

Comprehensive view of the history of Anakbayan and main lessons (1998-2010)

Draft for the 6th National Congress of Anakbayan, May 2011

History

The years 1998-2001

Holding the historical tradition of Kabataang Makabayan, Anakbayan was established by various youth organizations on November 30, 1998.

Anakbayan was born from the proper understanding of the role of youth in the history of social change and the importance of a comprehensive youth organization that will contribute to the advancement and eventual victory of National Democratic struggle of the Filipino people.

When it was established in the period during the revolutionary movement is fulfilling the Second Great Rectification Movement, it performed its duty to arouse, organize and mobilize the youth –a basic force that is very much needed in advancing and winning the National Democratic struggle.

In Anakbayan's first year alone, it already took on a primary role in the youth and people's campaign and struggles and in ousting the US-Estrada regime.

Anakbayan contributed as a strong force in struggle against tuition fee hikes, budget cuts on education funding, democratic rights in the campuses and other student issues. Anakbayan led and mobilized its membership and the student masses inside and outside the schools. It sharply criticized the greediness of the administration and its subservience to the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) while exposing the government's negligence on its obligation to provide education to its people as a right.

It successfully launched a strong boycott movement in schools across the country. In fact, 45 schools across the country-12 from the National Capital Region, in January-February 2000 was able to paralyze the normal flow of the academe due to the strong boycott movement that was participated by at least 70,000 students.

Anakbayan also launched another major struggles such as the campaign to control oil prices, P125 wage increase and P3, 000 additional salaries, campaign against the all-out war in Mindanao, militarization and human rights violations – struggles that pushed for the

further invigoration of the campaign to oust Estrada.

In fully mobilizing its membership and through its leadership in the broad alliance Estrada Resign Youth Movement, it led almost 200,000 young people across the country in mobilizations together with the people until the victorious ouster of the regime in January 2001. Anakbayan's slogan: "Sobra nang pahirap, Patalsikin si Erap!" echoed throughout the country.

The role that the youth and Anakbayan have played during the ouster of the US-Estrada regime is unparalleled. Anakbayan became known as the champion of the youth and people's democratic interests and the voice of every youth who loves democracy and freedom.

Anakbayan continuously promoted the rights and interests of youth and the people under what was then the new US-Arroyo regime. It challenged the new regime to address the interests of youth and people, launched the struggle for the people's rights. It transformed the ERYM into Youth for Justice and Meaningful Change (YMJC). However, weakness at this time was the giving a 100 day grace period for the regime that seemed like a "honeymoon" period.

Anakbayan consistently and forcefully advanced the youth's demand for education, jobs, social services and other democratic rights under the new regime. The struggle against the price hikes of basic commodities and services became very popular. Chapter in the schools and communities were able to respond immediately the fights against demolitions.

Anakbayan promoted Bayan Muna at the electoral campaign on March to May 2001. Anakbayan enthusiastically reached out in the communities to campaign and organize chapters of Bayan Muna. It also formed chapters of Bayan Muna Youth that became wells of new recruits for the establishment of new chapters of Anakbayan. After the elections, Bayan Muna chapters were transformed into Anakbayan chapters and Bayan Muna Youth chapters were not maintained, which then became an issue.

Prompt, vigorous and strong positioning has been made in the struggle against imperialist intervention and aggression--- wars of aggression in Afghanistan, Balikatan and more. These were characterized by an expansive, quick and prompt protest actions and wide-reaching propaganda education: Studies on U.S. wars of aggression, teach-ins, forums and broad alliances.

Another highlight was Anakbayan and other organizations' struggle to abolish the ROTC.

Engulfed by the wide spread anger that was caused by the death of Mark Chua after he exposed corruption within the officials of ROTC. No less than 40 schools have participated in the weekly walkout of the cadets. In Manila Anakbayan led more than 5,000 cadets from UST that walked out and marched towards Mendiola. Though NSTP (the program that replaced ROTC) still retained some aspects of the ROTC, the huge success of the campaign to abolish ROTC was undeniable.

From a membership of more or less than 5,000 and 100 chapters nationwide during 2008, Anakbayan's membership reached up to 30,000 after the people's uprising. On the Second National Council meeting on July 2001, the membership reached 35,000. The membership and chapters rapidly increased nationwide. Chapters were established on regional levels across the country and in major cities and provinces. Mass campaigns were effectively maximized to push the recruitment of members from schools, communities, factories and farms.

The issue of membership consolidation after the people's uprising became prominent. Many members that were recruited from spontaneous mass action campaigns have not been continuously active in the chapters. Many chapters, though established, were not able to fulfill its comprehensive functions. Anakbayan's slow growth and the decreasing number of people that it can gather was already noticeable as it enter its third year. Based on accounts, only 40% of the membership are considered active or are being mobilized in the various activities of the chapters. This is also an important factor for the decrease of mobilizations after the people's uprising on 2001.

An important issue here is the lack of widespread political education among the membership and the masses. Discussions during the upsurge were limited to issue primers on ousting the U.S.-Estrada regime, the propagation of the ND analysis and program among the masses of youth and people were not prompt enough. Basic studies were also given to a small portion of the mass members, aside from it being limited only to the 6 basic courses instead of providing the whole PADEPA.

Continuous study and learning from the practice of organizing and managing a chapter, the structures, and the democratic participation of the members and the mass character of the organization are important elements.

Among the issues being confronted is the immediate integration of new recruits in the structure of the chapter, especially during the period of the upsurge. Chapter's structures and dynamism were not able to effectively function in mobilizing the membership. There is

a tendency to have high standards in recruitment and participation in the committees of the chapter.

Anakbayan's first 3 years has shone and has become a well of lessons as it continues its struggle throughout the following years.

The years 2002-2004

Even before the outbreak of the "Hello Garci" scandal in 2005, Anakbayan and other youth groups has already been active in exposing and opposing the corruption the the U.S.-Arroyo regime is involved in. The youth exposed loudly the issues on Jose Pidal, Diosdado Macapagal Blvd., Fertilizer scam and many other cases of corruption the the first family is involved in. Anakbayan disseminated propaganda education regarding the graft and corruption of the regime. Anakbayan was able to strongly position itself and was able to campaign against the U.S.-Arroyo regime's corruption, in relation to the upcoming 2004 elections.

The sector also responded well to resist against the U.S. war in Iraq when it broke out in 2003. Discussions in schools were conducted in large numbers and major mobilizations were participated by almost 3,000 youth. Anakbayan carried the various anti-imperialist campaigns and struggles (Powell visit, War on Terror, U.S. war of aggression in Iraq, Balikatan, U.S. military intervention, Bush Visit, WTO Cancun Round, Angelo Reyes) vigorously and forcefully.

In this period, other sectoral struggles also gained momentum. Due to the prompt protest actions and propaganda among the membership of Anakbayan and LFS High School's, the Bridge Program of 2004 was successfully junked.

The struggle against tuition fee hikes was also launched.

In 2005, Anakbayan was able to push for the passage of CMO 14, limiting the increase in tuition and other fee increases and including the miscellaneous fees in the consultations. It will later be taken out by Malakanyang.

Various issues regarding democratic rights in campus were also promptly carried. Issues such as the long hair policy, new uniform, dress code, wash day, etc, wherein huge support was gathered from the students.

Another prominent issue was the Senate Bill 2587 of the University of the Philippines. It was in relation to the increasing commercialization of State Universities and Colleges

(SUCs) and education in the country. There are also resurging local struggles in other schools, like the calls for the rejection of the new UP charter and the issues on corruption of the PUP president.

Anakbayan chapters were also able to lead in the local struggles in the community, particularly the struggle against the demolition at the Caloocan railroads in 2003.

Anakbayan also contributed to the campaign for the Anak ng Bayan youth partylist in 2004. There were massive cheatings and violence against Anak ng Bayan, including members and leaders of Anakbayan. Though it did not succeed to elect a representative in Congress, it garnered hundreds of thousands of votes. Anak ng Bayan became a well of recruit for Anakbayan. The issue remained regarding the transformation of chapters of "Anak ng Bayan" without properly placing the role and relationship of each other.

Anakbayan continued to face issues regarding the consolidation of its organization. While it was able to recruit new members, there are still a lot of old members that were not consolidated and are dropped off its roster of membership. Anakbayan's membership decreased to 23,000 nationwide.

Typical studies that are being conducted by the chapters are the PADEPA issues on Education System, Youth Situation, National Situation, Short Course on PSR, Struggle for National Democracy and PSR. Nevertheless, a huge number of members still don't have basic studies. It is still unusual to launch other PADEPA courses for the continuous raising of the membership's consciousness. There are few studies on, for example, on Imperialism and Semi-Feudalism, Mode of Production that will deepen the national democratic consciousness of the membership.

Many chapters remain loose, its structure is not functioning, that is why its unable to sustain the involvement/participation of many of its members. It can still easily recruit, that's why there a huge gross expansion, but looking closer, the organization is shrinking due to the huge number of members that are being dropped out of the roster.

Years 2005-2007

The struggle for the right to education was consistently carried. It gained some victories, such as the refunding of tuition fees in several schools. The release of CHED's memorandum was maximized to demand the refunding of excess charges at was also able to form a Tuition Refund network that gathered the campaigns happening across the

country.

The tuition increase in UP was also strongly opposed. While the fee hike was passed, the campaign was able to leave a mark and has mobilized more than 2,000 students. In Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP), there was a proposal of raising of tuition fees that was defeated by a 5000-strong student walkout. In the Philippine Maritime Institute (PMI), Anakbayan led the walkout against the no-permit-no-exam policy, in the University of the East (UE), several thousands of students also walked out against the tuition increases.

During this time, the sector also strongly carried various issues of the people. The youth's struggle against the impoverishment, oppression by the U.S.-Arroyo regime, its corruption, cheatings in the election, also against her fascism, political killings and violations of the people's human rights.

Entering June 2005, at the onset of the Garci scandal, the youth promptly responded and was able to mobilize the from the schools and several communities. Youth DARE and YCHAT were established, and a widespread campaign to oust regime was launched.

Imperialist domination was also intensely resisted. Tit-for-tat responses regarding issues on VFA, Nicole's rape case and abuses by American troops were immediate.

It was also during this period that the regime's attacks on the people and human rights were escalating. From here, the youth bravely confronted and resisted against calibrated pre-emptive response (CPR), BP 880 and even the declaration of PP 1017, including political killings and repression, particularly the Karen Empeno and Sherlyn Cadapan case.

In several localities and communities, the sectors expose and campaign generated a lot of noise against the urban militarization from December 2006 up to the May 2007 elections.

At the same time, the youth consistently carried and supported the issues of the people and the basic masses: issues on poverty and oppression by the regime, the continuing oil price hikes, Extended-Value Added Tax (EVAT) and rising price of basic commodities and services.

The call for a P125 Wage increase was consistently carried. They also continuously called for the support of the schools and the youth to condemn the Hacienda Luisita Massacre, and to support North Triangle, UP and other communities' struggle against demolitions.

However, there's a tendency for the campaign to become narrow and limited to the issues of education and students. There's a tendency to one-sidedly respond to the issues of students and just "link" it to other struggles and not to conduct propaganda promptly and mobilize based on people's and political issues.

While it began to fix the guide on step-by-step organizing and has strove to identify organizational issues, consolidation and organizing remain the major issues. On its partial report on the National Congress of 2008, the membership nationwide is estimated to be around 17,000 in 114 chapters nationwide.

Compared with the antipathy of the masses against the US-Arroyo regime, recruitment and chapter building was not as fast and as expansive. Although there was momentum in organizing in urban poor communities, organizing among students and in strategic schools slowed down. The growing wrong treatment that Anakbayan is only for the community youth becomes more noticeable.

Low political education remains an issue. There are records of massive discussions on issue primers, but fails to deepend by providing courses in PADEPA.

Year 2008-2010

The sector responded strongly at the outbreak of the ZTE-NBN scandal since last part of 2007 up to the early parts of 2008. Propaganda and propaganda-education regarding ZTE-NBN, CyberEducation program were disseminated. It was also able to quickly respond as the protests escalated during the first quarter.

It was positive that the Youth Act Now! alliance was promptly established. This was accompanied by quick tit-for-tat in the media and leadership in big mobilizations. The sector was able to mobilize during nationally coordinated protests and was also able to launch its own actions. The sector was able to mobilize more than 2,500 in NCR despite mobilizations being short-notice and that vacation is near.

However, the same strength and broadness of the actions, and the heat of the propaganda was not sustained after the actions of the first quarter. Despite this, tit-for-tat prop and quick response actions continued at the outbreak of the rice crisis and others.

Entering June and July, the sector was able to promptly register their stand against the tuition and other fee hikes. The regime responded by promising a bogus tuition freeze. The

sector was also able to quickly respond to people's issues such as the price increase in oil and others.

The walk-out that the sector called for on July 10 and July 18, 2008 became very prominent. It was able to mobilize more than 2,500 towards Mendiola. This registered the struggle against the oil price hikes, against EVAT and the struggle for higher wages. After July, though mobilizations of the same size and prominence weren't able to be replicated, tit-for-tat pop on issues such as the MOA-AD and Cha-Cha continued.

Entering the first quarter of 2009,, the issues on tuition fee hikes and the right to education was consistently carried. Due to quick actions and tit-for-tats, CHED was pushed to release a memo pleading to the capitalist-educators not increase their tuition fees, that was then used in local struggles in the campuses.

Anakbayan and other organizations strongly resisted against the plan for Charter change and to extend the term of the Arroyo-regime. Kabataan Kontra Cha-Cha, a broad alliance, was formed that served as an umbrella on all the youth and student actions against the regime.

Anakbayan contributed against Arroyo's schemes to stay in power. It mobilized to expose Arroyo's maneuvering during the 2010 elections, to sabotage and conspire with the COMELEC and the failed Automated Election System (AES), and by running bogus partylists against progressive partylists and candidates.

Members of Anakbayan thoroughly and persistently campaign and win Kabataan partylist. It mobilized its most active member for Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza's senatorial campaign. However, Anakbayan could have contributed more if it was able to promptly mobilize the majority of its membership for the tasks of the campaign.

The militancy of the actions of students from the Polytechnic University of the Philippines against the planned 2000% tuition fee increase became a highlight. Anakbayan leaders and members played an important role for the victorious struggle and the defeat of the planned tuition fee hike. Students of the University of the Philippines also launched prominent protests that was calling for the return of the student regent that peaked into a march on the commission on Higher Education (CHED). Leader-Activists were arrested due to the anger of the administration but also freed due to strong demand and courageous resistance.

Although huge mobilizations were mounted and was able to contribute to expose and

isolate the Arroyo regime, mass struggles and mass campaigns were not developed further to expand and to decisively contribute for the direct ouster of the regime.

Entering the US-Aquino period, the unmasking of the reactionary character of the government and the struggle against its schemes of furthering the misery and exploitation of the people was started. Alongside other youth groups, Anakbayan mounted the struggle against the plan to put additional years into the basic education or the “K-12 Program” of the Aquino government.

The SUC strikes against the Aquino government’s 2011 P1.1B budget cut on education were successful.

Anakbayan and its membership was able to largely contribute in mobilizing more than 10,000 youths in NCR alone and thousands more nationwide in the SUC strikes against the budget cuts on education. 87 Schools nationwide participated in the protests against the budget cuts. Teachers, administrators and even school presidents became allies for the campaign.

More than 4,000 students, faculty, and staff to marched Mendiola and up to the Senate on December 1. Despite the denial and trickery made by Malacañang, huge cuts on SUC’s were exposed. The mobilizations pushed the Senate to restore the portion that was cut from the budget and exposed the wrong priorities of the Aquino government that is focused on foreign interest, military, corruption and dole-outs.

Anakbayan members also led the heroic resistance of the Kuliglig drivers in Manila last November to December. More than 3,000 kuliglig drivers barricaded Manila against the phasing out of the Kuliglig.

During this time, Anakbayan also contributed in highlighting the issue of hacienda Luisita and the call for genuine land reform. We fought against the demolitions in San Roque and in other urban poor communities.

Anakbayan and other youth organizations learned huge lessons from this struggle. They learned how to develop huge mobilizations and struggles that are framed in an escalating mass movement. The key to the success of the strike during the last quarter of 2010 is the comprehensive design of the mobilizations that aims to reach the entire population of the schools; effective alliance work; prompt, sharp and comprehensive propaganda and tit-for-tat; and the escalating conduct of the mobilizations.

However, there's still a need to strengthen the initiative and leadership of Anakbayan in the campaigns and mass struggles. As a comprehensive youth organization, Anakbayan should be at the forefront of the mass struggles.

However, need to strengthen the initiative and leadership Anakbayan campaigns and struggles masses. As a comprehensive organization of youth, in the forefront of mass campaigns Anakbayan.

It should effectively and completely handle the line and demands of the campaign and mass struggle, and standpoint based on the interest of the basic masses. There's a need to reject the shallow analysis and narrow framework, analysis and demand of the campaign. It is Anakbayan's important role to effectively carry the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, and anti-feudal struggle.

The perspective of the campaign and struggle should be comprehensive and long-term. The fragmented and shallow handling of the campaign should be rejected. We must aim towards an escalating and broadening mass movement that covers several years.

As we enter 2011, Anakbayan's membership is down to 13,000 within 200 chapters nationwide. Though we're able to continuously recruit new member throughout the years, most of them were not consolidated. Also, most of the chapters are not functioning comprehensively therefore leading to loss of its membership that were not followed up for a long time. Most of them are recruited through enlistments that were not integrated in the chapters and provided with studies and tasks.

The decrease of the number being recruited is also noticeable, especially if compared to the strength and broadness of the campaigns and mobilizations among the masses. The chapters and membership are not consciously being pushed to recruit and is usually neglected.

On the other hand, Anakbayan's comprehensive character is not being upheld. Most of our chapters are in the communities of peasants and urban poor while the number of chapters in the schools and factories are small.

The quick and widespread establishment of big and functioning chapters that will serve as the most effective way to gather the broadest number of youth remains an issue. There are many organizing committees that are not able to form the chapters despite reaching the required number to establish a chapter. While those that were able to establish a chapter are experiencing challenges of inconsistent function of its structure and are not able to

mobilize majority of its membership.

Likewise, the launching of an education movement and political education among the membership of Anakbayan and the masses of youth remains a challenge. Though issue primers are being discussed to the thousands of members and masses, there's a loose unity in the widespread and systematic study of PADEPA. The machinery is not geared for this, and the courses that are being propagated among the membership are limited. Also, there are only periodic discussions among the ranks of the masses that directly explains the principles of National Democracy and its programs.

Though consistent, integration to the basic masses from the ranks of the membership remains small and not widespread. Organizing and integration among the basic masses are now only limited to just the leaders and organizers, and the membership are not being pushed in huge numbers to participate in programs of integration and exposure.

We must salute the victories and rich experience of Anakbayan in its more than 12 years. In its service and struggle, there's a lot of Anakbayan members who sacrificed their lives for the people.

Anakbayan forcefully lived-up to its program through its struggle for jobs, land, education, rights and social services as legitimate rights and interest of the youth and the Filipino people, and in its advancement of the people's struggle for national democracy. Ranks are being consolidated as it continuous to face big mass struggles to serve the people and here is where it will continue to learn and gain strength. It is certain that Anakbayan will earn more and bigger victories in the Future.

Some important lessons

Anakbayan consistently performed its task of arousing, organizing and mobilize the masses of youth for national democracy and has firmly linked with the struggle of the basic masses.

From its establishment, it organized the thousands of youth in to its chapters nationwide and has persevered to unite the youth in advance the national democratic struggle to serve as the venue in propagating the line, program, calls, stand and analysis of the national democratic movement in the youth sector and in the broad masses of the people.

Anakbayan performed a unique role in mobilizing huge number of youth in the ouster of the US-Estrada regime. Though it did not reach the same numbers and broadness pf

actopms. it continuously exposed and opposed the US-Arroyo regime and its attacks on the people.

Anakbayan organized tens of thousands of youth in its chapters nationwide. It continuously expanded especially in time of strong mass struggles. However there are issues that it needs to confront to further expand its membership and strengthen the organization. It is noticeable that from its peak of 35,000 members during 2001, it'll only reach 13,000 members nationwide as it entered 2011. Though recruitment of members is continuous, there are a lot of members that are being dropped out and are not continuously mobilized in the chapters.

Anakbayan is in a favorable position to further improve its work and contribute in the qualitative advance of the mass movement to fully expose and isolate the puppet regime. This can only be done if Anakbayan will fully uphold its orientation and tasks, confront the issues the hinders its further development of its work and firmly overcome its weaknesses.

Optimization of orientation as a comprehensive youth organization

Anakbayan plays an important role as a comprehensive organization of the Filipino youth in the whole National Democratic movement. It performs the important task of reaching and mobilizing the Filipino youth, a fundamental force in the history of the people's struggle for the advancement and eventual victory of the National Democratic Struggle.

This was clarified by comrade Jose Ma. Sison in his message to the national conference of the establishment of Anakbayan:

“The comprehensive organization of the youth is a fundamental force that is needed by the national democratic movement. It exists and firmly develops in any victorious revolution. Failing to establish a comprehensive organization of the youth will mean the aging and death of the revolutionary movement, as seen in the case of parties and movements wherein seniors/elders/veterans forget that they were once young revolutionary and seems to assume that they can only rely on themselves and not to develop the huge number of young inheritors/heirs”

To mobilize the Filipino youth is to mobilize a powerful combination of forces -young workers, young peasants, students and young professionals -for the eventual victory of the new democratic revolution. This can only be done if the youth will firmly merge with the basic masses to attain the victory of the national democratic revolution.

If so, ANAKBAYAN is continuing the historic role that Kabataang Makabayan played as the comprehensive organization of the youth when the revolutionary movement was reestablished and strengthened during the 70's. KM's establishment became the foundation of the expansion of the National Democratic movement across the country.

The formation and the establishment of Anakbayan nationwide is a process of grasping of the task and correct role of the youth movement in the National Democratic struggle. It was born out of the Second Great Rectification Movement of the whole revolutionary movement that gave inspiration to the youth and student movement.

Long before the establishment of Anakbayan, the organizing of young students and community youth exists separately, in the form of LFS and KADENA. When KADENA was dissolved, the work of the youth sector became concentrated in League of Filipino Students (LFS) and Student Christian Movement (SCM). Though it reached a certain broadness and strength, the youth movement was bogged down with weaknesses of elitism and because it was only focused on students, there is a level of narrowness in its reach among the ranks of the youth and the people.

There was a push for the establishment of Anakbayan with a task to unite the youth to take part and contribute to the advancement of the victory of the National Democratic struggle. It will serve as the vehicle for the propagation of the line, program, call, standpoint and analysis of the National Democratic movement in the sector of the youth at among the broad masses. In this framework, it will serve as the vanguard organization of the youth in the mass movement.

Through the comprehensive organization of the youth, it can arouse, organize and mobilize the youth in the factories, offices, farms, urban poor communities, and will be effectively combined with the youth-students. It can expand its chapters wherever there is a high concentration of youth. At the same time, it can also help in expanding and strengthening of the basic organizations of the toiling masses and other various sectors.

Anakbayan's correct understanding and handling of its role facilitated its expansion nationwide and in the attainment of important victories especially during the first years of its establishment. This should be further upheld and grasped to advance the tasks of Anakbayan and the youth movement in general.

It needs to reject the growing tendencies in the previous years to narrow down Anakbayan's orientation as an organization for students, or on the hand, an organization only for community youth or out-of-school youth. It should quickly organize wherever there is

a concentration of youth and goes through to other sectors.

To do this, it should determine and study the conditions, interests and demands of the basic sectors and to participate in their struggles. It should effectively

To do this, determine and analyze the situation, interests and demands of the basic sectors and participate

the struggle. It should effectively carry and propagate the national democratic analysis, standpoint and program. In relation to this, it should overcome its tendencies to center around the campaigns and struggles of the students, or to separately carry/handle the campaigns and calls.

Anakbayan should strongly participate in the political and people's issues and lead in the escalating campaigns and mass struggles. If it can grasp and fulfill its tasks, Anakbayan can and should cover hundreds of thousands and even millions of youth nationwide.

Matters of developing an extensive, sustained and escalating mass movement

As a comprehensive organization of the youth, Anakbayan aims to lead te youth i the tens of thousands in the upsurge of the mass movement against the worsening crisis, poverty and oppression of the people.

It is its duty to create a mass movement that will mobilize youth in politics in serving the people, youth that sharply criticize the rotten system and express the need for social change and the national democratic struggle. The youth as the "hope of the nation" becomes concrete during times that it is mobilizing in tens of thousands and up to hundreds of thousands of youth, towards the upsurge of the struggle for rights and genuine change.

The contribution to the development of mass struggles towards the ouster of the US-Estrada regime in 2001 is an important experience of Anakbayan. However, the prominent weaknesses are the lack of consolidation and sustained raising of political consciousness before, during and after the mass uprising.

After this, it is very noticeable that though mobilizations advance periodically and it can mobilize hundreds and even thousands on issues, they are narrow, not sustained and not escalating.

On one level, the calls on particular issues and sector of the mass struggle are limited.

It is a challenge to Anakbayan in moving forward to overcome the weaknesses that causes this.

There is a need to combat the tendency of developing mass campaigns only on narrow framework of issues and sectoral standpoint/view. The mass movement should be comprehensively developed and fully uphold the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist and anti-feudal struggle.

In previous years, especially in the years from 2004 to 2007, there is a tendency to focus on sectoral issues and campaigns only, and for one-sidedly rely on this for mobilization. In some schools, there's an assumption that you need to heat up first a local or sectoral struggle and from there, it can be used as a "stepping stone" for mobilizing on people's issues.

Because of this, the sector is limiting itself and is underestimating the capability of the sector to strongly respond on people's issues and as social critiques in general. Also because of this narrow view of this, though the campaign on education is effectively handled/carried, it is not effectively handled/carried in the framework of the standpoint for the rights of the basic masses and the people. Most of the time, it is from the point of view of the local or only of the sector, in particular, of the students.

On the other hand, and also caused by this, there is a tendency that in times that it can register on national issues, only the narrow point of view of the students are being highlighted instead of raising it from the standpoint for the basic and toiling masses.

Also noticeable and in relation to this is the tendency of tactical and fragmented response on issues and struggle. The habit or usual practice is to be reactive and issue-based on the responses that are mostly focused on media prop, instead of a sustained, escalating and continuous all round development of the mass movement that will expose the regime and the system.

The youth should firmly grasp, on Anakbayan's initiative/leadership, its task of being the spark of the people's movement for social change. It should develop its capacity to dictate/determine the issues that the people need to understand. It should better its overall work in arousing the mass of youth in the framework of the national democratic analysis and call, in criticizing the rotten system and in struggling for their rights. If this will be effectively done, it is possible to immediately mobilize the youth on different political issues without going or passing certain "perceived" stages of mobilizing" first on the issue of the sector in relation to tuition fees etc.

In this framework, the struggle for the right to education and democratic rights of the sector is being advanced. To achieve a widespread mobilization among the ranks of the youth, there's a need to respond to the day-to-day issues of the youth and mobilize them based on this. There's a need to establish different levels of unities of youth and students and encourage the different levels and forms of expression and mobilization/action. But this should serve in raising the consciousness of the youth by providing them with the sharp analysis on this issues, and to root it to the rotting social system. From the grasp of these issues, it must give rise the understanding of the youth that the mobilizations and standpoint of these struggles are, more than anything else, for the exploited masses, and therefore, also for social change.

It is important to view the whole picture and framework of launching the mass campaign in the direction of developing an escalating and broadening mass movement against the rotting social system. The issues and struggles should be positioned on a comprehensive view of it. The campaigns and struggles must be all-roundedly developed, achieve victory, and move on towards the next stage.

There's a need to reject the small, fragmented and piece-by-piece manner of advancing the mass campaigns. We should rely on the masses, raise the capacity and initiative of the organization to perform/ undertake a comprehensive struggle and develop a mass movement towards an upsurge.

For a long time, it can be noticed that the number being mobilized in the streets are low/small. Relative to the outrage of the masses against the Arroyo regime for example, we're only able to lead a small portion in the protest actions. Compared to the population of the youth in the actual areas of operation, the few hundreds to a couple of thousands that we are able to involve/participate in the mobilizations is severely small. Most of the time, the number of being mobilized is still small compared to the number of membership.

An important issue that causes this is the small and narrow view/perspective of mobilizing. Most of the time, our work in mobilizing is focused on mobilizing a number of our members to respond to protest actions, instead of having a view/perspective to create, through comprehensive propaganda-education and agitation, alliance work and other forms of actions and organizing, the best condition to mobilize the whole or a significant section of the population of the school and/or the area of operation. Usually the plan is not complete, the conduct of the mass campaigns are fragmented, small-time and token propaganda to the masses and alliances, and the plans on how to get the masses involved in the broadest

way is abstract.

Since there's no view/perspective on a comprehensive political leadership, the membership cannot be effectively mobilized and rely on in developing the campaign and to hold/carry out other tasks related to this. Usually, chapters of mass organizations are not gathered for the campaign and is limited to only a small number of "leaders" and members that are then mobilized to conduct propaganda and for the campaign.

The mass movement should be developed in a framework of an upsurge. Meaning to say, we are able to mobilize the whole membership to reach out and conduct propaganda among the broad masses of youth and people, while developing a united front, and laying down the conditions to expand the work of the organized base at spontaneous masses. It should be done in an escalating and broadening manner in the framework of exposing the rotten system and need for social change.

A long term-view that span several years is need for the campaign and the development of the mass movement. We need to reject the absence of a comprehensive plan, reactive and issue based response to the campaign and the absence of a systematic conduct of developing the struggles on particular issues.

Anakbayan should develop/improve its capacity to comprehensive lead in mass campaigns, correct the tendency of piece-by-piece manner of advancing a mass campaign to effect and comprehensively reach and mobilize the broad masses and maximize the full potential of the mass campaign for the further expansion and consolidation. We should raise the political activity and mobilize the entire membership for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses.

We need to develop a comprehensive center and machinery for the campaign. We need to ensure an effective alliance work with various sectors inside and outside the schools. We need to maximize the institutions (admin, employees, teachers, councils, publications) for the mobilization.

We need to ensure that the propaganda among the masses is expansive, sharp and prompt. We need to utilize and enrich various forms of propaganda and action to reach the different section of the masses and to around them to mobilize for their rights and genuine social change. We need to ensure that it will reach the majority of the population in the community or school that the chapter is operating in.

We should also develop various forms of actions to mobilize to advanced, middle and

backward section of the masses and various forms of activities that will teach the masses the value of collective action and the necessity of militant struggle. Dare to raise the forms of protests and calls, raise the militancy of the masses and be alert/prompt on the twist and turns of the situation and the development of the struggle.

We should ensure the growth of the organization, and consolidation at every stage of the mass campaign. We need to ensure the continuous recruitment work, completion of political education and the raising of consciousness and capability of the masses in the struggle, and integration and contribution to the struggle of the basic masses.

Necessity for an extensive political education and the National Democratic Propaganda Movement

A sustained mass movement for an extensive/widespread education and propaganda on national democracy is the stepping stone for an expansive organizing and mobilizing the youth in big numbers.

It is the task of Anakbayan to bring national democratic analysis, stand and program to to the youth in a big manner. We aim to create among the ranks of the youth the intense progressive and revolutionary agitation, to arouse their fervent nationalism and their siding with the interest of the broad masses of exploited and oppressed.

We need to grasp the importance for a sustained and a mass movement character of arousing the youth for the expansion and consolidation, so that the youth are being agitated will decidedly act/mobilize to achieve genuine change in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society.

During the peak of activity of the youth movement, and even in particular periods where Anakbayan was strengthening and expanding, we can see the role of a vigorous education/study movement to liberate the minds of the youth from being passive towards militant action.

In the previous years, we can also notice the small number of studies on the theory and program of national democracy. There are more studies on primers, manifestos, guides on issues relative to other studies, something that is positive, but is not being raised to a more systematic study of national democracy.

Only a few are given studies. The manner in which the studies are being completed are not sustained and of mass character. Other courses of PADEPA are not being

propagated/disseminated in a big manner.

We need to ensure that we give attention to studying of our membership and ND propaganda among the broad masses. We systematize our means of ensuring this to our chapters and strengthen the ED machineries, make the ED committees functioning.

Create the most number of programs for holding study circles, discussion groups and individual readings and study within the mass organizations, in the institutions that has links to the broad masses of sector that directly address to the broad masses of youth.

We should be creative in our methods to attract the huge number of youth towards progressive and revolutionary studies.

We should maximize the digital and internet technology to access the materials, to disseminate the courses and readings, discussions and debates, exchanges/sharings of experiences and results of studies, and use and develop new forms and methods.

Development of strong, mass-character and genuinely functioning chapters and national organization

We need quickly expand the membership of Anakbayan among the ranks of young students, workers, peasants, urban poor, professional and other sectors. We need to quickly expand Anakbayan across the country wherever there is a concentration of youth.

In the previous years, we can notice the decrease of number of Anakbayan's membership. The number of recruits are decreasing while the number of its members that are being dropped out and not involved in the chapters is increasing

We must ensure a clear plan to quickly expand the membership. We need to ensure that those we are able to involve in mobilizations and campaigns are being recruited in the organization. We need to mobilize the membership for mass recruitment, it is the task of every member to recruit new members. The usual issue for a long time is the lack of clear plan on recruitment and the failure to push the membership for quick recruitment of others.

We need to reject the tendency of elitism in recruitment and membership. We need to simplify the process of membership and the requirements should not be made so difficult. Anyways who is ready to accept the basic principles of Anakbayan and what it fights for can be a member and should immediately be recruited to Anakbayan. Membership to the organization should be made open and encourage membership in different ways.

Every member is to be integrated in the chapter. The chapter is the basic unit of the organization wherein members participate and contribute. Chapters should be established wherever there is a concentration of youth. The chapter can be truly strong and will have a mass character if it can recruit the most number of members and mobilize them in the various tasks of the chapter.

We should be open to different methods of mass mobilizations and consolidation of the chapters. Ensure that there is a central point or head quarters to gather the chapter and that we maximize various forms of connecting with the membership like social media.

We need to ensure that there are existing programs for the chapters that are being established at a given period that guides its day-to-day work/actions. We should reject the practice of chapters not having long term plans and only having a daily or weekly framework of activities/actions. Give particular attention to the program for education together with other activities.

In accordance to this, there should be a particular plan for the chapter at a given period. We need to improve on the functioning of the structures of mobilizing the membership and consolidating them. We should make the chapters function and mobilize their membership. Don't relegate the work of the organization to a few members only. Reject the tendency to underestimate the capability of the membership in taking up tasks.

We should correctly grasp the relationship of expansion and consolidation. The consolidation work is done before, during and after the campaigns and struggles. Consolidation should not be used as a reason for not continuously expanding the membership.

Anakbayan should become the well of activists and youth that are ready to serve in other organizations and fields/fronts. Members shouldn't be dropped just because they are graduating from the school or moving to a different residence, community or for whatever reason. We need to ensure the continuous involvement of the members in various tasks based on their capacity and skill.