

**PRESIDENT RODRIGO ROA DUTERTE'S SPEECH DURING THE 113TH
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Kindly sit down. Thank you for the courtesy.

I have about three, two page. Then I bid you goodbye.

But may I— alam mo yung mga tao na nandito sa Cabinet ko, puro kilala ko 'to. Not just— since bata pa kami, and I assure you that you have the best, brightest is Sonny. But kami, mga— ako, 75, 75. Okay na, pero—

You have Executive Secretary Salvador Medialdea. He is from Davao. When my father was governor of Davao, it's one big province noon, his father was the provincial fiscal. Eventually, he became a justice of the Supreme Court. Finance Secretary Carlos Dominguez III, kababata ko talaga 'to. And since maliit pa kami, from Grade 1, consistent 'to, valedictorian. But we share a common interest nung bata pa kami. Kasi yung tatay niya— mahal pa noon yung Playboy magazine. [laughter] Magpunta kami doon sa— there's a lagoon near our subdivision and doon namin tignan yung mga center, yung pin up. Memorize pa niya hanggang ngayon yung mga pangalan ng mga babae. [laughter] He has a good memory. He is really bright.

Si Secretary Briones naman, she's a good public servant, the National Treasurer, and she's a brilliant co-worker in government.

Caesar Dulay pati ito, si Bello, kaharap kami sa dormitoryo. Ang roommate ko, si Yasay. Ang magka-roommate, ito, puro mga puro Ilocano 'to. Dulay is from Baguio.

Bebot sa— from Isabela. Ito yung mga lead basketball player namin noon sa dormitoryo. Pero sa awa ng Diyos, hirap na maglakad silang dalawa. [laughter] Puro operasyon na lang. Bebot, I don't know what happened.

Dulay, I think, dito banda. Mga kasama ko sa gobyerno, my co-workers, mga kababayan.

Hindi rin ako orator, si Sonny yan. He won the Voice of Democracy when we were in high school. It used to be an American funded— mga program. Dalawa ang taga-Davao, nanalo. One was an Indian but itong isa si Sonny. Nasabi naman nila lahat.

Gusto ko lang sabihin sa inyo na salamat po sa tulong ninyo sa akin. [applause] I am just an ordinary worker of government. Wala man akong credentials na pareho sa kanila na mga Ame— wala akong American education. Hanggang Pilipinas lang po ako, pero

ang tulong ninyo sa akin ang mas importante. It is not really my credentials, but maybe, I can give you a commitment of good faith.

Huwag na ako magyabang ng honesty-honesty. Lahat naman tayo, feet of clay. Pero noong— maski noong estudyante pa kami, we knew each other and we used to measure the character from one, from the other. Kaya kami nagsama nang matagal, it's because there were times sa pagsama namin na makikita mo yung karakter ng tao.

So nagkakilala kami, became lawyers and when I won, kinuha ko sila kasi makatulong. So yan ang istorya lang namin. That's the long and short of our pagsasama. We were then, friends and we are still friends and I knew then as I know now that I really can count on them to help me.

Ito lang masasabi ko sa inyo. Yung kinolekta ninyo na pera para sa bayan, mapunta talaga sa bayan. Sigurado yan, wala kayong marinig. I assure you that you will never hear a story about us going into transactions or yung mga overpriced-overpriced. I will not allow it. I will never allow it. Yan lang kasi ipagyabang ko sa tao.

I've been mayor of Davao City for 23 years. One time, I was a congressman and one time, ako yung vice mayor ng anak kong si Inday. Yung panahon na yung binugbog niya yung sheriff. That's my daughter. Ang maaasahan ninyo, wala talaga, nothing. You will never—

Ako, honestly, honestly, I do not even have a number with— ito sila lahat. Wala ako yung tawag-tawag. Sabihin— you can tap all the wires in the world. You'll never hear me asking favor for myself or for somebody. Wala kayong— wala kayong makuha. I've never signed any voucher for any meal allowance. Ang kinukuha ko lang po diyan, sweldo lang. Tinitii ko lang yan. Kulang, kasi— well now, medyo maluwang na.

I think that— magkano sweldo ko, Bong? 200 ba? Kasi dalawa ang pamilya ko eh. [laughter] Yan ang problema diyan. (laughter) Kaya huwag kayong magsabi yang mga tsismis na may babae-babae. Kasi pagka dagdagan ko pa ng isa yan, ang labas ko dito, graft and corruption talaga. Sigurado yan.

Eh magpasok ka ng— itong akin, dormitoryo-dormitoryo man lang ito noon. Taxi-taxi lang. Maghingì ng kotse, yung— itong repossess? Sabi ko, "huwag na." It will only generate— taxi-taxi ka na lang.

Mag-date kami eh di sa motel. Wala yung mga hotel-hotel na—

Ito, prangkahan talaga. Totoo eh, yun lang ang akin, walang— meron rin akong— eh nandiyan pa sila Father Balatbat. [laughter]

Lahat ng confessions ko sa kanya, kalahati noon, puro bakak. [laughter] Ang bakak, sinungaling. Kasi mahiya man ako magsabi nang totoo sa kanya, kaibigan kami eh. We all have feet of clay. Tao lang tayo.

Pero dito, sinasabi ko, hindi lang sa inyo, and sumasaludo ako because of the impressive performance of the BIR at the helm of BIR Commissioner.

Well, we're doing good. We're doing good. Ang ano lang sa atin is yung law and order. I hope to— I pray to Allah that these things will past as soon as possible. We're winding up there but itong— kung sana, MI lang pati MN, we are still talking until now. Ang problema dito, yung mga extremists na home-made, napasukan ng another extremists na mga ulol, itong ISIS.

And pagka yan ang nagdami sa Mindanao, probably we will have a dismembered country. I'm warning you. At tsaka itong sa federalism, it seems to be a distant star sa taong Pilipino. Sabihin ko na lang ngayon sa inyo and you remember me when all there has—

It will come to pass at maalaala ninyo ako. If we do not reconfigure, at least, an arrangement where we can accommodate our Moro brothers in Mindanao, for historically, talagang nauna man rin sila doon. They were the original natives of Mindanao converted to Islam. So sila yun.

Long before Magellan landed diyan sa Leyte. Almost all of the tribes in Mindanao, Islam na. So when it was conquered by the Spaniards, no, rather subjugated, that's the word. They were only able to establish control sa periphery.

But in the heartland, ngayon ang Central Mindanao, Lanao. And as a matter of fact, nobody but nobody set foot diyan sa Jolo na yan. Walang Amerikano nakapunta diyan.

And yet because of the Treaty of Paris, ending the war between Spain and America, nasali yan.

So arbitrarily, I would say but that is the reality. Kaya sabi ko sa mga kapatid kong mga Moro, you just have to take into account the reality on the ground now. Mas marami ang Kristiyanos dito and I suppose pag pinilit ninyo yan, there will be a bloodbath. And in control is the government of the Republic of the Philippines. Sabi ko sa kanila, mag-usap. So I am ready to talk to everybody.

The huge expense that I have to— you know I have to— If there is war, alam mo, isang bullet ng M-16, it's about 150 now. Imagine, isang putok, 150. Isang magazine could buy so many sacks of rice.

Kaya it's a debilitating thing itong— so as much as possible, we have to talk. Now, I am asking you to reconsider your paradigm about— because itong unitary type was the form set in place by the Spaniards when they were here.

It's a unitary type and everything is controlled in imperial Manila. Kaya imperial, kasi ako, nakita na diyan, even the slightest movement. Kagaya magpunta kayo ng Amerika. Kami, we have to go to Malacañan for this and that.

You have to get rid of this thing actually. Loosen up a bit. And just give to the Moro people yung resources na kanila. If you have been to Lanao, my grandmother is from there. Kaganda ng Lake Lanao, ang laki. It could sustain life for everybody in Mindanao. It just could be developed, then, geared to a productive and, the distribution is equal.

I think that I can guarantee not really a prosperous, malayo pa yan. It could never come during my time. Maybe, a little bit of comfort in life. Yan lang ang masasabi ko sa inyo because I need money and we have so many expenses to share with everybody including giyera dito.

I have to go to— I have to fund the military. I have to reorganize the police. I need 20,000 new soldiers, it's depleted. At ang police, I would need about 10 battalions of SAF-trained to assure— at hahawakan mo talaga ang—

I have to do all of these things, so I need really— I'm quite desperate kung saan kukunin yung— I hate wars. Nobody wants it. Money goes out of— walang kakwenta-kwenta, patayan lang. But nandiyan eh, and it's all over the world.

Baka nga ito si Kim Jong-un, yung tarantado. You know, if that guy— I do not think that he is ready but he is playing with dangerous toys, yang buang na yan. Di mo makakumpiyansahan yung mukha, chubby na parang mabait. Ang (putang-ina) niya, ano pala, yung maniac eh.

Magkamali ito, then the Far East will become an arid land. It must be stopped itong nuclear war because a limited confrontation and it blows up here, sabihin ko sa 'yo, the fallout would— deplete the soil, its resources at ewan ko kung anong mangyari sa atin.

Wala na tayong matanim na productive and all of these things. So let us all pray to God na somehow itong gago na 'to, ma-ano mo. But right now tayo, we are still suffering from poverty actually. Yung nakikita ko, papunta dito, yung mga stalls na nasa sidewalk. Ako, kaya yan ang masiguro ninyo: lahat ng tao, ke mayaman o mahirap, yung elite pati yung mga humahawak ng lupa sa gobyerno, one is Inquirer, Kung magsalita ang Inquirer, when they attack us in government, it is as if we are really a band of robbers out to—

Yung sila, they have been holding the property for almost 50 years then they were able to negotiate. Pero wala na. There's no valid contract. They have to surrender it now because I need the money para gawaan ko, I can promise you, you have my word: This will be intended for the poor guys there, maghanap ako ng lupa and build them something of the— what you would call a home. Yan ang plano ko. Yan lahat yan. They must return everything, including an accounting of how much they collected all these years when they are not—

Abogado man tayo. Yung lease contract, nag-expire. You continue to lease it, which is not yours, the property, then you continue to collect. So what does that mean? It means swindling on a large scale because that is money that you should surrender. Magbayad ka doon sa BIR ng tama, doon sa may-ari ng lupa. Then ito, and if I could prove, which I am studying now na yan ay economic sabotage, then I will file cases against them for economic sabotage. Then I will not allow bail. Makatikim rin sila, ang mga mayaman for at— once in their life, makapasok sila ng presuhan.

That is why, I am very careful. Ayaw ko talagang ma-ano. I do not entertain yung makiusap, ganon. Sabi ko, I do not even know the number of these guys. And I have never, never, never in my life, magtanong na kayo diyan sa Intelligence o you can wiretap us, wala ako ni minsan, since I became President, ni isa sa kanila wala akong tinawagan.

Tumawag ako kay Panelo but I was asking for a fashion kung ano ang isuot ko because he's the—[laughter] he is the fashion guru of— what would be an appropriate thing if you are wearing diagrams or checkered or whatever. Siya yung magsabing, “Hindi bagay. Dito ka lang sa maong mo, corduroy, yan lang ang bagay sa iyo, pati barong.” So I would have to take his word for it. Yan lang. Totoo.

And I am dead serious. Hindi ako maging ganon ka— ka-ano. If I am not careful myself, babagsak rin ako. Babagsak rin ako. Makikita ng mga military pati pulis na ganon, tapos sila, ganon pa rin ang hirap sa buhay, magku-coup ‘état yan, especially if you do not take care of Marawi.

There's a lot to be a rehab. I have lost so many soldiers and policemen and I have to go into a long-term therapy sa tinamaan— 1,000 plus na yan sila.

May isa pa akong sabihin sa inyo ha? I just like to discuss, tatal, pareho tayong gobyerno. Do not mind about speeches, I do not deliver speeches actually. I dialogue with my audience.

Itong lowest bid. Ito ang pinaka-source sa corruption. So sinabi ko kila Drilon kagabi, nagkita man kami, pati sila Ping, sila Honasan, Chiz Escudero: “Do something about this”. Yang lowest bid, yun talaga ang pinaka-corrupt. Ang lowest bidder is a 1-2-3 guy. Pag manalo yan, it would be a miracle if you really get something of your money's worth that is really the appropriate price as the lowest bid.

All yan, I've been campaigning the entire length and breadth of the country. I have seen, nag-landing ako kasi parang basketball court only to find out, sabi ko, “Ano ‘to?” Sabi, “Ano yan, Mayor, yung runway yan, hindi pa natapos.” (expletive) Tapos, pinatignan ko doon sa records, tapos na.

Meron pa dito isang probinsya, criss crossing ang highway. Parang may circumferential road, lahat. Doon sa papel. Pag pinuntahan mo yung lugar, anak ng pu— ayon, isang highway lang.

This has to stop. This has to stop. It is not only bleeding, it's naghe-hemorrhage ang taong bayan sa pera ng— kaya ako, since I really hit hard against corruption, I myself, I do not entertain yung mga ke patulong, sorry. I am not really up to it now kasi talagang pag may amoy ako—

Yung asawa ko nga, you know my wife, ayon, mga taga-BIR ng Davao, reklamo yan kasi maraming collection, may pahabol pa. Sabi ko, "Bayaran mo lang." But she is also making good. Ganon lang yan but she started itong doughnut when I was a congressman and that would be around 1999— 1990.

Wala ako, pag sabi, "kolekta," sabi ko, "bayaran mo yan." Sumobra ka, bahala na, sabi ko. Eh ngayon, marami ng negosyo, medyo mayaman, sabihin mo, a few millions in her pocket kasi marami na siyang doughnut, about 12, 13. Tapos, lahat ng— hindi ka man mayaman, eh syempre, asawa ka ng mayor, magsabi ka doon sa mall na magpabili ka ng meat, eh di syempre accommodated ka, wala namang corruption diyan eh.

Kaya lang, pagbibigyan ka talaga. O, siya na ang may hawak ng baboy ngayon, halos kanya na— so hinahayaan ko lang kasi bright eh. And she started her business even when she was an OFW. Asawa ko. Totoo yan. She was far away but she was running her doughnut. Babayad kami. Magkolekta kayo sobra, we will pay. Sobrahan pa ninyo, sige lang. Pangatlong kolekta, sabi ko, "(expletive), barilin mo na yang yawa na yan. [laughter] Nakaw na ito." [laughter]

Hindi, totoo, we will abide. I will abide by all rules sa ano, whatever. Kasi ayaw kong babalikan ako. Babalikan mo ako, ibang bagay. Sa totoo lang. Babalikan mo ako. If you— may mga taga-Davao, tanungin mo. May resbak yan pero never sa pera. I have always— you know why? You know why? Well, yung yang Ombudsman, wala pa yan. There was a time, may— an office was created known as the Tanodbayan, if you remember.

Ako yung isa sa dalawa sa Mindanao na Tanodbayan Special Prosecutor, at the same time, ako yung isang piskal doon. So I had a dual task at that time. So I have prosecuted so many cases. Kaya magaling ako diyan sa dokumento, yung how it is done, yung presentation ng documents. Kaya isip-isip ko kung ako ang ma— kahirap na mabuhay na ito, once upon a time, you were there prosecuting people for graft and corruption, tapos, ikaw na ngayon. That would be an irony in life that I must avoid even at the cost of my life.

Pero itong sabi ko, hindi lang kasi nakinig, silang iba eh. I made a solemn promise also na I want my city then, you know, yung iba ang tingin kasi nila sa akin isang mayor lang na palagoy-lagoy kasi Davao eh. But in theory, actually, and which is really my paradigm, I am there to serve.

So when I became mayor, I said, nandiyan pa o, Dulay was working for Alsons sa— Bebot, sila rin. Alcantara and Sons sa Davao. Sonny was— Sonny owns the Marco Polo. May discount kayo lahat doon. Sabihin mo lang, BIR ka. [laughter] He owns the Marco Polo of Davao. Mayaman na talaga dati eh.

Nag-promise ako, sabi ko, I am not— to myself— well, I am a mayor but I am tasked to build a city. So from noon, kayo nakakita what Davao is now, then alam ninyo kung anong nangyari.

But I have said to everybody, I am trying to, you know, make the city tolerable to live in, even just to live. Sabi ko, start behaving and do not – with me. So there was this sloganeering, I said, “do not destroy my city because I will kill you. Do not do drugs in this city because you will drag the young people of my city into perdition. Do not deprive us of our— mga anak namin kasi mahirap lang kami.

Pagdating ng panahon, yung mga anak namin ang magbili sa amin ng lugaw, to buy the medicines, pay for the hospitals and minsan, may mga lupa-lupa, sinasangla pa just so that you would live.

Yun ang burden ng buhay ng Pilipino. Saan kami papunta kung yung anak kong inaasahan, ginagawa mo na ng gago? Saan ako mag-asa ngayon lalo na yung mga OFW? Ang kanilang tatay, nasa Kuwait; ang nanay, nasa Saudi. They work their ass to death. Sometimes, they are abused and raped with no recourse. They come home pregnant.

They work back-breaking jobs, para kumita lang, para magpadala ng pera dito sa Pilipinas, makapag-aral ang mga anak. Then you start to (expletive) things. Kaya ganon. Sabi ko, “Do not destroy.” I never said, “I will kill you.” I never said, “I will order the police to kill you.”

My orders to the police and the military is to destroy the organization, the apparatus. Now, if you happen to be there and you are a killable idiot there, pasensya ka. What I said is that, “Do not destroy my city because I will kill you.” Ako. “Do not destroy them with drugs because I will kill you.”

When I became President, sinabi ko, lahat ng mayor, ipinatawag ko two months ago. Sinara ko yung Malacañan. Three batches. Ang rami ng mayor eh. Sinabi ko sa kanila, “(expletive) ninyo, huwag ninyo akong lokohin.” Pag na— papatayin ko kayo. Yung naniwala— Ganun ang warning ko.

As President, I will not allow myself to look stupid in front of the world and allow the country to degenerate into— hindi ako papayag. Not in my time at least. Huwag mong gawain sa akin yan.

Sabi ko, protektado ko lahat ng pulis pati military nagtatrabaho. Kung nagtatrabaho yan, nakita ko naman, depensa ko, eh utos yan eh. Destroy the apparatus. You cannot fight drugs just like an ordinary stabbing incident or mga gang war. Eh itong human rights, sabi ko, biro lang naman yang— “I will abolish you.” I need Congress to do that. Eh di nile-lecturan pa ako ng mga ulol, hindi ko raw magawa yan. Alam ko.

Iyon namang kay— biro ko kay Ombudsman, sinabi ko na huwag kayong mag-report kay Ombudsman, patawag kayo. That was really an offshoot of a remark na I goaded people, goad is a— para bang ini-imbyerna mo to kill people. I never said that. I said “criminal”. There is no law made here or in heaven which says, you not kill— you cannot kill an idiot, a criminal destroying your country and your people.

Iyan ang warning ko, sa lahat. Sabi ni PNoy, parang walang nangyari. Sige, pumasok ka sa droga, PNoy, pag hindi kita pinutulan ng ulo, buang ka. (laughter) Anong walang nangyari? (expletive) Gago pang mga— mga generals mo, yang aide mo. Yung aide ni Roxas, puro nasa droga, konektado. Number one diyan yung bata ninyo, si General Loot, isa pa yang ulol na yan.

I mentioned his name during— pinatawag ko sila. Ewan ko, nandito si Loot. (expletive) mo, huwag mo akong takut-takotin general ka.

It binds everybody. And I am ready to face the consequences. If it means death, so be it. If it means going to prison, walang problema yan. All you have to do is to read. Wala man rin akong problema sa lamok because hanggang ngayon, even if you go to Malacañan, nagmumuskitero talaga ako. I can just scrub my— whatever part of my body, sige lang ako basa.

Basta yun ang sabi ko. Sa panahon ko, ayaw ko yan. So take note, kayong mga kriminal, madali talaga kayong mamatay. Eh kasi kung nandiyan kayo—

Eh ako naman sa pulis, istrikto ako. But if they are really there fighting and kung magkakaso, then you can read the newspaper how I would react.

Naturalmente, pag sinabi ko, “Destroy the apparatus,” tapos sabi nila, “Ito ang nangyari, sir. Nag-serve kami ng ano, ng ano.” You know, yang search warrant, yang binibira nila kay ano, that is really for convenience. Because a warrant of arrest can really be served any time of the day or night. Iyong sabi, preferably on daytime, but kung ang operation ng shabu is not carried on during daytime because there is light, the police can go there any time convenient for them to arrest.

And I will stand by the police there. Wala naman nagta-transaction, naga-unload ng shabu ng araw. In public view? That’s crazy. Huwag kayong sumunod diyan. I will answer for it. I will say I ordered it. Bakit inano yung pulis? Who would be stupid enough to carry on a shabu business daylight? It’d be crazy. Di pagka ganun, huwag ka na lang magtrabaho, tulog na lang kayo.

You must, at least, give them the— at tsaka, at the first sign of violence, pagka ganun, patayin mo. Tama man sinabi ni ano, “I would rather see dead criminals than—” (expletive), may pamilya rin ito.

Ito, sabihin mo, may pamilya yung pinatay, eh yung mga pulis pala, wala? Iyan ang mahirap diyan because they look at criminals as— itong human rights, itong mga human rights guys, they look at criminals as if they are saints. Para bang walang kasalanan na summary na pinatay. Gago itong sa— kaya masakit ang salita ko sa kanila. Eh (expletive) eh. Kung hindi ka— kung ganun ka ka-(expletive), paano mo maintindihan trabaho ng pulis, trabaho ko?

Corruption, ganun rin. So that is my message. It might really be harsh as it may sound to you, but that is my character. Ganun talaga ako, maski nung estudyante pa kami. And they would not apologize for me, but they know ganun talaga ang bunganga ko.

Even when we were sa law school, ganun talaga ang bunganga ko. Kasi pag hin— itong Pilipinas, pag hindi ganun ang bunganga mo ay (expletive). Pareho ka doon sa isa, yung sinundan ko? [laughter] Walang intindi ito— walang ginawa, never delivered an extemporaneous. Sa amin yan, copying. Nagka-copy, reading the—

Maalaala ko nga pala si, pinakamabait na— pinakamabait, I don’t know if he was really that strict, si Ong. Si— dumaan ng BIR ninyo noon? Yun, mabait. Yun talaga, mabait. I don’t know if—but mabait yun. Kasi examination, mag-ano kami ng libro. Tapos, magbasa kami, ito si Ong, ambait niyan, magbasa ng Time magazine yan. “Oh, oh, oh do not copy. There is— eh. This is an examination. Do not hold your books there.”

Tapos, “Oh, oh, oh you are talking there again. Do not talk because this is an examination.” Ganun lang.

Di kagaya— sino dumaan kay Solidum? Eh professor ko yun, dumaan kayo dito lahat? Ito, ito. Ateneo man yan sila, San Beda ako. But we were together in one dormitory sa YMCA.

Meron kaming isang professor, I will end my story.

Hindi niya ma-pronounce yung— yung mapu— si Justice Solidum. Napakabagsik talaga nun. Pag dumaan ka diyan. Ang ma-pronounce niya, last – ang last syllable, “Te!” Tindig rin ako, tindig rin si Duterte—ahh, si Duterte, si Villafuerte, sa Bicol. Sabay tingin siya ng ganun, “Ay, God damn it. I only called Villafuerte! You are Duterte! You sit down.” [laughter]

“You!” Sabi ko, “Sir, sorry, sir. Because I did not—,” yan si Solidum eh. Sino ba dumaan kay Solidum? “Sir, I did not hear my name, sir.” “Ahh, because you’re always talking at the back! God damn it! Come here!” Kaya bunganga namin, God damn it ang ano, maski na—

Pag-upo doon sa itaas— “Okay. Villafuerte, sit down. You recite. Stay here in the front, in the front.” Punta ako sa front. Front lang ako, ganun lang ako. Sabi niya, “Start to recite, God damn it. What?” Sabi ko, “Sir, there’s no question yet, sir.” [laughter] Sabi pa, “Ay, God damn it, Duterte. Do not scratch your dandruff in this room!” [laughter] “Leave it in your head, that is the only one you have!” [laughter]

Kaya graduate kami sa ano, eh di bunganga ko, ganun rin. [laughter] “God damn it, Duterte, because you are always talking at the back! Come here!”

So yun ang dinaanan namin. Ginaganon ko lang pero hindi naman ganun ka-ano, pero ganung style na ano. That’s the old school of thought and the old— a generation that really, was better, a lot better than us, I suppose.

Maraming salamat po. (applause)

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