Presidential Communications Operations Office

Presidential News Desk

TÊTE-À-TÊTE

BETWEEN

PRESIDENT RODRIGO ROA DUTERTE

AND

CHIEF PRESIDENTIAL LEGAL COUNSEL SALVADOR PANELO

[Malacañan Palace | 11 September 2018]

SEC. PANELO: Magandang araw po, Ginoong Pangulo.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Good afternoon, Sal. How are you?

SEC. PANELO: Ako ho okay, ewan ko kayo pero mukha naman kayong okay dahil 'yung mukhang 'yung kutis ninyo maganda ngayon. Wala 'yung sinasabi ni Joma Sison na maitim 'yung magkabilang...

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Nasunog na naman ulit kasi nung sa disyerto. I was invited by King Abdullah of Jordan to witness an exercise doon sa disyerto and again I forgot to apply the --- ipinadala ng asawa ko.

SEC. PANELO: Iyong ointment.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Maitim na naman but hindi na bale basta gwapo ka lang okay na.

SEC. PANELO: Eh marami hong natutuwa na nag-decide kayo na magkaroon ng pagkakataon makita kayo sa telebisyon at marinig ang inyong tinig at talakayin ang mga paksain na interesado ho ang mga tao. Sapagkat napansin po nila na during your travels, napakaigsi ng panahon na naibibigay sa mga reporters na magtanong dahil nga sa kakulangan ng oras at dahil nga sa sobrang trabaho ninyo kaya halos wala ng panahon. And

mabuti naman ho and you decided na magkaroon ng ganito. Now marami hong mga katanungan ang mga tao pati media at isa sa kanila ay --- 'yung mga kritiko lalo po ninyo sinasabi nilang bakit naman itong administrasyon na ito ay naka-focus yata upang i-silence 'yung mga kritiko instead na 'yung mga mas mahalagang bagay ang asikasuhin. Ano po bang masasabi natin dito? You are focusing daw more on the --- silencing your critics?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: I have yet to hear... I have yet to sign anything ordering the arrest or the silencing of anybody in this government especially the critics.

The fact that they are doing it everyday only goes to show that I am giving them the time of their lives to just talk and talk and talk. Wala naman... It's an invented phrase kasi 'yang "silencing".

Eh pati 'yung kay De Lima. The entire country knows that. She has a pending case, no bail. She is being detained. And everywhere I go it seems to be that they were able to --- itong left --- were able to place the news in a wrong perspective that De Lima is being detained and she is a prisoner of conscience.

Well, of course, 'yung lahat ng Pilipino, to us Filipinos that's --- that's crazy because... It's in court, it's being heard and she have had a --- her days of explaining it to the public. Aside from that wala na.

Iyon namang kay Trillanes it's just only two of them. May nakita kasi si SolGen Calida na mali. Eh pagka mali, mali is mali. Hindi mo talaga macorrect 'yan.

And one of the glaring mistakes of the Aquino administration was to extend an amnesty. But the procedure was totally wrong in the sense that he just issued the proclamation, no particular names, it was a motherhood statement to cover the individual and any of the acts of the mutineers.

Ang problema niyan, he designated Gazmin to investigate and there was a committee. And that committee came up with the resolution to grant amnesty. On that basis, Gazmin wrote to the President that they are recommending amnesty. Correct. Walang problema 'yan.

The problem is after recommending, at the end of the narration, the narratives there, Gazmin signed the amnesty itself. You know, it is not possible to do that. Why? Because an act of pardon or amnesty is an act of

state. It cannot be delegated to anybody but to the person or the president himself.

It's not a circular that is being followed by the secretaries or a procedure prescribed by the Office of the President. That ain't the case. Eh 'yung presidente mismo in the Constitution exclusively grants him the power to pardon an amnesty.

Look why? You know because the action now taken against him by way of a criminal complaint is a very serious one, rebellion. Had it succeeded, it could have overthrown the government.

So that an act of pardon, an act of amnesty is always an act of state which cannot be done by a mere Cabinet member, especially if that Cabinet member was the one or was one of those who investigated and made the recommendation and approved the recommendation himself.

SEC. PANELO: In other words, Mr. President, you are saying that the power to grant amnesty and pardon is personal as well as exclusive ---

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Exclusive...

SEC. PANELO: --- to the President.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Yes, correct. It's an act of state.

SEC. PANELO: Just like the power to gra --- to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and to declare martial law.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Yes and to call Congress to special session. You cannot delegate it to the Executive Secretary.

SEC. PANELO: In fact, Mr. President, your doctrine --- you know, the doctrine that you are initiating now finds basis in the Supreme Court decision. In the case of Constantino vs. Cuisia G.R. No. 106064 promulgated on October 13, 2005. It says and I quote, "Nevertheless, there are powers vested in the President by the Constitution which may not be delegated to or exercised by an agent or alter ego of the President." Justice Laurel, in his ponencia in Villena case, made this very clear, and the decision quotes, "Withal, at first blush, the argument of ratification may seem plausible under the circumstances, it should be observed that there are certain acts which, by their very nature, cannot be validated by subsequent approval or ratification by the President. There are certain constitutional powers and prerogatives of the Chief Executive of the Nation which must be exercised by

him in person and no amount of approval or ratification will validate the exercise of any of those powers by any other person. Such, for instance, in his power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and proclaim martial law and the exercise by him of the benign prerogative of mercy." Now in that decision of Constantino, Justice Art Panganiban made this doctrine. "These distinctions hold true to this day. There are certain presidential powers which arise out of exceptional circumstances, and if exercised, would involve the suspension of fundamental freedoms, or at least call for the supersedence of executive prerogatives over those exercised by co-equal branches of government. The declaration of martial law, the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and the exercise of the pardoning power notwithstanding the judicial determination of guilt of the accused, all fall within this special class that demands the exclusive exercise by the President of the constitutionally vested power. The list is by no means exclusive, but there must be a showing that the executive power in question is of similar gravitas and exceptional import." Kaya 'yon pong sinasabi niyo merong justification, may ruling ang Korte Suprema. Hindi gaya ng mga sinasabi ng mga abogado ng kabila eh sabi nila, "eh mali 'yung sinasabi ng mga abogado ni Presidente sapagkat pwedeng i-delegate 'yung power to grant amnesty." Maling-mali po sila roon.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Ako ang nagsalita noong una niyan. I'm not saying that I claim exclusivity in the announcement.

But I was thinking over the matter coming home, sabi ko itong mga 'to, these are the powers that are granted to the President because they are --- they are supposed to fall in the category of an --- an action by the state.

Iyong mga ganun na klase na --- hindi pwede mong ma-delegate 'yan. Even if the President is sick, he cannot --- they have to wait until he dies or somebody takes over. But you cannot delegate that power to a subordinate, an alter ego because I said it is an exercise of a state power.

SEC. PANELO: Eh meron nga hong --- may logic naman sa sinasabi ng Korte Suprema sapagkat iyon pong power to declare martial law at saka suspension of the privilege involves the deprivation of freedoms, of rights.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Rights.

SEC. PANELO: Doon naman sa pardoning power, nagkaroon na ng determination 'yung isang branch ng government na guilty 'yan yet ino-

overturn ninyo. Kaya tama ho 'yung sinasabi nila na hindi pupwedeng idelegate sa ibang tao.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Nakita mo na as serious as a rebellion. Had it succeeded, it could have caused government to overthrow --- they could have overthrown government. So that's a very serious thing of pardoning a person who is out to destroy government.

So it is by no means just a mere infraction of the law. It is as serious as the existence of the government itself. So when you are called upon to task and to answer for that and if there is any pardoning or amnesty, may concurrence of Congress na.

It could not be Gazmin concurring with Congress. That is what it amounts to. In the first place, there is no special power of attorney or authority or whatever that the President left it to Gazmin to do it altogether in one --- and then to authorize him. To authorize him to investigate, I will concede to that.

But the act of granting amnesty with Gazmin and Congress concurring, it's just baffling. I don't know how to reconcile it. Iyon ang problema doon.

SEC. PANELO: In other words, Mr. President, even assuming that Trillanes was compliant --- compliant of the mandatory requirements of applying, under oath...

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Wala na ako doon.

SEC. PANELO: Wala pa rin doon sapagkat lumalabas ngayon na talagang nullity, complete nullity.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: I would rise and fall on the proposition that only the President himself physically doing the pardoning and granting the amnesty.

SEC. PANELO: In other words, iyon pong rason niyo eh more on legal grounds hindi gaya ng sinasabi ng kritiko na political daw 'yung naging dahilan.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: No, constitutional mandate. Mabigat 'yan. So pagka... If the Supreme Court would disagree with me, eh 'di --- that is a new development on jurisprudence and I would accept it.

Pero ako at first blush, any lawyer will always agree with me, that is personal and exclusive to the President of the Republic of the Philippines.

SEC. PANELO: Now, puntahan naman po natin 'yung mga agam-agam ng taong bayan. Palaging --- like 'yung critic niyong si Joma Sison. Sinasabi niya raw ikaw ay may sakit. Ano po bang masasabi niyo tungkol sa inyong kasalugan? Para marinig ng taong bayan ang inyong kasagutan dito.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Alam mo si Sison pati itong Magdalo. Sison, Magdalo pati itong mga ayaw sa akin, 'yung talagang hindi tumanggap sa akin ever since the election, they have combined. And we have the evidence and we have the conversation provided by a foreign country sympathetic to us.

We do not have that sophistication na --- but meron and the connection will be shown maybe any day now.

I asked that it be declassified at ipakita nila sa lahat. Nahihigop lahat eh. Alam nila 'yan. Nahihigop lahat. So they were in constant communication.

SEC. PANELO: Sa punto po ng kalusugan eh talagang malusog na malusog kayo gaya ng nakikita ngayon ng taong bayan. Now, pagdating naman po doon sa binabanggit niyong Joma Sison. Meron kayong binanggit po kasi na parang merong sabwatan o conspiracy doon sa tatlong grupo.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: They are. They are. It might be a loose conspiracy but they are into it. Sabay-sabay sila.

Ang sinasabi ko lang sa sundalo sa Republika ng Pilipinas: Just be careful. Just be careful na 'yung pagsabwatan ninyo diyan sa Magdalo. Because --- Magdalo is not all in agreement in membership to destabilize or overthrow the government.

Ako naman, I have stated my clear --- I said my clear stand on the matter. If the Armed Forces think that I am not competent, that I am not qualified to

be sitting here as President, I have discussed this matter with them in a command conference.

Bahala kayo. Inyo. If you want another President, fine. I will not allow you to fight your own soldiers kasi ako ang --- ako ang may walang tao diyan. Iyong pulis pati military, isa lang 'yan. So I would not allow my soldiers to kill another soldier or a policeman shooting another soldier. Eh kalokohan 'yan.

Kung kayong mga sundalo, tingnan ninyo, maniwala kayo kay Trillanes na bigyan kayo ng pangangailangan ninyo at 'yung hinihingi ninyo dumating sa inyo, go with them. I urge you to go to Trillanes.

Iyong kayong may nakita at nakita ninyong may gawa, may ginawa si Trillanes para sa inyo, go to them and stage a mutiny or revolution or whatever. You are free to do that. As a matter of fact, I am encouraging you para tapos na.

Trillanes, anong ginawa mo? Nagkalat ko. You committed a ruckus there sa Makati. Nakulong ka. Minumura mo lahat gobyerno. Ngayon pinardon (pardon) ka ni PNoy, nandiyan ka na sa gobyerno, ano ginawa mo? Anong ginawa mo maski konti na nakatulong sa sundalo?

Eh sabi ko nga sa Marawi, bakbakan na, namatay na 'yung mga sundalo pati 'yung mga pulis. Did I ever had the occasion to see you there?

Wala nga kayo. Simpatya lang 'yan inyo 'yung fraternity Magdalo, Magdalo. But you never really cared for the poor soldiers. Wala, wala kayong ano...

Ako binigyan ko kayo lahat ng firearms. Kasi wala ng fixed bayonet ngayon. Lahat ng sundalo binigyan ko kasi ini-Sparrow eh.

Ito I'm giving you a fighting chance. And when I said I doubled the salary, I doubled it long before Marawi. It was a campaign promise and I complied.

Pero kung tingnan ninyo mga sundalo na mas mabuti si Trillanes pati si Aquino, please kindly go to them and stage whatever you want. Ipakita mo sa buong Pilipinas na kaya ninyo.

SEC. PANELO: Now, Mr. President...

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: I am challenging Magdalo to start now. Kung sigurado ninyo na inyo ang sundalo, o fine. Kung kayong mga general, gusto eh 'di sige. Ipakita natin sa Pilipino kung ano gusto ninyo.

SEC. PANELO: Palagay ko po maliwanag naman 'yung hamon sa kanila. Now kaugnay naman po doon sa mga rebeldeng komunista, meron pong mungkuhi na since hindi --- mukhang hindi naman naniniwala na sila doon sa "national leadership" ng komunista, sa grupo ni Joma Sison. Meron pong mungkahi na kung pupwede raw bang ang local executives na ang makipagdialogue sa mga komunista.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: In the... At the end of the day, wala mang resources ang go --- itong mga DSWD, lahat 'yan sila. But more importantly, the major players there would be the local officials. Sila 'yung malapit sa tao eh.

Eventually, the leadership will wilt. Lalaya 'yan. Wala na kasi sila eh. There is no such thing as an ideology na komunista.

Iyong number one na Russia, doon nag-Bolshevik pati 'yung mga bright ng komunista, discredited. China, wala na. It's a capitalist country. Ano ba namang

gusto nitong mga NPA dito, except to kill. And they are complaining of human rights violation.

But everyday throughout the country, they are killing barangay captains, those sympathetic with the government. Pati sundalo, those are violations of... They are terrorists.

Sabihin mo let's try to count the body bags. Hindi nakalahati sa pinatay nila na mga sundalo noon pa.

Sison should face a trial sa --- talagang 'pag nahuli. Sison is a terrorist and as a terrorist, wala ng... Ako, I do not see any leeway or enough elbow room for him to move around.

SEC. PANELO: Now, Ginoong Pangulo, dalin ko naman po kayo sa sitwasyon sa Mindanao. Meron pong martial law doon. Ang tanong po ng maraming kritiko. Iyon bang deklarasyon ng martial law ay tumugon sa mga issues na brought about by the Muslim rebellion? Nakakatulong ba ito?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: It had lessened --- it has lessened criminality by and large. And the only way to do that is to conduct a survey amongst the people of Mindanao, the political leaders, they can call them. May mga number man 'yang mga istasyon and maybe can --- they can have --- conduct an interview or they can always ask their networks there to do the survey. Tingnan natin.

Wala man akong problema, Sal. I mean I --- we can thrive on a war zone. We can survive on a controlled condition. Para sa akin wala 'yan. Ngayon, it was the military because of the uprising sa Marawi. Marami namang namatay doon kaya that was the day that I was in Moscow negotiating to purchase more arms. But it was good that I was able to talk to President Putin last minute near the airport.

He was somewhere in Georgia and he called me that if I can wait for --- if I can wait for about six hours, he would be in Moscow. And just before I took off, I was given a chance, almost one hour.

Ako, si Defense Secretary Lorenzana pati si Cayetano pati si Bong. Nag-usap kaming tatlo at sinabi bibigay siya ng armas, libre, gratis, basta for --- against terrorism.

Kaya lang it came late because 'yung orders natin sa arms sa America nastymie because a congressman and the senators spoke against it.

Ngayon, 'yung last order natin ng Glock pistols, I was informed by Trust Trade na pumayag na raw because 'yung dalawang senador pumirma na daw.

I did not know that in America, a senator, a legislator can take part in the functions of the Executive department. Legislation lang talaga sila.

But if you need a clearance to buy, that's something new to us actually. Iyong ating sinusunod na Constitution which is very similar to their Constitution.

The fact that maybe they signed something to finalize the purchase. Ako naman hindi na ako interesado kasi medyo halos nabigyan ko na lahat sundalo. Few were taken from the soldiers violently. Iyong pinatay by --- 'yung mga Sparrow, the assassination. But by and large, it could give them the confidence of going around with a gun.

Alam mo ang Army kasi walang baril, walang sidearms. So they go out

naked. And I did not like it kasi pinagpapatay 'yung mga sundalo ko parang aso.

So sabi ko, this cannot go on. If you have to go out, just watch for the Sparrow at the back but use it to kill, if you have to kill them.

SEC. PANELO: Now, Mr. President, may mga nakausap akong mga negosyante, mamamayan sa Marawi, sa Mindanao, at sinasabi po nila na mas kalmado sila ngayon na merong batas militar sa area kaysa noon. Eh ang tanong ko po, to your personal knowledge, meron na po bang mga reklamo laban sa abuso ng military?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: That I don't know. Iyong mga checkpoint-checkpoint. But you know, those are my orders na 'yung plain view.

But if you are a suspect, you have to go down. Iyong ordinaryong mamamayan nagdaan, hindi naman kailangan kalkalin mo lahat eh.

But those who are suspected of transporting or traveling, escape, or are in the wanted list of the government, they have to go down. And that is my order and I take full responsibility of it.

Otherwise, walang ngipin itong martial law.

SEC. PANELO: Iyon pong sa Marawi, nasupil natin 'yung ISIS noon, terrorist group na 'yun. Pero kung meron ho bang pagkakataon na umatake na naman sila. Gaano kahanda ang pamahalaan upang sugpuin ito?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Well, we are not without limits actually, Sal. We cannot guard even the longest coastline. Eh coastline 'yan, per island kung bilangin mo 'yan. So it's the --- Philippines is very porous.

From the Pacific or from the Sulu Sea down to China Sea tapos paikot dito sa Taiwan. It's a really a vulnerable alleythere. It's a corridor where they can -- 'yung shabu pati 'yung armas.

Ang my only lament there is that there was this importer who ordered Ms --- no 80, 74. That is a 5.56. You can use the NATO. Ang sabi nila armalite,

5.56. In the hands of plenty of AK-74s. And it added power to the communist.

I would like see this person prosecuted not only for aiding the enemy, giving assistance, but it's an outright conspiracy.

SEC. PANELO: Now 'yun pong Bangsamoro Basic Law, matagal na ito'y ipinaglaban ng mga advocates dito at ito'y natuloy na napirmahan niyo. Eh ang tanong po ba, ito po ba'y makakabigay talaga ng solusyon sapagkat sinasabi ng mga ibang kritiko at mga taga-roon din, na ito'y hindi magbibigay solusyon? Ano hong palagay niyo rito?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Well, it will not satisfy all Mindanaoans and for those who are fighting --- which correctlydeclaimed as historical injustice, which is really true. They were the first Adam and Eve there.

Problem is this Bangsamoro Law must pass because if not, it would again create trouble there. It could be an irritation, it could be anger. It could be a way of just terminating all peace talks and going to war.

Marami tayo doon. We have the original insurgents, revolutionaries of the Bang --- of the Moro in Mindanao, which is purely territorial.

Iyong nawala ng lupa nila with the inroads and coming of civilization in Mindanao. Now, 'yun ang isa.

The other is the insurgents who have become true-blue, full-blooded revolutionaries. This time, it is not a question of territory anymore. It's a question of an Islamic world.

Iyan ang mahirap and until now, they are massing --- nung nakaalis na, they are losing --- they are being pounded heavily in the Middle East and they are looking for another headquarters.

It could not be in Indonesia because fundamentally, puro man sila --- there could be some skirmishes. It could not be Indonesia, Malaysia kasi puro Muslim 'yan sila and Brunei. The ideals --- area would really be Mindanao. There's a mixcrowd there. I think the Christians are predominant in number.

So if you want to kill infidels as they proudly claim. An infidel is one who is not a Muslim. I hope that they would not --- you know, insist on that

bankrupt and hollow ideology because it could be a reason for a communal war, a bad --- bloodbath.

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, meron pong mga lehitimong concern 'yung mga nasasakop ng Bangsamoro Basic Law gaya nila Nur Misuari, si Governor Sakur Tan, sinasabi po nila na ayaw nilang masakop doon sa grupo ng nasasakupan nung batas na 'yun. Eh ano pong magiging solusyon ng ating Pangulo dito?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: There are areas of --- claimed by the Bangsamoro and incorporated in the law. For example, ang Basilan, then you have Lanao. But Lanao del Norte is also included. Simply Governor Dimaporo does not want it.

He wants just the present situation to continue. So there's a stalemate there. And of course, Misuari until now has really hanged onto his horses.

So he's just waiting for the right, the most opportune time to talk to me and if not possible, then he can have his options.

Hindi ko mapigilan. But in the meantime, I am talking with Misuari. And because he's a man of his word, medyo kampante pa ako ngayon.

But there's always a time for reckoning. And they cannot wait forever. So somehow, someday, something has got to give. So that is how Mindanao is.

Now, if we can talk to reason, to prevail over everybody, it would be something like we will just all agree and if it's acceptable to the others, we will create the Bangsamoro country and incorporate it in the Constitution as an autonomous region. Maybe just like Hong Kong, China. Give it more leeway and, of course ang --- the number one...

Alam mo, sa totoo lang Sal, sino ba 'yung nagsabi, "legalize gambling?" Mura ang bigas galing Sabah.

Actually kung hayaan mo lang ang ating authorities diyan, kung ang mga taga-Basilan lang, Jolo, Zamboanga magbili ng bigas, sobra-sobra ang bigas kasi mura.

So that's one option which I would like to talk about --- not really to agree to it entirely --- but talk to about Sonny Dominguez, Pernia, and I don't know kung nandito si DTI.

Now kung magbili sila ng bigas doon and if they are allowed, walang problema sa gutom. Talagang mura ang bigas doon. But wala tayong ano, wala tayong... We don't have anything there.

Kung i-barter nila, whatever it is, what arrangement, we'll just have to control the rice diyan sa mga Moro. Baka sabihin nila ginugutom sila, and the Christians who cannot really afford the rice.

So there are really many options. Maybe just give me about --- tutal nandiyan na 'yung setup. I'll just set up the barter trade again.

And up to Jolo or Siasi, depending on the --- kung papayag ang mga --- the Finance people. Hindi tayo ganun kadesperado kung if we allow the Moro to...

Ako, kung talagang walang supply na totoo, but we have about 4.8 million metric tons of... Paano tayo magkaroon ng...? Meron pang dadating na inimport (import).

'Yung iba, nandiyan lang talaga sa bodega. Ang sinabi ko naman sa mga trader, I... It seems to be --- ayaw kong mag... But left with no choice and the lack of rice is artificial, the shortage is caused by man-made manipulation, I will not hesitate to...

Kasi may bigas eh. Import man lang tayo nang import. Hindi naman tayo naghinto hanggang ngayon and more are coming.

So why are --- sabihin mo na nawala 'yung bigas. Eh kung tingnan mo 'yan, it's in the warehouses.

SEC. PANELO: So ano pong ginagawa ng pamahalaan tungkol dito dahil sinasabi nating walang rice shortage and yet wala silang mabili sa mga lugar na kanilang dapat bilihan?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: 'Yan nga ang sabi ko, 'yung iba kino-control. They are back into it again, the bad practice of manipulation to make money at the expense of your own countrymen. 'Yan ang ayaw ko.

Kaya I do not want to exercise extraordinary powers there. You haven't seen me --- sino bang ikinulong ko dito? Sino bang...?

Well, I threatened those who refused to pay. Sabi nila, "diktador." In what way? Show me. Aside from 'yung campaign ko against drugs.

Kung 'yan ang basis ninyo, then I'm sorry, it will continue. Because if I renege now in my campaign against drugs, which is a worldwide expansion sa lahat na...

Ang drugs natin is not controlled by the Philippines anymore. Bamboo Triad. Siya 'yung humahawak niyan that's why wala ng laboratories dito.

Alam nila papatayin talaga sila eh. Alam nila papatayin ko talaga sila. So they rely on 'yung tinatapon tapos lagyan ng GPS.

Kasi 'yung dito, talagang yayariin ko sila. Wala nang ta --- huwag na akong mag-tago-tago. If you destroy my country, I will --- I will destroy you.

If you destroy our daughters and our sons, I will also destroy you. 'Yan lang. I will just return the favor.

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, 'yung binanggit niyo po sa rice shortage, ibabalik ko lang ng konti. Meron kayong binanggit na kailangang iraid 'yung mga warehouses at baka maraming nagtatago doon. Ano po ba ang latest nito? Have you ordered the raiding of these warehouses para malaman natin kung sino ang mga orders?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Jason Aquino has requested that he be relieved already.

SEC. PANELO: Relieved from?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: He said that he's tired and he cannot cope up with the --- laro diyan sa inside which is always ordinary happening in government because we cannot be in agreement all the time. I will scout for a new one.

And the only way is to import more. Mag-buffer ako. Ang sinabi ko noon, ang buffer ko, I need about 60 days of buffer. Ngayon, kung magkakulang, I would simply open up Sabah.

Eh 'pag Sabah, magbili tayo, sabi nga 'yung si --- I think it was Piñol who said that "you would allow smuggling".

Doon --- 'yun pala ang ibig niyang sabihin. Akala ko ang outright smuggling na anywhere. Sabi ko, "Go. We can always make arrangements."

I can only say, "You are allowed to buy your daily consumption plus seven days, plus 30 days, 365 a year? Computed per family?"

O you can import this much. Controlled lang. Sabihin mo walang bigas? O sige. Doon, tag 16, 18. O 'di bilihin ninyo. Bakit ko isakripisyo ang Pilipino dahil lang sa taxes kung wala namang kinakain?

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, meron po ba tayong programa kaugnay doon sa... Kasi ang pagkakaalam ko, kahit nung bata pa ako eh, 'yung mga tagaibang bansa nagpunta dito, nag-aral kung papaano papalaguin ang pagtanim ng palay. At sila'y --- nung bumalik sa kanila, eh tayo na ang bumibili sa kanila. In other words, parang may problema tayo ng pag-produce ng palay dito sa ating bansa. Do we have any program to improve on this?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Yes. In some places, we are doing it. Meron tayo dito na mga new crops of quality.

Ang problema talaga dito weather. Also, you must reckon with... There's another one coming by the way. It will hit you by next day, so better prepare to just take a break and lie down.

Ang --- ganito kasi ang history. Gusto kong malaman ng Pilipinas. Right after the war po, everybody was scrambling to rebuild their countries, their nations, we were second to Japan, they say. And they keep on hammering it until we became third, fourth, fifth.

You know, somebody must understand at the very least that may ibinigay ang Panginoong Diyos sa ibang tao na hindi ibinibigay sa atin. And what is that?

So while everybody was rebuilding their nations, they also worked on their resources natural, oil.

Indonesia struck oil, Malaysia struck oil. Brunei has plenty of it. The Philippines had none.

So 'yang langis, kita mo na 'pag import ng langis, taas ang presyo ng gulay, taas ang presyo ng pagkain, taas ang presyo ng pamasahe. Kasi nga 'yang may mga ibang bansa na binigyan ng Panginoong Diyos ng oil which would --- it's about two-thirds of our movement.

Lahat makita mo sa --- lahat dito, puro oil 'yan. You cannot --- hindi mo mastart 'yung machinery mo to build those kinds of mga ganun. Itong lamesa, pati itong baso without an equipment or a machine.

SEC. PANELO: Na kailangan.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Ang makina niyan, anong ipinapaandar? Eh 'di oil. Just like 'yung sakyanan. Wala man tayo niyan. We do not have in abundance, the supply of oil. We had to buy it and we are always at the mercy of the international play of oil.

Hindi ka man narinig sa Indonesia nagkaroon sila ng crisis doon ah because may oil sila. 'Yan ang hindi ibinigay ng Panginoong Diyos sa atin. Hindi 'yan ang explanation, but one of the things kung bakit ganito tayo.

Kay kung may oil lang tayo, eh 'di hindi na tayo mag-import, maggamit tayo ng oil natin. So it constitutes about how much? Pamasahe, pagkain.

Ang second diyan is I am ordering the police and the military to dismantle all checkpoints. Lalo na ang military to enforce kasi sa bukid sila.

Kasi 'yung mga DENR, well of course with due respect to 'yung mga NFA, 'yung mga wade --- 'yan diyan ang nakawan eh. Diyan 'yung magbigayan tapos added to the cost of the --- pagdating dito, mahal na. If I can just have my way na if I can travel tapos all the way to the length and breadth of Luzon, tignan ko lang kung ano pa.

Sinasabi ko, hayaan mo na. You fight the communists on the side. Eh wala ka namang makitang sundalo diyan sa highway, bakit ka mag...? You do the skirmishes outside kasi it would affect the economic life of the country.

'Pag nandiyan pa 'yang mga Bureau of Fisheries, lahat 'yan pati 'yung NFA. Kaya recently I ordered the relief of all dito sa Nueva Ecija. And kinakausap ko 'yung mga tao --- Pilipino --- Filipino people just to report it and I will --- nandiyan 'yung 8888 eh.

I-ano mo lang --- ilagay mo lang kung saan, kung lagyan mo ng pangalan, 'pag hindi i-report mo lang and I will call the police maybe there or the appropriate agency to do something about it.

SEC. PANELO: Now, Mr. President, ang pangunahing suliranin ngayon ng ating mga kababayan ay 'yung pagtaas ng presyo ng mga bilihin. Talagang isang malaking dagok sa kanila 'yun. Sabi niyo po kanina, tayo'y walang langis dito kaya napupwersa tayong mag-angkat. Eh tumaas po ang presyo ng langis kaya nagkaroon ng reaction. Ang tanong po ng mga kababayan natin, ano po bang pwedeng gawin ng pamahalaan maliban pa doon sa binanggit niyo kanina?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Well, sabi ng mga economic managers natin, all throughout the --- except August, we were hitting six plus, four plus lang on the average.

Now, I am not denying because everybody in this planet Earth is suffering. We have our own problems. We cannot escape that kind of thing about prices. It has not lowered any in a nutshell.

Pataas nang pataas talaga 'yan. Pataas nang pataas.

SEC. PANELO: Taas ng inflation rate.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: At saka 'yung inflation rate, medyo mataas.

Now as I have said, the economic managers are working on it. They were having a conference, a Cabinet meeting right after this, then I'll have the chance also to ask questions.

'Yun lang ang masabi ko. Kaya nga 'yung Supreme Court ruling ngayon na ibinasura 'yung application ni Trillanes for a restraining order... Hindi ko pa nga nabasa eh.

Pero I just pointed out to you one outstanding feature which I think will spell the difference between who is right and who is wrong. And that is... Wala na 'yung akin sa application and narration of guilt.

Except that even if it's perfect, si Gazmin --- si Volts, kaibigan ko pa naman. Sir, this is not personal. I consider you a very good friend.

Siya 'yung nag ano ng commission --- nag-constitute ng commission tapos they investigated, then they recommended for amnesty. All. Tapos pati siya, he recommended to the President in a cover letter and then he signed the...

He was actually protecting Aquino. And there are --- all the time sa lahat ng ano, they were protecting Aquino.

SEC. PANELO: Now, Mr. President, ibalik ko po kayo doon sa rising prices. Is it reasonable to assume and to assure the public na dahil may ginagawa naman tayo na pansamantala lamang itong paghihirap nila?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Yes, I said. I said hindi... Maybe they would view it as an act of desperation.

But it's not because shortages are always there. The economic life of a country cannot be all beds of roses.

So marami akong option. Wala namang hinto 'yang importation natin. But if worse comes to worst, I will open Sabah. Ayan talaga. Free for all na. Busog lahat. Mura eh. Ngayon, kung ipagbili mo dito 'yan sa labas ng areas of Tawi-Tawi and Jolo, malulugi na tayo.

Pero ngayon, ang gusto ko which I have been advocating Day One, sabi ko 'yung tariffication. Alisin na lang 'yan. Free for all. Anybody can import. That is why I'm going for somebody. May hinihintay lang ako na tao. I think they will be retiring something...

I want this guy because he's honest and I believe in him. And he does not do anything b*** s***. So ilagay ko 'yan diyan. And ayun. All he has to do is to execute --- is just to implement the orders of the economic managers.

I may recommend to Congress the abolition of the National Food Council. It has not done any purpose and it's not good. It only hinders the operation. Kasi it should be just handled by one man with the best interest of the nation.

And I said, you need not have four or five. Isang tao lang. Gusto ko nga negosyante eh. Even if he's Chinese, if he's adept to that kind of job then he can have it.

Pero may hinihintay lang ako because I want also a --- they would be retiring in succession in the coming days. I can choose and utilize the others also.

SEC. PANELO: Now, Mr. President, may I call your attention to your crusade against drugs. Despite your passion and dedication to dismantle the drug menace in this country, sabi niyo nga, talagang walang tigil ang pagpasok. Eh ang tanong po ay ano bang pwedeng asahan ng gobyerno o ng tao kaugnay sa programa natin laban sa droga? Meron po ba tayong masasabing malapit na o talagang matagalan to hanggang matapos ang termino ninyo?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Look, drugs just like in America historical 'yan. If America, the most powerful country in the world with all the equipments and gadgets, they're able --- they are ready to raise their hands up.

They cannot --- they cannot even control Sinaloa who is just in the border. Tayo pa na we are guarding the high seas and how do you... How do you count the many ships that we have?

So it's really a hard fight. But because it is the lure of the money, the greed, they will continue. But just to tell you, somehow ang law and order dito, lalo na 'yung sa petty --- ah no, the crimes in the streets is nag-lessen.

As long as masunod lang 'yung pulis, walang tambay, wala na 'yung sabi na bahala na 'yung korte magsabi illegal. Basta sabihin lang if you have no business there, do not drink in the sidewalks because that is...

And if you are just standing there, drinking or sitting down, or squatting, I will kick your a**. 'Yan 'yan tapos 'yung mga bata because they are the couriers.

It has lessened criminality in the streets of Manila and other places.

SEC. PANELO: Eh pagdating naman po doon sa --- ang palaging pangalandakan nangangalandakan ang mga tinatawag na human rights groups na 'yung mga pulis natin ay inaabuso ang kanilang kapangyarihan sa paglaban sa droga, ano po bang pwede nating sabihin sa kanila?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Meron ditong mga pulis nasa droga talaga. 'Yan ang problema. And that is really the headache also of Albayalde.

So sinabi ko naman na ano. Pag nandiyan ka sa droga, ikaw 'yung mauuna. And true enough, we're doing it. Hindi ko lang masabi. But pagkatapos nito, sabihin ko kung sino.

PDEA, meron rin. The head of an agency somewhere in the south of Manila. So where are they now? So they're dead.

Sinabi ko sa inyo huwag eh. Huwag na lang tayong magbolahan kasi 'yung report na dumadating sa akin, galing man din sa inyo. But we would know.

Ang una talaga is the lifestyle. Hindi makahintay eh. Kapitan ka then suddenly you have a big house, a subdivision, three cars. Like Trillanes. Maraming bahay sikreto lang, marami.

And ang problema kay Trillanes is that he is crucifying Bong Go for entering into business with government.

And there was a time in the Navy's history, kayong mga sundalo, bilib man kayo kay Trillanes eh 'di punta na kayo doon.

Ang tatay niya nasa serbisyo pa. Ang --- siya nasa serbisyo na, sundalo na siya. Ang nata --- ang transaction 'yung karamihang supply sa Navy, ang nanay niya. Kung ayaw niyong maniwala, tanungin niyo 'yung Navy.

Now, kung 'yan ang mga gusto ninyo na leader, I said, go to Trillanes. If that is the kind of soldiers na gusto ninyo, sumampa na kayo doon. Kasi kung lahat kayo ganun, I will not sacrifice to serve the country na meron akong sundalo na ganun.

SEC. PANELO: Now, Mr. President, in relation to your fight against corruption. Some time ago, you expressed apprehe --- not apprehension, but exasperation na parang 'yung korapsyon ay hindi matigil-tigil. Marami na kayong tinanggal sa miyembro pa ng Gabinete na malapit sa inyo, tinanggal niyo na kahit mga kamag-anak, mga fraternity brods. Pero parang hindi masawata ang agos ng korupsyon. Ang tanong po eh ano kaya ang nagbibigay hadlang upang maging matagumpay ang iyong laban sa korupsyon? What --- what constraints?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Well, the only way is nandito na ako, maybe I have reached the limit also of my persona, hindi popularity, my persona hanggang diyan lang ako.

So ayan ang masasabi ko nga. Ito noon, 'yung sa last command conference, I already had a copy doon sa AFP ospital ng mga sundalo.

Tapos binibigyan ko 'yan ng 50 million each, ang AFP pati 'yung V. Luna, dalawang ospital 'yan eh, para lang diyan sa medisina.

At ang PGH binigyan ko ng 100 million. That was the eternal complaint of the doctors there. Sabi ko, "Would 100 million suffice?" Ang sabi nila, "Ano 'yan, Mayor? Buwan --- taunan?" Sabi ko, "No." Siguro kung sa taunan mga 36 million. Sabi ko, "Every month para lahat ng mga tao makatikim ng gamot." Every month. Tinawagan ko ang PAGCOR, "Lahat ng kikitain niyo ibuhos niyo 'yan diyan."

Ang AFP binigyan ko ng 50 para sa mga retirees. Iyong dalawang ospital nila, tag singkwenta-singkwenta para doon sa nag-retire, 'yung medication. Right after Marawi, I released 500 million for intervention lang sa mga sugat nila, prosthetics.

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President...

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Ngayon, kung sabihin ninyo wala akong ginawa, anong kasalanan ko? Kasama ko si Trillanes mag-simpatya kayo? Eh kung ganoon --- kung ganun kayong klase 'di doon kayo. Doon kayo.

Sinabi ko naman sa inyo, just tell me. The major commanders can come here and we'll have coffee, and I'll say, sige, inyo na. Gustohin ninyo, inyo na. Then let us see how you do it.

SEC. PANELO: Kaugnay po, Mr. President, ang sinasabi niyong mga ginawa niyong pagbibigay ng benefits sa Armed Forces. Meron po bang programa ang pamahalaan doon po sa mga special children, handicapped, kasi nakikita ko walang facility rito para dun sa mga --- mga ganitong uri ng tao sa ating bayan. Meron po ba tayong programa tungkol dun?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Meron, sabi ko PGH. They have 100 million a month. Can you just imagine? Maubos kaya nila 'yan?

Eh kung maubos nila 'yan 'di lahat puro medisina sa tao, eh 'di maligaya ako and then I'll add more.

SEC. PANELO: I'm referring, Mr. President, dun po sa kabuuan ng Pilipinas.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Oo.

SEC. PANELO: Kung bawat probinsya meron tayong...

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Oo. We have that. And I said, 'yung gusto ko 'yung prosthetics 'yung titanium, magaan, hindi 'yung parang plastic. Wala na 'yun, ayaw ko na 'yun.

Kaya nagalit nga ako minsan 'yung ano, eh kaka-b***s*** ko lang nitong -- itong sa NAIA, 'yung inalis ko lahat 'yung mga tao doon, nandito na naman
'yung report ng medisina ng sundalo na ghost delivery, na wala basta bayad
lang pero walang dumating na medisina.

Ngayon kung 'yan ang magmalasakit si Trillanes sa inyo ng ganun, doon kayo. Never mind me, I can survive. You can kill me. You can oust me. Sige, ipakita ninyo sa taong Pilipino na mas marunong kayo.

Eh kay Trillanes, alam ninyo sisimpatya-simpatya ka diyan, ang iniisip niya sarili niya. Nung panahon ni Aquino nandiyan na siya, anong ginawa niya?

He travelled to China, nine times. 'Yan nga ang ano ni Faeldon eh. On his last visit, we lost the Scarborough Shoal, kinabukasan.

Ako, naabutan ko ganun lang. Ayaw kong makipag-giyera kasi ang unang mamatay kayo na walang laban. Kaya ako ano lang muna, istorya-istorya.

Kung sabihin ninyo galit kayo, wala akong ginawa? O ngayon, kung magsabi ako, "sige, punta tayo." Kasi puro man tayo galit lahat. Ilang mabubiyuda dito?

Kaya kayo, magpabilib diyan sa --- just because military-military, mistah-mistah. Alam mo ang gumastos diyan hindi mga mistah ninyo, ang gumastos diyan Pilipino.

'Yang magsimpatya-simpatya kayo. Hindi na kayo nahiya?

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, 'yung relasyon natin sa Tsina kamakailan eh meron silang mga pahayag na mga medyo hack, ni-ayaw nilang --- 'yung mga eroplano natin lumilipad doon sa --- sa kanila.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Kaya nag-away kami. We had a little bit of --- hindi naman animosity kasi 'yung Navy palapit doon eh parang sinasigawan nila, "You Filipinos, you get there you will be causing trouble." Eh samantalang kaibigan tayo.

Eh 'di pakiusapan. Tutal may claim tayo diyan. They know they are... In the eyes of the world, atin 'yan, hindi kanila. So the least that we can do since I cannot make a move to remove them forci --- forcibly, because I'll end up in a war, which we will be losing, wala talaga.

Aya... Nag-a-ano lang ako muna. Kasi kung magsabi kayo, maniwala kayo, intriga 'yang China --- China Sea. O sige ngayon kung magsabi ako, "go tayo." Mabubuhay kaya kayo?

It will result in a slaughter. Pinag-isipan namin 'yan. Hindi lang ako, 'yung military sa Cabinet ko. Baka sabihin ninyo akin-akin lang 'yan.

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, iwanan natin ang Tsina sandali, puntahan po natin 'yung traffic. 'Yung traffic kasi 'yan ang problema, malaking problema. Meron ho ba tayong programa para maibsan na ang hirap?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Look, ang EDSA right at the beginning, we raised the possibility of being granted emergency powers. Okay. 'Yun talaga.

You cannot improve on things without money nowadays. That is accepted. Kada galaw mo pera.

Now, you want me to install some measures there would mitigate at the very least. Eh pag --- paglabas lang, ang unang lumabas sa newspaper, instead of baka tawagin kami or they would have a dialogue kung anong gawin ninyo sa emergency powers, how much are you going to borrow and what is the purpose of this and that, ang narinig ko, "Ah hindi, malaki ito. Para --- this is prone to corruption."

Sabi ko, huwag na. Kung ganun lang naman ang tingin ninyo sa akin, eh 'di huwag na tayong maghiram. Do not give me powers anymore. Just leave EDSA as it is. Ayan.

'Yun man ang promise ko nga, EDSA that I will... Ano ang gagamitin ko diyan? Laway ko? Pero kung marinig mo na sana, "ay hindi, malakit ito, corruption lang ito." Kung wala kayong tiwala sa akin, eh 'di huwag na. Ako na ngayon ang tumanggi. Ayaw ko na.

SEC.PANELO: From EDSA, Puntahan naman natin ang Boracay. Matagumpay ho ba ang rehabilitation ng Boracay at talagang bang bubuksan na ito?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: I don't know. I will wait for the recommendation of... There are speculations that there will be a soft opening or something like that.

But I leave it to Año, Cimatu and si... Sino itong sa tourism? Si Berna. Sila naman ang mag-usap diyan. So bahala na sila. They can vote on it. There are three of them voting --- voting to, for the opening, fine.

SEC. PANELO: Eh 'yun pong Mr. President 'yung sa Natural Resources, 'yung sa mining natin, ano po bang...? You expressed...

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: I have a... Ang mining kasi may pera rin 'yan para sa gobyerno. But one of these days, I would like to maybe ask everybody to take a ride. And you can see the lot of parang tansan sa bukid, puro butas. Naawa ako sa bayan ko. Sa totoo lang.

Kailangan natin ng pera pero kung maglipad ka ng Mindanao, especially sa eastern, 'yung butas 'yung parang takip ng coke makikita mo sa taas brownbrown tapos 'yung siltation nahulog doon sa dagat. So it killed the marine life. Hanggang doon sa inabot ng siltation.

SEC. PANELO: Huling katanungan na lang po Mr. President.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Huwag muna.

SEC. PANELO: Ah, huwag muna. [laughter] Ah, okay. Meron pa ho isang katanungan dito sa te....

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Meron napilasang papel diyan oh.

SEC. PANELO: Tigilan ko na raw eh. *[laughter]* At meron pang Cabinet meeting. Anyway...

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Payag ka rin na utusan ka nila.

SEC.PANELO: Meron po akong katanungan. Ito'y naririnig natin sa mga taong "key players" or gustong maging key players pero 'di makapasok. 'Yung problema raw natin sa telecommunications. There appears to be a monopoly ng dalawang giant corporations and according to this, gustong pumasok, ito daw pong ating NTC eh nag-i-impose ng maraming kondisyon na umaatras sila. Para bang ayaw nilang kayo'y maging matagumpay sa pagpasok ng third player. Ano pa bang masasabi ninyo?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Matagal na 'yun. Sabi nga December. Ah I will --- maybe late early November 'pag wala pa, I'll take over.

Ilagay ko 'yan sa Office of the President. And I will invite all, dito negosyante and I will decide in front of them kung sino. Dito, I will... Give me your position papers. I'll read it, give me about 30 minutes, then I'll come back and would tell them now. I will decide.

Iyo na at ibigay na 'yung linya. Now ayaw nilang ibigay 'yung linya, sabihin ko kunin mo. Get it. I'll expropriate it, I'll pay you. But you wait until kingdom come. Tutal originally libre man 'yan. Bakit nagkaroon na ng mga costings-costings? You bear the cost and you bear the burden.

SEC. PANELO: Ano pong status Mr. President ng pederalismo natin ngayon?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Ngayon, teka muna kasi 'yan ang problema talaga sa gobyerno. 'Yung...

Kaya sa gobyerno pagka na ano mo, talagang papatayin ka. You know, I've been waiting for that decision --- critical decision until now, wala. Eh 'di expropriate ko na lang.

Sabi may ginastos sila, hindi ako magbayad. Why should I pay? It was given free. I was told. So why did you have to sell it to somebody and sell it again. What do you...?

SEC.PANELO: How soon can we resolve this problem?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: I will resolve it by the early --- late October and early October, November. By Christmas, alam na ng mga tao na sino 'yung third player.

Hindi masyado rin ako because I worry about itong lowest bid, lowest bid --- hao sioa. I will select 'yung pinaka magandang record na walang breakdown.

So what? Why should I buy the cheapest? Ganun lowest bid, lowest bid, puro k******* 'yan. Maya-maya natutunaw na 'yung kuryente. Ay l****. Huwag na lang.

I will choose the best. 'Yung pinakamahal and with the best track record in the business. Ayaw ko 'yang lowest bid, lowest bid. Gusto ko COA kasabay ko dito. O sige, you decide for me. I will wait for your decision.

Wala ako diyan tiwala sa ganun. Lowest bid, lowest bid, it always ends up in a disaster.

SEC. PANELO: Dalhin ko naman po kayo doon pumasok tayo sa TRAIN, 'yung TRAIN Law. Meron nagsasabi na isa ito sa mga dahilan kung bakit nagkakaroon ng problema ang ating ekonomiya. Meron nagmumungkahi na kung pupwede, huwag muna i-implement. What are your thoughts about this?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Dapat malaman ng taong bayan that the only source of income... Kumbaga ako 'yung Plipinong --- bayang Pilipino, ang source ng bulsa ko kung saan ako, sa taxes. 'Yung buwis na kinokolekta ko.

Hindi ako pwede dito sa Central Bank, utusan ko na mag-imprenta ka nang mag-imprenta hanggang isang milyong sakong pera.

Because tayo, kung ano ang kayamanan ko, kung ako sabihin, ako ay may isang ektarya lang puno ng durian tapos puno ng mangosteen, pagkatapos at the end of the day, 'yan lang ang kikitain ko. Eh samantala 'yung iba, may 100 hectares puno lahat, nandiyan na lahat, mas malaki kita, so may mayaman siya kaysa atin.

So 'yung aking income ko pati income niya, kasi mas marami siyang napabili, mas maraming eroplano, barko, wala man tayo. Ang telepono nga kailangan pa landline sa labas. Eh 'di gastos lang tayo nang gastos. Wala naman tayong kinikita kasi ang pera natin 'yan lang.

Ngayon, 'yung ekonomiya mo is.... Ilang pera ang ma-iprenta mo? Ang perang ma-iprenta mo kung ang negosyo ko 50,000 lang. 'Yan ang value ng economy ko, so itatali ko diyan sa 50,000 lang ang ma...

Ngayon 'yung iba, America, tig-500 hectares, punong-puno sila, so mas marami silang ma-imprenta good for 500 million. Ganun lang ka-simple pagka-tingin ko.

Ang balor mo, ilang Pilipino may trabaho? Ilan ang Pilipinong walang trabaho? Ilang Pilipinong may kumikita? Ilang eroplano ang napabili natin? Ilang barko ang nagawa natin? Ilang factories ba dito? At ilang Pilipino --- tayo ba'y may sweldo lahat?

Pagka ganun na may sweldo, may factory marami, mayaman tayo. Nagpapabili tayo eh. Tayo sige lang bili sa labas. Kakaunti pa lang ngayon ang export natin. Kaya tayo na tumatawag ng mga investors. Dito kayo mag negosyo para ang tao may trabaho. At 'yung finish product i-export. Sila 'yung may ari pero tayo may cut diyan. 'Yan ang ibig sabihin ng ekonomiya natin.

Simpleng pagkasabi lang. Ngayong wala masyado tayo, nandiyan pa 'yang KMU, sige strike. Strike-strike nila 'di magsara. Sinong magutom? Pilipino. Kasi kayo nagpapadala ng... Ayaw ninyong humintay kasi alam ninyo walang pera.

Walang negosyante ngayon magpapasok na after three months mag-strike kayo malugi 'yung kapital niya. Kaya 'yung mga tao na 'yan nagsibatan kasi sa China, walang strike, wala lahat. Trabaho lang.

Dito marami. Iyang mga left sinakyan ng mga komunista, hindi ninyo alam. Kita mo diyan sa daan. Ano ang purpose niyan? Pangsira. Ayaw magtrabaho gusto magsali ng strike. Eh 'di ako hanggang diyan lang. At pagdating ng araw --- sa gabi sabihin ko, sinabi ko na sa inyo eh. Anong gusto ninyo? Hindi ako Diyos. Kailangan ito hirap nang lahat.

Ngayon, kung gusto ninyo maniwala diyan sa komunista kasi alam mo naman ang komunista gustong mag-take over sa gobyerno, itong Malacañan. Iyong 'yan sila, armed struggle. Pinapadaan sa armas.

If that is what you want, magpatalo kayo diyan sa mga ganun, sasamasama kayo, eh 'di kayo. Tutal pagdating ng panahon, ako may savings ako, makabili ako ng bigas.

Kayo? Eh 'di kausapin ninyo 'yung military, magkunsabo kayo ni Sison. Basta 'yang yellow na 'yan, may grupo diyan nakadikit kay Sison at si Trillanes may personal contact. Alam na ng military 'yan.

Ayaw ninyong ma --- gusto ninyo. Merong intelligence 'yan every unit. Tanungin ninyo kung ano ang nangyayari. Bakit? Gusto lang mag-take over. Bakit? Mas gwapo daw siya 'di...

Pero ang baba ng... Ano bang matutunan mo sa --- ? Susmaryosep.

Kung nag-ano ka sana sa Wharton. Mag-seminar kagaya kay Roxas, bibilib pa ako sa... Iyan lang ang level of thinking mo.

At ako pumasa dahil sa tatay ko? Hoy, loko-loko hindi ka torpe. I became a lawyer 20 years after my father's death. Hindi kagaya mo, tatay mo nandiyan sa serbisyo, ang nanay mo naga-negosyo sa Navy. Dapat malaman 'yan.

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, balik po tayo sa ekonomiya. Iyong Build, Build, Build, ano na po ba 'yung status nun? Kasi two years ago excited ang lahat tao, maraming mga itatayong mga istraktura, 'yung airport natin may problema. Ano na po bang status nun? Meron na bang naumpishan?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Merong iba, nagpapatuloy na. Iyong iba naman wala. Iyong iba naman kasi ecological questions. Kagaya ng mag-reclaim ka ng the whole of...

You know it's easy to do that. Landfill lang 'yan eh, punuin mo. The problem is ang destruction sa marine life. Punuin mo, saan 'yung isda pupunta? Mamatay 'yung marine life diyan eh. So a lot of the marine life there will die. And they have to go farther and farther. Eh nakaka...

Ang supply ng isda ngayon, 'yung kaya lang ng Filipino. Sabagay hindi naman ako kumakain ng baboy.

Eh ma-deplete. Saan na 'yan sila mangisda ngayon? Di doon na sa bandang China. 'Pag nahuli sila doon na...

It's not that easy really to --- you have to maintain a balance there.

SEC. PANELO: Eh pano po 'yung problema natin sa airport? Nagkaroon lang ng crash ng isa, naapektuhan ang lahat ng mga pahasero at mga airlines.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Iyon sana dapat may automatic may plan A, plan B ang Clark. Tsaka mag-ano ng isang lane na muna.

Iyong sa pasahero, dalawang lane man 'yan. Kung saan 'yung traffic papasok sa umaga. Buksan mo itong isang lane dito pasalubong. Isang lane lang dito.

SEC. PANELO: Pero meron na pong bang proyekto na maaaring isipin ng tao na malapit na 'yan, mag-uumpisa na. Meron na po bang ganun?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Oo, na-award na eh.

SEC. PANELO: So how soon will this project start?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Well, plenty. Ramon Ang is there. Iyong consortium nila sa SM. Nakita ko maganda. Pati itong Sangley.

SEC. PANELO: Magkakaroon ng bagong airport tayo? Sa Sangley at saka sa Bulacan?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Pine-preparation. Dito, we're handling about 40 million na eh. So, another five years or 39 something going 40.

By that time, five years from now, talagang masikip na ang Maynila. But EDSA will remain...

Iyon ang rason diyan, gusto ko nga sanang unahin. Kaya ako naghingi ng emergency powers gaya kay Ramos pati kay Cory.

Sabi naman nila sa Congress, uuwi lang 'yan sa kurakot. Eh 'di sabi ko, kung ganun, huwag na lang. So I never brought up the matter again, ayaw ko na. If I'm prejudged, so what's the use?

SEC. PANELO: Eh ano naman po ang ginagawa ng panguluhan kaugnay dito sa inyong advocacy ng federalism?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Well, in the provinces it's gaining ground. Kasi 'yung malayo talaga ng Maynila... Historically ang Maynila lang talaga ang pinakamaganda kasi ibinubuhos 'yung pera dito because it's a capital region, hindi na nga capital city.

Pero 'yung mga --- maramihang mga mabibigat taga, taga-ano...

Bihira ka naman maka-ano ng Vice President, President na --- ngayon lang.

Pero ako ngayon, ang sabi ko naman sa kanila, pati kay President Arroyo, "Ma'am spread natin lahat, irrespective of the political color of the..." "Ayaw ko, "sabi niya, "Liberal 'yan, huwag 'yan." Gusto ko sabi ko pantay. Ratio and proportion, ayaw ko...

Isang beses lang ako dumaan dito, ayaw mag-iwan ng istorya na hindi maganda. Eh tutal Presidente na lang rin ako, eh 'di lahat na.

Sabi ko nga 'yung mga sundalo, nauna sila. Maraming nainggit pati maestra. Sabi ko sundalo, doblado 'yung sweldo ninyo.

Alam ko na 'yung... Pagdating ng Marawi eh 'di o... Nandoon na 'yung sweldo nila. We were trying to save the money to double their salary.

Eh tingnan mo naman kung after Marawi pa ako pumunta, tapos sabihin ko na "mag-increase kayo ng sweldo." Eh 'di babarilin ako ng sundalo niyan.

Kaya ako, I went there nine times. I never saw Trillanes na makipag-ano lang naman sa kapwa sundalo niya, makapakain.

Mabuti pa si Secretary Roque nagpunta doon nagbigay ng hamburger. Oo, nag-distribute siya ng... Pakita --- maski pakitang tao lang. Eh pakitang tao lang naman talaga 'yan kasi ano-ano magdala siya ng baril doon.

Ako pumunta ako doon, kinakausap ko 'yung mga tropa. At hindi ako nagpapalakas 'no. Alam mo bakit? Sabihin ko sa military, hindi ako nagpapalakas sa inyo kasi hinalal akong Presidente.

Ngayon, kayo may mandate kayo, to protect the people and preserve the nation.

Gusto niyong sirain 'yan? Okay lang. Panahon ko? Okay lang. Iyong lahat na sundalo na hindi bilib sa akin, eh 'di doon kayo eh. Diyan mag-ano kayo sa Luneta, magpagupit kayo lahat, magpapagong kayo. Mabuti 'yan. That is a way of showing how you respect democracy. You disagree, you do it that way. Good.

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, I remember during the campaign, meron kayong binanggit na you are for the amendment of the Constitution,

whether by constitutional convention or constituent assembly. Para hong naantala yata, parang walang na --- naririnig ang tao. Ano na bang nangyayari dito?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: It's pending, itong... Well, there's a time for everything. I've been going around. I suppose that you cannot convince everybody at one time that federalism is good for the country.

It might help. It cannot guarantee prosperity kaagad, but it might help distribute the wealth of the nation amongst the local units who contribute to the national upkeep.

SEC. PANELO: Now, dalawang taon na po kayo at papunta na tayo sa pangatlong taon bilang Pangulo ng bansa. Maaari po bang ibahagi niyo sa amin kung meron kayong --- ano pang pagnanasa o desire o wish na makamit niyo upang maisagawa niyo ang lahat ng mga nasa sa isip niyo para sa interes ng bayan?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Three years left is too short. Ngayon ang gusto ko ngayon kung iyan na lang ang natira --- naumpisahan, iyon na lang ang tatapusin ko. And of course itong, the scourge of drugs. I promised the people talagang tatapusin ko 'yan. Tatapusin ko 'yan, maniwala ka. Tatapusin ko 'yan.

SEC. PANELO: Meron naman ho ba kayong regret during the three years na nandiyan kayo nakaupo?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Wala. Wala. Congress has a... Well, not all but appropriately extended the help. Meron silang mga views na nirerespeto ko.

Ayaw nilang ibigay 'yung emergency powers, gusto nilang ayusin ang EDSA. Sabi ko, kung ang tingin ninyo sa akin ganun, huwag na lang. Ayaw ko na

rin. Ayaw ko na rin. Let it be done by somebody else. Somebody else's term, not mine.

SEC. PANELO: Ginoong Pangulo, nasa inyo pong pagkakataon na ihayag ang inyo pang mga huling damdamin at pananalita sa ating mga kababayan.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Ito nga ngayon ito kay Trillanes, medyo may gulogulo. Alam mo si Trillanes lang naman --- diktador. Wala man akong ginawa na nagpakulong ako ng tao.

Matindi ako sa droga. You differentiate from a dictator 'yung absolute power at saka 'yung desire ko to protect your children and the country.

Kaya sabi nila diktador ako. Lahat naman 'yan ang pulis naman ang inorderan kong gumawa. Ang sabi ko sa pulis: If your life is in danger, or if you yourself the police or the soldiers are in danger of losing your life in the fight against drugs, kill them. Huwag ikaw. Manghinayang ako.

At kung ikaw ang magkakaso, sinabi ko, sagot ko kayo as long as it is in the performance of your duty.

'Pag nagka-kaso kayo sinabi ko, ako ang bahala. You will have the --- you will have the same salary. I will see to it na kikita ka pa, may sweldo ka maski suspendido ka na.

SEC. PANELO: Naalala ko po tuloy, Mr. President, 'yung SONA speech niyo nung nagdeklara kayo ng digmaan sa droga. I remember exactly what you said. Ang sabi niyo, "Those who will abuse their authority will have hell to pay because you are worse than criminality itself." 'Yun ho ang sabi ninyo.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Lahat naman ng pulis nung pumasok nung naabutan patay man. PDEA ganun rin. Hindi ko lang masabi dito kung sino, pero malaman rin ninyo 'yan. Iyong mga PDEA na namatay, eh sabi ko nga kayo ang mauuna eh. P***** i** kayo. Sinabi ko mauna kayo.

Ngayon kung kaya ninyo itong mga trabaho na ito at ipagtanggol ninyo 'yung bayan. Sabi ko 'yung sa mga sundalo ni Trillanes, if you think that he is the bright --- brightest military man thereabout, 'di sige magsama-sama kayo.

Go. I encourage you, go to him. Ngayon na. Huwag na ninyong hintayin pa. Ipakita na ninyo ngayon. At si Trillanes naman dapat magpa-pagong rin. Kasi 'yung nagsimpatiya sa kanya nagpa-pagong. Tingnan natin kung gaano ka kintab 'yung mga ulo ninyo.

SEC. PANELO: Mr. President, ano naman po ang mensahe niyo sa ating mga kababayan?

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Well I said, I'm trying to govern the way I promised. Una, nakinig kayo lahat sa Pilipinas. In the presidential debates I was the first to finish. Why? Because messaging lang ako. In the intermission wala nga akong mga side propaganda. Sinabi ko sa inyo, I'll fight corruption. Ginagawa ko, alam ninyo 'yan.

The latest na tinanggal ko, general ng Army. Tapos sabi ko, droga. Talagang wala akong pinatawad dito, alam ninyo 'yan. Basta mag-abot tayo sa isang kanto, 'yun na 'yun.

Tapos sinabi ko sa inyo hindi ako makialam sa transaksyon sa gobyerno. Walang papel sa akin na transaksyon sa gobyerno na dumadating dito sa akin. Hanggang diyan lang 'yan sa Cabinet member. It begins and ends with the Cabinet member. Wala kang makitang pirma at ayaw ko, kasi 'yan nga --- 'yan ang inano ko.

Tapos sabi ko I will talk to the enemies of the state para magkaroon tayo ng kapayapaan. Inumpisahan ko sa NPA, walang nangyari. Eh pasensya, eh talagang hindi katanggap-tanggap 'yung mga proposal nila. Tapos sa BBL, lumabas na. Si Nur Misuari naghihintay lang mag-usap kami.

O tapos sabi ko ako hanggang trabaho lang ako. Corruption, wala kayong masabi maski ngayon ni isang papel, ni isang resibo wala akong pinirmahan. Ni hindi ako tumatanggap ng extra. Iyong sweldo ko diretso sa LandBank, diretso sa pamilya ko.

Wala akong extra perks, representation, mga ganun wala. Libre sa akin bahay pati pagkain. Iyon ang akin, nagtatrabaho lang po ako. At 'yung five promises ko ginagawa ko, tinutupad ko talaga hanggang ngayon.

Ano pang masabi ninyo sa akin? Nag-abuso ako, kailan? Nagpatay ako ng tao? Marami, kriminal. Eh lumaban eh. Alang-alang 'yung mga pulis ko pati na mga sundalo ko ang mamatay. Kung sabi mo takutin ninyo ako ng mga kudeta– kudeta.

Alam na ninyo sa command conference, sinabi ko na sa inyo. Hindi ako kailangan pilitin. Kung ayaw na ninyo at tingin ninyo 'yung babae si Leni mas maganda, mas mahusay, eh 'di ituloy ninyo eh. Sige.

Hinahamon ko kayo talaga. Kasi sawa na ako niyang takot-takot, ayaw ko ng ganun. Gawin na ninyo para matapos na. Talo, talo 'di wala. Tatalon ako diyan sa Pasig River, lalangoy ako doon pauwi. Pero sabihin mo takut-takutin mo ako, no. I am not...

'Di ba sinabi ko sa inyo mga Pilipino, in this fight, itong lima, I'm willing to put at stake my life, my honor, and the presidency itself. Hindi ako nagsasalita ng ganun.

Kaya takut-takutin mo ako, pagupit-pagupit diyan, susmaryosep. Umpisahan na ninyo ngayon na. Huwag na ninyong patagalin. Eh 'yung plano ninyong mag-sabotage ganun sa May --- September 21? Eh 'di gawain ninyo eh.

Sabi ng ano na 'yan ang plano nila. Ngayon, kung hindi nila madala sa paputok-paputok, mag-assassinate. Kaligaya ko na lang mamatay sa kamay ninyo at least hindi mamatay sa sakit.

Ano ba naman 'yang bala? Hindi nga umabot ng isang segundo 'yung tiis mo diyan. O mag-kudeta? Eh 'di mag-kudeta kayo.

SEC. PANELO: With that parting statement, Mr. President, nagpapasalamat po ako sa inyo sa pagkakataon na ibinigay niyo upang kayo'y makapanayam. At ang taong bayan ay nagpapasalamat sa inyo rin sa pagbibigay-daan ninyo rito upang makarating sa kanila ang inyong damdamin, ang iyong mga hinaing kung meron man, at ang inyong pasasalamat sa kanila. Maraming salamat.

PRESIDENT DUTERTE: Basta mag-concert ka lang palagi...

SEC. PANELO: Salamat po, Mr. President.

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