

# Aralin

# Lesson

# 20

## Pangangatuwiran

### *Reasoning*

In this final lesson, we are learning how to give arguments about a specific issue. Study words and expressions you can use to give your opinions.



#### **Diyalogo: Dapat bang Magkaroon Uli ng Base Militar sa Pilipinas? Should We Bring Back the U.S. Military Bases?**



*Senators Ferrer and Santos are in a morning talk show. It is the anniversary of the historic vote on September 16, 1991 when twelve senators voted not to renew the 1947 Military Bases between the United States and the Philippines. Among these were the Clark Air Base in Pampanga, the Subic Naval Base Complex in Olongapo, and even small subsidiary installations such as Camp John Hay in Baguio, which was built solely for the rest and recreation of American soldiers.*

*In 1999, two Visiting Forces Agreements were signed by both countries, which provided for the stay of US troops for the training of Philippine soldiers, as well as for other activities. The constitutionality of these agreements has been challenged several times in the Supreme Court.*

- TALK SHOW : **Senador Santos, sang-ayon po ba kayo sa pagkakaroon muli ng base militar ng Estados Unidos sa Pilipinas?**  
 HOST *Senator Santos, are you in favor of having US military bases again in the Philippines?*
- SEN. TERESA SANTOS : **Aba, oo. Una sa lahat, wala pang sapat na kakayahang ating mga sandatahang laking para ipaglaban ang ating bansa. Ikalawa, ang Amerika ay ating kaibigang bansa. Ikatlo, mayroon nga tayo ngayong Visiting Forces Agreement at napatunayan nitong mainam kung titigil na lamang dito ang mga Amerikanong sundalo at hindi bumibisita lamang.**  
*Of course. First of all, our armed forces do not yet have enough abilities [=strength] to defend our country. Second, the United States is our friend [nation]. Third, we now have a Visiting Forces Agreement and this has proven that it will be good should the American soldiers stay here and not just visit.*
- TALK SHOW : **Senador Ferrer, sumasang-ayon ba kayo sa mga binanggit ni Senator Santos?**  
 HOST *Senator Ferrer, do you agree with what Senator Santos mentioned [said]?*
- SEN. ANTONIO FERRER : **Hindi ako sang-ayon diyan. Ang muling pagbibigay-daan sa pagpasok ng santahanan ng Estados Unidos ay hindi solusyon sa ating mga problema. Bukod dito, ito ay labag sa ating konstitusyon.**  
*I don't agree with that. Giving way again to the entry of US armed forces is not the solution to our problems. Also, this is against our constitution.*
- TALK SHOW : **Ganoon po ba?**  
 HOST *Is that so?*
- SEN. ANTONIO FERRER : **Narito ang kopya ng konstitusyon. Malinaw na nakasaad sa artikulong ito na ang bansang Pilipinas ay nagtaguyod ng kapayapaan at laban sa paggamit ng armas nukleyar.**  
*Here is a copy of our constitution. It is clearly stated in this article that the Philippine[s] [nation] supports [=advocates] peace and is against the use of nuclear arms.*
- TALK SHOW : **Ano ho ang masasabi ninyo, Senador Santos?**  
 HOST *What can you say, Senator Santos?*
- SEN. TERESA SANTOS : **Sa aking pananaw, ang pagkakaroon ng mga base militar ay hindi naman labag sa konstitusyon. Ang sandatahang ng Estados Unidos ay nariyan lang naman para tulungan tayo. Halimbawa niyan, kamakailan lamang ay nagkaroon ng gulo sa Spratly Islands. Ikalawa, kailangang magapi ang mga teroristang Muslim, gaya ng**

**Abu Sayaf at ang mga komunista.**

*In my view, having military bases is not really against the constitution. The US armed forces are just there to help us. For example, there was a skirmish at the Spratly Islands recently. Secondly, the Muslim terrorists, such as the Abu Sayaf, and [as well as] the communists should be beaten [=crushed].*

- TALK SHOW : **Mayroon ba kayong reaksiyon, Senador Ferrer?**  
 HOST *Do you have a reaction, Senator Ferrer?*  
 SEN. ANTONIO FERRER : **Ang isyu tungkol sa Spratly Islands ay hindi dapat gawing dahilan. Maaaring mabigyan ng solusyon ang ano mang problema hinggil dito sa pamamagitan ng negosasyon. Ikalawa, kumplikado ang isyu ng Abu Sayaf dahil may mga ulat na ang grupong ito ay nilikha mismo ng mga may kaugnayan sa militar. Ikatlo, nakatanggap kami ng ulat na ngayon pa lamang, sa pamamagitan ng VFA ay mayroon nang mga Amerikanong sundalo na kasama na mismo sa mga operasyong militar ng sandatahang laskas ng Pilipinas. Ano pa kaya kung may base na talaga sila rito?**  
*The issue about Spratly islands should not be used as a reason [=as an excuse]. Whatever problems there are about this can be given a solution [=resolved] through negotiations. Second, the Abu Sayaf issue is complicated because there have been reports that this group was created by those related to the military. Third, we received reports just now, that through the VFA there have been American soldiers who were themselves involved in the military operations of the armed forces of the Philippines. What more would they do if they actually have their bases located here?*

- TALK SHOW : **Mayroon pa ba kayong gustong sabihin?**  
 HOST *Do you have anything else to say?*  
 SEN. TERESA SANTOS : **Hinggil ito sa nabanggit ni Senador Ferrer noong isang linggo sa pahayagan. Nasabi kasi niya na mahalaga sa ating soberanya na huwag ipagamit sa mga puwersa ng Estados Unidos ang ating nasasakupan. Ito lang ang masasabi ko: ang isang mahirap na bansa gaya natin ay dapat magpasalamat na tinutulungan pa rin tayo ng Estados Unidos.**  
*This is about [=in relation to] what Senator Ferrer said last week in the papers. He said that it is important for our sovereignty not to allow US forces to use our territories. This is the only thing I want to say: a poor nation such as ours should be thankful that the United States is still helping us.*

SEN. ANTONIO : Nais kong sabihin kay Senator Santos na kung minsan ang FERRER pagtulong ng isang bansa ay ginagawa hindi sa kapakanan ng tinutulungan kundi para sa sariling kapakanan.

*I want to say to Senator Santos that sometimes, assistance given by a country is not done for the benefit of [the country] being aided but for one's own welfare [=benefit].*



## Bokabularyo Vocabulary

Review/study the following words and phrases that you have learned in the dialogue and which you can also use in giving arguments.

**WORDS FROM THE DIALOGUE:** **sang-ayon** (agree); **sapat na kakayahang** (enough ability); **sandatahang lakas** (armed forces); **labag sa konstitusyon** (violates the constitution); **nakasaad ito** (it is written); **magapi** (to defeat); **magwagi** (to win); **soberanya** (sovereignty); **kapakanan** (welfare; benefit); **palagay/kuro-kuro/opinyon** (opinion); **panig** (side; for example, side in an issue); **pumapanig** (siding with)

**CONNECTING WORDS/PHRASES:** **dahil/dahilan sa/sapagkat/porke, gawa ng** (because); **kaya** (used to mean “since”); **yayaman din lamang** (the reason is that); **para/upang** (in order to); **kapag/kung** (if/when)

To better outline your arguments, or talk about your arguments, you can use the following phrases:

### Phrases:

Sumasang-ayon ako na	<i>I agree...</i>
Hindi ako sumasang-ayon	<i>I don't agree</i>
Una sa lahat... Ikalawa....	<i>First of all... Secondly</i>
Bukod dito,	<i>Aside from this,</i>
Halimbawa	<i>For example</i>
Halimbawa niyan	<i>An example of this</i>
Isang katibayan ang ...	<i>A proof of this...</i>
Kung susuriin natin,	<i>If we were to analyze,</i>
Heto ang patunay/ebidensiya	<i>Here is evidence....</i>
Pinatutunayan ng ____	<i>_____ proves that</i>
Ipinapakita ng ____	<i>_____ shows that</i>
Malinaw na nakasaad sa	<i>It is clearly stated that...</i>
Heto ang ilang pruweba	<i>Here are some proofs...</i>
Makikita natin na...	<i>We can see that...</i>
Hindi ko tiyak na	<i>I am not sure that...</i>

<b>Hindi tayo sigurado/nakatitiyak...</b>	<i>We cannot be sure...</i>
<b>Kailangang pag-isipan natin ...</b>	<i>We need to think about...</i>
<b>Kailangang pag-isipan natin kung...</b>	<i>We need to think if...</i>
<b>Sa aking palagay,</b>	<i>In my opinion,</i>
<b>Sa aking pananaw,</b>	<i>In my view,</i>
<b>Kung ako ang tatanunin,</b>	<i>If I were to be asked,</i>
<b>Kung gayon,</b>	<i>Therefore,</i>

## Mga Pangungusap Sentences

Study the following sentences using words and phrases that will help you articulate your arguments.

1. **Malinaw na nakasaad sa artikulong ito na ang bansang Pilipinas ay nagtaguyod ng kapayapaan at laban sa paggamit ng armas nukleyar.** *It is clearly stated in this article that the Philippine[s] [nation] supports [=advocates] peace and is against the use of nuclear arms.*
2. **Sa aking pananaw, ang pagkakaroon ng mga base militar ay hindi naman labag sa konstitusyon.** *In my view, having military bases is not really against the constitution.*
3. **Halimbawa niyan, kamakailan lamang ay nagkaroon ng gulo sa Spratly Islands.** *An example of this was a skirmish at the Spratly Islands recently.*
4. **Ito lang ang masasabi ko: ang isang mahirap na bansa gaya natin ay dapat magpasalamat na tinutulungan pa rin tayo ng Estados Unidos.** *This is the only thing I want to say: a poor nation such as ours should be thankful that the United States is still helping us.*
5. **Nais kong sabihin kay Senador Santos na kung minsan ang pagtulong ng isang bansa ay ginagawa hindi sa kapakanan ng tinutulungan kundi para sa sariling kapakanan.** *I want to say to Senator Santos that sometimes, assistance given by a country is not done for the benefit of [the country] being aided but for one's own welfare [=benefit].*

Here are other sentences with words used to connect clauses:

6. **Nagprotesta ang mga environmentalists gawa ng pagkasira ng barko ng sandatahang dagat ng Estados Unidos sa Tubbataha Reef.** *The environmentalist protested because of the destruction of Tubbataha Reef [caused by] a boat by US naval forces.*

7. **Ayon kay Senador Ferrer, hindi na dapat magkaroon ng base militar ang Estados Unidos sa Pilipinas yayaman din lamang at hindi na kailangan ng mga ito sa bansa.** *According to Senator Ferrer, the Philippines should no longer have US military bases since these are no longer needed in the country.*
  
8. **Sa pananaw ni Senador Santos, dapat magkaroon ng mga base militar upang maprotektahan ang Pilipinas.** *In Senator Santos's opinion, [the Philippines] should have military bases so that it can be protected.*



## Pagsasanay

Let us practice outlining our arguments and giving supporting examples by using the dialogue. Answer the following questions:

1. TANONG : **Ano ang tatlong unang argumento ni Senador Santos? Gamitin ang mga salitang una, ikalawa at ikatlo.**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_

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2. TANONG : **Ano ang dalawang dahilan na ibinigay ni Senador Ferrer para sabihin na hindi siya sang-ayon sa mga argumento ni Senador Santos?**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_

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3. TANONG : **Ano ang patunay o ebidensiya na ibinigay ni Senador Ferrer sa kanyang ikalawang dahilan?**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

4. TANONG : **Ano ang pananaw ni Senador Santos hinggil sa pagkakaroon ng mga sundalang Amerikano sa Pilipinas?**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. TANONG : **Sa pananaw ni Senador Ferrer, paano dapat bigyang solusyon ang problema sa Spratly Islands?**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. TANONG : **Sa pananaw ni Senador Ferrer, bakit kumplikado ang isyu hinggil sa Abu Sayyaf?**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. TANONG : **Ano ang pananaw ni Senador Santos hinggil sa soberanya?**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. TANONG : **Ano ang argumento ni Senador Ferrer tungkol sa “pagtulong” ng Estados Unidos sa Pilipinas?**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

9. TANONG : **Kanino kayo pumapanig, kay Senador Santos o Kay Senador Ferrer? Bakit? Magbigay ng sariling mga argumento at halimbawa.**

SAGOT : \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

 **Pagsasanay**

Study the following questions below. Form your own opinions, outline your arguments, and give supporting examples. Classroom learners may want to form debating teams while individual learners can write down their thoughts. Please use the words/phrases in the vocabulary section.

**SITUATION 1:** Should the homes of informal settlers be demolished?

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**SITUATION 2:** Should Hacienda Luisita's land be distributed to the farmers?

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**SITUATION 3:** Should police officers be allowed on campus for additional protection to students?

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## Gramatika Grammar: Subordinate Clauses

Study the following grammar points on clauses presenting reason, result or purpose<sup>1</sup> which can help you write arguments.

### Clauses presenting reason

In English, we usually use the word *because*. However, in Filipino, there are several ways one can express reasoning. These are: **dahil/dahil sa**, **dahilan sa**, **gawa ng**, **sapagkat/pagkat**, and **porke** (used informally). Remember that you can change the placement of these words in a sentence, using them both at the beginning or in the middle of a sentence. Except for **porke**, which is used only informally and with a critical or ironic context (similar to the English “just because”), you can interchange **dahil/dahil sa**, **dahilan sa**, **gawa ng** and **sapagkat/pagkat**. Note also that **sapagkat** and **pagkat** mean exactly the same, the latter is only a shortened version of the former. In case you find books or reading where **sapagkat** is shown with an apostrophe (**sapagka't**), this is because it is a contraction of the words **sa pagka** and **at**. Current editing guidelines, however, have deleted this apostrophe.

Here are some examples:

**Ipinapaglaban ng mga magsasaka ang pamamahagi ng lupa ngayon din dahil ito ang naging hatol ng Korte Suprema.** *The peasant are fighting for land distribution now because this was the judgment [=decision] of the Supreme Court.*

**Dahil ito ang naging hatol ng Korte Suprema, ipinapaglaban ng mga magsasaka ang pamamahagi ng lupa ngayon din.** *Because of the judgment [=decision] of the Supreme Court, the peasants are fighting for land distribution now.*

**Nagrali ang mga tsuper ng dyipni dahilan sa pagtaas ng presyo ng langis.** *The jeepney drivers held a rally because of the oil price hikes.*

**Dahilan sa presyo ng langis, nagrali ang mga tsuper ng dyipni.** *Because of the oil price hikes, the jeepney drivers held a rally.*

**Nagreklogo ang mga maralitang tagalungsod sa city hall gawa ng bantang demolisyon sa kanilang mga bahay.** *The urban poor complained at the City Hall because of the demolition threats to their homes.*

**Gawa ng bantang demolisyon sa kanilang mga bahay, nagreklogo ang mga maralitang tagalungsod sa city hall.** *Because of the demolition threats to their homes, the urban poor complained at City Hall.*

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion here draws from the book *Tagalog Reference Grammar* by Paul Schatner and Fe Otanes, pp 477–78.

**Naghimagsik ang mga Katipunero laban sa mga Kastila sapagkat gusto nilang magkaroon ng kasarinlan ang Pilipinas.** *The Katipuneros revolted against the Spaniards because they wanted the Philippines to have independence.*

**Sapagkat gusto ng mga Katipunerong magkaroon ng kasarinlan ang Pilipinas,** naghimagsik sila laban sa mga Kastila. *Because the Katipuneros wanted the Philippines to have independence, they revolted against the Spaniards.*

**Porke** mabait ang ilang mga panginoong maylupa sa pakikitungo sa mga magsasaka, hindi ibig sabihing hindi na nila pinagsasamantalahan ang mga ito. *Just because some landlords are nice in dealing with peasants, it does not mean that they do not exploit them.*

Hindi ibig sabihing hindi na nila pinagsasamantalahan ang mga ito **porke** mabait ang ilang mga panginoong maylupa sa pakikitungo sa mga magsasaka. *It does not mean that landlords do not exploit peasants, just because some of them are nice in dealing with the peasants.*

### Expressing Results

Here are a few examples:

**Dapat nang alisin ang kalihim sa kanyang posisyon yayaman din lamang at napatunayan nang kasama siya sa korupsiyon sa opisina.** *The secretary should be removed from his/her position since it has been proven that he/she was involved in the corruption in the office.*

**Yayaman din lamang at napatunayan nang kasama ang kalihim sa korupsiyon sa opisina, dapat na siyang alisin sa kanyang position.** *Since it has been proven that the secretary was involved in the corruption in his/her office, he/she should be removed from his/her position.*

**Ayaw ibigay ng kumpanya ang hinihinging pagtaas ng sahod ng mga manggagawa kaya nagwelga sila.**

**Kaya nagwelga ang mga manggagawa, (dahil sa) ayaw ibigay ng kumpanya ang hinihingi nilang pagtaas ng sahod.**

### Clauses expressing purpose

The words **para** and **upang** can be used to mean “in order to” and express purpose. Note that **para** is used here in a more informal manner.

Here are some examples:

**Dapat tiyakin ang paggana ng mga voting machines upang maiwasan ang dayaan sa eleksyon.** *The efficiency of the voting machines should be ensured to avoid cheating during elections.*

**Dapat tiyakin ang paggana ng mga voting machines para maiwasan ang dayaan sa eleksyon.** *The efficiency of the voting machines should be ensured to avoid cheating during elections.*

## Mga Talang Pangkultura: Ang Balagtasan ang mga Kababaihang Makata sa Tagalog

Verbal Jousts and the Tagalog Women Poets

The first **balagtasan** was done as a tribute to the poet Francisco Balagtas on March 28, 1924 at the Institute de Mujeres, Tayuman, Tondo, Manila. It was said to have been informed by the traditional **dupo**, where poets called **belyakos** and **belyakas** debated during funeral wakes, starting with a “king” in mock court trial looking for a missing bird, but eventually moving on with the poets arguing about the history of God and the saints, the history of people and nations, and laws.

The term **balagtasan** was coined to pay tribute to the Tagalog poet Francisco Baltazar, who wrote the “awit” *Florante at Laura* (1838). This metrical romance is widely acknowledged as one of the most outstanding Filipino literary texts because of its superior use of language, poetic style, audience impact, and nationalist undertones.<sup>2</sup>

Two dueling poets, with a mediator called the Lakandiwa, were the star attractions of the **balagtasan**, which reached the peak of its popularity in the 1920s and 1930s during the American colonial rule in the Philippines. Among the topics that they debated about were tradition and modernity, labor and capital, colonial rule and independence. The **balagtasan** was extremely popular and the poets of the period were considered to be “superstars.” They had huge followings, with people flocking to stadiums to watch their “idols” battle it out, and sometimes, the results were so controversial that fans had their own altercations.<sup>3</sup>

The **balagtasan** poets however, were mainly men, and in the few instances that women participated in it, they read texts that had been written for them by the male poets. Thus, the subtitle is a myth. There has been no **Reyna ng Balagtasan** or “Queen of the Verbal Joust” in Philippine literary history.

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<sup>2</sup> My notes on *Florante at Laura* come not only from my reading of the text (as this was required reading for second-year high school students, but also from my classes with literary historian and National Artist Bienvenido Lumbera in the early 1980s, as well as his book *Tagalog Poetry, 1570–1898*, 1986.

<sup>3</sup> My notes on the **balagtasan** come from Leo Zafra’s *Balagtasan: Kasaysayan at Antolohiya*, 1999.

In my research work, however, I had argued in an article entitled “The Muse as Poet,” that we can find the **sagutan** (cue-response) in the **balagtasan** in the women poets’ texts, as they addressed the hypothetical male suitor. For example, in Arsenia Rivera’s “**Alisin ang Takip**” (Remove the Shield), 1926, the poet confronts the suitor she believed showed insincerity when he showered her with laudatory verses, praised her beauty to high heavens, and used hyperbolic images. Rivera is unimpressed by the suitor’s lofty concept of love and even seems to disdain his preoccupation with physical beauty.

Similarly, in “**Ang Hambog**” (The Braggart), 1929, Emilia Felipe Jacob berated the man with the sweet tongue and the fickle heart. The poem addressed other women, urging them to avoid such a man. Thus, these poems, along with similar others with titles such as Trinidad Antonia’s “**Kabaitan** (Kindness)” 1929, and Magdalena Mendoza’s “**Kahinhinan** (Of Gentle Ways)”, 1926, were not simply didactic poems that extolled virtues but poems that can be read as texts that interrogated prevailing concepts of beauty and confronted the male poets who wrote about their idealized “muse.”

To respond to the male poets’ use of flowers as metaphors to describe women (such as Mateo Ocampo’s “**Ang Bulaklak** [The Flower]”, 1926), Lorenza Pagiligan’s poem of the same title did not focus on beauty and fragrance. Instead, Pagiligan talked about the inevitability of change, and emphasized that flowers lose their fragrance, alluding to an aging women cast aside by her unfaithful lover.

The Tagalog women poets also specifically addressed the women readers, transforming the **Kudyapi** section where most of the poems were found, into a forum. This brings to mind advice columns written by “aunts,” recipes and gardening tips exchanged between women, and long hours spent at a neighbor’s house on the pretext of borrowing a cup of sugar. In contrast to the male poet who addressed only the beloved, the woman poet showed concern for fellow women, warning them of dangers brought about by men.

Finally, the Tagalog women poets emphasized the value of the woman worker, shunned materialistic values (as an indictment of the over-emphasis on capitalism brought by the American colonizers) and used what seemed like pastoral poems about the hometown, to assert that “**Pilipinas sana tayong matagal nang nagkalaya** (We should have long been a free Philippines)” (Alvarez 1935).

Much has been said and written about the **Balagtasan**, especially by scholar Leo Zafra. However, I believe that in the same way that the male poets argued about colonial rule and independence, labor and capital, and tradition and modernity, the women poets were also active participants of these discourses in Philippine society during the American colonial period.

## ★ Gawain Activity: Balagtasan Debate

For classroom learners, students can form groups and engage in a debate in verse or **balagtasan**. Alternatively, they can write poems in Filipino, presenting their arguments on a particular topic.

Remember that in writing Tagalog/Filipino poetry, either strong consonants (**b**, **k**, **d**, **g**, **p**, **r**, **s**, **t**) or weak consonants (**l**, **m**, **n**, **ng**, **w**, **y**) should rhyme with each other. Experiment on variations to make your verses more interesting—for example, instead of having words all ending in **g** rhyme, you may want to have the other words end in **s** or **k**. Also, pay attention to stress. For example, **pusa** does not rhyme with **bola**, because **pusa** has a glottal stop, while **bola** does not have it, although they are similar in the sense that they are pronounced with the stress on their first syllable. The key here is to listen to the sounds of the words.

Here are some topics you may want to debate about. The first two topics are “symbols,” or people, the way they were used in the **balagtasan**, while the next two are questions, as they are posed in the debates you may be familiar with.

1. Gold vs. Metal.
2. Capital vs. Labor.
3. Should students join rallies or should they focus on their academics?
4. Should illegal immigrants have access to free health care?



## Pakikinig: Opinyon tungkol sa total gun ban

Opinion on the total gun ban

Listen to the 1:33 second audio clip from Anthony Taberna’s opinion segment “Punto por Punto (Point by Point)” of the morning show *Umagang Kay Ganda* of ABS-CBN’s Channel 2. You may also want to access the full 13:11 segment at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aEG9eoxrcGw>.

In this segment, Taberna delivers an editorial on the total gun ban proposed in the Philippines. Please outline his arguments and counter-arguments as guided by the questions and instructions below.

To prepare for this listening exercise, review/study the following vocabulary words: **kapamilya** (of the same family); **katwiran** (reason); **nagsusulong** (advances); **tumututol** (opposes); **praning** (colloquial word meaning “not of the right mind”); **namamalayan** (have not been noticing); **nasasanay** (getting used to); **binubulaga** (used metaphorically, surprised by); **hindi mo masisisi** (cannot be blamed); **alagad ng batas** (literally, officers of law; refers to police officers); **kaligtasan** (safety); **duda** (doubt); **kakayanan** (ability); **katapatan** (trustworthiness; reliability); **tatakasan ng bait** (literally, one whose mind has escaped; refers to insane people)

1. What are the recent events that led to the total gun ban proposal?
2. Why are the members of the group Gunless Society proposing a ban gun?
3. How did the speaker describe the law authorities in Singapore and Hong Kong?
4. According to the speaker, why do citizens feel that they need to protect themselves?
5. According to the speaker, what is the root of the problem?
6. According to the speaker, what should be done?



### **Pagbabasa** Reading

#### **Mahirap Maging Mahirap ni Teo S. Marasigan**

It is Difficult to be Poor by Teo S. Marasigan

Read the following passage entitled “**Mahirap Maging Mahirap** ([It is] Difficult to be Poor)” from the column *Kapirasong Kritika* (*A Piece of Criticism* [=Critical Thought]) by Teo S. Marasigan (a pseudonym of a writer-activist). This piece was posted in the online newspaper *Pinoy Weekly* on December 12, 2012, and can be accessed at <http://pinoyweekly.org/new/2012/12/mahirap-maging-mahirap/>.

In his column, Marasigan criticizes the government’s as well as another columnist’s views of the poor. Study Marasigan’s arguments and respond to the questions at the end of the passage.

To prepare, review/study the following vocabulary words/phrases: **pagdama ng karalitaan** (feels/understands poverty); **pinagmumukha** (makes it the same; literally, makes it look the same); **walang-awat** (incessantly; literally, cannot be stopped); **lumilikas** (evacuates); **punahin** (criticized); **katuwang** (assisted by); **nakailag** (was able to evade); **panukala** (proposition); **aniya** (according to him/her); **igiit** (insist); **kasaganaan** (prosperity); **nakahahalina** (enticing); **sinismo** (cynicism); **samat-sari** (various); **kagyat** (immediate); **hindi maidudulot** (cannot be given); **tiwalag** (separate); **pagsasalaksak** (to put down).

#### **Mahirap Maging Mahirap ni Teo S. Marasigan**

**Mahirap maging mahirap ngayon.** Hindi lang ito nangangahulugan ng pagdama ng karalitaan; pinagmumukha pa itong kasing-kahulugan ng karalitaan ang pagdama. Sa ilalim ng pangulong ang pangako noong eleksyon ay “Kung walang corrupt, walang mahirap,” ang pagiging mahirap ay pinapalabas na pangako ng pagiging corrupted.

**Kailangan ang Reproductive Health Bill** dahil walang-awat ang pag-aanak ng mga maralita. **Kailangan ang Sin Tax Bill** dahil walang-hanggan silang manigarilyo at uminom ng alak. Hindi sila lumilikas kahit pilit inililikas ng gobyerno sa panahon

ng kalamidad. Ayaw nilang maglipat-bahay kahit may relokasyon. Ayaw nilang magtrabaho.

Malapitan ang kanilang tanaw, hindi malayo. Agad-agad na kaligayahan ang gusto nila, hindi ang matagalang interes nila at ng bansa. Kailangan silang punahin, hiyain at disiplinahin ng gobyerno, katuwang ang masmidya at iba pang institusyon kung kailangan. Panginoon, patawarin mo sila dahil hindi nila alam ang kanilang ginagawa.

Kahit si Randy David, kolumnistang nagpapakilalang progresibo, ganito ang pananaw sa masa. Sa huli niyang kolumn, tinanggihan niya ang implikasyon ng isang pahayag ni Sen. Miriam Defensor-Santiago: na kailangang magtapos ng hayskul ang mga botante at ng kolehiyo ang mga pulitiko para malunasan ang mga sakit ng pulitika sa ating bansa.

Kahit nakailag sa lantad na elitismo ng pahayag ni Santiago, may problema pa rin sa panukala ni David. “Kailangang ipaalala sa mga botante at opisyal-publiko na ang pagkamamayan (citizenship) at pulitika ay mga instrumento ng ikabubuti ng lahat (common good): Nabibigo silang gumana kapag ipinapailalim sa personal na interes.”

Aniya, ang botanteng “mas interesadong punuan ang kanyang tiyan kaysa igiit ang kanyang pampolitikang tinig” ay “mas naitutulak na ibigay ang kanyang boto sa taong iniidolo niya o may kakayahang mabilis na tugunan ang batayang pangangailangan niya kumpara sa taong may napag-isipang tanaw (vision) ng kasaganaan para sa lahat.”

Bakit nga ba ibinoboto ng mahihirap ang mga artista at bumibili ng boto? Ang mga naglalakihan ang karatula sa pagbibigay ng samut-saring proyekto? Hindi malayo ang mga tanong na ito sa umano'y sentral na tanong ng pilosopong si Baruch Spinoza: Bakit nga ba ipinaglalaban ng mga tao ang kanilang pagkaapi na parang ito ang kaligtasan?

Nakakahalinang tapatan ang ganitong sinisismo sa maralita ng romantismo sa kanila. Pero realistiko ang tugon ng mga progresibo: pagdating sa pulitika, nahahati ang masa sa abante, panggitna at nahuhuli. Masasabi sigurong ang mga sinikal, nakatutok sa nakakaraming nahuhuli, habang ang romantiko, nakaranas ng dumaraming abante.

Samut-sari ang implikasyon ng sinisismo sa maralita, gaya ng ipinapakita ni David. Isa na riyan ang tawaran ang kakayahang nila na magsulong ng malalimang pagbabago at sa gayo'y magpatali sa mga larangang pinapahintulutan ng kasalukuyang sistema, tulad ng eleksyon. Ganoon din ang hindi alamin ang mga dahilan nila sa kanilang mga aksyon.

Pero una, hindi kasing-layo tulad ng iniisip ni David ang kagyat na kahilingan ng mga maralita sa interes ng nakakarami. Niyayakap nila ang kahilingan para sa reforma sa lupa, makabuluhang dagdag-sahod, regular na trabaho, disenteng paninirahan, abot-kayang serbisyon panlipunan at iba pa. Hindi sila kasing-kitid ng iniisip ni David.

Ikalawa, may katotohanan sa likod ng tugon ng maralita sa eleksyon na ayaw kilalanin ng mga tulad ni David na umaasa rito: Alam nilang wala itong idudulot na tunay na pagbabago. Kahit mga kagyat na kahilingan, alam nilang hindi maidudulot. Nasaan ang “taong may napag-isipang tanaw ng kasaganaan para sa lahat? Laging nasa gobyerno?”

Dalawang beses na tiwalag sa maralita, kung gayon, ang panukala ni David. Una, sa interes nitong patatagin ang eleksyon at “baguhin” ang sistema sa pamamagitan nito, ala Edward Bernstein sa pinakamahuksay. Ikalawa, sa estilo nito ng pagsalaksak sa mga maralita na hindi nauunawaan ng mga ito ang mga liberal-demokratikong ilusyon ng pulitika.

1. Marasigan’s opening sentence discusses the play of words because the word **mahirap** means two things: “difficult” and “poor.” What did he mean when he said that “**kasing-kahulugan ng karalitaan ang pagdama**”?
2. How does the government view the poor? What are the examples given by the author to prove this point?
3. In Senator Miriam Defensor-Santiago’s opinion, who are the people who should be given the right to vote?
4. What was Randy David’s counter-proposal to Santiago’s suggestion?
5. To respond to David, the author uses the technique of giving a series of questions. What were the points he raised in these questions?
6. What are the two opposite views of the poor? In contrast to these views, in the author’s opinion, how do progressives view the masses when it comes to politics?
7. What are the implications of having a cynical view of the impoverished?
8. What are the two main arguments of the author in response to this cynicism?
9. According to the author, why are David’s arguments divorced from a true understanding of the poor or the basic masses of Philippine society?



### **Pagsusulat Writing**

### **Editorial Kolumn ng Opinyon Opinion Column**

Write an editorial or opinion column on any topic/issue that you feel is relevant. Here are some suggestions although you might have other topics/issues in mind.

1. Free public education
2. Reproductive rights in the Philippines
3. US intervention in the Philippines

 **Paglalagom** Summing Up

In this lesson, you have:

- Learned words and phrases you can use to best present arguments on a given topic;
- Reviewed/studied subordinate clauses;
- Listened to, read about, and written on specific issues or topics.