

President Rodrigo Duterte's dangerous speech in the Philippines

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Summary

Since he was elected president of the Philippines in 2016, Rodrigo Duterte has delivered scores of speeches that justify his nationwide campaign against drugs. His speeches can be equated to an endorsement of violence against drug users and sellers, especially those who are poor. Duterte ran on a platform that declared, among other things, a war against illegal drugs. He subsequently won by 16 million votes or nearly 39 percent of counted votes.¹ He used this mandate as the basis for his virulent and threatening statements that have accompanied his so-called war on drugs.

The most inciting rhetoric was delivered in at least a dozen speeches in the past year. The speeches primarily targeted three groups:

- The police and military who are at the forefront of the anti-drug campaign and follow his orders as commander in chief;
- Local officials and prosecutors who support these operations; and
- Supporters, including women and a civilian anti-crime group, the Volunteers against Crime and Corruption, among which he is immensely popular and influential.

In these speeches, President Duterte explicitly and/or implicitly orders the police and military to kill drug users and sellers, while also making guarantees that those who do so will not be punished or, if they are, will be pardoned. It is before the civilian audiences that Duterte has most strongly justified his violent drive against drug users and castigated his critics, among them human rights defenders. It is with the same bravado that he likened himself to Hitler when justifying his stance. He said in a press briefing: "Hitler massacred three million Jews. Now there is three million, there's three million drug addicts. There are. I'd be happy to slaughter them. At least if Germany had Hitler, the Philippines would have (me). You know, my victims, I would like (them) to be all criminals, to finish the problem of my country and save the next generation from perdition."²

List of Speeches Analyzed in this Report

Below is the list of 12 speeches of Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte analyzed using the dangerous speech framework. These speeches were chosen because they are among the most dangerous speeches from Duterte and were delivered before a target audience: soldiers and police officers, tasked to implement his campaign against drugs, and elected officials and the public, before whom he was justifying or asking their support for his so-called war on drugs.

¹ Which was more than 15 percentage points ahead of his closest competitor.

² <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/820809/full-text-there-are-3m-drug-addicts-id-be-happy-to-slaughter-them>

Date	Occasion	Location	URL	Video URL
30-Jun-16	Inauguration as President	Delpa Sports Complex, Tondo, Manila	http://pcoo.gov.ph/june-30-2016-president-rodri-goroa-duterte-speech-at-the-solidarity-dinner/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nXLKCYQx5nw
17-Aug-16	115th Police Service Anniversary	Philippine National Police (PNP) Multipurpose Center, Camp Crame, Quezon City	http://pcoo.gov.ph/aug-17-2016-speech-of-president-rodri-goroa-duterte-during-the-115th-police-service-anniversary/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WjmeFYckW08
26-Aug-16	10th Anniversary of the Eastern Mindanao Command (EastMinCom)	Naval Station Felix Apolinario, Panacan, Davao City	http://pcoo.gov.ph/aug-26-2016-speech-of-president-rodri-goroa-duterte-during-the-10th-anniversary-of-the-eastern-mindanao-command-eastmincom/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=umHARhrWWE
07-Dec-16	Change of Command Ceremony and Testimonial Review in honor of Outgoing Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) Chief of Staff Ricardo Visaya	AFP General Headquarters Grandstand, Camp General Emilio Aguinaldo, Quezon City	http://pcoo.gov.ph/dec-07-2016-speech-president-rodri-goroa-duterte-change-command-ceremony-testimonial-review-honor-outgoing-afp-chief-staff-ricardo-visaya/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iV2McngLZyE
27-Dec-16	Christmas Gathering with the Barangay Officials	Almendras Gym, Davao City	http://pcoo.gov.ph/dec-27-2016-speech-of-president-rodri-goroa-duterte-during-christmas-gathering-with-the-barangay-officials/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RV49VOelkAA
19-Jan-17	PNP Oath-Taking	Rizal Hall, Malacañan Palace	http://pcoo.gov.ph/jan-19-2017-speech-of-president-rodri-goroa-duterte-during-	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ELKB_diNCg

			the-philippine-national-police-pnp-oath-taking/	
14-Mar-17	First General Assembly of League of Municipalities of the Philippines	Grand Ballroom, Manila Hotel	http://pcoo.gov.ph/march-14-2017-speech-of-president-duterte-at-the-1st-general-assembly-of-league-of-municipalities-of-the-philippines/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjqBJGq_XQg
29-Mar-17	People's Day Celebration	Socorro, Oriental Mindoro	http://pcoo.gov.ph/march-29-2017-speech-of-president-rodrigo-roa-duterte-during-his-attendance-to-the-peoples-day-celebration/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JM0jgVus9fk
31-Mar-17	Digong's Day for Women	Kalayaan Grounds, Malacañang Complex	http://pcoo.gov.ph/march-31-2017-speech-of-president-rodrigo-roa-duterte-during-his-attendance-to-the-digongs-day-for-women/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXGSoDQ-6n8
05-Apr-17	29th Annual National Convention of the Prosecutors League of the Philippines	Somerset Ballroom, Royce Hotel and Casino Clark Freeport Zone, Angeles City, Pampanga	https://pcoo.gov.ph/april-05-2017-speech-of-president-rodrigo-roa-duterte-during-the-29th-annual-national-convention-of-the-prosecutors-league-of-the-philippines/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L1DZpnN3H-I
09-Aug-17	116th Police Service Anniversary	Oval's Grandstand, Camp Crame, Quezon City	https://pcoo.gov.ph/presidential-speech/president-rodrigo-roa-duterte-116th-police-service-anniversary/	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pa2i2VJZJhM
16-Aug-17	19th Founding Anniversary of the Volunteers Against	Malacañan Palace	https://pcoo.gov.ph/presidential_speech/speech-president-rodrigo-	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gSJ_xlSmvQI

	Crime And Corruption (VACC)		roa-duterte-19th-founding-anniversary-volunteers-crime-corruption/	
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Dangerous Speech Framework Analysis

Social and Historical Context

The 12 speeches analyzed illustrate strategies used by Duterte to gain popular support for his “war on drugs.” They include pronouncements to justify the circumstances, order, goals and values of the anti-drug campaign. The speeches were delivered during three different time periods:

- During his inauguration,
- During the first six months of the campaign in which the killings earned criticisms from the Roman Catholic Church, human rights groups, media and the international community,
- During his recent attempts to turn public opinion to his favor when the drug-related killings that were carried out by the police with impunity were heavily criticized for targeting the poor, not the big-time drug traffickers.

The speeches also marked the corollary shifts in the public’s reaction to Duterte’s anti-drug campaign, from being shocked and immobilized to becoming critical and condemning.

What makes the speeches dangerous is that they contain **(1) explicit and implicit orders to kill** and **(2) statements that endorse impunity, or assurances that law enforcers responsible for the killings could be pardoned, to enjoy amnesty, if sued and found guilty.** These elements are present singly or jointly in almost all of the speeches examined, albeit merely hinted at in Duterte’s presidential inauguration speech.

The speeches referred to two target groups: (1) the drug users who create trouble in the community and disrupt harmony in the family but have remained unnamed and (2) drug traffickers or syndicates and their coddlers who include politicians, the supporters of politicians, and even police officers, whose names appeared on the so-called drug list as “drug personalities.” Duterte waved a “list” of these so-called narcopoliticians in two of the speeches, before a league of local elected officials (March 14, 2017) and an anti-crime watch group, the Volunteers Against Crime and Corruption or VACC (Aug. 16, 2017). While various media sources have reported on the existence of the list, no government agency has admitted to preparing it. There has been considerable debate over the accuracy of Duterte’s “drug list.”³ The drug users were said to have been known to the police, but their names only came out after they were killed, and there was no established proof that they were involved in drugs. There were some communities where local officials resorted to installing a drop box where residents could anonymously submit names of individuals connected to the drug trade. These individuals could then be added to the list of drug suspects.⁴ An implication of the way Duterte’s targets were identified in his speeches is that they were chosen randomly and not given due process (charged in court, properly investigated, presumed innocent unless proven otherwise) once included in the “list” or mentioned in the speeches.

³ <http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2016/08/19/President-Duterte-list-of-drug-personalities-politicians.html>

⁴ Conde, C. (2017, September 25). Deadly Drop Boxes Fuel Philippine’s ‘War on Drugs’. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/09/25/deadly-drop-boxes-fuel-philippines-war-drugs>

Duterte's stance on drugs received unqualified support from the Philippine National Police (PNP), an agency that has admitted to being responsible for some of the killings. The Armed Forces of the Philippines also helped implement the campaign against illegal drugs. Other government agencies that have played supporting roles include the Department of Interior and Local Government,⁵ the National Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Health, each implementing rehabilitation programs for drug users who surrendered in droves before police and local officials.⁶ There has been no mention of state compensation for those who died in drug-related police operations and vigilante killings.

Duterte has stated that the main target of his campaign, known as Operation Plan (Oplan) Tokhang (short for "tok tok" and "hangyo," meaning knock and plead), are users of crystal meth (locally known as "shabu"). On many occasions, he has downplayed the effects of cocaine and heroin, which he says are preferred by the rich, versus those of crystal meth, the use of which he has repeatedly said is limited to the poor.

As reported in the media and documented by human rights groups, the drug-related killings, as outbreaks of violence against the targeted group, have generally victimized the poor, particularly those living in slums and blighted communities in Metro Manila and other urban centers in the Philippines. The images of victims—bodies found in squalid and dark areas—were constant in photographs taken by photojournalists and images captured by Closed Circuit television cameras. The sense that the poor are the primary targets also emerged in a recent national poll where 54 percent of respondents believe that the drug war targeted mainly the poor and 45 percent said many of those killed were not really drug dealers.⁷

The Philippines poverty incidence rate stood at 21.6 percent as of 2015, according to the Philippine Statistics Authority.⁸ Poverty has a bearing on the how Filipinos enjoy equal protection of the law. Poor Filipinos either have little or no access to justice, including being represented by a lawyer. The state's Public Attorney's Office (PAO), which provides free legal assistance to poor criminal suspects, works with limited resources and, ironically, under the Department of Justice whose secretary supports Duterte's war on drugs. Thus, wrongful convictions of the poor are not uncommon. However, lawyers and human rights groups, such as the Free Legal Assistance Group, Center for International Law and the National Union of People's Lawyers have spoken against Duterte's policy on drugs and assisted victims.

Speaker(s)

Rodrigo Duterte, the 16th president of the Philippines, came to power in 2016, after beating his rivals who had more campaign resources and media exposure. Duterte was the mayor of Davao City for 22 years, a time that was marked by a deadly crackdown against alleged criminals and drug users and sellers. He

⁵ Felipe, C. (2017, Feb. 6). DILG: Drug war goes on. Retrieved from <http://www.philstar.com:8080/headlines/2017/02/06/1669534/dilg-drug-war-goes>

⁶ Salaverria, L. (2016, December 30). More than 1 million drug users, pushers have surrendered, says Palace. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/858077/more-than-1-million-drug-users-pushers-have-surrendered-says-palace>; Drug war surrenders breach 1M mark (2017, January 1). Retrieved from <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/01/01/1658665/drug-war-surrenderers-breach-1m-mark>.

⁷ Social Weather Stations (2017, October 28). Third Quarter Social Weather Survey: 54% of Pinoys agree that rich drug pushers are not killed, only the poor ones are. Retrieved from <https://www.sws.org.ph/swsmain/artclidispagg/?artcsyscode=ART-20171027151637>

⁸ Philippine Statistics Authority (2016, October 27). Poverty incidence among Filipinos registered at 21.6% in 2015 – PSA. Retrieved from <https://psa.gov.ph/content/poverty-incidence-among-filipinos-registered-216-2015-psa>

capitalized on his notoriety when he ran for president; often mentioning killing drug users and traffickers in his campaign speeches. One of his presidential speeches analyzed for this report also mentioned it.

March 29, 2017 Speech during the People’s Day in Batong Dalig, Socorro, Oriental

Mindoro: *Kasi ‘yung marami daw akong pinatay 10,000, tang ina, sobra naman ‘yan. [laughter] When I was a Davao City mayor for 23 years, magsabi ka ng 600 meron. Actually meron, criminals killed in action. Pero kung sabihin mo mag-utos ako ng—ayan si General Parayno nag-Task Force Davao man ‘yan. Tanungin mo, may inutos ba ako na patayin mo ‘yung tao nakadipa diyan on bended knees? You are not a warrior then... So what’s the, what’s your problem? You arrest them alive? Or you’re dead, fine. Pag alive, tutal sa presuhan, I have not — I have not expanded the space of the prison. So matulog ‘yan sila diyan nakatindig, ganon. Hindi na sila matumba kasi wala namang space. O ‘di [inaudible] sa inyo ‘yan. The problem is how about the innocent? In my experience, out of 20 wala pa, siguro mga 13, may dalawa ganun, ‘yung innocently imprisoned. Pero karamihan talaga may sabit.*

(Because they say I have killed many, 10,000, son of a whore, that is just too many. [laughter] When I was a Davao City mayor for 23 years, you can say that around 600. Actually, there were criminals killed in action. But to say that I order the . . . over there is General Parayno, who was part of Task Force Davao. You ask him if I order the killing of a person whose arms were outstretched and on bended knees? You are not the warrior then . . . So what’s the, what’s your problem? You arrest them alive? Or you’re dead, fine. If alive, then in prison, I have not --- I have not expanded the space of the prison. So they will sleep while standing, like that. They won’t fall because there’s no more space left. Why not [inaudible] it’s up to you. The problem is how about the innocent? In my experience, out of 20, there could be about 13, there are about two that are innocently imprisoned. But the rest are hooked.)

Duterte’s hostility toward users of prohibited drugs, particularly crystal meth, dates back to the late 1970s when he was still a government prosecutor. He would recount the heinous crimes perpetrated by shabu users, especially rape. He believes that meth users are simply beyond redemption because their brains have shrunk from the drug use, and that the judicial system would also find a way to let them get off lightly by pleading insanity. Duterte would restate this conviction in several of his speeches as president.

Aug. 26, 2016 speech before the military: *Because as the forensics say—Amerikano rin ang nagbigay sa atin niyan eh (The Americans are giving us that fact), that six to one month incessant use every day of shabu will shrink the brain of the person. And these are really the legal insanity na (already).*

Duterte’s war on drugs in his 22 years as mayor of Davao City in southern Philippines, was believed to be carried out by vigilantes called the Davao Death Squad (DDS). The death squad’s alleged existence has raised concerns of extrajudicial killings, especially among the poor. Despite local and international investigations into the killings, no charges were filed against Duterte, who escalated the anti-drug war and made it nationwide when he assumed the presidency in 2016, vowing: “I have shown it (referring to his successful campaign against drugs in Davao City) and I will do it, and do it again and again until I shall have wiped out you from the face of the Earth.”

Duterte’s presidential speeches, delivered in a mix of English and Filipino and sometimes in Cebuano, his first language, convey his ideas against drugs translated into policies and actions. The manner in which he articulates his ideas would have effects on the police, media and the general public. These sectors draw on Duterte’s words to understand the course of his “drug war” and may take the words either as a direct order, tacit order or as warning.

In judging Duterte's skills as a public speaker, one should consider not just his rhetorical ability but also his political stature or the way that he exercises power with the capacity to produce certain effects. Stated differently, Duterte's speeches and his overall speech acts (delivery and content of speech combined) are deliberately chosen responses to situations and public opinion and to justify his policies or which actions should prevail. While some observers noted that Duterte's speeches are spontaneous and rambling, the above analyses of the 12 speeches showed that there are patterns or repetitions of anecdotes, points for emphasis and arguments.

Despite the killings, Duterte has remained popular. A nationwide poll shows that his performance and trust ratings remain a high 80 to 82 percent, respectively, as 2017 drew to a close.⁹

Message

Duterte's statements can be understood as a direct or tacit order to the police to kill the drug users or suspects. He has publicly stated on many occasions he prefers them dead rather than maimed or arrested. Duterte gives several justifications for the killings. First, drug users resort to heinous crimes such as rape and killings, thus their elimination is justified. Second, if they resist arrest or fight back, they could justifiably be shot by authorities. Third, the elimination of drugs and drug users will save the community and families, especially those of Filipino migrant workers, from ruin.

While Duterte has repeatedly instructed police to kill drug suspects only if they resist arrest, human rights advocates observe that this was his way of telling them how to make extrajudicial killings of even poor, unarmed and defenseless victims appear as legitimate police operations. The PNP would later consistently say the suspects were killed because they were "nanlaban" (people who had fought back).¹⁰

In his speeches, Duterte constructed a scenario where the drug menace endangers the lives and morals of the country. He estimates that there are four millions drug users of which, since he launched his campaign against drugs, more than a million have reportedly surrendered to the police and local officials who visited the homes of drug suspects to convince them to surrender.

Duterte regards drug users as individuals no longer capable of functioning well. Some of the terms he used include: "slaves of drug peddlers," "wasted because their brains have shrunk", "bangag" (high), and "liki" (cracked, leaking, not in his/her right mind). Some, he says, are "beyond redemption or rehabilitation" and "no longer on the right path" ("wala na sa landas").

Drug users are portrayed by Duterte as dangerous individuals who harm their families, communities and the whole country because they commit crimes (Example: "He killed his own mother because the guardian angel was whispering, 'You kill your mother because she's evil'").

He has gone as far as calling his target group something else other than human.

Aug. 17, 2016 speech before the police: *We have seen our country devastated by drugs. And it*

⁹ Pulse Asia (2018, January 8). December 2017 Nationwide Survey on the Performance and Trust Ratings of the Top Philippine Government Officials and Key Government Institutions. Retrieved from <http://www.pulseasia.ph/pulseasia-researchs-december-2017-nationwide-survey-on-the-performance-and-trust-ratings-of-the-top-philippine-government-officials-and-key-government-institutions/>

¹⁰ GMA Public Affairs (2016, August 26). Bawal ang Pasaway: PNP Chief Dela Rosa: Nanlaban ang mahihirap na pusher kaya napapatay. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jnr5su9ezX4>

has not only affected millions, but a lot of them are no longer viable as human beings in this planet.

...And what is really very unsettling is that a year or more of shabu use would shrink the brain of a person, and therefore he is no longer viable for rehabilitation.

Let us now say that there are about 400 drug addicts no longer eligible for rehabilitation for they are really crazy and out of their senses and no longer have the cognitive value of their person or their talent. So what do we do with it? We've about 300 dead living Filipinos?"

Aug. 26, 2016 speech before the military: *Sabi ko nga, (As I said) crime against humanity? In the first place, I'd like to be frank with you. Are they humans? What is your definition of a human being? Tell me. Human rights. Use it properly in the right context, if you have the brains. Now, if your gray matter between the ears is melting, I cannot help you, kung ganoon ang tingin mo. (if you see it that way.)*

Dec. 7, 2016 speech before the military: *"And they say, and it is true, the forensics say and the doctors, the asylums and the drug rehabilitation will tell you, that there's a certain point of the use of constant, constant use of drugs will shrink the brain of a person. Once the brain has shrunk, rehab is no longer possible. Eight out of ten talagang mag-slide 'yan, babalik nang babalik 'yan. (would slide, and would constantly return (to drugs.)*

March 29, 2017 speech during the People's Day Celebration in Oriental Mindoro: *In every corner, every inch of the territory, sinabi ko, if you do that I'll kill you (In every corner, every inch of the territory, I said, if you do that I'll kill you). Then when I became president, I never realized the dimension of the contamination.*

The widespread use of shabu, 4 million including now the ones who surrendered before me noong pagsabi ko, (when I said) "surrender or I will kill you." And they went out, kita mo parang galing (and you will see that they seem to have come out of) Nazi prison camp, payat, (thin) and they were surrendering by the hundreds of thousands.

Below are speeches in which Duterte justified why drug users and suspects should be eliminated and stated that he would not hesitate to take the law into his own hands. They also contain warnings against the target group:

Aug. 17, 2016 speech before the police: *Me, for example, if I were an ordinary citizen, and I've lost my daughter to drugs, she gets pregnant five times a year, she's despoiled because of drugs; I've lost my son and another son, bullshit, I will kill you. I will kill you. I will take the law into my own hands. I will not ache stepping down. Forget about the laws of men, forget about the laws of international law, whatever. I'll just ask you simply, the eternal justice that rants this universe.*

Aug. 16, 2017 speech before members of the VACC who supported Duterte's campaign against drugs and the return of the death penalty. *Kaya sabi ko, magpatayan tayo. Ngayon, ito namang mga human rights gusto ako i-demanda. Mga buang. Ba't mo ako i-demanda? Wala naman akong pinatay. Sabi ko, I will kill you. Since... Kailan ba ako lumabas ng Malacañan para magbaril ng tao? [laughter] Maraming pulis diyan.*

(So I said, then let's kill each other. Now, these human rights (groups), they want to file a case against me. They are crazy. Why would they sue me? I haven't killed anyone. I only said, I will kill you. Since when did I go out of Malacañang (the presidential residence) to shoot someone?

[laughter]. There many policemen around (who could do that).)

March 31, 2017 speech during Duterte’s Day for Women: *Kaya diyan ako galit sa mga durugista pati ‘yung mga corrupt p***** i*** (son of the bitch) papatayin ko talaga kayo. [applause] Huwag mo akong... Iyang human rights na ‘yan, huwag mo akong bigyan ng bullshit na ‘yan. (That’s why I am angry with the drug users, including those corrupt sons of a whore. I will really kill you. [applause]. Don’t you . . . Those human rights, don’t give me those crazy.*

December 7, 2016 speech before the military: *Itong droga na ito. (This drug itself.) If it is done that you kill the person because your life is in jeopardy, you are, yourself would lose, not only your funds but your life, my God, shoot him.*

March 14, 2017 speech before the League of Municipalities of the Philippines: *Ako wala akong pakialam ke mahirap o mayaman ka. I cannot stop shabu number one problem now. Kung sabihin ko na huwag itong si ano, kasi mayaman nakapagbigay sa akin ng — ilan, ilan? Isang million? O huwag ito kay anak lang ito ng mahirap.*

You cannot stop or suppress shabu kung mamimili ka pa ng anong titirahin mo, sinong makalusot diyan na mahirap. You are trying to figure out a class conflict here.

‘Pag hindi mo pinatay ito o hindi mo hintuan ito, hindi mo mahinto tapos may supply, gagana talaga ‘yan. Then it will continue kasi lahat may aandar.

(I don’t care if you are poor or rich. I cannot stop shabu (meth), (the) number one problem now. If you say that don’t do this to someone because he is rich and he gave something to me, how much? One million? Or not this one because she/he is the son/daughter of a poor. You cannot stop or suppress shabu if you’re selective with targets, the one who is poor could get away. You are trying to figure out class conflict here. If you don’t kill someone or you won’t stop this, you cannot end this, with this supply, it would go around. Then it (drugs) will continue because it moves around.)

The following are excerpts from speeches that contain Duterte’s order to kill, especially to shoot drug suspects in the head or the heart instead of disabling them. He also dropped broad hints of how to get away with killing even those who have been arrested by indicating they were resisting arrest:

Aug. 17, 2016 speech before the police: *I promised them I will suppress crime and take control of the drug situation, which was really running wild in our country today. Make no mistake about it. I repeat again for all—everybody’s consumption: Do not kill if you are not in danger of losing your life. But in effecting an arrest, when there is a violent resistance because in effecting an arrest, you have to overcome the guy to bring him to the folds of the law, if you cannot bring him to the police station, if you could not place him under the control of the law because that is your job to arrest, which is your job to arrest, which means to overcome the resistance, but if the resistance is violent, thereby placing your life in jeopardy, shoot and shoot him dead. Can I be more clearer than that?*

Aug. 9, 2017 speech before the police. *But I’ve always told you that if you have to shoot, shoot them dead. And this is what the human rights idiots are trying to complain. You know, when I say, “I’ll shoot them dead,” I’d prefer they’d shoot them in the heart or in the head. That’s the end of the problem.*

...But I would tell everybody: No matter what it takes, there are always consequences.

Me, if there is a shootout, if they offer the slightest violent resistance, if you have to shoot them, shoot them in the head.

For after all, we have had training about shooting. If they want to put up a violent fight, thereby placing yourself, the lawmen in jeopardy, go for it. That is my order.

You feel that your life is in danger, go ahead. Do not come empty-handed.

... You are all my subordinates and you are supposed to follow instructions.

Dec. 7, 2016 speech before the military: *And why should we be afraid to destroy the forces that would make us grow in fear? Bakit matakot tayo? (Why should you be afraid?) Human rights, you know, you want me, to bring me to fight the International Criminal Court? Gladly. Gladly.*

And if they say that I'd go to jail, I'll rot in jail pag wala kayong problema. (if you have no problem.)

...I ask the critics: Why would we be, why would we do extrajudicial killing? Wrap the idiot with plastic, what for? We can shoot him in the head and that's it.

On Aug. 16, 2017 hours after a series of police operations in the Central Luzon province of Bulacan left 32 drug users and sellers dead, Duterte issued this tacit order to kill in a speech before members of the anti-crime group Volunteers Against Crime and Corruption.

Yung namatay daw kanina sa (The one who died a while ago in) Bulacan, 32, in a massive raid. Maganda 'yun. Makapatay lang tayo ng mga (That is good. If we could kill) another 32 everyday then maybe we can reduce the --- what ails this country.

Duterte has also used his speeches to rally support for the killings, including his orders to kill.

Dec. 27, 2016 Speech before village officials: *For 23 years mayor ako, ang akong guideline, ang unang Davao niadto, grabe na ang droga, pero nalimpyo man nako. Why? Because kitang tanan, you cooperated with me, and we were able to strike fear. Hadlok sila. Hindi man gyud magduha-duha sulite nga patya basta musukol, labi na gyud kung ang inyong kinabuhi nalagay na sa alanganin. Either ikaw ang mamatay o ang droga, so mamili ka. Magsakripisyo ka magpakamatay ug patayin mo iyan. So I said I've always, 'di ba? I will always defend you. Huwag kayo matakot ng kaso. And that goes for the police and the military. And it will continue until the last day of my term.*

(For 23 years that I was the mayor, my guideline is, Davao before has serious cases of drugs but I cleaned it up. Why? Because all of us, you cooperated with me and we were able to strike fear. They were afraid. We don't hesitate to say kill if they resist, especially when your life is put in danger. Either you die or the drugs, you choose. You sacrifice, you die for or you kill that. So I said I've always . . . isn't it? I will always defend you. Don't be afraid of court cases. And that goes for the police and the military. And it will continue until the last day of my term.)

Present in six speeches are Duterte's statements telling local officials and the police to justify killings by stating that the one arrested had fought back or resisted arrest. Sometimes Duterte conjures a scene of a police officer in a dilemma whether to shoot or spare the life of a suspect. What Duterte was driving at is

that authorities can actually kill the suspect and invoke self-defense as an excuse. It appears that the operations against drug users are premised on the intent to kill at any sign of resistance rather than simply arrest the suspects.

Duterte suggests in his speeches how killing the suspect is allowed:

Dec. 27, 2016 speech before village officials in Davao. *Basta akong ingon sa inyo, mao kini'y guidelines, you try to arrest. Tell the drug addict or the drug lord to surrender without a fight. Di ko gustong pusil nimo, pero surrender peacefully kay nagka sa ka, may shabu ang imong gibaligya. Ato imong gipalitan barangay tanod 'to. Surrender diha. Away pagsukol kay mapugos ko pag bunot sa akong baril. Pero kung imong gidakop musugod naa poy baril, mapatay pud nimo, mamili ka, si anhing barangay captain ka, o barangay captain ka gihapon? If you think that your life is in danger, go ahead. But kanang taong nag-surrender na, o labi katong gitalian ana, o ang tao gatalikod imong pusilon for nothing. Pangitai ug nag sa, ayawg pataka ug pamusil diha. Ug naay shabu o nasa iyang bulsa, unya mo kalit nag bunot, naa kay baril, then by all means kill. Dili na extrajudicial killing.*

(But I tell you, here are the guidelines, you try to arrest. Tell the drug addict or the drug lord to surrender without a fight. I don't want to shoot you so surrender peacefully because you have broken the law, you sold shabu. You bought it from a community peace officer. Surrender now. Don't fight back because I will be force to use my gun. But the one you arrested has a gun and could kill you. You choose, you become a dead village chief or a living one. If you think that your life is in danger go ahead. But the person who surrendered, or in handcuffs, you shoot him with back turned against you for nothing. Look for a violation/crime first, don't shoot for no reason. If there is shabu in his pocket, then he took out a gun, and you have a gun, then by all means kill. That is not extrajudicial killing.)

April 5, 2017 speech before government prosecutors: *Ang sabi ko, sa order ko sa pulis pati militar, go out and hunt for them. (I said, in my order to the police, including the military, go out and hunt for them.) Arrest them if necessary. Take them into the custody of the law pagkatapos (later), if you are confronted with the violent resistance, thereby placing your life on the line, shoot them dead. Alam nating lahat 'yan. alam ninyo 'yan. 'Yan ang utos ko. Eh diba sabi mo, extrajudicial killing? Eh di tirahin mo na lahat ng [inaudible]. (We all know that, you know that. That is my order. But you said, extrajudicial killing? Then you hit them all with [inaudible].) That's half a kilometer matamaan mo pa. (you can still hit the target.) Why do you have to risk the lives of my policemen and my soldiers? Ayan ang problema diyan. (That's the problem there)*

It's all, it's an equal guilt by everybody. Hindi ko sabihing buhayin kita. Sabihin ko sa pulis, o sige magpabaril ka na lang muna sa paa, huwag kang pumatay ng mahirap kasi maging extra judicial killing I-cha-charge sa atin. (I don't say that I will let you live. I will tell the police, why not shoot you first on the leg, don't kill the poor because you wil be charged with extra-judicial killing.) Ako na lang magpakulong, okay lang sa akin. (I will allow myself to be imprisoned,that is fine with me.) Okay akong umasa sa... sabi ko paputukin 'yang helicopter ko. (Okay with me to rely on . . . I told them to fire at my helicopter.) Fine, go ahead. Lahat ng tao namamatay naman eh.(All of us will die anyway)

Papatay ako nang papatay nang papatay basta droga at maybe corruption. Huwag mo akong (I will kill and kill when it is about drugs, maybe corruption. Don't you)... I said do not fuck with my country with drugs. (. . . I said do not fuck with my country with drugs.) I will destroy you. That's why I said I declared war. I did not order the police to operate. I said I go to war, arrest of all them.

Decrying that the police and military have come under fire for the killings, accused of committing human rights abuses while carrying out his orders, Duterte dangled the promise of presidential pardon, in the process encouraging impunity.

Aug. 9, 2017 speech before the police: *Hindi ako nakikiusap. ‘Yan diyan tanungin niyo. (I am not asking for a favor. That one, if you ask me.) I never influenced my Secretary of Justice and say, “You better file a lesser charge.” “Go ahead, file. Let the courts hear it.”*

Then, if they are convicted, it's my turn now.

There is a trial, convicted, sentenced and --- that's the last step, and there is the President.

And after the trial, if I still find out, with all the cross-examinations and all of things, if they are really innocent, I will pardon them immediately after.

The reading of the promulgation of judgment either for conviction or... Sabihin ko sa judge (I will tell the judge), “Judge, you free him because I just pardoned him.” “Why?” “Because I believe in his story.” Why?” “Because he is my subordinate.”

...We will do it legally. Convict kayo? Okay sige, convict mo, walang problema sa akin ‘yan. (You are convicted? Fine, you convict him, there’s no problem with me.) But I am giving you advance notice. The Constitution says the President can pardon a criminal, either conditional or absolute or grant amnesty with the concurrent of Congress. Period. It does not even say, he can pardon everybody except to himself. It does not...

So when I sign a pardon for you all, my name will be included. And the letters, D, Duterte. Ganoon lang ‘yan eh. (That’s just the way it is.) I will not preside, if I get to live for five years, over this country with a drug-crazed population.

Dec. 7, 2016 speech before the Army: *This is an indication of torture. Hindi natin kailangan ‘yan (We don’t need that.) I’m addressing myself to the nation. Now, kung may pulis dito na masabit. (Now, if there are police officers who got into trouble.) So they got mixed up with a messy job and I would say that I would believe in the story of the police. Now here comes NBI [the National Bureau of Investigation], both the police and the NBI are under me. DILG [Department of Interior and Local Government] and—But I never interfere and they say it’s murder, fine. That is your findings. But since the police is also doing the duty, following my order here, a direct order, I will have to defend him.*

Sabihin nila ano (They would say...) —well, I will listen to the story and I would take it as the true version. Why should I, it’s just an investigation. Wala naman kayong witness diyan na nagsabi na nakita niya. (You have no witness there.) Come up with something good and maybe I will have a doubt.

But for as long as ganon ang pulis and you would stick to the story and because they are under me, I’ll still believe them. Why? Let me ask you, Filipino people: Four million addicts of the Filipino and you are sorry for the son of a bitch who made our children crazy by the millions.

So I and I alone. Ako ‘yan, will answer for them. If it is in the performance of duty, that is my ultimate liability. Dito kayo. (Here goes.) I will defend them. As a matter of fact, I’m ready to go to jail for them. Walang problema. (There’s no problem.)

March 29, 2017 speech before the public in Oriental Mindoro: So sino ang... Sino ang paniwalaan ko? Whom do I believe? Iyong witnesses na mga preso o 'yung pulis ko? (The witnesses of those in jail or my police officers). Eh 'di ang pulis ko. (Of course the police.) Now, they have been charged with murder. I will support them. Walang problema, lahat, every military and police who will do his job. This is my order. Go out and hunt for them. Arrest them if it's still possible. But if they confront you with a violent resistance especially if they are armed, and you are in danger of being killed, my God, shoot the idiot and shoot him dead.

Iyan ang order ko. (That's my order) Pag 'yan ang sinusunod ng pulis pati military, huwag kayong matakot ako (If that is followed by the police, including the military, don't be afraid), I and I alone will be liable for that. They are just obeying my order. So any policeman or military man charged for killing those bastards, they will have my protection. Do not... You can charge them with anything."

April 5, 2017 speech before government prosecutors: Ngayon, itong United Nations, itong Obama na 'to, pati kayong mga EU, putang ina ninyo, magdemanda na kayo. (Now, this United Nations, this Obama, including you, the European Union, you sons of whores, you sue me.) I will answer personally. I will assume full responsibility sa mga trabaho nitong mga military pati pulis. (over the work of the military including the police.) Those who commit maybe exerted crimes in the performance of duty. Pero huwag mo naman akong (But don't you try me)... let me answer for 'yung mga pamilya pinatay — alam ng pulis, alam nila (the families who died – the police know that, they know that) they cannot shoot a person with an outstretched hand and begging for his life.

Otherwise, wala na ako sana na namatay. (I won't have anyone who died.) To date, I have lost 34, may bago na naman ngayong araw na (and there are new ones today) 'to then about 29 policemen in the course of the drug campaign. (Eh bakit ako namamatayan ng sundalo ko pati pulis? (Why do I have soldiers and police who died?))

Sabi niya ano itong pulis? Sige. Sabi niya murder. Sabi ko sige ifile mo. Pagdating ng korte sige harapin ninyo sa korte. Anong araw ang promulgation? O sige, hindi bale. Marami mang aide ko. Ito, dalhin mo doon sa judge. (He said, what about this police officer? He said murder. I said, go ahead and file the case. When it reaches the court, then face it What is the day of promulgation? Then, never mind. I have many aides. Here, bring this to the judge.) Following pardon, restore to full and civil and political rights and ordered reinstated with two promotions higher.

Legal eh. Walang tayong objections, legal lahat iyan eh. Sabi ko nga noon. Early sabi ko maniwala ako sa pulis, pulis ko iyan eh. Kung anong inutos ko, sabihin niya, sir ganon ang nangyari. Diyan ako maniwala sa kanya. Ngayon yung testigos doon sa prosecution, yun ang binigyan ng importansya ng Department of Justice, eh wala akong magawa. (That's legal. We have no objections, that all legal. That is what I said earlier. Earlier I said that I believe in the police, they are my police officers. When I order them (to do something), he said, "Sir, that is what the Department of Justice gave me then I could not do anything.")

Eh pag sabi ni Bitay, murder iyan, okay. (When Bitay said, that's murder, then okay) Let's do it legally. Trial, legal. Kung sino yung judge doon, sige you impose the maximum. Pag baba mo doon sa chair mo, maglapit yung aide ko. Ma'am o, doon presidential pardon. O di legal lahat. (Who is the judge there, go ahead, you impose the maximum (penalty). When you got off your chair, my aide will go to you. Ma'am, here is the presidential pardon. It is all legal.)

March 31, 2017 speech during the Digong's (Duterte) Women's Day: *So 'yun ang prangk-prangkahan dito. (So there, let's be frank here.) Nationwide. That's why. I will not allow any military or police personnel to go to jail for doing their duty.*

Sabi ko, hayaan mo. Eh kung interesado ako na i-corrupt ang system? Eh di sinabi ko n asana kay... hanapan mo ng paraan diyan. (I said, let them be. What if I am interested to corrupt the system? I should have said . . . you find a way out.)

Sinabi ko, 'sige, imbestigahan mo.' So nandiyan na. O, file. Ngayon, pakatapos ninyo, ako na naman. Pardon. With the order reinstatement sa kanyang position or promoted. May promotion pa. (I said, come on, you investigate. It's already there. Then file. Now, when you're done, I will take over. Pardon. With the order of reinstatement of his position or promoted. There's promotion too.)

Despite criticisms against unjustified killings of drug users, Duterte continues to defend his campaign and the police and military, saying how the target group remains a public threat or a danger to others, including to the police who were the chief recruits for the in-group he was creating. He justified the killings of prominent persons who were behind the drug trade in their communities such as Reynaldo Parojinog,¹¹ a mayor in Mindanao; Rolando Espinosa,¹² a mayor in the Visayas who surrendered and was killed in a supposed firefight inside jail; and Melvin Odicta,¹³ an alleged drug lord also in Iloilo City. He also said the police and military are under siege, consistently claiming he has been losing two to three military or police officer every day in the drive against drugs.

March 14, 2017 speech before the League of Municipalities of the Philippines: *Sabihin mo, ilan sila lahat? Iyong kay Santiago noon PDEA head, he gave a — he pegged it about mga three million. Huwag na lang 'yun. Itong akin nag-surrender, 100... 1,600,000 plus.*

Ilan ang bangag diyan? Liki sa Bisaya. Cracked. Bisaya 'yung liki, may liki 'yan sa droga. And they're spread all throughout the country. Tingnan mo ha. Human rights, United Nations makinig kayo sa akin.

One million lagay na natin, sagad na natin sa two. Magkaiba ang figures eh but I'd like to stick to my data. Sa akin is we have reached, breached the one million mark.

Marami sa atin dito abugado. Sabi ng doctor forensics, constant use of shabu will shrink the brain of a human being. Kaya nga 'yung iba at alam ninyo naman mga mayors kayo, wala na sa landas.

Magsalita kayo, wala na. Tapos marinig mo na lang 'yung kapit-bahay mo, 'yung isang leader mo, ang asawa naka-droga, hiwalay ang pamilya, dysfunctional family. Ang mga bata mawalaan ng tatay o nanay. Karamihan diyan sa mga babae middle class iwanan, pumuntang America, iwan ang mga bata.

They grow without the loving care of a father or mother. Anong kasalanan ng — ? Drugs. 'Pag

¹¹ Ozamiz city mayor Reynaldo Parojinog, his wife, brother and ten others were killed on simultaneous drug raids of their residences by the police on July 30, 2017 (<http://www.mindanews.com/top-stories/2017/07/ozamiz-mayor-wife-10-others-killed-in-simultaneous-raids-vs-illegal-drugs/>)

¹² Rolando Espinosa Sr., mayor of Albuera, Leyte was killed in a "firefight" allegedly for resisting arrest. Critics say the operation was a rubout (<http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/841271/rolando-espinosa-killed-in-jail>)

¹³ Alleged Iloilo drug lord Melvin Odicta and his wife were killed by an unknown assailant at a port in August 2016 (<http://cnnphilippines.com/news/2016/08/29/odicta-couple-shot-dead.html>)

naggulong ‘yan, kaya dito sa Maynila hinatsa niya ‘yung lolo niya, pinutulan niya ‘yung, decapitated ‘yung nanay kasi sabi ng guardian angel kung ano-ano nalang.

Darating itong mga TV, “O ano, anong ano?” So it is — parang melodramatic. Kaya minsan ang tingin ng mga isa ring liki na itong pinatay puro mga santo. Karamihan mga santo, mahirap lang so they dramatize the situation.

(You say, how many are they? That was from Santiago then Philippines Drug Enforcement Agency head, he gave a ___ he pegged it about three million. Never mind that. I’ll turn to those who surrendered, 100, . . . 1,600,000 plus. How many are addicts? Broken in Bisaya. Cracked, broken due to drugs. And they spread all throughout the country. Look at this. Human rights, United Nations, you listen to me. Let’s say one million, maybe let’s round it off to two (million). But for me, we breached the one million mark. Many of us here are lawyers. According to forensic doctors, constant use of shabu will shrink the brain of a human being. Thus, others, and you know this because you are mayors, are no longer on the right path. You speak up, its nothing. Then you heard that your neighbour, your ward leader, the spouse is on drugs, separated from the family, dysfunctional family. The children lose their father or mother. What is the fault of . . . ? Drugs. Then it goes on, like what happened here in Manila when someone hacked his grandfather, decapitated his mother because a guardian angel asked him to, anything goes. Then TV stations arrive and go “What happened, what’s going on?” And so it is melodramatic. Thus sometimes, the cracked sees those cracked up as saints. As many of the saints are poor, so they (media) dramatized the situation.)

Aug. 9, 2017 speech before the police: *I am not about to go on experiment like Colombia and Mexico. All the criminals here, if you insist on a drug war, I will kill you all. I will kill you. That is my warning to all.*

Do not destroy my country. We are poor. And as a matter of fact, we are trying not to offend countries because they might suspend their aid and something.

... If I think that your behavior was misinterpreted or because of politics, or simply they just don't want you, [inaudible] especially Parojinog, all those policemen assigned there all these years, some of them who went against his illegal activities were killed.

March 29, 2017 speech during People’s Day in Oriental Mindoro: *Kaya ako doon ako na... Umiinit talaga ako. Kaya sabihin mo, “This Duterte killing...” Putang ina. Sabihin ko, this mayor, you have to grieve for one, two son of abitch? And they have destroyed — Albuera, the mayor there sa Ley — destroyed so many thousands of lives there. Even the Bol-anons na peace-loving ‘yan, nagkaroon pa na putang ina, nagbaha ang droga doon.*

And then the Odicta couple, ‘yung pinatay sa — diyaan sa pantalan. Caticlan. Sila iyon. And ‘yung... Ang sabi ko sa una, ‘di ba ang unang-una ang sabi ko, Iloilo is the heaviest contaminated. Tapos iiyak kayong para putang ina dalawang iyon.

Hindi ninyo naisip ilang 4 million Filipinos addicted to drugs? Tapos you waste tears? Kaya ako hindi ako magdada, putang ina sabi ko huminto kayo. Talagang yayariin ko kayo.

(If that is the only thing that I can do or I will do in this lifetime as President, I will do it. Just do not destroy my country. Iba na ang usapan dito ‘pag ka ano.” (As for me, I got angry. When you say, “This Duterte killing . . . Son of a whore. I say to you, this mayor, you have to grieve for one, two sons of a bitch? And they destroyed -- Albuera, the mayor there in Ley(te) – destroyed so

many thousands of lives. Even the Bol-anons (people from the island province of Bohol) are peace-loving, they have, son of the whore, they get flooded by drugs.

And then the Odicta couple, killed in --- the pier of Caticlan (in Aklan province) They're the ones. And then. I said before, and this is not the first time I said this, Iloilo (city) is the heaviest contaminated. Then you cried like . . . son of a whore, that couple.

Have you ever thought that some four million Filipinos are addicted to drugs? Then you waste tears? That's is why I don' rant, son of a whore, I say you stop (ranting). I will do you in. If that is the only thing that I can do or I will do in this lifetime as President, I will do it. Just do not destroy my country. That's a different story here if you're like that.)

Duterte has several times raised appeals for the protection of women to justify the drug campaign. He mentioned that women and girls are endangered by drug users because of the violent crimes committed against them. Among his favorite anecdotes was the case of a mother who was killed by her son because the latter was ordered by his guardian angel to do so.

April 5, 2017 speech before government prosecutors:*Talagang galit na ako for the simple reason na 'yung dumating 'yung droga, the most heinous crimes are committed are not against, 'yung amin nire-rape.*

Maraming na-rape sa aming babae sa generation na niyong bata. Pero wala naman 'yang mga one year old, 80 years old, pinapatay 'yung lola, pinapatay 'yung nanay, binubugbog 'yung tatay.

Anak... it has really somehow drugs has changed the... even the most basic values ng Pilipino.

(I am really angry for the simple reason that when the drugs came, the most heinous crimes are committed are not against, ours were raped.

There are many who were raped among out women, the generation which are young. But it does not matter, some year old 80 years old, the grandmother was killed, the mother was also killed, the father was mauled.

Son . . . it has really somehow drugs has changed the . . . even the most basic values of Filipinos.) You know, in the wake of the drug contamination sa Philippines, 77,000 deaths, drug-related. Who will answer for that? Who will take the cudgels for those innocent, the young women raped?

Duterte also mentioned that drugs make families dysfunctional and cited how families of migrant Filipino workers suffered because their children turned to drugs. Here, Duterte played on the anxieties of Filipinos working abroad who leave the care of their children to their spouses or relatives. Duterte projects himself as someone who is “in place of the parent” (*in loco parentis*) who minds the family/country while the absentee parent is working abroad. This appears to be an effective trope because overseas workers are among the ardent supporters of Duterte on social media. Government data shows that as of 2016, there were more than two million Filipinos who had left the country within the last five years to work

overseas.¹⁴ The state's Commission on Overseas Filipinos has pegged the number of Filipinos working or living permanently abroad at more than 10.2 million.¹⁵

In his first year as president, Duterte was so immensely popular that local elected officials such as mayors, governors and village leaders supported his anti-drug campaign despite the strain it gave them. Local government units were unable to help rehabilitate drug users and were not prepared for the killings in their localities. Many of the speeches are directed at these groups, who are less likely to contest Duterte's policies. In fact they may even be supporters, as in the case of the VACC, which also endorsed Duterte's plan to reinstate the death penalty.

Duterte has severely criticized human rights groups and defenders, both local and international. He even rebuked the state Commission on Human Rights (CHR) and its chair, Jose Luis "Chito" Gascon. By attacking human rights institutions, Duterte separates the "in-group" (police, supporters of anti-drug campaign) from the "out-group" that includes those who criticize the drug campaign and the victims of killings. In other words, human rights, (including the right to life and due process) were simply ignored and the killings of drug suspects continued. The concept of human rights that favors the victims of state violence derails Duterte's anti-drugs designs. In one of his speeches, Duterte not only said he would investigate the CHR, he hinted of a conspiracy that would justify police shooting them.

Aug. 16, 2017 speech before the VACC: *Tapos 'yung Human Rights ngayon is investigating. One of these days, kayong Human Rights, kayo ang imbestigahin ko. Totoo. Conspiracy. [applause]*

You know, when you... Buti na lang 'yung ano. Sabihin mo pulis, barilin mo na 'yang kasali diyen. If they are obstructing justice, you shoot them.

Para makita talaga kung anong klaseng human right... Galit ako sa inyo. Because hindi niyo tinitimpla kung anong klaseng papasukan ninyo. Basta human rights.

Eh ilang biktima na dito? 'Yung lima na namatay, anong... 'Yung one-year-old na ginulog doon? 'Yung Human Rights diyen nasaan?

They could not even utter it in public. "Look, do not do that to me," sabi ng human rights. Wala. Tapos itong mga criminal, babandera ka, "human rights, ano..." Tang ina... Kaya ito.

(Then the human rights now is investigating. One of these days, you the human rights, I'll have you investigated. That's correct. Conspiracy. [applause] You know, when you. It's a good thing when. You say, police, you shoot them, they are part of it. If they are obstructing justice, you shoot them. So that one can see what kind of human right. I am angry with you. Because you don't know what you're into. Just human rights. But how many victims are there? The five who died, what . . . The one-year-old who was victimized there? Where are human rights there? They could not even utter it in public. "Look, do not do that to me," said the human rights. Nothing. Then the criminals, they would say aloud, "human rights, what, son of a whore, therefore this.)

¹⁴ Philippine Statistics Authority (2017, June 9). Statistical Tables on Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW): 2016. Retrieved from <https://psa.gov.ph/content/statistical-tables-overseas-filipino-workers-ofw-2016>

¹⁵ Commission on Overseas Filipinos (n.d.). Stock Estimate of Overseas Filipinos as of 2013. Retrieved from <http://www.cfo.gov.ph/downloads/statistics/stock-estimates.html>

Audience

Six of the twelve speeches examined were delivered before authorities – police, military (Army and Navy) and government prosecutors. Three of the speeches examined (Aug. 17, 2016; Jan. 19 and Aug. 9, 2017) were delivered before officers and men of the PNP, two before those of the Armed Forces of the Philippines or AFP (Aug. 26 and Dec. 7 in 2016), and one before state prosecutors (April 5, 2017). All are agents of the state that deal directly with the targets of the president’s war on drugs: The police and military as executors of the campaign and, hence, perpetrators of violence, and prosecutors as complainants against the targets—should they survive—on behalf of the state. Duterte in his speeches has also pointedly reminded the police that they are all his subordinates and the military that he is their commander in chief.

The six other speeches examined are addressed to local government or civilian authorities, the general public (inauguration speech), and a crime-watch group. These are not the groups that have the direct authority to kill, unlike the police. However, since the victims of the drug killings are overwhelming drug users from poor communities, and a few drug lords or middle-class drug users, the community dimension of the problem is important. The communities are affected by the killings and this resulted in fear, distrust, and loss of breadwinners and family members. Local officials are also asked to join the drug war, receive drug users who surrender, and also deal with their constituents who are drugs suspects. Thus, as far as Duterte is concerned, the support of local officials is crucial for the success of his controversial anti-drug campaign.

In the first months of his campaign against drugs, Duterte’s speeches focused on convincing the police and the military of the dangers posed by drug users, drug sellers and their protectors. He also criticized the Roman Catholic Church, human rights groups and some members of the opposition that were critical of his anti-drugs policies. However when police killings of drugs suspects and the rise of drug-related extra-judicial killings were recently heavily opposed by human rights groups in the Philippines and by international bodies and Western countries, and when human rights groups and civil society organizations started filing lawsuits against the police, Duterte’s speeches shifted to assuring policemen that he will defend them by granting them presidential pardon and amnesty, with promotion to boot, if they are found guilty by the courts.

The following are example of speeches as reaction to criticisms and adverse public opinion on the “drug war” and how Duterte seeks to assure the police, military, government prosecutors and supporters of his war on drugs of the benefits of being part of the in-group:

March 31, 2017 speech during Duterte’s Day for Women: *Ako naman I asked the police, anong nangyari? So ‘yung mga testigos niya kanya lahat trabaho nila ‘yan hindi mo pakialaman. Pero itong pulis ngayon nasabit hindi ko rin pwedeng iwanan, hindi ko talaga pwedeng iwanan. Kasi baka nga talaga sinunod ‘yung utos ko.*

Maconvict? Ay walang problema. Magsibasa ng ‘you are hereby sentenced to.’ Ah, tatawag niyan, ‘Sir convicted kami.’ ‘Sabihin mo sa judge sandali lang.’ Pardon O, bigay mo sa judge. Ipabasa mo sa judge. O pardon pala kayo lahat. O, restored to full, and with political, civil rights. And reinstated order with the promotion one rank higher.

(As for me, I asked the police, what happened? They have witnesses, that’s your job, I won’t lift a finger. But this police officer who is implicated I would not leave him/her alone, I could never even leave him/her. Because he/she probably followed my orders.

Convicted? No problem. Upon hearing ‘you are hereby sentenced to, ah, he’ll call ‘Sir, we’re

convicted. 'Tell the judge to wait a moment.' 'Here's the pardon, give it to the judge. Pass it to the judge. All of you are pardoned. Restored to full and with political, civil rights. And reinstated order with the promotion one rank higher.'

April 5, 2017 speech before government prosecutors: *We do not commit any graft (granting pardon to police officers) there because it is my privilege and my power because I have to stick by them or with them kasi pag hindi maghina ito kung takot. Alam mo ang pulis noong hindi pa ako Presidente, takot. Kayo alam ninyo iyang piskal. Takot ang pulis. Kasi pag dinemanda ninyo iyan kaya ang pulis tignan din ninyong mabuti. Ang pulis lalo na. The day they are suspended, wala ng sweldo iyan, wala ng pagkain. Wala ng eskwela ng mga anak. So I have to defend them. Lalo na upon my orders.*

(We do not commit any graft (granting pardon to police officers) there because it is my privilege and my power because I have to stick by them or with them because if not, they would weaken because of fear. You know, the police before I became president, they were afraid. They were afraid of government prosecutors. The police were afraid. Because if you charge them, you have to see about that. The police especially. The day that they are suspended, they have no salary, no more food. Unable to send their kids to school. So I have to defend them. Especially upon my orders.)

Aug. 17, 2017 speech before the police: *But I will support you. Do not worry about cases. I will give you the lawyer.*

Do not be intimidated about statements of the United Nations. You know, United Nations, you can only investigate genocide when you kill without giving a hoot if you're killing the children, the whole community. You bomb there, that is genocide. But when you kill criminals who fight with you and criminals who fight amongst themselves that is the least of our duty.

What can I do for you, my dear policemen, police officers? I have increased your salaries. You are the first, double your present salary by December, you have gotten the full. (applause)

And I included the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the PDEA, then I would offer free education from kindergarten to high school. (applause).

Aug. 9, 2017 speech before the police: *You know, the police and the military --- let us be clear on this --- are directly under me.*

I am your Commander-in-Chief and for the police, you are under the local governments which I direct and supervise and control in the person of your former Police General Catalino Cuy.

You know as the Chief of all the police, because the Constitution says the President shall be Commander-in-Chief of all Armed Forces in the country.

In the six other speeches examined where the audience was non-police and non-military, Duterte's stance appears to be the same. Before the public, local government officials (mayors and elected village leaders) and the anti-crime watchdog VACC, Duterte also tried to enlist their support for his anti-drug policies.

In his speech before the VACC, Duterte criticized human rights groups and the judiciary, at a time when he was besieged by protests and criticisms both domestically and abroad for the rising death toll of his campaign against drugs. He sees the courts and human rights institutions and advocates as favoring the drug users who do not deserve sympathy nor reprieve for turning to drugs. He threatened to kill the judges

and human rights defenders.

Media are not the immediate audience, but Duterte's speeches are news items that either earn criticisms or approval, depending on how journalists frame the story.

In the process, Duterte cultivates an "us versus them" mentality among his supporters.

Duterte issued this warning against the courts and the CHR, singling out the commission's chairperson, Jose Luis Martin Gascon, in his Aug. 16, 2017 speech before the VACC.

Dito, may judges. [flips through the narco-list] Hinuli ko kay para huli silang patayin. Hintayin na lang 'yung ano ninyo.

As you can see from a distance [shows narco-list] judges. So may mga judges na namamatay? Tanungin mo. Ewan ko. Gobyerno na 'to? Hindi. We will not do that. Magalit ang human rights pati itong si ulol na mestizong itong si Gascon.

Mas marunong pa sa iyo. And they make so much noise. What about the human rights? Hanggang rekomendasyon lang sila. They can write anything. Condemn the police, condemn everybody, pagdating ng recommendation, wala naman.

(Here, there are judges. [flips through "narco-list"]. I put them down below the list so that they will be the last to be killed. Just wait for that. As you can see from a distance [shows narco-list] judges. So are there judges that are going to die? You ask me. I don't know. This government? None. We will not do that. The human rights will be angry, including this crazy mestizo, this Gascon. He thinks he is smarter than me. And they make so much noise. What about the human rights? They're only up to recommendations. They can write anything. Condemn the police, condemn everybody, when the recommendation comes, nothing happens.)

Taking a cue from Duterte's attacks against the CHR, his allies in the House of Representative drastically reduced the commission's budget to one thousand pesos (20 US dollars) from 649 million pesos (13 million US dollars)¹⁶ although this was later restored after a furor in media and social media. The CHR earned the ire of Duterte's allies because it intends to review the cases of extrajudicial killings related to drugs.

Medium

The speeches were delivered in public. As president, Duterte has at his disposal a wide array of media outlets that operate directly under the state-run and well-funded Presidential Communications Operations Office (PCOO): the Philippine Information Agency, Philippine News Agency, Radio Television Malacanang, People's Television Network, Bureau of Broadcast Services (including the state-owned Radyo ng Bayan, or People's Radio, with over 30 radio stations and some 20 affiliate radio stations) and the Intercontinental Broadcasting Corp. Many of Duterte's speeches are broadcast live on state radio or TV, or both, or on Facebook accounts of his supporters. All speeches—the transcript, video and occasionally the audio—are posted on the PCOO website¹⁷ where they are freely available. The videos

¹⁶ Despite P1,000 budget, CHR vows to uphold constitutional duty (2017, September 12). Retrieved from <http://news.abs-cbn.com/news/09/12/17/despite-p1000-budget-chr-vows-to-uphold-constitutional-duty>

¹⁷ Presidential Communications Operations Office website: <https://pcoo.gov.ph/pcoo-archive/#a2016>

are hosted on YouTube. His speeches form the bases for a substantial number of press releases produced by the PCOO.

The PCOO and the offices it supervises have beefed up its social media presence with help from blogger Mocha Uson, one of the leaders of pro-Duterte netizens who call themselves “Diehard Duterte Supporters (DDS).” Uson, who has more than five million followers on Facebook, was appointed as PCOO assistant secretary in charge of social media. A recent addition was blogger Lorraine Badoy, similarly a DDS, who was named PCOO undersecretary. Both have been accused of attacking the president’s critics.

Duterte is the most widely covered public official by the private media, both national and local. Many events the president attends are open to media coverage, especially by the Malacanang Press Corps (which consists of reporters from different private and state-run platforms and bloggers). Some in the private media also carry his speeches live—either excerpts or *in toto*. They turn the president’s speeches into news accounts. Some news organizations post in full transcripts of some Duterte’s speeches too.

Location wise, four of the speeches were delivered at police or military camps, including the headquarters of the PNP and the AFP, which are at the forefront of the battle against illegal drugs.

Duterte fired his opening salvo against drug suspects in a dinner speech on the day of his inauguration. His fiercest messages were delivered at the PNP anniversary celebrations in 2016 and 2017, as well as at the oathtaking of new police officials at a time that police were under fire for the anti-drugs campaign. His instructions to the military were issued at the change of command ceremony in honor of the outgoing armed forces chief of staff. They were obviously directed at officers and men of the police and the military. The occasions where the 12 speeches were delivered drew huge audiences that numbered in the hundreds.

The occasions for the speeches can also be viewed as running parallel to the evolution of Duterte’s “war on drugs,” from being popular and hardly criticized by the public to being seen as senseless, anti-poor and without accountability. The speeches in 2016 were delivered at the height of Duterte’s popularity and during the proverbial honeymoon period after he became president where the public was giving him the benefit of the doubt in solving crimes as his campaign promise. The speeches in 2017 were the responses to criticisms that he failed to deliver on his promises to improve the well-being and sense of security of Filipinos. Moreover, as the drug-related killings that Duterte sanctioned became indefensible, some of his allies are slowly distancing themselves from his drug policy.

Like the rest of the populace, Duterte’s audiences can access alternative sources of information from media and social media should they try to seek views and news stories that contest Duterte’s claims and the police statements on drug-related killings. While there are news organizations that have sided with Duterte, the majority adopted a stance ranging from neutral to critical. Gruesome images of the killings have been released by photojournalists. Also, human rights and faith-based groups have reached out to families of those who died.

Responses

Supportive Responses

Alternating between profanities and jokes, a number of Duterte’s speeches elicited occasional laughter and applause, especially when he attacked critics of his war on drugs, including the Roman Catholic Church and other human rights advocates. This were particularly evident when he addressed barangay

(village officials) in his hometown Davao City and municipal or town mayors, many of whom had switched to the president's political party when he won the 2016 election. The reaction of the PNP officers and men was more subdued, although video footage still showed them smiling as the president backed their campaign against illegal drugs or when he slammed detractors.

Official videos of the president's speeches are uploaded on YouTube by Radio-Television Malacanang or RTVM, the government agency that provides daily broadcast coverage of the president's activities. These used to draw only a few hundred views and a handful of likes when Benigno S. Aquino III, Duterte's predecessor, was in office. Views of Duterte's speeches on YouTube have spiked, accompanied by manifold increases in likes and comments. His January 2017 speech to the PNP, for example, recorded 12,207 views with 178 likes and 42 comments in the weeks that followed. The comments to all his speeches are overwhelmingly supportive. A reader wrote after his speech to the police: "I'm so proud of you Tatay DIGONG (Father Digong [the president's moniker]), your The best President for Me, pray q plage na always healthy at ligtas ka (you're safe) all the time, may God bless you always Tatay ng lahat (Father of all)."

Among government officials, the justice secretary, Vitaliano Aguirre II, has reiterated Duterte's position that drug lords, users and sellers are criminals and are, therefore, not human. The Department of Justice leads various agencies, including the National Prosecution Service. In response to concerns raised by Amnesty International that the killings may constitute crimes against humanity under international law, Aguirre said, "You consider them humanity? I do not. The criminals, the drug lords, drug pushers, they are not humanity. They are not humanity."¹⁸ The Speaker of the House, Pantaleon Alvarez, meanwhile, said he has no problems with vigilante-style killings and would prefer a shoot-to-kill order on criminals.¹⁹ Senator-turned-foreign secretary, Alan Peter Cayetano, has had to justify the killings before the United Nations, at the Universal Periodic Review of the Philippines' human rights record and at the General Assembly.

Even the police chief, Ronald dela Rosa, appears to see no problems with citizens taking the law into their own hands. About a week after the president addressed his officers and men in August 2016, Dela Rosa suggested to drug users and pushers who have turned themselves in to kill drug lords or burn their houses down.²⁰ He has also said that the poor are the natural targets of the campaign because they are drug-crazed and fight back when police try to arrest them. The rich, he says, are not likely to resist arrest.²¹

The prominent online presence of Duterte supporters can be seen in the number of partisan news sites across several platforms that share videos, speeches and articles to counter criticisms against Duterte. Partisan news sites have endorsed Duterte's war on drugs, and these sites can easily be identified because they append "Duterte" on their account or name. An example is Dutertenews²² that posted an article that reinforced Duterte's arguments on drugs shortly after the much-criticized death of the 17-year-old Kian de los Santos in the hands of police.

The partisan news sites are termed "fake news" because they concoct stories, use misleading logos and

¹⁸ Agence France Presse (2017, February 1). Criminals are not human—Aguirre. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/867331/criminals-are-not-human-aguirre>

¹⁹ Cepeda, M. (2017, February 1). Alvarez: 'Shoot to kill' criminals caught in the act. Retrieved from <https://www.rappler.com/nation/160199-alvarez-shoot-to-kill-criminals>

²⁰ Bolando, A. (2016, August 25.) Dela Rosa to drug users: You can kill drug lords. Retrieved from <https://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/08/25/1617178/dela-rosa-drug-users-you-can-kill-drug-lords>

²¹ GMA Public Affairs (2016, August 29). Bawal ang Pasaway: PNP Chief Dela Rosa: Nanlaban ang mahihirap na pusher kaya napapatay. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jnr5su9ezX4>

²² Of Kian and condoms (2017, August 20). Retrieved from <http://dutertenews.com/of-kian-and-condoms/>

sites that are easily mistaken as legitimate online news sites, release unverified information, and vilify the opposition and Duterte's critics.²³ They appropriate the news forms and make-up of legitimate news sites. A number of these news sites are shared to social media platforms by bots or social media operators that are part of PCOO. A number of the fake news sites have far greater interactions and engagements than mainstream media.

Duterte's supporters on social media are among the most vocal in supporting the president's strategy in eradicating the drug problem. One blogger (Thinking Pinoy) has defended the president, saying critics "overanalyze" his statements delivered in "the language of the masses." Uson has consistently supported the brutal war on drugs, putting together or sharing photos and videos drawn from the president's speeches. The video "Duterte's "War on Drugs" Explained," put together by a supporter that uses "Canned Thought Experiment" as a handle, tallies the deaths in the campaign as a measure of its success, juxtaposing it with speeches delivered by Duterte, including his June 30, 2016 inauguration speech and his Aug. 17, 2016 speech before the PNP. Uson's post that shared that video generated 110,000 likes, 118,900 shares and 3.3 million views.

Opposition / Counterspeech

The groups that have openly criticized Duterte's statements and policies related to his campaign against drugs include the Roman Catholic Church, political opposition, open left-leaning groups, clandestine Left organizations, human rights organizations and advocates, lawyers, government agencies such as the Commission of Human Rights, universities and student groups, celebrities, foreign governments, international bodies and watch-groups and the mainstream media and individuals and communities on social media.

The criticisms converged around their disapproval over the government's policy of killings of drug suspects, the sheer number of deaths, the poor as the primary victims of the killings, the lack of accountability of those responsible for the killings, and Duterte's statements that induce authorities to kill without fear because he will pardon them if tried and found guilty. The counter-speeches come in the form of statements,²⁴ resolutions,²⁵ mass protest actions, court cases,²⁶ and cultural and creative protests such as a book²⁷ and a film.²⁸

²³ Sodipe, L. (2017, October 4). Aquino list shows many fake news sites bear Duterte's name. Retrieved from <http://verafiles.org/articles/aquino-list-shows-many-fake-news-sites-bear-dutertes-name>; Esmaguél (2017, June 24). CBCP guide lists websites peddling fake news. Retrieved from <https://www.rappler.com/nation/173832-cbcp-list-websites-fake-news>

²⁴ Stop the killings. Uphold the rule of law (2017, September 4). Retrieved from <https://upd.edu.ph/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/STOP-THE-KILLINGS.-UPHOLD-THE-RULE-OF-LAW.pdf>

²⁵ Senate majority resolution condemns Kian's killing, other deaths in anti-drug ops (2017, Aug. 20). Retrieved from <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/622613/senate-majority-adopts-resolution-condemning-spate-of-police-killings-kian-s-death/story/>

²⁶ Ramos, Marlon (2017, October 19). PNP faces class suit in SC over drug killings. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/939123/npn-faces-class-suit-in-sc-over-drug-killings>

²⁷ A book on Kian Delos Santos (2017, September 5). Retrieved from <http://pcij.org/blog/2017/09/05/a-book-on-kian-delos-santos>

²⁸ Agbayani, S. (2017, September 22). What to know about Cinemalaya 2017 Best Film, 'Respeto.' Retrieved from <https://www.rappler.com/entertainment/movies/182887-respeto-movie-fun-facts-treb-monteras>

Equally strong opposition to the war on drugs has been raised by the Roman Catholic Church through statements and pastoral letter,²⁹ Amnesty International³⁰ and Human Rights Watch³¹ through fact-finding reports, and the Obama administration, European Union and United Nations through expressions of concern.

In particular, Amnesty International took issue with Duterte's speeches, saying, "Spurred by the almost daily barrage of inciting rhetoric during the President's speeches and media interviews, there has been a devastating dehumanization of anyone currently, or previously, involved in any way in drugs."³² The rights group urged the president to "end of the use of any language that calls for or excuses violence against alleged drug offenders, as well as their lawyers or Philippine human rights defenders, and recant previous use of such language."

More recently, the scale of killings in Duterte's war on drugs has alarmed the International Criminal Court and spurred it to announce that it will conduct an examination of allegations that the Philippines president has committed a crime against humanity.³³ A report of the U.S. Intelligence Community has tagged Duterte as a threat to democracy and human rights, expressing concern over his "signature" campaign against drugs, corruption and crime.³⁴

Incidents of Violence or Discrimination

Since it was launched on July 1, 2016, the first day he took office, Duterte's war on drugs has left 3,967 "drug personalities" dead as of October 25, 2017. According to official data, these deaths are categorized as being the result of legitimate police operations.³⁵

The government has revised its terminology in classifying deaths that occurred outside police operations, previously classified as "deaths under investigation," as homicides after critics condemned these as extrajudicial killings or summary executions related to the antidrug war. In late October 2016, for example, a hundred days into his presidency, the PNP's tally in the war on drugs reported 3,652 deaths, of which 1,377 or 38 percent it said occurred in legitimate anti-drug operations and more than half—1,954 in all—are what it called "deaths under investigation" or DUIs. As a category, DUI is an ambiguous one because it subsumes cases where the perpetrators were unnamed and also cases where the victims were mistakenly killed.

²⁹ FULL TEXT: CBCP's pastoral statement vs illegal drugs, killings (2017, February 5).

<http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2017/02/05/1669324/full-text-cbcps-pastoral-statement-vs-illegal-drugs-killings>

³⁰ Amnesty International (2017). *"If you are poor, you are killed": Extrajudicial executions in the Philippines' "war on drugs."* London. Retrieved from https://www.amnestyusa.org/files/philippines_ejk_report_v19_final_0.pdf

³¹ Human Rights Watch (2017, June 28). *Philippines: Duterte's first year a human rights calamity.* Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/06/28/philippines-dutertes-first-year-human-rights-calamity>

³² Amnesty International (2017). *"If you are poor, you are killed": Extrajudicial executions in the Philippines' "war on drugs."* London. Retrieved from https://www.amnestyusa.org/files/philippines_ejk_report_v19_final_0.pdf

³³ GMA News Online (2018, February 8.) ICC sets initial review of allegations vs. Duterte's war on drugs. Retrieved from <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/642611/icc-sets-initial-review-of-allegations-vs-duterte-s-war-on-drugs/story/>

³⁴ Coats, D. (2018, February 13). Worldwide Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community. Retrieved from <https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/Newsroom/Testimonies/2018-ATA---Unclassified-SSCI.pdf>

³⁵ Philippine Information Agency (2017, October 30). #RealNumberPH Update Operations as of October 28, 2017. Retrieved from <http://pia.gov.ph/socialcards/cards/142>. It is interesting to note that it is only under the Duterte administration that the Philippine Drug Enforcement Agency (PDEA) began listing deaths of drug personalities in its accomplishment reports. It previously listed only arrests of drug personalities, not deaths.

A recent survey by the reputable research organization Social Weather Stations also revealed that slightly more than half of Filipinos do not believe many of those killed in the anti-drug campaign were fighting back during police operations.³⁶ Disbelief was highest in Metro Manila, which accounts for the bulk of fatalities in Duterte's war on drugs.

It is difficult to say that Duterte's speeches directly triggered specific incidents of violence against drug users. But it is worthy to note that the Odicta couple (later called out in one of Duterte's speeches) were killed in late August 2016 after the president delivered his speeches before the police (Aug. 17, 2016) and the military (Aug. 26, 2016). The string of operations in Bulacan on Aug. 16, 2017 that left 32 drug suspects dead in one day came on the heels of his Aug. 9, 2017 speech at the police anniversary in which he issued the order to kill, reminded the policemen he is the commander in chief, and vowed to grant them pardon if they are convicted of crimes arising from the anti-drug campaign. That same day, the police in Caloocan City in Metro Manila also launched an anti-drug operation during which 17-year-old Kian de los Santos was killed mercilessly.

What is safe to say, though, is that many of his speeches predispose his audiences to violence against the target group and continually justify the killings, including those of prominent individuals.

³⁶ Social Weather Stations (2017, October 23). Third Quarter 2017 Social Weather Survey: Belief in the truth of police's claims of "nanlaban" continues to decline. Retrieved from <https://www.sws.org.ph/swsmain/artclisppage/?artcsyscode=ART-20171023180937>