

## **A critical discourse analysis of Sen. Santiago's speech: “*Navigating the crimes of the plunder mastermind*”**

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### **Abstract**

This paper is analytical in nature as it explored the discourse of Sen. Miriam Santiago in her privilege speech on December 4, 2013 entitled “*Navigating the Minds of the Plunder Mastermind*”. It shows the kind of public speaker and leader that she is. As a public speaker and a nation's leader, her opinions have great political and national impact. The researcher used the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) both as a methodology and as a theoretical background. It provided answers to the question: *What are the linguistic, discursive, and ideological patterns that can be gleaned from the text?* The analysis involved a three-dimensional model showing how these patterns interplay. The text analytic activity is not done in isolation; rather, the researcher accounted the larger context. The meaning of a text derives not just from the words on the page but also from how those words are used in a particular social context. One of the findings of this study revealed that hyperbole is put to maximum use. For example, the speaker's quarrel or exchange of accusations with Enrile is compared to the “Clash of the Titans” in Greek mythology and Armageddon. Discursively, the speaker's relentless attack falters by her employment of argumentum ad misericordiam. Ideologically, the speaker draws a Utopia, a fresh and shining territory free of the forces of darkness that can rise from the fen of corruption only if and when Enrile and his ilk, his minions, are put behind bars to pay for their crimes against the people of the Republic. The final output of this research is the corpus of words, phrases and expressions used in this speech of Sen. Santiago and build up from there a set of conclusions, recommendations and implications gleaned from the findings of this study.

**Keywords:** critical discourse analysis, privilege speech, public speaking, communication, language studies

### **Introduction**

When studying discourses and its relationship with the context of the discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) immediately comes into the picture. CDA shows how text and discourse practices can give access to social identities and social relations (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). In fact, CDA for Fairclough (1989) is concerned with the assumption that language use is both socially shaped and socially shaping, meaning, texts and discourses are socially constitutive of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and beliefs.

In Critical Discourse Analysis, privilege speeches by Senators during the Senatorial hearings are considered discursive practices through which texts are produced and consumed. When one Senator delivers a speech, he is producing a text while those who are sitting and listening are consuming the text. This study investigated how, specifically, Sen. Santiago, justified her ideas and persuaded her audience by using subtle ideological discourse structures. Power relation is manifested here because of the significant position she has in the government. Language is powerful not by itself, but through people with power. Genuine interest in gaining a deeper understanding of the mechanics both linguistically and ideologically made the researcher pursue this study. The speech is not only a medium to communicate but a machine that generates the social world.

CDA is applicable in the process of describing and interpreting not only discourse in social context but it also offers an explanation of why and how discourse works. It revolves around the idea that discourse is an important form of social practice which both reproduces and changes knowledge, identities and social practices and structures. It plays an active role of discourse in constructing the social world.

There are different fields and topics which warrant or invite CDA to perform its valuable job; however, if there is one social field that is most fitting here, it is the speeches of the nation's leaders, the lawmakers, or the legislators—the Senators. This corpus of data immediately suggests itself for, as van Dijk (2004) has opined, is the preeminent site or field for opposed groups, power struggle and conflicting interests. In order to compete, they need to be ideologically conscious, organized and engaged. These consciousness and organization are made visible through the privilege speeches that they deliver during Senate hearings and embodied in these speeches are patterns of language use.

In the light of these foregoing claims, this study sets out to analyze the texts and discover their relations to their respective context and to investigate the social function of language as a powerful element in a specific discourse. This speech being analyzed in this study was aired and beamed to the whole nation, hence, became powerful because it can sway or influence public opinion, the whole nation in fact.

The issue that is present in this speech of Sen. Santiago dealt with the Priority Development Assistance Fund Scam or PDAF scam. The researcher selected it because of the spate of controversies that have been rocking the political scene in the past few years. So prominent is the issue that in a sense it is no exaggeration to say that this theme selected itself. The scam involved Philippine Senators and Congressmen in the use or misuse of public funds to create ghost projects; hence, corruption. Corruption in the government is a matter that concerns everyone. The leaders who are respected and voted by the people are the ones on trial.

Senators fight each other for truth and justice. Evidence after evidence and exhibit after exhibit are flaunted in public. The more evidences one dangles before the public, the more he gets the applause of the people. However, aside from the weight and number of evidences shown, the manner by which these evidences are presented is also a matter of primary concern, and has caught the attention of the Philippine constituents.

The venue for privilege speeches are intended to be formal in nature, and are defined as such by the constitution and relevant regulations. However, the actual conduct of these hearings could not be farther from the ideal of rule or decorum-governed discourse. Derogatory words like icon of shameless lying, incorrigible liar, cowering mouse, and psychopathic hypersexualized are just some of the samples of name-calling, invectives, or vituperative in this speech being

analyzed. As observed, the manner and even matter heard during the delivery lack respect for propriety or decorum. Indeed, the level of discourse that national leaders, particularly Solons, engage in merits critical scrutiny because they are looked up to as models or exemplars of cultured, refined, and decent communication and also as reliable sources of information and the truth. Moreover, a lot can be explored and discovered about the principles, discourse practices, and ideologies as well as motives of these public figures.

Philippine contemporary political discourse calls to mind the novelist-essayist Forster's lament about the depths to which the same discourse has fallen or sunk in his own country. In his essay, "*What I Believe*," on July 16, 1938, he describes the British Parliament as a "talking shop," and a member who talks too much as a "nuisance". However, as Forster argues, that same member performs a vital service to the nation. He may strike the audience as cranky or ill-informed, but he exposed abuses which would otherwise have never been dragged to the light of common day, or just swept under the rug. In the final analysis, Forster offer two cheers to such a democratic institution as the Parliament or Congress because it criticizes and talks, and because its chatter or gabfests get widely reported.

In this light, the researcher sought to find out what she meant in this particular speech of Sen. Santiago and to discover what goes on behind her speech or what is revealed of her thoughts and motives by her use of language. Discovering Sen. Santiago's ideologies, principles, and belief system is part of the whole CDA process. It is in this aspect of explaining and interpreting makes CDA critical. Since reality can only be seen through an in-depth study of the content of these discourses and never on the context alone, the researcher hopes to bring out some patterns taken from her utterances as they take part in this domain and build up from there a set of recommendations gleaned from the findings of this study.

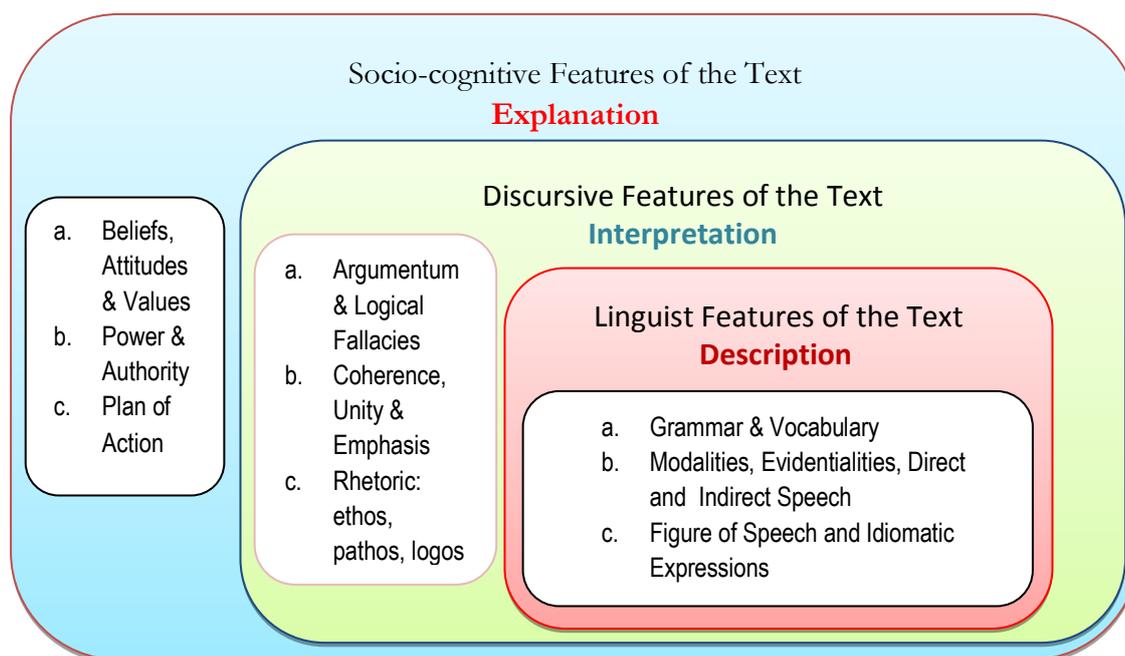
## **Methodology**

### **A. The Process of Analysis**

The methodology of this study involves a series of steps starting from establishing the context in which the researcher jotted down where the material comes from and how it fits into the big picture. Next, she explored the production process thereby asking who the author is and who the target audience are. To prepare for the analysis, the researcher made several hardcopies of the text in preparation for the highlighting, decoding, and labeling that would take place next. The coding of the text was based on the research problems. These codes are linguistic patterns, discursive patterns and ideological patterns. At the end of the first review, the researcher revised the list of coding categories to reflect the findings. She also repeated the process again and again until a final list is achieved. The primary activity of this study is the close analysis of written texts that are deemed to be politically or culturally influential to a given society. But the text analytic activity is not done in isolation; rather, the researcher accounted the larger context in which the text is located.

It was vital to the process of analysis that the structure of the speech is examined as well and this involves collecting and examining discursive statements, identifying cultural references, identifying linguistic and rhetorical devices, and the beliefs and value system of the speaker. However, it is also important to point out that the analysis process is not a strict "one-step-after-the-other" process. As shown in Figure 1, the analysis is completed at each level though not as separate processes. It signifies that the analysis may start at any box and may continue to another box. It does not matter where the researcher start as long as she arrives at a single analysis.

Afterwards, commonalities were reviewed. Finally, the researcher tied all the results together in order to explain what the discourse is about, and how it works.



**Figure 1.** The three-dimensional Model of Critical Discourse used in this study

The flow starts with a text. A text is assumed to be the product of discursive practices, including production, distribution, and interpretation, which themselves are embedded in a complex mosaic of social practices. To put this in another way, the meaning of a text derives not just from the words on the page but also from how those words are used in a particular social context.

CDA tries to unite and determine the relationship among three levels of analysis: (a) the actual text; (b) the discursive practices (that is the process involved in creating, writing, speaking, reading, and hearing); and (c) the larger social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices (Fairclough, 2000).

The researcher analyzed the speech in the following three areas (a) Linguistic Patterns—i.e. the detailed analysis of the linguistic characteristics using tools like interactional control, ethos, metaphors, wording and grammar— e.g. transitivity and modality; (b) Discursive Patterns—i.e. how texts are produced and consumed— e.g. what kinds of processes does a text go through before it is printed? Can an intertextual chain be traced? How do readers understand text?; and (c) Ideological Patterns—i.e. examining the broader social practice of these dimensions— e.g. mapping the non-discursive that constitute the wider context of the discursive practice. This involves two interfaces which are the cognitive interface and the other one is social interface.

This three-dimensional model shows three types of value that formal features of a text may have. The first is the experiential value in which the text producer's experience of the natural and social world is represented through the content in the form of personal knowledge and beliefs. The second is the relational value in which the social relationships are enacted via the text in the discourse, and the third is the expressive value in which the producer of a text evaluates an aspect of reality or social identities (Fairclough, 1989).

There are also three levels of discourse which are (a) social conditions of production and interpretation which pertain to the social factors that lead to the origination of text and at the same time how the same factors affect interpretation; (b) the process of production and interpretation which pertains to the way the text was produced and how this affects interpretation; and (c) the text being the product of the first two stages.

Subsequently, this study uses three stages of CDA, which are in accord with the three abovementioned levels of discourse. The first one is description which is concerned with the formal properties of the text. Second is the interpretation which is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction, seeing the text as a product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation. Then third is explanation which is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

Over-all, description is about the textual analysis because it is concerned with the formal properties of text. Interpretation constitutes examination of discursive practices of the textual interaction and it emphasizes the conception of text as an outcome of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation. Explanation underscores broader social practices that frame the social interaction since it concerns with the relationship between the broader social context of text production and textual properties.

This shows the relationship between language and the society by revealing how language can shape society and how society can shape language. These values are carried out by the speaker's choice of vocabulary, grammar and textual structures.

## The Analysis

### NAVIGATING THE CRIMES OF THE PLUNDER MASTERMIND

(Privilege Speech of Senator Miriam Defensor-Santiago)

December 4, 2013

#### 1. The linguistic patterns that can be gleaned from the text

##### A. Grammar and Vocabulary

**Table 1.** The linguistic patterns that can be gleaned from the text with regards to grammar and vocabulary

<b>Navigating</b>	an immediate eye-catcher; promises an adventure-rich voyage to her audience. She prepares the audience for sailing in the high seas
<b>Epic</b>	refers to pork barrel corruption involving P10 Billion of the people's money
<b>Incongruence Imitation</b> (researcher's term)	bringing together seriousness of the epic and the ridiculous character of the mock-epic

<b>Invocation of God</b>	strengthens the link of her text to the epic and the mock-epic; use of this convention is her way of saying that her voyage is sanctioned by the Divine Providence
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Generally, the text is another vintage Santiago diatribe, garnished with all the terminology and rhetorical devices that characterize Santiago’s style. An immediate attention-catcher is the word “navigating” in the title. This situates the text in the category of burlesque, particularly mock-epic, which incongruously imitates the conventions of the epic. By her use of the word “navigating”, the speaker holds out the promise of an adventure-rich voyage, an odyssey, to her audience. She prepares them for sailing in the high seas, at the same time suggesting the depths, meaning gravity or seriousness of the crimes of the plunder mastermind. By incongruence imitation, she brings together the seriousness of the epic and the ridiculous character of the mock-epic.

True enough, the intent of Santiago becomes clear. In the first paragraph, she applies the term “epic” to pork barrel corruption, to stress the gravity or magnitude of case. She invokes a major characteristic of the epic, and that is, scale. The crime involves P10 Billion pesos of the people’s money, thus aptly “of epic proportions” or scale.

The repeated reference to Providence in the first paragraph and God on the second paragraph strengthens the link of her text to the epic and mock-epic. One of the conventions of the traditional epic is the invocation of the Muse; the poet appeals for divine assistance from the appropriate muse to sustain and help her through to the completion of his endeavor. Use of this convention is also Santiago’s way of telling the audience her voyage or her tirade is sanctioned by the Divine Providence.

**Table 2.** The dictional choices of Sen. Santiago in her speech

<b><u>For Napoles:</u></b> BFF or Best Friend Forever
<b><u>For Enrile:</u></b> Old Man a.k.a. Tanda Hatchet man Mr. Dementia

Santiago’s dictional choices—e.g. “BFF” or Best Friend Forever for Napoles, Old Man, a.k.a. Tanda” for Enrile, hatchet man again for Enrile and Mr. Dementia (again, another monicker for Enrile)—make clear the closer affinity of her text with mock-epic.

The abovementioned names or titles for Enrile are reinforced by a series of invectives like “icon of shameless lying”, “incorrigible liar and criminal,” “cowering mouse”, “Drama King of corrupt politics,” “Prince of Darkness”, “King of smuggling empire” “King of Martial Law and Illegal Logging Empire,” “Psychopathic Hypersexualized Serial Womanizer, and “libertine pontificating about morality” and “poster boy of stem cell treatment.”

**Table 3.** The invectives used by Sen. Santiago against Sen. Enrile as reflected in the text

<b>Invectives used by Santiago against Enrile</b>	
Icon of Shameless Lying	Drama King of Corrupt Politics
Incorrigible Liar and Criminal	Prince of Darkness
Covering Mouse	King of Smuggling Empire
Psychopathic Hyper sexualized	Serial Womanizer
Libertine pontificating about morality	Poster Boy of Stem Cell Treatment

It of course follows that the excesses or sins of the man wearing such crowns should be of immense proportions; for example, sex addiction, wanton, decadent lifestyle, tax evasion as his legal expertise masterminding the pork barrel plunder, fabulous ill-gotten wealth, adept at creating a smokescreen for his criminality, hypocritical protestations of innocence, blatant disconfirmation, total lack of credibility and command responsibility for deaths and disappearances during Martial Law.

**Table 4.** Vicious titles, monickers and analogies that speaker applied to Sen. Enrile

<b>Sins of Enrile that are of Immense Proportions</b>		
sex addiction	masterminding the pork	fabulous ill-gotten wealth
wanton	blatant disconfirmation	adept at creating a smokescreen for his criminality
decadent lifestyle	total lack of credibility & command responsibility for the deaths & disappearances during Martial Law	
tax evasion as his legal expertise		hypocritical protestations of innocence

To come up with the most vicious titles, monickers, and analogies imaginable that she could apply to Enrile, Santiago researched various sources, from the Bible, medical and psychological jargons and law books, to literature and mythology.

Grammar lends support to the foregoing dictional choices and author’s purpose. The rather lengthy opening sentence—the periodic type—is reminiscent of the opening sentences of epics like Iliad and Aeneid. The offensive stance is made concrete by the preponderant use of the active voice. Santiago goes for the jugular. Her thrusts are direct as the following statements demonstrate:

*“...and I shall charge him with disorderly behavior with the Ethics or the Rules Committee...”*

*“I respectfully urge the Justice Secretary to order an immediate and exhaustive investigation into the following crimes under the Penal Code committed by Enrile.”*

*“In conclusion, I challenge Enrile to a public televised debate on the plunder charge against him...”*

## ***B. Modalities, Evidentialities and Direct and Indirect Speech***

As a lawyer herself, Santiago has full appreciation of the weight of evidentialities, demonstrations, or illustrations, and citations/testimonies (indirect speech). The text abounds in these. She does not waste time by immediately referring to the NBI and Department of Justice action on the plunder case:

*“Thorough NBI investigation has led the Department of Justice to file formal charges of plunder against the first batch of suspects, led by no less than the Senate President at that time, Sen. Juan Ponce Enrile.”*

She follows up on this with a reference to the Ombudsman’s receipt of a memorandum of over 200 pages pinpointing Enrile as the mastermind of plunder. In defense of herself against the “black propaganda mounted by Enrile against her as a diversionary tactic, Santiago quotes official citations, particularly one made by the 1988 Magsaysay Award for Government Service:

*“...recognizing her bold and moral leadership in cleaning up a graft-ridden government agency.”*

Media, she added, has named her ‘the most awarded Filipino public official.’ She further mentions other prestigious awards, specifically TOYM, TOWNS, UP’s Most Outstanding Law Alumnus.

**Table 5.** Modalities and evidentialities reflected in the speech being analyzed

<b>Modality:</b>	Justice <i>should</i> be done, though the heavens fall.
<b>Evidentialities:</b>	Ombudsman over 200-page memorandum pinpointing Enrile as the mastermind of plunder; 1988 Magsaysay Award for Government Service, TOYM, TOWNS, UP’s Most Outstanding Law Alumnus

Direct and Indirect Speech is combined to substantiate or support vital points, particularly her attacks on Enrile’s character. Illustrative of Indirect Speech are the following:

*“Under President Ferdinand Marcos, he claimed that as defense secretary he was ambushed, thus laying the ground for the imposition of Martial Law. Under President Aquino, he retracted and admitted that his ambush was fake and staged. Then under President Benigno Aquino III, he retracted again and now claims in his memoirs that the ambush was genuine afterall...”*

An example of Direct Speech is one made by the Communist Party of the Philippines in 2012:

*“Enrile was Marcos’ hatchet man and the one who signed countless warrants that led to the capture and detention of thousands of former leaders, workers, students, activists, in the Church and other critics and opponents of Martial Law. Enrile’s hands are forever stained with the blood of close to 4000 people ‘salvaged’ during Marcos’ reign of terror... Enrile exposed himself as a liar.”*

She cites a Supreme Court ruling upholding her in the *cause célèbre* involving Brocka, Cervantes, et. al. v. Enrile, Ramos et. al. 192 SCRA 183 (1990):

*“...that the criminal proceedings had become a case of persecution, having been undertaken by state officials in bad faith.”*

The rest of the ruling was presented in the form of Indirect Speech:

*“The court warned Enrile that he did not have a license to run roughshod over a citizen’s basic constitutional rights, such as due process, or manipulate the law to suit dictatorial tendencies.”*

On the plunder case itself, Santiago cites whistleblower Suñas testimony in the form of indirect speech:

*“Merlina Suñas, a whistleblower testified that Napoles personally talked to the Senator concerned (Enrile), or the Chief of Staff. Suñas also testified that in 2012, her dummy foundation received P5 million in pork barrel funds from Enrile.”*

As an evidence of the veracity of her crowning Enrile as “king of a smuggling empire,” the speaker brings up the name of former US Ambassador Kristie Kenney and quotes her statement about Enrile running “an auto import operation in the port, and is suspected of involvement in smuggling.” The quoted text is an extract from a US Embassy Cable sent by the Ambassador. The rest of the cable is presented as indirect speech.

*Enrile, according to the cable provided at a Senate Hearing and indulged himself by fiercely and repeatedly shouting at representatives of the Joint Foreign Chambers of Commerce, because the foreign businessmen had complained about smuggling in Port Irene.*

### **B. Figurative and Literary Device**

**Table 6.** Figurative and Literary Devices such as hyperbole and allusion as shown in the speech

<b>Hyperbole and Allusion</b>	
Clash of the Titans in Greek Mythology and Armageddon in the Bible which refers to the speaker’s quarrel with Enrile (the final encounter between the forces of good and the forces of evil)	Monument to all rancid genes and broken chromosomes that corrupt Filipino dreams
Epic Battle	The highest expense of any Senatorial Candidate
Eternal philandering	Fabulous ill-gotten wealth
Total lack of Credibility	Hyper-sexualized

Hyperbole, a time-honored device of emphasis, is put to maximum use in this text. A good example of overstating the case (the speaker’s quarrel with Enrile) is her comparison of the

verbal joust or exchange of accusations to the “Clash of the Titans” in Greek mythology and Armageddon, the final encounter between the forces of good and the forces of evil in the Bible.

The preponderance of intensifiers and superlatives makes a hyperbole: total lack of credibility, “hypersexualized” , “the highest expense of any senatorial candidate, “epic battle”, “monument to all the rancid genes and broken chromosomes that corrupt the possibilities of the Filipino Dream,” “eternal philandering,” and “fabulous ill-gotten wealth.”

**Table 7.** Figurative and Literary Devices such as metaphors and similes as shown in the speech

<b>Metaphors and Similes</b> (adds color and vividness and humor to her descriptions of the object of her ridicule and contempt)		
<b>Animal Images:</b>		
Hyena	Dead Fish	Poison Toad
Female llama surprised in her bath		

The use of figurative language—metaphors and similes—adds color and vividness and humor to her descriptions of the object of her ridicule and contempt. Animal images are strewn in some parts of the text—e.g. “hyena,” “poison toad,” “dead fish,” “female llama surprised in her bath.”

These comprise an ‘image cluster’ creating a picture of Enrile as a museum piece, in other words, one who is bound for Necropolis, thus should no longer merit any attention. Dotage or senescence and dementia tell on him. His life term is extended only by stem cell treatment, but the undeniable fact is, he is already past his expiry date.

**Table 8.** An image cluster of Enrile as a museum piece bound for Necropolis as reflected in the speech

<b>Image Cluster of Enrile as a museum piece bound for Necropolis</b>
Should no longer merit any attention
Dotage or senescence and dementia tell on him
His life term is extended only by stem cell treatment
He is already past his expiry date

Combining his unbeatable record as a pathological liar and dotage plus dementia, all that is left of him is what Yeats describes as a “paltry thing in a tattered coat,” a veritable scarecrow. In addition to hyperbole and figurative language, genuine questions and rhetorical questions are also employed to add greater force or impact to points raised and driven home by Santiago.

In the opening paragraph, three genuine questions are raised to frame and guide the development of the bulk of the text:

*“Why are the proportions of the corruption so epic in scale?” “How did the criminals manage to steal P10 billion pesos of the people’s money in just ten years?” “Who is the mastermind?”*

These questions (genuine in the sense that they are answerable) also create suspense. The audience would wonder how the speaker would answer these.

She caps her exposé of Enrile’s illicit affair of his Chief of Staff and his decadent lifestyle as evidenced by his audacity to throw a lavish birthday party for his concubine with the rhetorical question:

*“And this libertine pontificates about morality?”*

## **2. The discursive patterns that can be gleaned from the text.**

### **A. Argumentation and Logical Fallacies**

Santiago’s relentless attack somehow falters or is weakened by her employment of argumentum ad misericordiam or appeal to pity:

*“I shall also leave immediately after my speech, because I am ill with chronic fatigue syndrome.”*

She uses this as a reason or excuse for avoiding interpellation. In an earlier section, she uses her sickness or vulnerable condition as a woman to put Enrile in a bad light:

*“His speech amounted to verbal violence against a woman confined to her sickbed, while he preened in the Senate, demonstrating his skill as the Drama King of corrupt politics.”*

A pattern is discernible in Santiago’s text. The bulk of her speech is devoted to destroying Enrile’s credibility and demolishing his integrity. She dredges up evidence from the past, dating back to the Martial Law Period to present proof of Enrile’s consistency as a liar, particularly the matter about the “faked or staged ambush” that would precipitate the imposition of Martial Law. Less space is actually allotted to the plunder case. This is a very effective strategy in persuasive speech or rhetoric in general. Once serious doubts are cast on character, the floor under an individual’s feet is practically cut (ethos). This is the reason or motive for Santiago’s choice of strategy.

Her blows are aimed on different sides or dimensions: the moral-ethical aspect, the psychological, the political, the spiritual and the physical. First is the moral dimension. Enrile is labeled as immoral, a serial womanizer. There could not be a more potent or convincing evidence than his wife’s walk out à la Nora in Ibsen’s *A Doll House*. His wife Cristina was reported as saying “that she could no longer tolerate his cheating after other women, including domestic helpers, cooks, and assistants.” The more recent proof is his liaison with Gigi Reyes for whose birthday party he spent a king’s ransom. Photos of the “decadent” party were splashed on the front pages of newspapers.

Then, there is his accountability for the deaths and disappearances of victims of Martial Law and how the part he played in the Martial Law. He allowed himself to be used in a “staged” ambush.

Next is the psychological. This actually overlaps with the moral and physical. Enrile has long shown signs or symptoms of dementia, probably caused by old age. One proof of this is his obsessive interest in old charges against Santiago. His harping on this manifests a psychological condition.

**Table 9.** The different dimensions where Sen. Santiago showed her arguments against Sen. Enrile’s character

<b>Other Blows at Enrile’s Character</b>
<p><u>Moral Dimension:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Labeled as immoral and a serial womanizer (her wife being reported saying that she could no longer tolerate his chasing after other women including domestic helpers, cooks, assistants and his chief of staff</li> <li>• His accountability for the deaths and disappearances of victims of Martial Law</li> </ul>
<p><u>Psychological, Physical Dimension:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enrile has long shown signs of dementia, caused by old age</li> <li>• His obsessive interest in old charges against Santiago which manifests Enrile’s psychological condition</li> </ul>

**B. Unity, Coherence and Emphasis**

Unity is attained by unity of thought or coherence, that is the content of the paragraph, and unity of form, the ideas considered apart from the sentences in which they are expressed; the latter is also used in the sense of flow. These two problems are closely related, but are still separable. On this particular prime requirement or virtue of effective prose, the text analyzed is uneven. In some parts of the speech, unity is not a problem. For example, there are three questions in the opening paragraph which serve the purpose of framing and determining the development or flow of the speech. The question as rhetorical device is a time-honored means of focusing or riveting attention on a topic, as the three questions do:

*“Why are the proportions of corruption so epic in scale?” “How did the criminals manage to steal some P10 billion pesos of the people’s money in just ten years?” “Who is the mastermind?”*

**Table 10.** Where Sen. Santiago applied the principles of unity, coherence and emphasis in her speech

<b>Unity, Coherence and Emphasis</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is uneven manifestation of unity in this text. The questions in the opening paragraph serve the purpose of framing and determining the development or flow of the speech.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• She relished in the job of “cutting the man down to size” while at the same time “building herself up”, thereby digressing from the main thought of exposing Enrile as the plunder mastermind.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Santiago’s cataloguing of her awards, her defense against being a psychiatric case, her unnecessary elucidation of the significance of the Bar result showed her being defensive</li> </ul>

which resulted to digressiveness mars the smooth flow of the text.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The speaker’s relentless exposure of the crimes committed by Enrile , rhetorical unity is manifested following the pattern crime-evidences-justice.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emphasis is achieved through repetition at all levels—word, sentence, and paragraphs. Examples: “He is sick, sick, sick.”</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The word “king” is repeated from paragraph to paragraph.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Use of synonyms but not of original signifier: Examples: “black propaganda” for diversionary tactics; “invented” for liar and lies; “tyrannical” for dictatorial</li> </ul>

As it turns out, however, Santiago could not resist the temptation to take pot shots at Enrile’s character and track record and juxtapose her own record to the former; in other words, she engaged with obvious relish in the job of “cutting the man down to size” while at the same time “building herself up” as a foil to him. Thus some parts of the text tend to digress from the main thought: exposing Enrile as the plunder mastermind. Fine illustrations of digressions is the speaker’s cataloguing of her awards and honors conferred on her, her defense against Enrile’s constant reference to her being a psychiatric case, and her unnecessary elucidation of the real significance of the Bar result, which she declared as rather overrated by Enrile because he found in her not too impressive Bar performance a weapon to sadistically bludgeon her with. She becomes a trifle defensive, thus exposing her Achilles’ tendon. Defensiveness is the lesser problem here; digressiveness or drift to irrelevant topics is the real problem as it mars or disrupts the otherwise smooth flow of the text.

**Table 11.** Unity of flow of the speech showing “crime-evidence-poetic justice”

<b>Unity of Flow</b> (crime-evidences-poetic justice)
Note:
<i>Each alleged crime is substantiated by reports either of authorities or media.</i>
Marcos’ hatchet man or butcher/executioner responsible the deaths and disappearance of 4000 victims of Martial Law
as King of a Smuggling Empire
Psychopathic Hypersexualized Serial Womanizer
as mastermind of the biggest plunder case in Philippine history

However, in those parts where the speaker pursues relentlessly the exposure of the list of crimes committed by Enrile as Marcos’ hatchet man or butcher/executioner responsible the deaths and disappearance of 4000 victims of Martial Law, as mastermind of the biggest plunder case in Philippine history, as King of a Smuggling Empire, as anticipated King of a Gambling Empire, as King of Martial Law Illegal Logging Empire, and as Psychopathic Hypersexualized Serial Womanizer, rhetorical unity is manifest. The criteria of unity – i.e. relevance, proper order, and inclusiveness – are met, following the pattern crime-evidences-poetic justice or the need to pay for each crime. Each alleged crime is substantiated by reports or testimonies either of authorities or media.

Emphasis is achieved mainly through repetition at all levels – word, sentence, and paragraph – which is also a device for binding together the sentences and the larger units.

An example of word-level repetition for emphasis is found in this sentence: “He is sick, sick, sick.” The word “king” used in the sense of supreme, “peerless” or “without equal,” is repeated from paragraph to paragraph. The image of Enrile as a shameless liar, a consummate master of diversionary tactics, is replayed from paragraph to paragraph, hence, thrown into sharp relief. In some parts, synonyms or phrases (not the original name or signifier) are used as variants, but the meaning and message are the same. For example, in a later paragraph, instead of diversionary tactics, he used something more specific – “black propaganda” -- and instead of “liar” and “lies”, he varies the word by using the word “invented” and even the complete sentence “False in one thing, false in all things.” The label “psychopathic” is later expressed periphrastically as “he needs a shrink”. Another adjective for Enrile, “tyrannical” gives way to a synonym, “dictatorial”.

### 3. The ideological patterns that can be gleaned from the text?

#### A. *Belief, Attitude and Values*

Santiago leaves no doubt as to her ideology, although it is not stated explicitly. Her evocations of the world celebrated in epics create an image of her as a heroine with a messianic goal or mission, and that is to purge the corruption-ridden Philippine government of the likes of Enrile who she names as the plunder mastermind. She takes upon herself the role of the archetypal Redeemer or Savior, as she formally announces in the opening line of the first paragraph:

*It comes rarely in the life of a nation that a people, under the travails of developing country status, aided by Providence, find it in themselves to rise above the morass of political corruption, and build the architecture for a fresh and shining territory where people live free of the forces of darkness. Today the time has come.*

**Table 12** The belief, attitude and values of speaker as reflected in the speech

<b>Belief, Attitude, and Values</b>
She believes that she is a heroine with a messianic goal or mission and that is to purge the corruption-ridden Philippine government.
She takes upon herself the role of the archetypal Redeemer or Savior when she said:
...to rise above the morass of political corruption
...to build the architecture for a fresh territory
...Today, the time has come

#### C. *Power and Authority*

**Table 13.** The power and authority of the speaker as reflected in the speech

<b>Power and Authority</b>
She presents herself as the slayer of the Dragon that plagues the land with its poisonous fiery breath. That Dragon symbolizes corruption or Enrile himself whom she names as the King or Father of corruption of all kinds.

Indeed who is the fit candidate for the role? In her defense against Enrile’s black propaganda, Santiago underscores her being the recipient of the 1988 Magsaysay Award for the heroic feat of cleaning up a corruption-ridden agency. From the outset, she presents herself as the slayer of the Dragon that plagues the land with its poisonous fiery breath. That Dragon, a symbol of corruption, might as well be Enrile himself whom she names as the King or Father of gargantuan corruption of all kinds – e.g. illegal logging, smuggling, gambling, and plunder.

### C. Plan of Action

**Table 14.** The plan of action of the speaker as reflected in the speech

<b>Plan of Action</b>
She draws a Utopia free of the forces of darkness on if Enrile and his minions are put behind bars.
There should be poetic justice—the good rewarded and the bad punished
He must pay. As a Drama King, Enrile is expected to play up his age as his ticket to freedom or impunity and the speaker sees this as possible scenario. She prepares the Filipinos for this.
Santiago reminds the Filipino people of Enrile’s masterful staging of an ambush to justify the declaration of Martial Law.

She draws a Utopia, a fresh and shining territory free of the forces of darkness, that can rise from the fen of corruption only if and when Enrile and his ilk, his minions, are put behind bars to pay for their crimes against the people of the Republic. There should be poetic justice – the good rewarded and the bad punished. Age should never be an excuse for Enrile to get away with his crimes. He must pay. As Drama King, Enrile is expected to play up age as his ticket to freedom or impunity. Santiago sees this as a very possible or predictable scenario and prepares the Filipino people for Enrile’s greatest performance yet, a *coup de theatre*. After all, he has already proved drama as his forte. Remember, Santiago, reminds the Filipino people, his masterful staging of an ambush to justify the declaration of Martial

### Conclusion

Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that a political privilege speech is a mean to express ideologies and thoughts that can alter or influence the minds of the listeners. She chose words that are leading to her intentions. She used a lot of verbal manipulations and different modes of persuasion in order to sound convincing. She did this because she believes in the power of impact that the speech has. The researcher concluded that despite the provisions for proper conduct and scope of the privilege speech, Sen. Santiago, intentionally or unintentionally, used fallacies in her arguments.

With these acts of expressing, changing and reproducing, language was taken out from discourse contexts and where constructed with her ideology of what is corrupt government. As a powerful device for deconstructing the texts to come up with their intended ideologies, Critical Discourse Analysis, in this study, revealed Sen. Santiago’s attitude, political power and identity. CDA further examined the function of language, in her speech, as a social practice implementing a vast number of functions in “navigating the mind of the plunder mastermind.” Social structures were embedded in her discursive practices which are mostly constructed, validated, naturalized, evaluated and legitimized in and through her speech being analyzed in this study.

## Implications

The results of this study imply that there is so much hidden in the text beyond its surface meaning. Hence, it is important for readers or listeners to be aware of the hidden parts of discourse. This study encourages the readers to play an active critical role in looking at a text and not just see the "tip of the ideological iceberg". Texts are true reflections of realities and facts. The speech of Sen. Santiago, being analyzed in this study, is also a true reflection of her ideologies manifested through the kind of discursive patterns she implored and the kind of linguistic features that flooded her speech. Moreover, this study implies that there should be an awareness of the different aspects a text production such as socio-political background, historical setting, and cultural predisposition. To combat limited-sightedness or closed-mindedness, this study raises the idea that language is a powerful tool that may be used for glorifying people, promoting ideologies and may even impose a decision, or distort reality that is why readers who consume the text need to be careful and critical.

## Recommendations

In this study, readers or listeners need to be sensitive of implicit meanings, invisible section, misinformation, manipulation, and misinterpretation that a speech may have. Propagating the idea of critical thinking or critical reading leads to equality or that power will not be abused and that the people may act against injustice. On the other hand, speakers should abide within the bounds of decorum and principles of public speaking knowing that a speech and the manner by which it is presented can greatly affect or influence the readers of listeners.

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## APPENDIX A

### The Complete Text of the Speech

#### **NAVIGATING THE CRIMES OF THE PLUNDER MASTERMIND**

Senator Miriam Defensor-Santiago

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen of the Senate:

#### Mastermind of Plunder

It comes rarely in the life of the nation that a people, under the travails of developing country status, aided by providence, find it in themselves to rise above the morass of political corruption, and to build the architecture for a fresh and shining territory where people live free of the forces of darkness. Today, the time has come. At last we stand at the very heart of the epic pork barrel corruption in the Congress, specially the Senate. Why are the proportions

of corruption so epic in scale? How did the criminals manage to steal some P10 billion pesos of the people's money in just ten years? Who is the mastermind?

Guided by faith in a just God and in the rule of law, dozens of whistleblowers have testified in writing and provided supporting documents to prove that the very heart of darkness is the leadership of the Senate itself. Thorough NBI investigation has led the Department of Justice to file formal charges of plunder against the first batch of suspects, led by no less than the Senate President at that time, Sen. Juan Ponce Enrile. The Ombudsman is conducting preliminary investigation, and has assured the public that justice will not be denied: the resolution will be issued by the end of this month.

Notably, the Ombudsman has admitted receiving a memorandum of over 200 pages pinpointing Enrile as the mastermind of plunder. That official memorandum validates the charge I aired in the latest hearing of the Blue Ribbon Committee, where I first made that very same accusation, based on the lawyer's thought process of enlightened scepticism. If he smarted against the accusation, Enrile could have requested for an additional hearing where he could be personally present and interpellate Janet Napoles, who appears to be his BFF, or Best Friend Forever. But he chooses to stay away and keep silent, because he is immobilized by fear and humiliation.

Instead of presenting evidence to the public of his hypocritical protestations of innocence, Enrile once again chose to steer public attention to what he hopes will be a diversion: the lies and black propaganda hurled against me during the 1992 presidential campaign. This man, contrary to logic and common sense, hopes to evade criminal prosecution and public outrage over his plunder, by resurrecting campaign dirt against me which are over 21 years old! Dream on, old man, aka Tanda.

Enrile tried to portray me in the blackest terms. He pointedly ignored the fact that I am a laureate of the Asian Nobel Prize, the 1988 Magsaysay Award for government service. According to the official citation, the Award "recognizes her bold and moral leadership in cleaning up a graft-ridden government agency." Media has noted that I am reportedly "the most awarded Filipino public official," because I won such awards as TOYM, TOWNS, and U.P.'s most outstanding law alumnus. Enrile never reached these levels of professional recognition. Please feel free to compare my resume to his, since my biography appears in Wikipedia.

This was not only bringing parliamentary debate to the lowest level. It is a violation of every canon of civility and decency in public discourse. Parliamentary rules strictly forbid arguments ad hominem, but my attacker delivered an entire speech by appealing to personal prejudices rather than to reason; and by attacking my character rather than my assertion that he is the mastermind of the plunder. In fact, my attacker is guilty of violating the Senate Rules, Rule 34, Sec. 94: "No Senator, under any circumstances, shall use offensive or improper language against another Senator or against any public institution." (Emphasis added). Under Rule 34, he has committed the offense of "unparliamentary acts and language," and I shall charge him with

disorderly behaviour with the Ethics or the Rules Committee, punishable by suspension for 60 days.

#### Enrile's Total Lack of Credibility

My attacker is the icon of shameless lying. Under President Ferdinand Marcos, he claimed that as defense secretary he was ambushed, thus laying the ground for the imposition of martial law. Under President Corazon Aquino, he retracted and admitted that his ambush was faked and staged. Then under President Benigno Aquino III, he retracted again and he now claims in his memoirs that the ambush was genuine after all. He eats his own words for breakfast. In the law of evidence, he has absolutely no credibility. *Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*. False in one thing, false in all things.

The Supreme Court has ruled: "For evidence to be believed, it must not only proceed from the mouth of a credible witness, but must be credible in itself, such as the common experience and observation of mankind can approve as probable under the circumstances." *People v. Lorigea*, 326 SCRA 675 (2000).

Enrile's bungled attempt at revisionist history and his blatant disinformation has been widely condemned by all sectors of society. The man is an incorrigible liar and criminal, as brought out by the litany of his crimes against the Filipino people. Accordingly, I respectfully urge the justice secretary to order an immediate and exhaustive investigation into the following crimes under the Penal Code committed by Enrile:

#### 1. Command responsibility for death and disappearance during martial law.

In 2012, the Communist Party of the Philippines sent an email to media, with the following condemnation of Enrile as delusional in his notorious memoirs: "Enrile was Marcos' hatchet man and the one who signed countless warrants that led to the capture and detention of thousands of former leaders, workers, students, activists in the Church, and other critics and opponents of martial law. Enrile's hands are forever stained with the blood of close to 4,000 people 'salvaged' during Marcos' reign of terror . . . . Enrile exposed himself as a liar." (*Inquirer Visayas*, 10 October 2012).

During martial law, Enrile was the almighty defense secretary, when I was appointed the youngest RTC judge in the mecca of judges, Metro Manila, serving in Quezon City. In 1985, when gasoline prices went up, some fifty students from UP and Ateneo joined a street demonstration in Cubao to protest the martial law regime. Most of them were seniors scheduled to take their final exams and to graduate from college. Enrile ordered the military to arrest the students, on the basis of a martial law presidential decree that defined the crime of illegal assembly as any gathering opposed to the administration, and that imposed the death penalty.

I was assigned to the case. I suspended trial in all other cases and continuously heard the illegal assembly case morning, afternoon, and evening. The issue was: Does martial law automatically cancel the right to bail? My decisive answer was no, and I ordered the release of the students.

However, the military defied my release order, and in fact filed a second charge of inciting to sedition. The accused appealed, and the Supreme Court in effect upheld me. This was the 1990 case of Brocka, Cervantes, et al. v. Enrile, Ramos, et al., 192 SCRA 183 (1990).

From the very beginning, Enrile has always resented that Supreme Court decision and held it against me, for refusing to kowtow to him even during the dark days of martial law, when he swaggered around town as if he owned it. The Supreme Court slapped him down, ruling: "that the criminal proceedings had become a case of persecution, having been undertaken by state officials in bad faith." The Court pointed a finger at Enrile, and criticized "respondent's bad faith and malicious intent." The Court warned Enrile that he did not have a license to run roughshod over a citizen's basic constitutional rights, such as due process, or manipulate the law to suit dictatorial tendencies." (Emphasis added). This was and remains Enrile's arrogant, tyrannical attitude to young people: persecution in bad faith, malice, and dictatorial. He has never changed. Brocka v. Enrile, at p. 189.

## 2. Mastermind of the biggest plunder case in Philippine history.

In June 2013, the Department of Budget and Management released statistics showing that in a five-year period for 2005 to 2013, Enrile was the biggest recipient of pork barrel, amounting to a total of P1.189 billion. According to whistleblowers, Enrile gave the syndicates of dummy NGOs run by Janet Napoles, access to his pork barrel in no less than 22 instances. In all, Enrile reportedly gave P641.65 million from his pork barrel funds to dummy corporations founded by Napoles. Merlina Suñas, a whistleblower, testified that Napoles personally talked to the senator concerned, or the chief of staff. Suñas also testified that in 2012, her dummy foundation received P5 million in pork barrel funds from Enrile.

The Commission on Audit issued a PDAF report that in 2011, Enrile was one of four government officials who gave some P206 million in pork barrel funds through the Department of Agriculture to a questionable NGO from 2009-2010. The Inquirer story said: "Enrile withheld further comment, until he had checked his records." Until now, Enrile has clung to his right to remain silent, causing a group of netizens to start a movement called Kumibo Ka Naman, Enrile, or for short, KKNE.

In the midst of all the damning evidence against him, Enrile has kept silent as a cowering mouse. He could very well have delivered a privilege speech proving his innocence. Instead, his speech was directed at me, rehashing black propaganda invented against me during the 1992 presidential campaign. You will remember I led in the counting for the first five days, but was cheated of the presidency. I filed an electoral protest, but it was dismissed by the Supreme Court, after I was elected senator. He is silent on the evidence, but voluble on malice. His speech amounted to verbal violence against a woman confined to her sickbed, while he preened in the Senate, demonstrating his skill as the Drama King of corrupt politics.

## 3. King of a smuggling empire.

In 1995, then Representative Enrile, a native of Gonzaga, Cagayan, authored R.A. No. 7922, creating the Cagayan Economic Zone Authority or CEZA. Section 6 para (f) gives to CEZA the right "to operate . . . tourism-related activities, including games, amusements, recreational and sports facilities such as horse-racing, dog racing, gambling casinos, golf courses, and others, under priorities and standards set by CEZA." (Emphasis added).

The free port occupies 441,000 hectares, an area almost three times the size of Quezon City. Enrile claimed that the port would become the hub in Southeast Asia of interactive gaming, shipping, and ecotourism. The Port Irene CEO is Enrile's relative Jose Mari Ponce. According to Enrile himself, his "representative" in the port is his son-in-law, James Kocher, an American who, according to former US Ambassador Kristie Kenney, "runs an auto import operation in the port, and is suspected of involvement in smuggling." (Released by Wikileaks on U.S. embassy Cable 08 Manila 1417 sent by Kenney to the US Department of State on 13 June 2008.) Enrile, according to the cable, presided at a Senate hearing and indulged himself by repeatedly and fiercely shouting at representatives of the Joint Foreign Chambers of Commerce, because the foreign businessmen had complained about smuggling in Port Irene.

On 12 December 2002, President Gloria Arroyo issued Executive Order No. 156, imposing a partial ban on the importation of used cars. In the 2006 case of Executive Secretary v. Southwing, in effect the Supreme Court upheld the validity of the ban. And in the 2013 case of Executive Secretary v. Forerunner, the Supreme Court again upheld the validity of the law.

During all this time, in open defiance of the Supreme Court rulings banning importation of used cars, CEZA continued its importations. In 2012, car traders imported some 5,400 vehicles contained in 18 shipments. In February 2013, a Japanese cargo ship set off for Port Irene, with a shipment of Hummers, Porches, BMWs, Mercedes Benzes, a Ferrari, a Lamborghini, and other used luxury cars. The government refused to issue clearance for registration of the shipments, and CEZA was forced to re-export 600 used cars.

Presumably, because of all the illegal shenanigans in Port Irene, just last month, Senator Sergio Osmeña, chair of subcommittee B of the finance committee, recommended a cut from the CEZA budget of P800 million. On Enrile's appeal, Osmeña agreed to restore this amount of nearly P1 billion, subject to certain conditions. That's how much of the taxpayers' money go to finance Enrile's smuggling empire.

#### 4. Anticipated king of gambling empire.

CEZA operates online gaming outside the jurisdiction of Pagcor. The Cagayan ecozone is the only ecozone in the country that is allowed by the Enrile law to host and issue online gambling licenses to offshore companies. Such foreigners are not required to live in our country, or to incorporate as Philippine company. They only need an interactive gaming licensee and to register as a CEZA enterprise. Jesus Disini, president of the Internet and Society Program of the U.P. college of law, has already warned that CEZA should exercise due diligence in giving out licenses,

which may be exploited by unscrupulous entities. He said that CEZA might unwittingly give these companies the legitimacy to operate legally.

Just last month, Inquirer columnist Ramon Tulfo reported that police raided and arrested some 700 persons, including some expatriates, in their Makati and Quezon City offices. Allegedly, the firms were operating under license from First Cagayan License and Resort Corporation in CEZA (Inquirer 22 Nov. 2013 at A-24).

Last February 2013, the CEZA administrator admitted that he has awarded a "master license" to First Cagayan to operate internet gaming. The master license allows First Cagayan to issue seven-year licenses to foreign entities to operate online gambling. So far, it appears that it has awarded licenses to seven foreign corporations, but it claims that it can issue as many licenses as it wants. The favored corporations pay annual fees of \$40,000. Admitting that only the Philippine Amusement and Gaming Corporation (Pagcor) has been given the mandate to operate legal gambling in the country, CEZA claims that it gives licenses only to foreign-based corporations.

In brief, CEZA promotes online gambling, or what it calls interactive gaming, which has been described as "a lucrative niche market." It has partnered with telecommunications companies to offer "high quality, high speed Internet connectivity." The CEZA administrator has boasted abroad that First Cagayan "offers state-of-the-art Internet data center facilities in Cagayan and also in Manila," and that there is "direct connectivity to the U.S. and Europe." ("Online gambling hub sprouts north of PH" by Melvin Calinag, Newsbytes 25 February 2013).

#### 5. King of Martial Law Illegal Logging Empire.

During martial law, the largest logging concession covering 95,770 hectares was awarded to Enrile as owner of San Jose Lumber. His license expired in 2007. His illegal logging operations were reportedly protected by the "Lost Command" headed by renegade then PC Col. Carlos Ledesma, aka Commander Proceso. The logging concession shared a border with Barangay Sagod, Las Navas town in northern Samar. In September 1981, the Lost Command allegedly figured in the massacre of 45 people.

#### 6. Psychopathic Hypersexualized Serial Womanizer.

On 30 January 1998, the Chicago Tribune reported on Enrile: "The senator, in his early 70s and rumored to be a multimillionaire . . . was a defense minister under Marcos, but helped to bring down the dictator. His wife, Cristina, a socialite, walked out on him this month, after charging adultery. The 'other woman' is reported to be Gigi Gonzales-Reyes, chief of staff of his Senate office, and about 30 years his junior." Cristina was reported as saying "that she no longer could tolerate his chasing after other women, including domestic helpers, cooks, and assistants." (Emphasis added). This is eyewitness testimony that Enrile is psychopathic and urgently needs treatment for his sex addiction.

In an interview with Enrile on 25 January 2012, the Inquirer said that after Gigi earned her law degree in 1988, she joined the Enrile law firm. At that time, Gigi was married to lawyer Rodolfo "Inky" Reyes. Enrile caused Inky to be appointed to the CEZA, located at the northeastern tip of Luzon mainland, about 620 km. north of Manila. The Reyes couple eventually separated.

At one point in his glittering career as Senate President, Enrile had the audacity to throw a birthday party at a five-star Makati hotel for his concubine, to which he was able to drag President Aquino. Photos of the decadent party were splashed in the front pages of top newspapers. And this libertine pontificates about morality?

To win the so-called Catholic vote, he pretended to be a determined enemy of the reproductive health law. All to naught, because his son, whom he groomed to take over the family's fabulous financial empire, was convincingly defeated at the last Senate elections, despite reported campaign expenses of P150.797 million - the highest expense of any senatorial candidate.

Gigi, together with Enrile, has been charged with plunder, and has fled abroad. In her absence, the Enrile camp issued a statement that only Gigi, not Enrile, should be accused of plunder.

7. Enrile in 2012 Under-declared Net Worth at only P118 million.

Despite all his posturing, Enrile's specialty is only tax law. Hence, all his properties are either abroad, in the name of others, or in the name of corporations. In 1975, during martial law, he built a residence in exclusive Dasmariñas Village. Two years later, he built a house in Valle Verde, registered in the name of Jaka Investments Corp., his family firm. In 1985, he built a huge beach house in his prime beachfront property in Natipuan, Nasugbu, Batangas. But in his SALN 2012, belying his wanton lifestyle, including corrupt minions and a private army on his payroll, he declared a net worth of only P118 million. His legal expertise is obviously tax evasion.

Ombudsman Resolution this Month will Decide Truth

Mr. Enrile and I are engaged in an epic battle to reveal the truth to the Filipino people. On my side, I have university students, social media netizens, Metro Manila and Visayan communities, and the crowds in the major shopping malls who instantly gather and urge me to continue the good fight. On his side, he has the corrupt journalists in his payroll, corrupt military officials who constitute his private army, his minions in the customs bureau and the internal revenue bureau, both of which he used to head and consider to be his fiefdoms, as well as key appointive officials in local government and the diplomatic service, who serve as his sycophantic spies. I hope that this clash of titans in the Senate will lead to an Armageddon in Philippine politics.

By the end of December, the Ombudsman will resolve whether to dismiss the plunder case, or to file a complaint for plunder with the anti-graft court known as Sandiganbayan. If the Ombudsman files the case in court, Mr. Enrile will automatically be suspended from the Senate by order of the Sandiganbayan. During trial, he will likely remain in detention, because he would have no constitutional right to bail, particularly if the court finds that the evidence is strong. If convicted, he will be jailed for 30 years, and his ill-gotten wealth, expected to be in the billions, will be forfeited in favor of the state.

Because he is over 70 years old, he can plead the mitigating circumstance of age, in order to lower the sentence. Also because of his age, he can apply for executive clemency. But it is not true that his advanced age exempts him from criminal liability. He has to pay for his sins, unless he turns state witness and rats on Sen. Jinggoy Estrada, Sen. Bong Revilla, and his other co-accused in the plunder case.

After his poisonous personal attacks against me, Enrile expects that I shall be cowed into silence by his usual bluff and bluster. That is not going to happen. He made no mention at all of the sizzling talk of the town that he is the real mastermind of the pork barrel plunder. Enrile should get real.

In Cagayan, it is said that when he was a baby, his mother dropped him on his head. Now he is the poster boy of stem cell treatment that has long gone past its expiry date. He looks like a female llama surprised in her bath. He reminds me of nothing so much as a dead fish, before it has time to stiffen. If he has the courage, he should switch place with me: He should be funny, and I'll be the asshole.

For the most apt description of this damaged creature, I quote:

For years I've regarded his very existence as a monument to all the rancid genes and broken chromosomes that corrupt the possibilities of (in our case) the Filipino Dream: he was a foul caricature of himself, a man with no soul, no inner convictions, with the integrity of a hyena and the style of a poison toad.

His Charges are 20 Years Old

The Prince of Darkness, having no means of demolishing innocent, law-abiding, God-fearing people like me, has recycled rumors against me that were aired, and which I answered, more than 20 years ago, when I ran for president. Maybe he is suffering from age-appropriate dementia again.

Mr. Dementia tries in his clumsy way to raise suspicions about my mental health. I appear frequently on TV, and I am widely exposed in other media. And yet, despite the repeated innuendoes during election campaigns, the Filipinos have elected and reelected me to the Senate. Most recently, I was elected by the U.N. General Assembly to be a judge of the International Criminal Court. I will be the first Filipino there. I was elected No. 1 judge, a tribute to my country, and the result of a demanding schedule of lectures by me, and questions from the audience, at separate gatherings of U.N. delegates grouped in geographical order. By comparison, Enrile with his eternal philandering and unexplained wealth desperately needs a shrink, as a mental health measure. His mind is sick, sick, sick.

Enrile violated the law, when he tried to pressure my husband, then a customs collector, to release a smuggled Toyota car, forfeited for failure to pay correct customs duties and charges.

At that time, the policy of the Bureau of Customs was to forfeit smuggled cars, and to use them as official vehicles for authorized senior staff. My husband was only one of the many staff who earned this privilege by exemplary work, evidenced by annual certificates of commendation issued by the customs commissioner. And yet Enrile zeroed in only on my husband. Enrile kept threatening to oppose my confirmation as agrarian reform secretary, unless my husband released the smuggled car to the smuggler. As a former customs commissioner, Enrile wanted to bend the law for his illegal clients. In time, my husband and other senior staff returned the smuggled cars to the BOC.

I owned and drove a Mercedes when I was a trial judge. Enrile's charge that I registered the smuggled car in my name in Tarlac is inane, and the product of his febrile imagination. My husband already owned and drove a Ford Mustang sports car as a senior in law school. This tale of a Toyota is a non-issue.

In his speech, as is his annoying habit, Enrile praised himself by boasting of his alleged martial arts prowess, which he has never displayed. He also boasted of his high grade in the bar exam, with the non sequitur that I had a low grade. In U.P., at that time, many of our professors taught us to devote ourselves to the Socratic method, and pay no attention to the bar, which they belittled. So I paid no attention, particularly since what I wanted to do, contrary to my father's wishes, was to avail of a rare scholarship to Moscow.

In the United States, the bar exam is considered clerical. Any dean of admission of a top law school ignores any claim by Filipino applicants of achievement in the bar exam, and are surprised when an applicant from the Philippines puts it in his resume. Instead, the criterion of choice is membership in the law journal, which is the acid test of academic excellence in America and Europe.

Enrile demands that I should answer the charges of his attack dog, former Sen. Panfilo Lacson. Mr. Dementia has forgotten that the Senate legal office this year promptly upheld me in a written opinion. The Senate as a matter of policy allows senators to maintain satellite offices in premises owned by the senator. The legal opinion revealed that the amount I charge - P70,000 monthly for 403 square meters on the fourth floor of the office building - is one of the lowest in the Senate.

The other charge is that I own the multipurpose hall of the Rizal provincial government. Together with a few other senators, I gave a modest amount of pork barrel to help fund its construction, undertaken by the Rizal provincial government. This charge is asinine. Lacson, like his mastermind, seems to be approaching dementia, too.

Let me tell you about the real Lacson. As PNP chief, he coveted the post of DILG secretary, which at that time was occupied by Ronaldo Puno. In his overwhelming desire to become interior secretary, Lacson gathered an incriminating file of documents showing that Puno ordered all

policemen nationwide to take a drug test - but only with a certain specific laboratory, which turned out to be a small, cheap apartment. The cunning and scheming Lacson gave me the file.

I exposed the corrupt scandal, and engaged in a bitter word war with Puno, who hired a lawyer for the sole purpose of character assassination. During this time of poisonous hostilities mostly fought in media, Lacson hopped on a plane to Hongkong, in order to avoid any suspicion of complicity in the expose. He returned after it was all over, and Puno had been damaged. His cowardly retreat from this proxy battle is a standard joke in gatherings of his classmates at the Philippine Military Academy (PMA).

Why is Enrile so close to Lacson? When a Manila Regional Trial Court issued a warrant of arrest against Lacson, he jumped bail and became a fugitive from justice. TV repeatedly showed a footage of Lacson leaving the airport. But many believe that Enrile provided safe haven to Lacson in Cagayan. That is why these two men are so close that it can only be called a relationship with feelings.

This early, Lacson's propaganda team is already touting him as a presidential candidate for 2016. His credential is that he has been given an administrative job in disaster relief efforts in the Visayas. Malacañang issued the appointment, just to abort the endless stream of his self-serving press releases whenever there was a vacancy in customs, immigration, or even in the non-vacant post of anti-crime czar, already held by the Executive Secretary. His latest caper took his campaign at self-projection to the level of the absurd, when his own press release reported that as a former policeman, he delivered a lecture on constitutional law, as part of Enrile's effort to shift attention from PDAF to DAP.

#### Challenge to Public Debate

After this speech, I respectfully decline to yield the floor for interpellation. I rose to answer the personal attack against me, and interpellation will merely serve to waste the time of the Senate. I shall also leave immediately after the speech, because I am ill with chronic fatigue syndrome.

In conclusion, as I did in the past, I challenge Enrile to a public televised debate on the plunder charge against him, including his illegal and immoral use of the Senate President's discretionary fund to distribute nearly P2 million as Christmas bonus last year to each senator, except for four senators, whom he considers his political enemies, led by me. It should be held at the U.P. Malcolm Theater, and only students with valid ID's should be allowed, to prevent Enrile from renting a partisan crowd.

The first time I challenged Enrile to a debate, he declined and instead called on Lacson to shower me with near-illiterate insults, including an oxymoron. If this second time Enrile again evades debate, that will be an admission that he is the mastermind of the plunder of some P10 billion of the taxpayers' money; and that he is insulting me on a personal level, as a diversionary tactic, and as a smokescreen for his criminality.

No matter how devilish his power and no matter how fabulous his ill-gotten wealth, I refuse to be coerced by Enrile! Justice should be done, though the heavens fall. I am fortified by my faith.

According to the poet:

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,  
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;  
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword,  
His truth is marching on.