraged to intervene in the action presented in the play. See Boal (1979, 132).

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Gaspar, Karl. 1985b. Interview by the author. Gaspar Residence, Ma-a, Davao City, 31 December.


Horfilla, Nestor (Mindanao cultural worker). 1990. Interview by the author. Ateneo de Davao University, E. Jacinto Street, Davao City. 7 August.


### APPENDIX
**MSPC SECRETARIAT CREATIVE DRAMATICS PROGRAM**

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<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Implications for Training</th>
<th>Implications for Action</th>
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<td>Community-based</td>
<td>Towards the setting up of a community theater</td>
<td>Community organization principles, strategies</td>
<td>Work through the building of Christian communities in your diocese or parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>People's participation</td>
<td>that involves the local small community</td>
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<td>Self-reliance</td>
<td>that makes use of local and inexpensive materials</td>
<td>Appropriate training in the technical aspects</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>of creative dramatics</td>
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<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>that draws its inspiration from the cultural heritage of the Filipino people</td>
<td>Philippine folk arts in song, dance, poetry and drama: history and development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Situated in the perspective of pastoral priorities</td>
<td>that takes into consideration the pastoral priorities of the parish/diocese/region</td>
<td>Scripture, Vatican II, Synod of Bishops, Alay Kapwa, MSPC thrusts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Situated in the perspective of total, historical realities</td>
<td>that promotes the reflection-action-reflection methodology</td>
<td>structural analysis, Philippine history but treated with social analysis and INODEP (Institut Oecumenique pour le Développement des Peuple) tools.</td>
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