

SPEECH
OF
PRESIDENT RODRIGO ROA DUTERTE
DURING THE
“HULING TIKAS PAHINGA”
ISANG PAGPUPUGAY SA MGA BAYANI NG MARAWI

[Delivered at Covered Canopy (East Block), 9th Avenue, Bonifacio High Street, Bonifacio Global City,
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Kindly sit down. Thank you for your **courtesy**.

House Speaker Pantaleon Alvarez; Executive Secretary Salvador Medialdea and other members of the Cabinet; Representative Pia Cayetano, District 2, Taguig City; Chief of Staff General Rey Leonardo Guerrero and the other major service commanders; Interior and Local Government Officer-in-Charge General Catalino Cuy; Taguig City Mayor Ma. Laarni Cayetano; Bases Conversion and Development President Vicencio Dizon; mga magiging na mga sundalo; mga kasama sa gobyerno; mga kababayan.

Nakakahiya naman 'to. Two pages lang 'yan. Not enough to convey my sentiments.

You know, this is not to beg the issue. But right on after I was elected, I promised the soldiers and the policemen of the country that I will increase their salaries twofold.

And I was... I have been the recipient of so many **flaks** including government. But I stood my ground and told the Cabinet that, you know, most of all, most of all, “kailangan natin ng sundalo pati matatag na pulis.”

I knew because maybe my so many years in government almost running 40 years now gave me the enough experience to make some reasonable projections in the future.

And given the situation in **the** entire country, the resurgence of the New People's Army, the Communist Party of the Philippines, together with the growing threat of terrorism compelled **me** to announce that by next year **and** that would be around, just around the corner, ang mga sundalo doblado na ang sweldo nila. *[applause]*

Mabuti't na lang ginawa ko 'yun. And I was thinking of a **not yet** fighting, but I was already --- when I became mayor --- knowledgeable of the entire situation in the country.

I knew because I have, we have some relatives in Marawi na something was afoot. And even during the command conference, the first I ever had with the Armed Forces and the Police.

At the end of the consultation, I said we forgot to take one more thing and that is the looming crisis of the ISIS in the horizon.

And I was right on the dot. When the emir was proclaimed, Hapilon, and he traveled to Mindanao, I knew that there's going to be a battle somewhere. Alam na namin.

And so, in the hindsight, mabuti't na lang nagawa ko 'yun. Eh kaysa gawin ko ngayon, at para na lang sabihin **na**, “eh ginawa mo 'yun kasi marami ang namatay sa mga sundalo mo.”

Alam ko na it's... Alam ko talaga na it's going to be bloody considering the reports of the heavy firearms and the almost endless supply of ammunitions.

True enough, it took us about almost nearly four --- four months to do it. I would not want you to begrudge the military.

Ganito kasi ang nangyari niyan, early on, I cautioned them to just take it easy, to minimize the damage and most of all, avoid destroying shrines and mosques because those are really holy places for the Muslim faith.

And I was thinking at the back of my mind, I told the generals that, "Alam mo, before we really go into the actual destruction because we have to destroy, we have to remember and remember that there are two million five hundred plus Filipinos outside of the country working in the Middle East."

Ako naman, sabi ko, just to soften the impact of the killing and destruction, it would do us well to just avoid muna destroying the mosques and the holy shrine so as not to inflame the passions of the other side.

Alam mo 'yung mga shrine maski na papano, Kristiyanos ganun rin, when you start to desecrate these things, it increases the intensity of hate. Kaya sabi ko, kung maaari lang, 'wag muna.

And so for a time, we were just hitting them at the periphery, avoiding bombing the mosque and every other shrine considered holy.

So the war dragged on. But at one time, it's on the last three months, they said that, "Mayor, hindi 'to pwedeng ganito na lang. This has to end."

And so that finally broke the camel's back of my resistance for destruction. And I said, "Go ahead and just make sure that may maiwan pang ano..."

But I had to give them the final decision because the war was dragging to its fourth month.

Sabi nila, hindi pwede. Pati tayo mauubusan.

And true enough, when everything was over, they had tunnels everywhere including the mosques and a lot of ordnance and 'yung mga baril of all kinds.

May mga Barrett sila which could hit you two kilometers away. Meron tayo. Meron din sila. They could match the firepower of the Armed Forces during the siege.

So 'yung mga sundalo natin better trained, mas matapang at well coordinated. And that is also one of the benefits of studying the art of war. That's what they're there for.

But in the light of what really happened. Sabi ko, sa kanila, "You have to revise your doctrines."

Kasi noon, if it's an open field like --- we're being used to those sa mga NPAs. Kaya nila. Better trained, better attuned and everything.

Dito, it's an urban warfare. Kaya nga 'yung SAF, special unit 'yan na created by Ramos noon to deal with urban terrorism. Pero hindi pala terrorism lang, it's actually a war.

And if you would want to visit the places of Aleppo, Raqqa, and everything, Tripoli, you'd see that they are still fighting or almost it took them so many months, years to finish it.

Because there's a new cover there and the cover is bakal pati 'yung semento.

And they were well positioned waiting for my soldiers to go in. At 'yung mga Marines na namatay initially sa Mapandi. I was at the airport because I was really almost on the verge of tears always.

Naiiyak ako kasi ako 'yung nag-declare ng martial law. And I sent the soldiers to the mouths of hell and some of them to die.

Kaya if there's anybody na medyo mabigat ang --- sensitive --- ako. **Kaya** every time na a criticism sa Marawi which I think is not good, nagre-react talaga ako passionately also.

Kasi it's not easy to... It's kind of... Almost a guilt but a burden sa... At the end of the day kasi may briefer ako, so in that briefer for the day, those who died that day are there listed sa mga **casualties**.

Dumating 'yung panahon na hindi ko na binabasa, itinatapon ko na lang. I mean I got pissed off really reading the so many... Hindi naman tayo na lahat na nakakapatay eh, namamatayan tayo. **It pains me deeply to think of their families**.

For one reason or another, that also compelled me to be there many times.

And in one instance, I visited 'yung doon sa Ranao, kampo, **and** I took off mga 8 o'clock in the evening na.

Sabi ko, "Uwi tayo kasi..." **'Yung itinuro** nilang doon ako matulog, maraming mamao. Sabi ko, "Hindi ako makatulog dito, mamamatay ako. I have to take off, bahala na. Targetin na lang kung targetin nila basta **lipad** tayo."

So I had to endure all of these things, danger and everything just to be with the soldiers. Mabuti kasing nakikita nila ako.

At one time, I was almost tempted to **say**, "Nandiyan pa ba? Tara." Tinanggal ko na 'yung **ibinigay** nilang armor-armor, sabi ko, "Mabigat 'yan." "Anyway, if it's our time, it's our time."

Gusto ko na pumasok doon sa main battle area at makipagbarilan na lang para matapos. Winner take all tayo dito sa barilan na 'to.

Those are the things, the nuances that you have to bear when you are the Commander-in-Chief.

Ang ano ko lang is whenever I'm there, they're always happy to see me and to also proclaim my doctrine.

Kasi sabi naman nila na, "We are here to die for Allah," which is not really a correct way of saying you love Allah.

That is... You know, I have a little blood in **me**, Maranao --- lola, mother side --- hindi ganun ang Islam, maniwala kayo.

I mean, I spent some years with my Muslim side. Hindi ganun kabastos ang relihiyon na Islam. They are just corrupting it, I really do not know why those idiots are doing it. Killing people and destroying for nothing in the name of God.

That is really taking the name of God in vain. 'Yan ang ano ko sa kanila eh.

Kaya ako, hindi ako galit sa Maranao pero galit ako sa mga politicians doon for allowing these things to thrive under their very noses. And they cannot claim ignorance about it.

Kasi hindi ako maniwala na --- politiko rin ako, Mayor rin ako. It cannot be na hindi nila alam.

And that is why tatal Marawi is really a military camp. Marawi itself is a reservation of the military noon pa.

As a matter of fact, Kilometer 1 starts at Marawi, 'yung zero. 'Yung **milestones** natin dito, 'yung --- nandiyan sa Marawi.

It starts with zero. The zero kilometer nandiyan. It was a military camp many, many years ago.

Kaya this time before anything else, before even the rebuilding is completed, I will build **a** military camp just in front of them and para masiguro ko that all of these things will never happen again.

Lalagyan ko ng according to the military minds, baka a regiment would do, just right in front of them.

Hindi lang ako naka-ano because they are susceptible now, especially the young ones to the urgings and ano 'yung recruitment ng ISIS. ISIS is here to stay. For what long? I really do not know.

Ang problema natin sa Pilipino, ganito, there is terrorism, medyo matindi na 'yan. I'm trying my very best to come up with an agreement with the MI and MN because they are the mainstream rebel fronts that would want or would settle for a government that is acceptable to them.

There is no way that we can find peace forever if we do not give them back at least a part of **their** heritage.

Sila 'yung nauna doon eh. So you have to give back to the Muslims the heritage, the culture and land and all. 'Pag hindi 'yan naibigay, sasabihin ko na sa inyo, gugulo ang Mindanao.

Because then, if they openly fight now for the failure of government to come up to its promises, which was not started by me but I am continuing it because I am with government now.

'Pag hindi ninyo **ibinigay** 'yan o natin, gugulo 'yan because they will be **opened** really to **cabal** with the other terroristic activities or the **terror there**.

Sasakay na 'yan eh at kung sasakay 'yan, malawak na ang gulo. You have an open rebellion there. Talagang...

So I've been warning you ever since, even when I was a mayor, na something has got to give there.

But nag-uusap kami kagabi, sabi nga ni --- mga Senador, maybe we can work out a plan like Hong Kong vis-à-vis with the Mainland.

Parang local autonomy na lang talaga. Ibibigay na lang natin sa kanila the local autonomy and let it thrive on its own.

We have to... If you want a demarcation line, fine. If you want the boundary states, okay lang sa akin. But we have to find a way to get out of this problem now.

Ngayon, kung nandiyan 'yung terrorism at sasakyan ng NPA, ah wala na. As of yesterday, I have decided to cut talks with the NPAs.

Alam mo nung mayor ako, talagang totoo 'yan, maski 'yung anak **ko**, nakikipag-usap, ayan si Inday.

When she was Mayor, I was the Vice Mayor, she wanted to talk to the communists. So I went to the mountains, tatlo lang kami ni Bong Go.

And the pilot was 'yung taga-**CASAFP**, an Air Force guy. He was the one --- [inaudible] **Nagpasyal** lang kami.

Sabi ng mga komunista, gusto nilang kausapin 'yung anak ko. Sabi ko, "Fine, sige usap kayo."

So nagpaiwan kami dito sa baba, si Inday pati sila nasa taas. Okay lang 'yun kasi kami local lang.

At prangkahan lang talaga, boto 'yan. On the local level, boto 'yan. So if you have the support of the guys there, in all probability, you'll have the edge.

Pero nung Presidente na ako at marami na silang hinihingi na hindi ko naman kayang ibigay because it is not mine to give. And since they are very unreasonable at sabi ko, 'yung stand down, hindi naman nasusunod.

Inambush (ambush) nila 'yung pulis in Mindanao tapos pati 'yung bata na four months old tinamaan. Kaya napundi talaga ako sa... Sabi ko talaga...

Sinabi ko kay ano, Dureza pati kay Bello, "You tell the guys there sa Netherlands, I am no longer available for any official talk. Giyera na lang tayo."

So I have to build a strong army. That is why when my -- our planned importation of guns hit a snag in the Senate of the United States, naipit ako doon, nabigla ako. I never expected that they would do it.

Because we were short of arms and napo-project na namin 'yung ano ang mangyayari. I badly needed the guns, bigla na lang akong nag-shift ng --- nung dumating 'yung... Sabi ko, "I will chart my own foreign policy."

Kasi 'pag hindi ka mag-suplado, parang mahiya ka pang magpunta dahil you have to clear it with America. Sabi ko, "That's a lot of b*** s***."

Punta ako doon sa China, nakiusap ako, sabi ko, "I wanna make friends with you but I need something." Tapos sabi nila, "I will give it to you for free."

Then I went to Russia. 'Yun lang ang ano ko. Wala pa akong trade-trade noon. I was there, it's just about six hours then we had to take off again because I proclaimed martial law in Moscow. Kita mo 'yan. Ngayon nakita mo na.

Ang ating mga baril --- these guys, ang mga sundalo natin, pulis, they have been fighting for several years, 'yung mga baril nila ano na 'yan, gastado na.

It's either the barrel is no longer tight kasi sa kadadaan ng bala, very loose or the vaults are really --- nagma-malfunction na. I need new guns.

But itong sinabi ko sa pulis pati sa Armed Forces, at no other time, maybe except Marcos, that you will have what you want. From now on, sabi ko kay Lorenzana, we will not buy, secondhands na hardware.

I am not blaming anybody, but the last three helicopters that we bought diyan sa military arrangement natin sa America, bayad 'yan, hindi 'yang gratis. 'Yung dalawa bumagsak na. The last one 'yung sa Lipa, patay lahat.

Eh pagka ganun 'yung maraming --- you know, just like the Philippines, maraming nagkakawkaw ng kamay eh. It's a deal. If it's a democracy, it's always business for everybody. And just you refurbish it with a new what paint? And you give it us and it crashes.

Eh ako naman, I found a very receptive audience with Vladimir Putin, "I will give you what you want." But ayaw ko namang ano, sabi ko, "Bilhin ko na lang."

So I'm sending somebody now, because I am in a hurry, I'm running out of time. I expect something to blow up anywhere, any time. Gaganti 'yan. Sigurado ako.

At itong komunista, once the word reaches them, that I'm no longer a friend to reckon with but an enemy, as I consider the... I will remove the Communist Party as an entity from which we --- pinapadaan natin 'yung peace [and treaties?] natin.

I will follow America, tatal sinasabi nila "amboy" daw ako. Kailan pa ako naging amboy? "Duterte, US fascist." O eh 'di sige, granted.

I will admit it, pasista ako. So I will categorize you already as a terrorist. So lahat ng demanda ko sa kanila, because you know, under the Revised Penal Code, maiksi ang --- ang rebellion, it's just 12 years to one day to what? Because it is supposed to be a noble crime. That once you are into rebellion, there is no motif of profit or gain or malice, except that you want a better deal for your country and people.

That is a recognized theory of the crime. 'Yung mga French revolution, 'yung mga ganun. They are always impelled to have something better for the people. That is why it's almost bailable.

Kaya't ako naman, in consideration of the talks that we are having, I released almost all, pero matatanda na rin. 'Yung nag-70 above, sabi ko, "Sige, i-release mo na. Bigyan mo ng armas, pabalikin mo sa bukid. 'Di tignan natin. Sige, umalis kayo."

Now, I am taking back my word, I will have to re-arrest them. Now, let me issue a warning. I know, itong left magwawala ito.

It is known to everybody, almost judicial notice 'yan na 'yung mga legal fronts nila are in cahoots in conspiracy with the armed NPAs.

Sila nga 'yung taga-kolekta dito ng mga taxation eh. Ang collection nila sa taxation hindi 'yan doon sa bukid maghingi ng pera, pera for --- dito 'yan sa mga bangko.

Hulog lang nila sa mga account ng NPAs 'yan. 'Yan ang extortion nila, big companies. All mining companies are paying taxes to the NPA. Without exception 'yan.

At hindi magta-thrive 'yang mining nila kung hindi nagbibigay ng pera 'yan. So we have to decide once and for all. If I go against the NPAs, the communists, well, everybody has to reconfigure your relationship with the NPAs.

Because if you continue to support financially, I will close you down. In the interest of the security of that state, all those funding the NPAs dito, we will trace and everything.

Eh kasi kumikita lang, magbigay ka ng five million, then --- they can buy... And even in Marawi, nagkalat doon 'yung locally manufactured ano, 'yung mga --- cartons, lalagyan ng bala.

And how they were able to...? Ang sabi pa diyan isang delivery using an elf, it was really full of ammunition. And this has to stop.

Ang sabi nilang revolutionary government, coup d'état, 'wag ninyong intindi 'yan, malayo 'yan.

Me? I build a nation. If the Armed Forces cooperates with me, if this is something there is good in it, fine. We can work together.

Kung ayaw nila? You tell me and I will give it to somebody else. Sabi ko nga kagabi sa mga Senador, "If on the third month hindi ko kaya, I'll step down." Matanda na ako, ibig sabihin, hindi ko na talaga kaya.

Walang excuses. Hindi ko kaya, hindi ko kaya, period. Wala na tayong bolahan diyan, kung ano-ano.

Sabi ko, "But I have to do something, especially itong bubuhayin mo 'yung itong mga komunista."

So from now on, I will decide in my own time, when I will make it official that they are officially connected with the conspiracy and I'll have to arrest them.

Hindi ako mag --- hindi ako mag-martial law. Hindi ako mag-revolutionary government. I will just go out and arrest them.

If there is no law, kasi wala naman ngayong Anti-Subversion Law, then I will detain them for a number of hours and arrest them again the following day for a number of hours, until we get what we have.

Hindi naman ipinagbawal sa batas 'yan na once a week lang. You know, it takes two to tango. But sabihin ko sa inyo, little as I am, humble as I am. Maliit lang ako. Taga-Davao lang kami. Probinsyano nga eh.

Talagang probinsyano ako eh. Pati bunganga ko. Pero 'pag sa bayan na, do not ever, ever f*** with... Mainit ako basta bayan na ang pinag-usapan.

Kaya ang... Ano ang sorrow ko? Ako, diyan magtitingin ako diyan sa sundalo, naiinggit ako sa kanila. Envy. The green-eyed monster of envy.

You know why? Not everybody is given a chance, sabi nga ni Justice Abad-Santos sa anak niya when he was about to be executed by the Japanese imperial army, "Son, do not cry. Not every Filipino is given a chance to die for his country."

Eh ako, hinihintay ko, wala eh. Ngayon, kung gusto nila na --- they can always shoot me, stab me and I'll feel good.

Eh kaysa mag-retire ako tapos mamatay ako, imbes na... Ilan ba ang ibigay ninyo? 21-gun salute ba 'yan diyan, 'pag sa --- ? Pagka civilian ka lang, M-16 lang. Mahina.

Eh kung mamatay ka na panahon na ito, i-assassinate ako, eh 'di 21-gun salute. Then I can say, I have joined the ranks of a hero. Maganda pakinggan.

Kung patayin ako, patayin ninyo ako. Please make me a hero. 'Yan ang ambisyon ko sa buhay ko. T*** i**** 'yan. *[applause]*

So there will be trouble in the coming days. I will make the Philippines one of the best dito sa ano. Best equipped only for rebellion.

I do not need the intercontinental ballistic missile. I'm just fighting a rebellion. All I need are attack helicopters, the heavy firepower for breaching positions and new guns.

And, of course, they have my love and full backing. Sigurado 'yan. Kaya ako nandiyan sa Marawi palagi eh. Talagang every take off, sabi ko, "Mahulog sana ito para ma-hero ako." *[laughter]*

Vince, pakidagdag lang 'yan balang araw 'yang picture ko diyan ha.

Okay. Thank you. Maraming salamat po. *[applause]*

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source: PCOO-PND (Presidential News Desk)