



# Ang Cha-Cha ni Duterte

Maka-sariling pakana tungo sa diktadura,  
korapsyon at dayuhang pandarambong

# Hindi na bago ang cha-cha



**PIRMA**

**CONCORD**

**PIRMA 2, Con-Ass**

**Federalism**

**Economic cha-cha**



**Pero ang mga nakaraang cha-cha  
ay hindi nagtagumpay dahil dito**

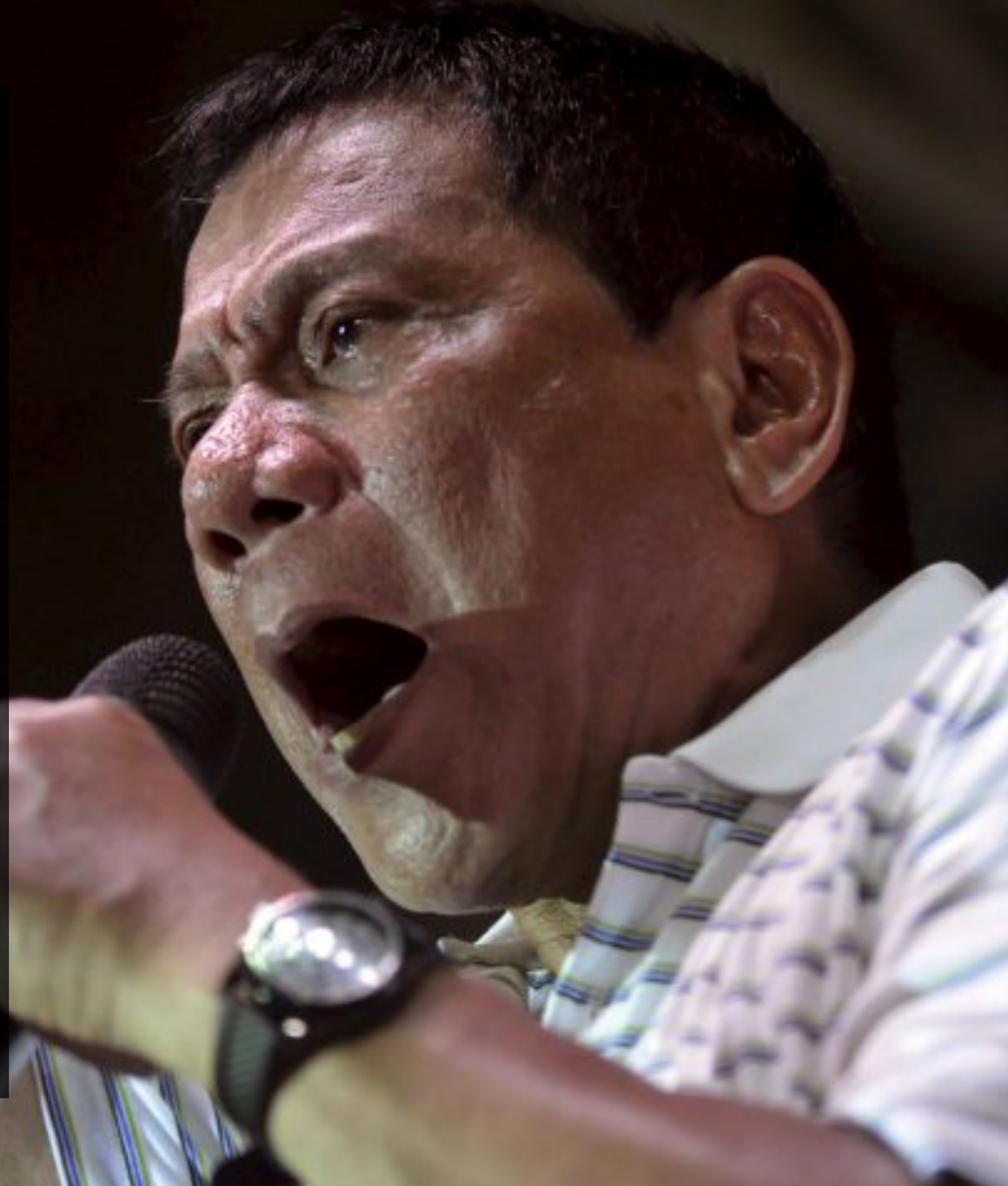


**Anti-cha-cha rally, Ayala Ave., circa 2008**



# Ang cha-cha ni Duterte

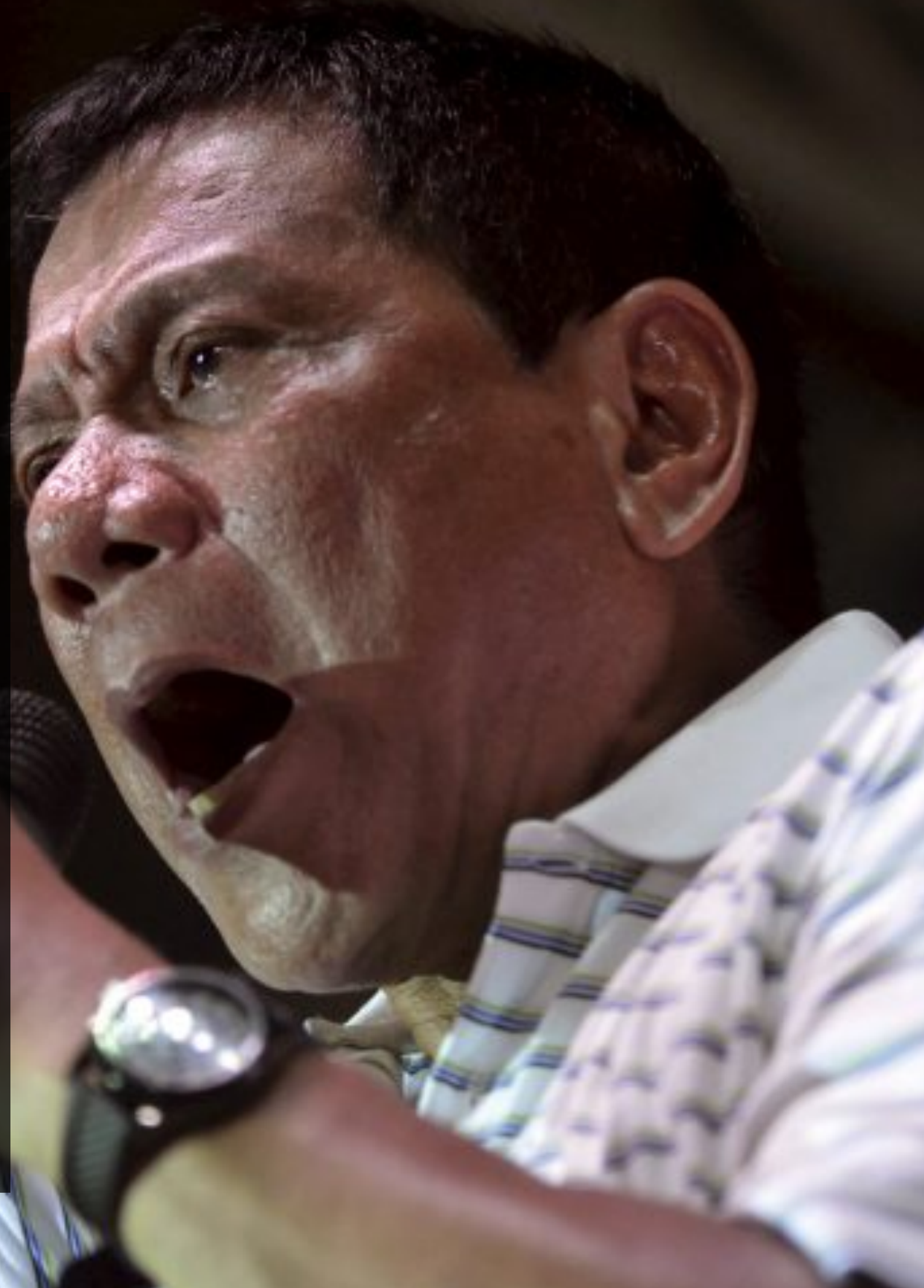
- Paglipat sa federal-parliamentary form ng pamahalaan
- Ibukas ang ekonomiya para maging globally competitive
- Alisin o amyendahan ang mga luma o hindi kinakailangang probisyon





# Subalit ang katotohanan...

- Magluluwal ng isang diktadura
- Ipagpapaliban ang 2019 elections at papahabain ang termino ng mga opisyal
- Patibayin ang kontrol ng mga political dynasty
- Ibukas ang ekonomiya at patrimonya sa dayuhang kontrol at pandarambong
- Alisin o palabnawin ang mga probisyon sa katarungang panlipunan, karapatang pantao at soberanya



# Mala-diktadurang kapangyarihan

Sa panahon ng transisyon, si Duterte ang magiging:

- PANGULO na may oversight powers sa buong gobyerno
- de-facto PRIME MINISTER na namumuno sa Interim Parliament at may kapangyarihang mag-appoint ng mga kasapi nito
- may kapangyarihang magtalaga ng mga pinuno ng independent constitutional commissions at hudikatura





# Mala-diktadurang kapangyarihan

Pinakamalala ang Resolution of Both Houses No. 8 (RBH 8):

- bubuwagin ang Kongreso at ibibigay kay Duterte ang LEGISLATIVE POWERS sa panahon ng transisyon
- puputulin ang termino ng mga pinuno ng COMELEC, COA at CSC at papayagan si Duterte na magtalaga ng tig-19 commissioners bawat ahensya
- bibigyan si Duterte ng pagkakataon na balasahin ang mga mahistrado at huwes ng Korte






Katulad ni Marcos, si Duterte ang magiging PANGULO, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF at de-facto PRIME MINISTER na may kapangyarihang MAGTALAGA ng mga kasapi ng Interim Parliament, mga kasapi ng constitutional commissions, mga mahistrado at huwes ng mga Korte.

Samakatuwid, isang DIKTADURA.






Kung maaprubahan  
ang Cha-cha bago  
ang halalan sa 2019,  
ang mga  
kasalukuyang  
senador at  
kongresista ay  
magiging bahagi ng  
“Interim Parliament”  
HANGGANG 2022.

No-EI






Ang mga lokal na opisyal ay MANANATILI din hanggang 2022. Ang mga gobernador at mayor ay magiging kasapi ng “State Commission” na tatayo bilang inisyal na pamahalaan ng mga regional State.

No-EI



The image shows two men standing behind a wooden podium, speaking into microphones. The man on the left is wearing a white long-sleeved shirt and is pointing his right index finger towards the audience. The man on the right is wearing a red long-sleeved shirt. Behind them is a large Philippine flag, with the blue and red stripes visible. The scene appears to be a formal event or press conference.

Pahahabain ang termino ng mga halal na opisyal sa LIMANG TAON at maaring mahalal ng hanggang DALAWANG magkakasunod na termino.

**Term Extension**






Ilalagay sa  
Konstitusyon ang  
mala-PDAF na “annual  
share” ng mga  
mambabatas para sa  
infrastructure, medical,  
educational at social  
services mula sa state  
at federal budget.

**Pork Barrel Pa More**



A photograph of President Rodrigo Duterte, wearing a white traditional Filipino barong tagalog shirt. He is looking slightly to his left with a serious expression. The background is blurred, showing red and blue vertical stripes, likely the Philippine flag.

Pati si Pangulong  
Duterte ay bibigyan  
ng pagkakataon na  
**TUMAKBONG MULI**  
**BILANG PANGULO**  
sa halalang 2022.

**Term Extension**




# Babaguhin ang makabayan at progresibong aspeto ng ekonomiya

**Art. II Sec. 10** The State shall develop a self-reliant and independent national economy effectively controlled by Filipino citizens

**THE STATE SHALL PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DYNAMIC AND PRODUCTIVE ECONOMY WHERE OPPORTUNITIES, INCOME AND WEALTH ARE EQUITABLY DISTRIBUTED.**



An underwater photograph of a coral reef. In the foreground, there is a large, dark, and somewhat blurry coral structure. To the left, a smaller, more vibrant coral patch is visible. Numerous small, reddish-orange fish are swimming in the clear blue water. A large, bright orange 'X' is drawn over the left side of the image, partially obscuring the text.

Art. II, Sec. 1. The  
State shall promote  
comprehensive rural  
development and  
agrarian reform.

**THE STATE SHALL  
PROMOTE RURAL  
DEVELOPMENT, HIGHER  
AGRICULTURAL  
PRODUCTIVITY, AND  
EQUITABLE LAND  
OWNERSHIP  
ARRANGEMENTS.**

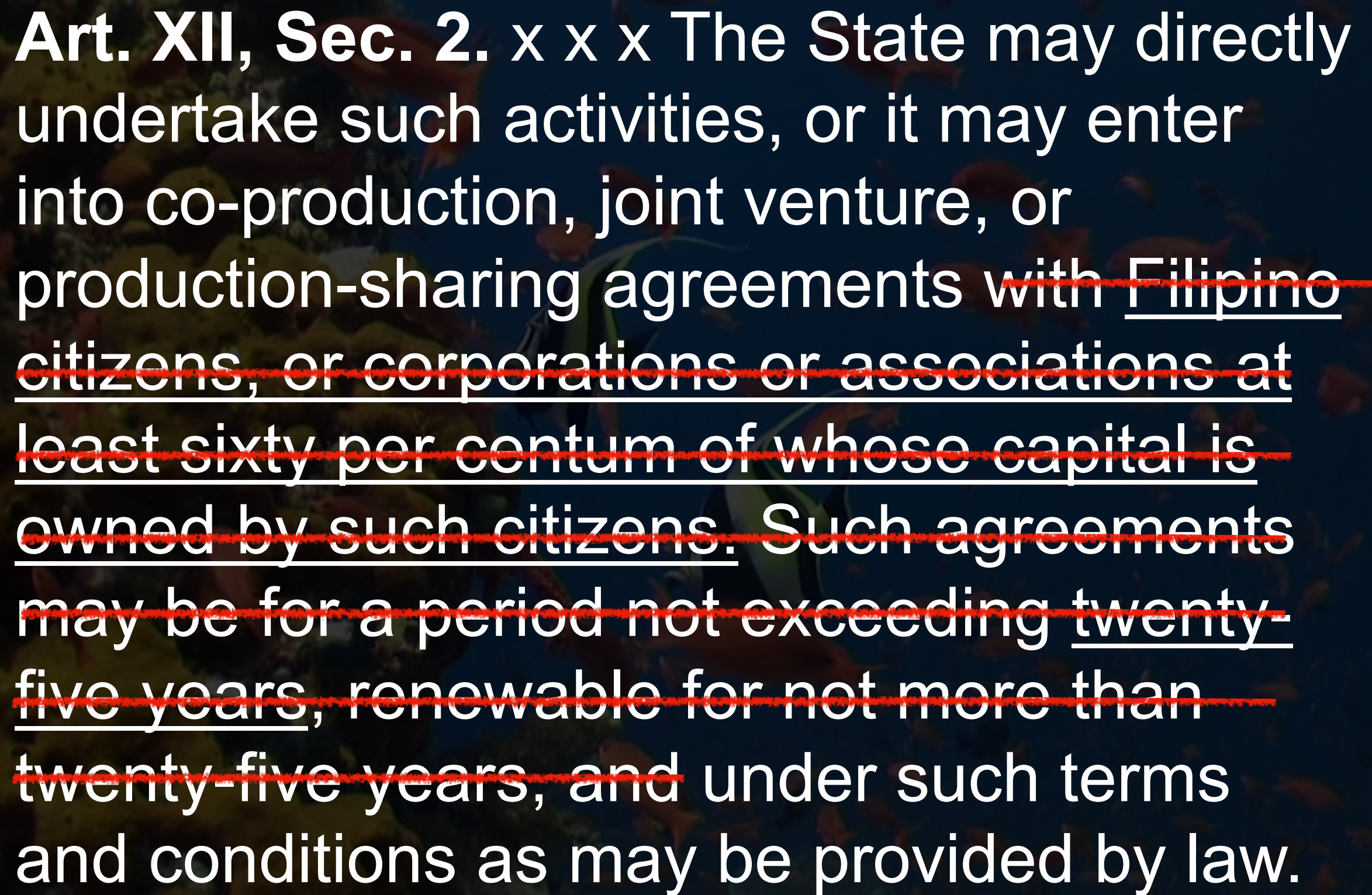


Art. XII Sec. 1. x x x The State shall promote industrialization, full employment based on agriculture, development and agrarian reform, and income that make full and efficient use of human and natural resources which are competitive in domestic and foreign markets. However, the State shall protect enterprises against unfair competition and trade practices.

In the pursuit of these goals, all sectors of the various regions of the country shall be given maximum opportunities to develop state enterprises including corporations, cooperatives, and other collective organizations, shall be encouraged to broaden the base of their ownership.

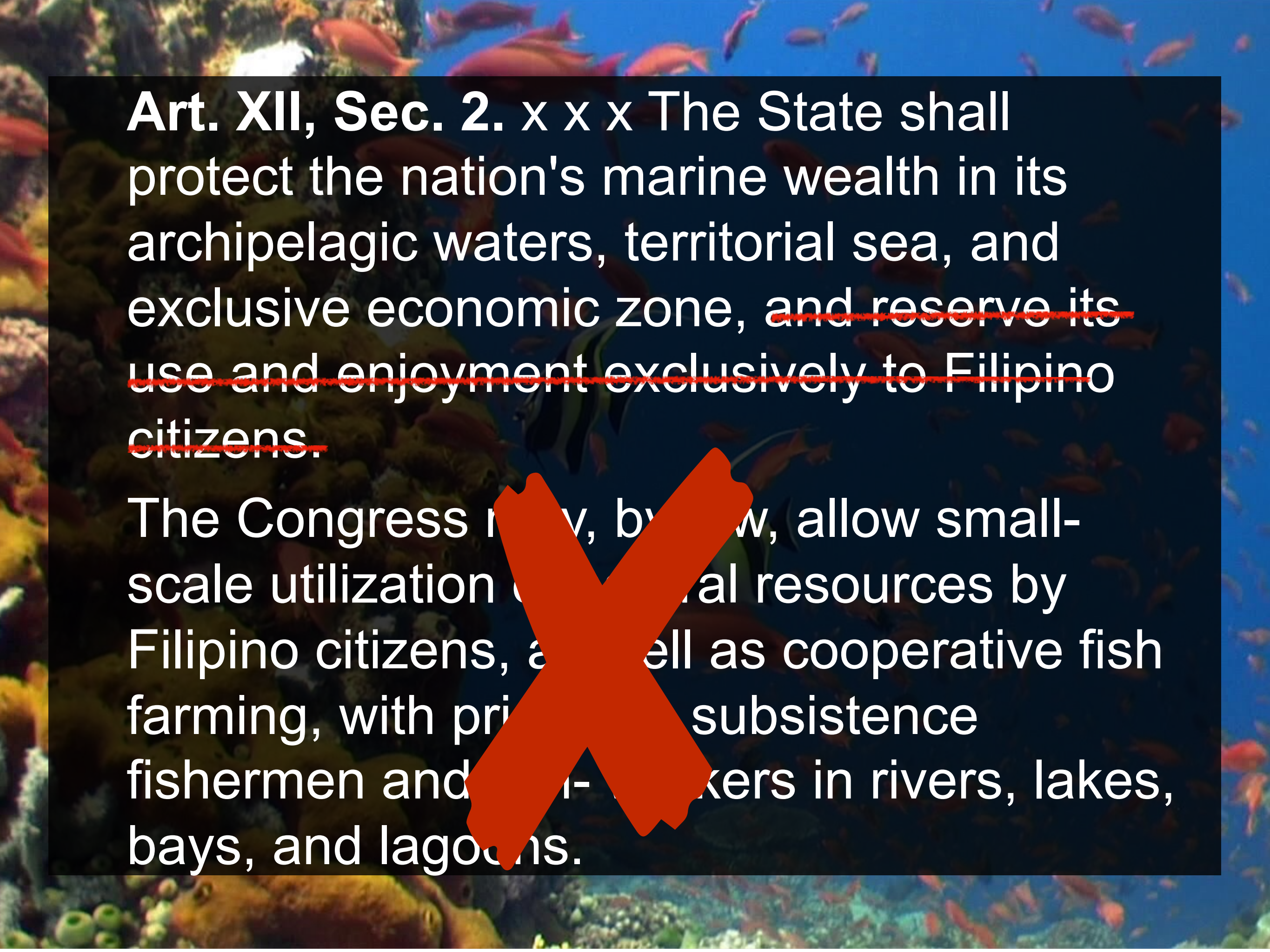
**THE GOALS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY ARE A SUSTAINED INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF GOODS AND SERVICES PRODUCED BY THE NATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE; AN EXPANDING PRODUCTIVITY AS THE KEY TO RAISING THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL, ESPECIALLY THE UNDERPRIVILEGED AND A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF OPPORTUNITIES, INCOME AND WEALTH.**



An underwater scene featuring a vibrant coral reef in the foreground and background, with numerous colorful fish swimming in the clear blue water. The text is overlaid on a dark, semi-transparent rectangular area in the center of the image.

**Art. XII, Sec. 2. x x x** The State may directly undertake such activities, or it may enter into co-production, joint venture, or production-sharing agreements with Filipino citizens, or corporations or associations at least sixty per centum of whose capital is owned by such citizens. Such agreements may be for a period not exceeding twenty-five years, renewable for not more than twenty-five years, and under such terms and conditions as may be provided by law.





**Art. XII, Sec. 2. x x x** The State shall protect the nation's marine wealth in its archipelagic waters, territorial sea, and exclusive economic zone, ~~and reserve its use and enjoyment exclusively to Filipino citizens.~~

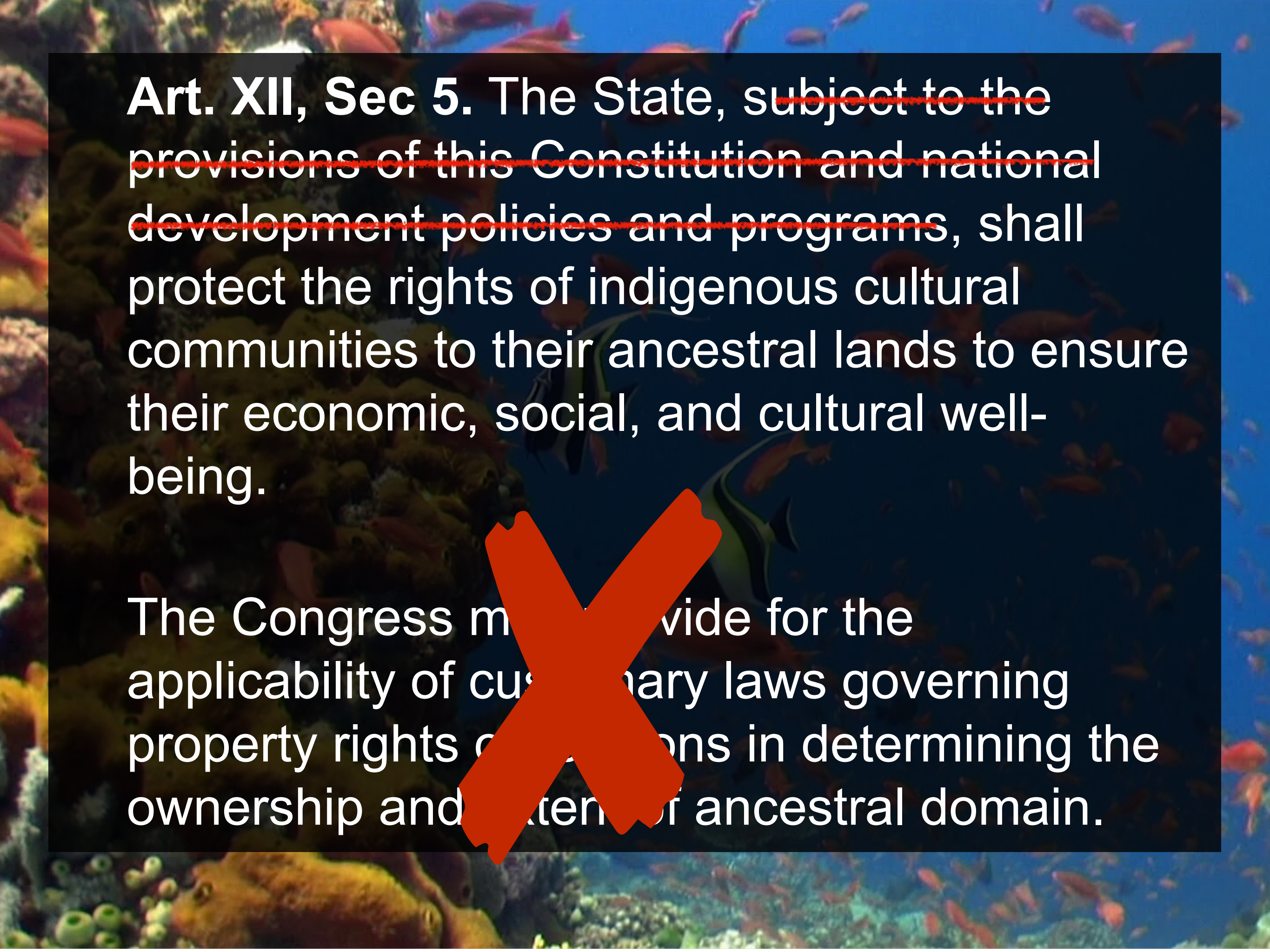
The Congress may, by law, allow small-scale utilization of natural resources by Filipino citizens, as well as cooperative fish farming, with priority to subsistence fishermen and fishworkers in rivers, lakes, bays, and lagoons.



**Art. XII, Sec. 3.** Private corporations or associations may not hold surplusable lands in public domain except by lease, for a period not exceeding twenty-five years, renewable for more twenty-five years, and not to exceed one hectare in area. Citizens of the Philippines may acquire not more than five hundred hectares, or acquire not more than twelve hectares thereof, by purchase, homestead, or gift.

Taking into account the needs of conservation, ecology, and development subject to the requirements of agrarian reform, the State shall determine, by law, the size of lands in the public domain which may be acquired, developed, held, or used, and the conditions therefor.





**Art. XII, Sec 5.** The State, ~~subject to the provisions of this Constitution and national development policies and programs,~~ shall protect the rights of indigenous cultural communities to their ancestral lands to ensure their economic, social, and cultural well-being.

The Congress may provide for the applicability of customary laws governing property rights and relations in determining the ownership and extent of ancestral domain.



Art. XII, Sec 10. The Congress shall, upon recommendation of the economic and planning agency, when the national interest dictates, reserve to the citizens of the Philippines or to corporations or associations at least sixty per centum of whose capital is owned by such citizens, or such higher percentage as Congress may prescribe, certain areas of investments. The Congress shall enact measures that will encourage the formation and operation of enterprises whose capital is wholly owned by Filipinos.

In the grant of rights, privileges, and concessions covering the national economy and patrimony, the State shall give preference to qualified Filipinos.

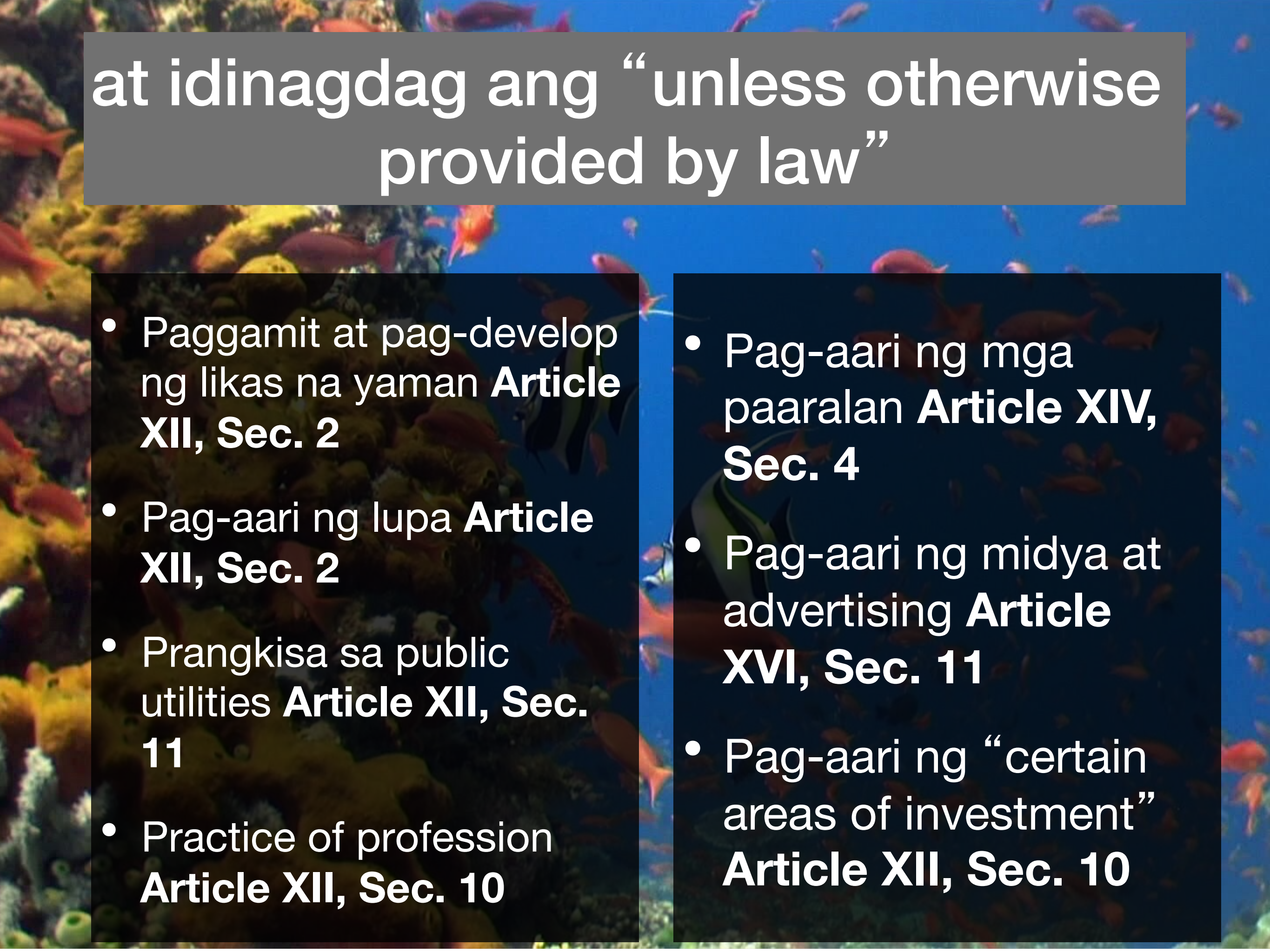
The State shall regulate and exercise authority over foreign investments within its national jurisdiction and in accordance with its national goals and priorities.



# Tanggal ang limitasyon sa pag-aari ng dayuhan sa sumusunod:

- Paggamit at pag-develop ng likas na yaman **Article XII, Sec. 2**
- Pag-aari ng lupa **Article XII, Sec. 2**
- Prangkisa sa public utilities **Article XII, Sec. 11**
- Practice of profession **Article XII, Sec. 10**
- Pag-aari ng mga paaralan **Article XIV, Sec. 4**
- Pag-aari ng midya at advertising **Article XVI, Sec. 11**
- Pag-aari ng “certain areas of investment” **Article XII, Sec. 10**





at idinagdag ang “unless otherwise  
provided by law”

- Paggamit at pag-develop ng likas na yaman **Article XII, Sec. 2**
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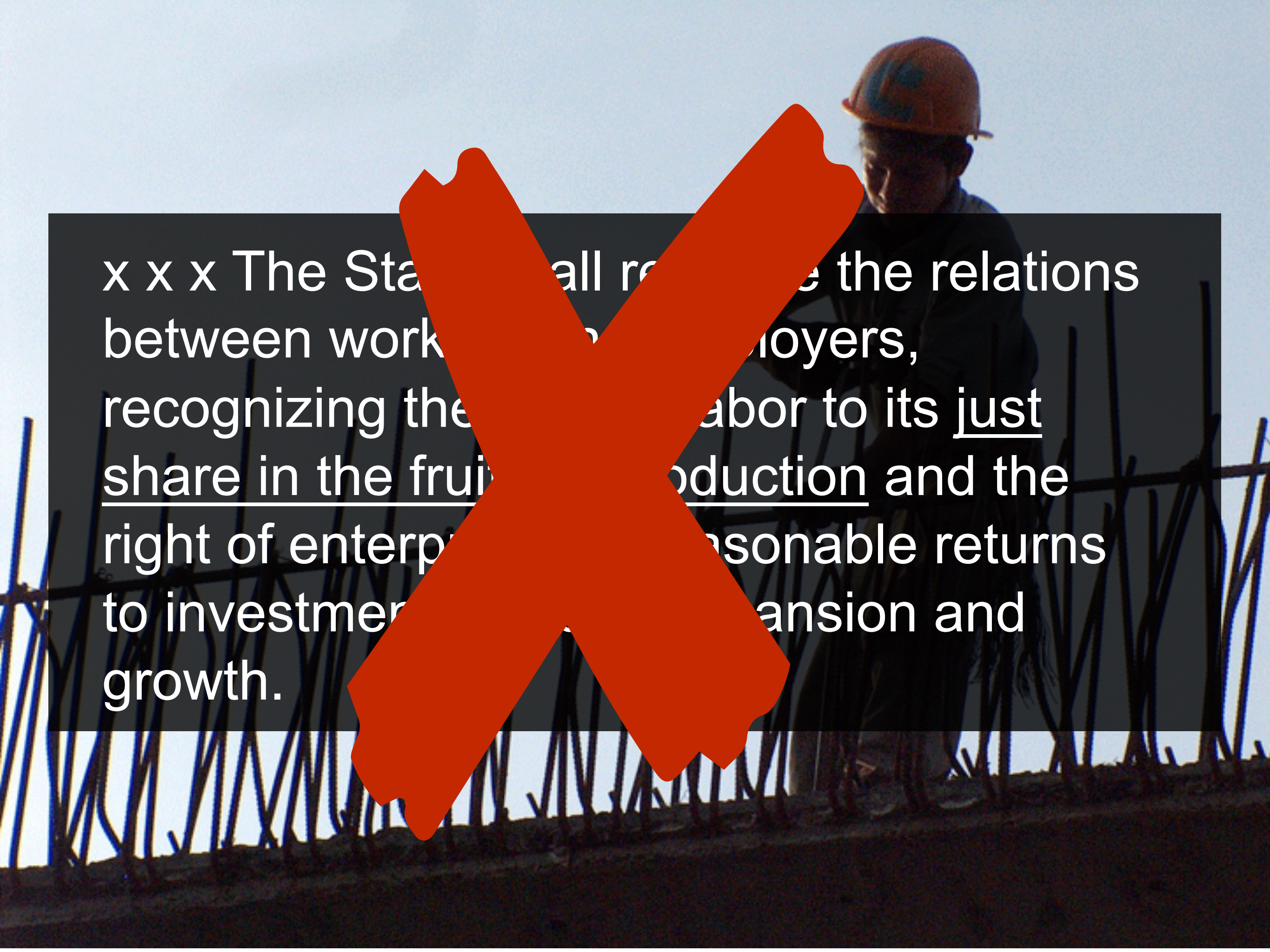


# Atake sa mga karapatan ng mamamayan

**Art. XIII, Sec. 3.** The State shall afford full protection to labor, local and overseas, organized and unorganized, and promote full employment and equality of employment opportunities for all.

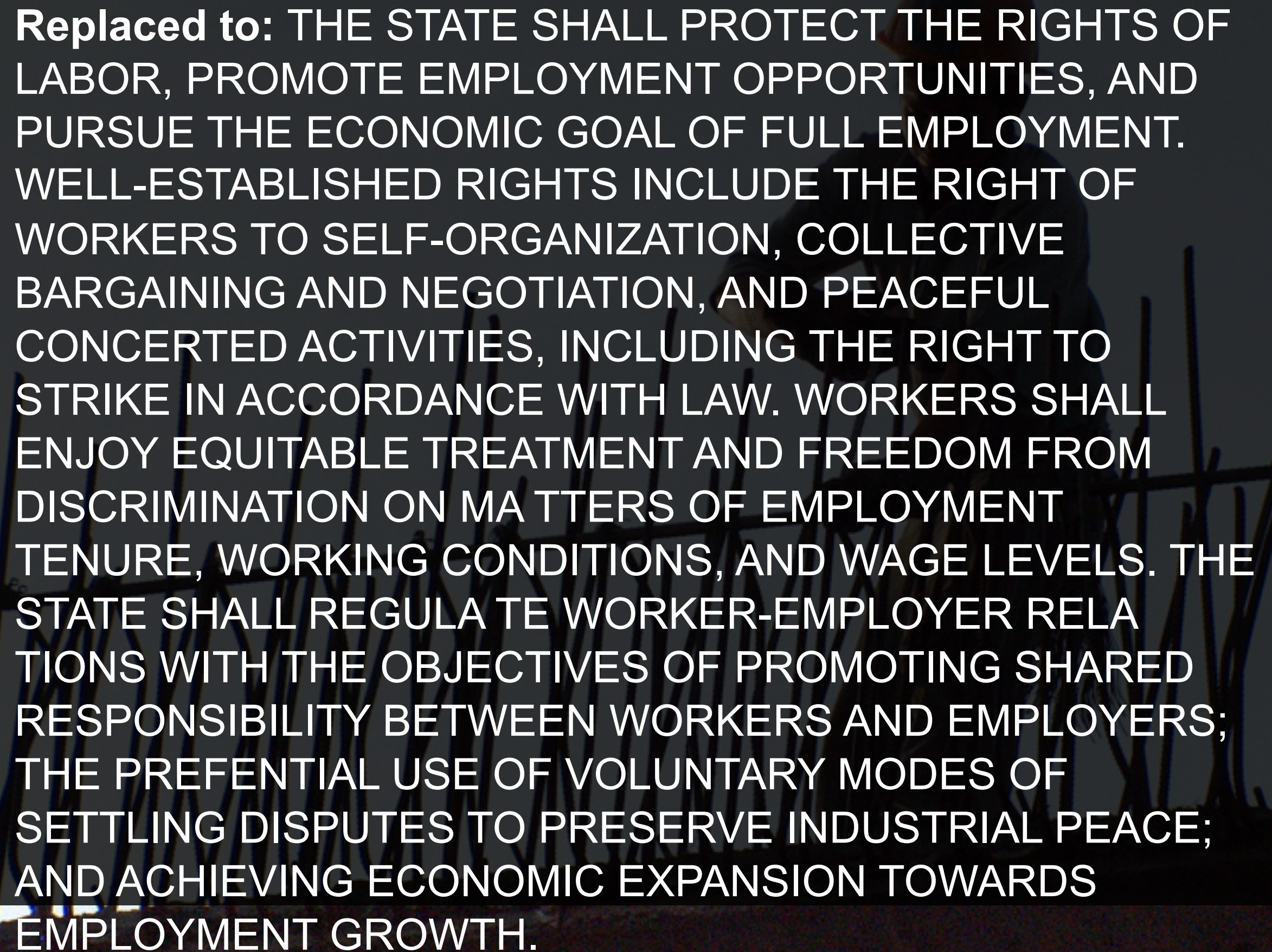
It shall guarantee the rights of all workers to self-organization, collective bargaining and negotiations, and peaceful concerted activities, including the right to strike in accordance with law. ~~They shall be entitled to security of tenure, humane conditions of work, and a living wage. They shall also participate in policy and decision-making processes affecting their rights and benefits as may be provided by law.~~





x x x The State shall regulate the relations between workers and employers, recognizing the right of labor to its just share in the fruit of production and the right of enterprise to reasonable returns to investment for expansion and growth.



A person in silhouette is working on a construction site, surrounded by scaffolding. The background is a bright, hazy sky. The text is overlaid on a dark, semi-transparent rectangular area.

**Replaced to:** THE STATE SHALL PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF LABOR, PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES, AND PURSUE THE ECONOMIC GOAL OF FULL EMPLOYMENT. WELL-ESTABLISHED RIGHTS INCLUDE THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO SELF-ORGANIZATION, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND NEGOTIATION, AND PEACEFUL CONCERTED ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW. WORKERS SHALL ENJOY EQUITABLE TREATMENT AND FREEDOM FROM DISCRIMINATION ON MATTERS OF EMPLOYMENT TENURE, WORKING CONDITIONS, AND WAGE LEVELS. THE STATE SHALL REGULATE WORKER-EMPLOYER RELATIONS WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF PROMOTING SHARED RESPONSIBILITY BETWEEN WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS; THE PREFERENTIAL USE OF VOLUNTARY MODES OF SETTling DISPUTES TO PRESERVE INDUSTRIAL PEACE; AND ACHIEVING ECONOMIC EXPANSION TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT GROWTH.



**Art. XIII, Sec 4.** The State shall, by law, undertake an agrarian reform program founded on the right of farmers and regular farmworkers, who are landless, to own directly or collectively the land they till or, in the case of other farmers, to have a just share of the fruits thereof. The State shall encourage and undertake the acquisition of all agricultural lands, subject to such terms and reasonable retention limits as the law may prescribe, taking into account ecological, social, or equity considerations, and the payment of just compensation. Within the retention limits, the State shall respect the rights of small farmers. The State shall further encourage voluntary land-sharing.




**Sec. 5** on support to farmers' organizations

**Sec. 6** on application of a land reform in other land arrangements

**Sec. 7** on support to subsistence fishermen including protection against foreign intrusion and just share to the fishers

**Sec. 8** on provision of loans to landowners to invest in irrigation, employment creation and other enterprises






**Amended to: THE STATE SHALL PROMOTE ECONOMIC EXPANSION, HIGHER PRODUCTIVITY, AND EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FRUITS OF GROWTH IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, INCLUDING THE REFORM OF LAND OWNERSHIP ARRANGEMENTS TO CORRECT HISTORICAL INJUSTICES AND REMOVE IMPEDIMENTS TO GROWTH.**



**Sec 9.** The State shall, by law, and for the common good, undertake, in cooperation with the private sector, a continuing program of urban land reform and housing which will make available affordable rent housing and basic services to homeless citizens in urban centers and slums. It shall also promote adequate employment to such citizens. In the implementation of such program, the State shall respect the rights of small property owners.

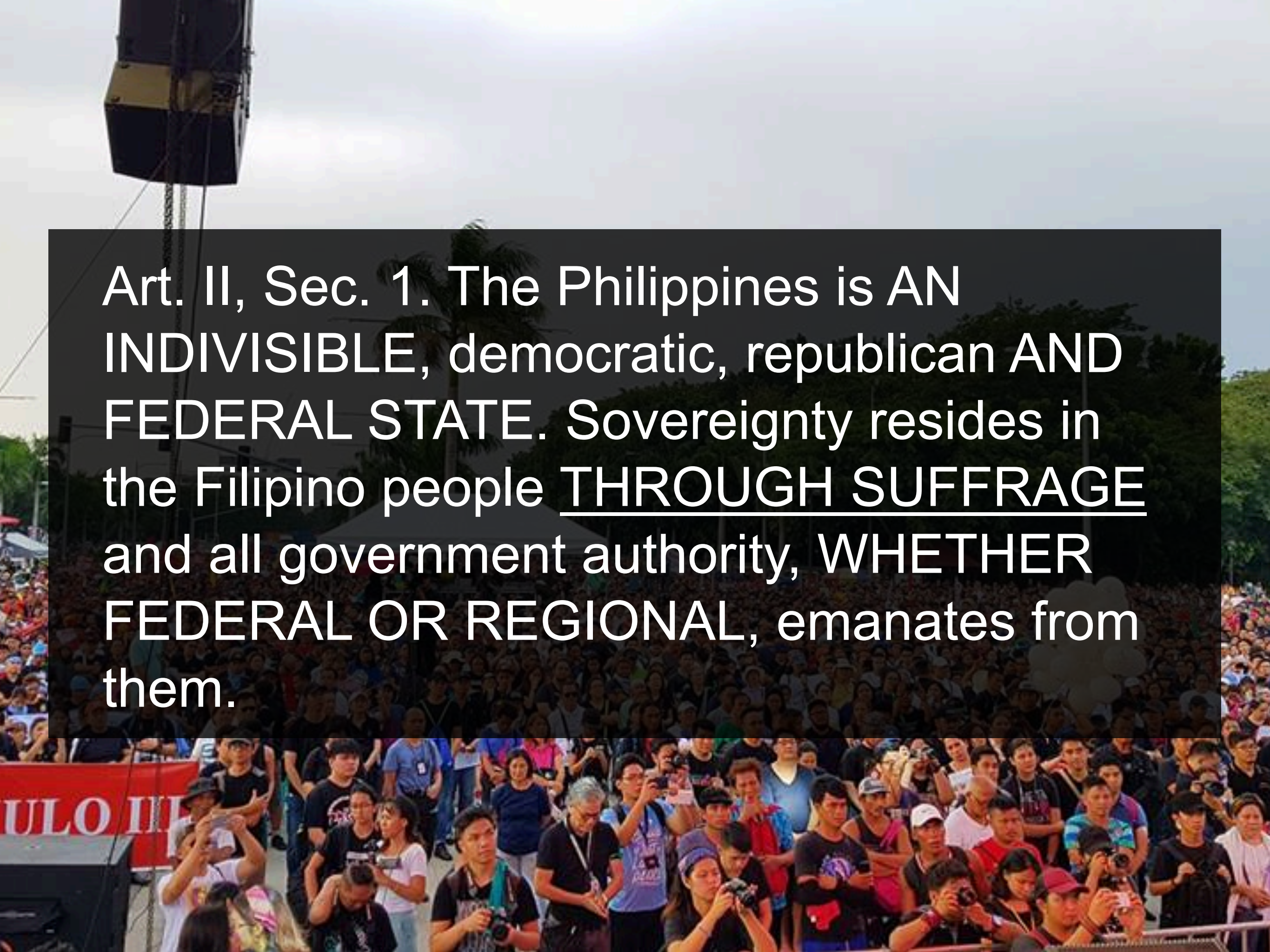
**Sec 10.** Urban owners shall not be evicted nor their dwelling demolished in accordance with law and in a just manner. No resettlement of urban or rural dwellers shall be undertaken without adequate consultation with them and the communities where they are to be relocated.



A photograph of a family of five standing in front of a traditional wooden house with a thatched roof. The father is in the center back, smiling. To his left is the mother, also smiling. In front of them are three children: a girl on the left in a red patterned dress, a boy in the center in a yellow shirt and blue pants with Minnie Mouse graphics, and another boy on the right in a purple shirt and grey shorts. The house behind them has a woven bamboo lattice wall and a thatched roof. The scene is outdoors with greenery visible on the sides.

**Replaced to:** THE STATE SHALL PROMOTE THE CONSTRUCTION OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING AND THE PROVISION OF BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES TO HOMELESS CITIZENS IN URBAN AREAS AND RESETTLEMENT AREAS. INFORMAL SETTLERS SHALL NEITHER BE EVICTED NOR RESETTLED EXCEPT IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW AND UPON PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THEM AND WITH THE COMMUNITIES WHERE THEY WILL BE RESETTLED<sup>129</sup>.

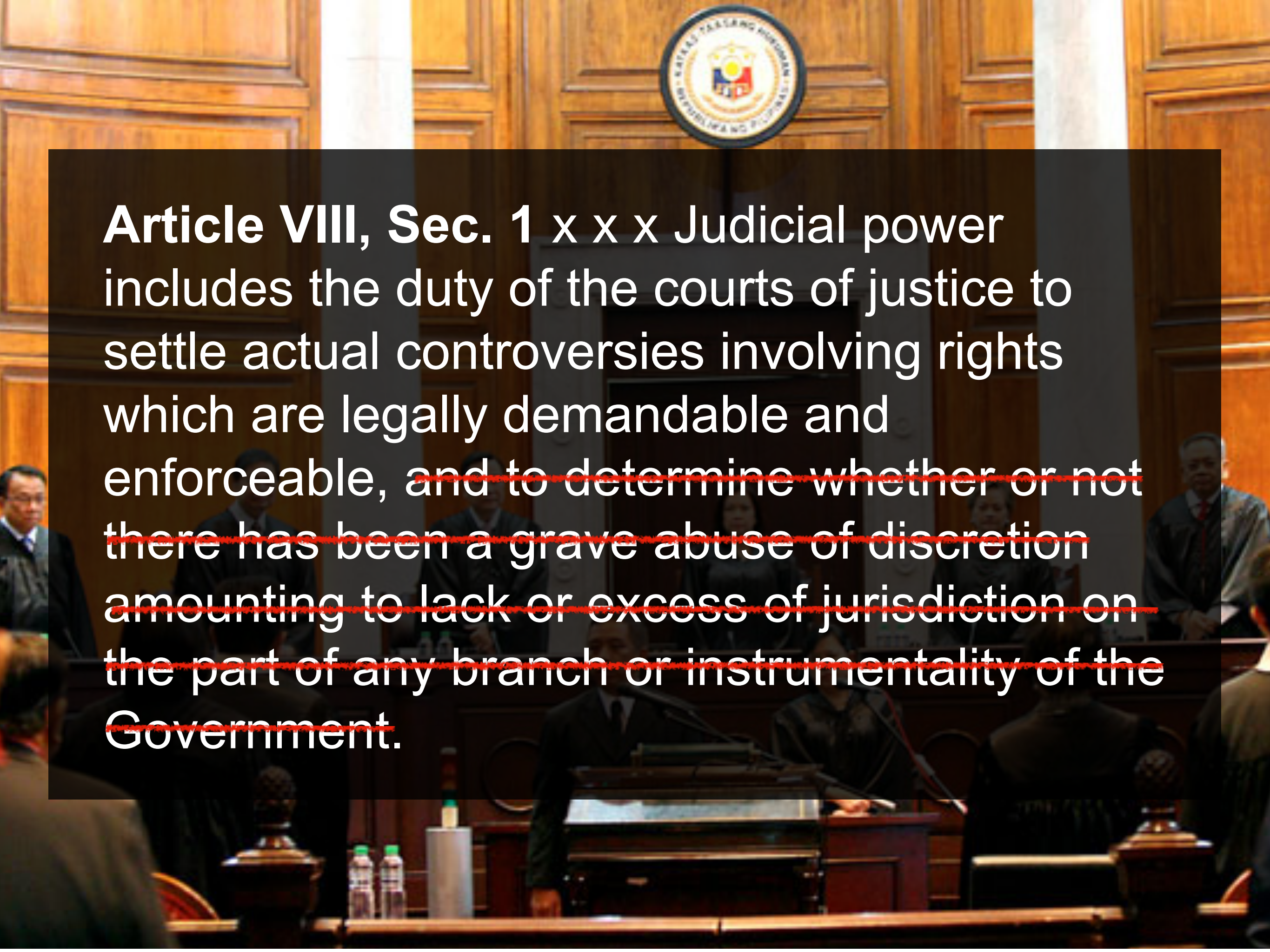




Art. II, Sec. 1. The Philippines is AN  
INDIVISIBLE, democratic, republican AND  
FEDERAL STATE. Sovereignty resides in  
the Filipino people THROUGH SUFFRAGE  
and all government authority, WHETHER  
FEDERAL OR REGIONAL, emanates from  
them.

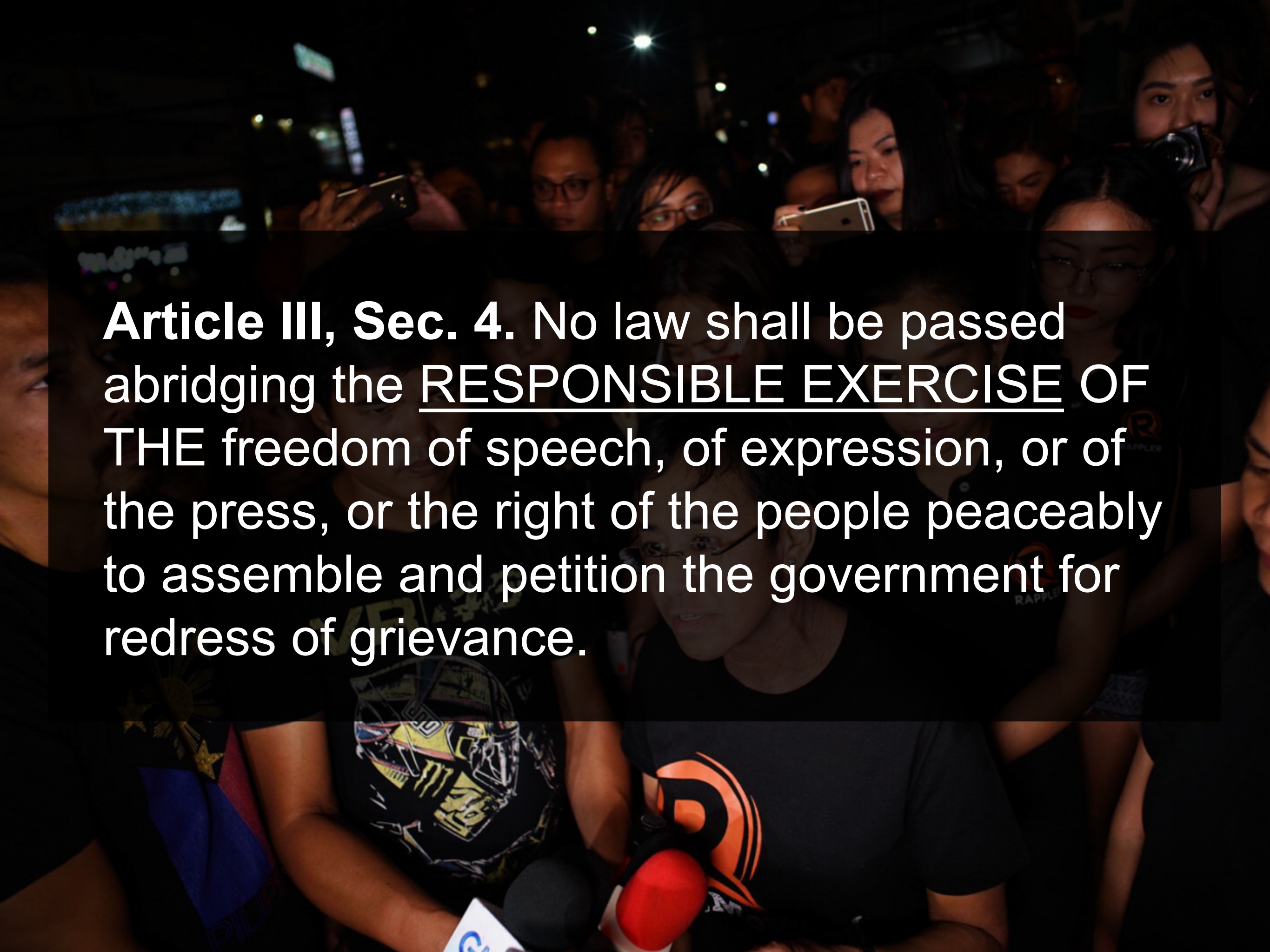






**Article VIII, Sec. 1** x x x Judicial power includes the duty of the courts of justice to settle actual controversies involving rights which are legally demandable and enforceable, ~~and to determine whether or not there has been a grave abuse of discretion amounting to lack or excess of jurisdiction on the part of any branch or instrumentality of the Government.~~



A crowd of people at night, some holding up phones to record, with a text overlay. The background is dark with some blurred lights. In the foreground, a person is wearing a black t-shirt with a graphic of a car. Another person is holding a microphone with a red foam cover. A person in the background is holding a camera. The text is white and bold, with the words 'RESPONSIBLE EXERCISE' underlined.

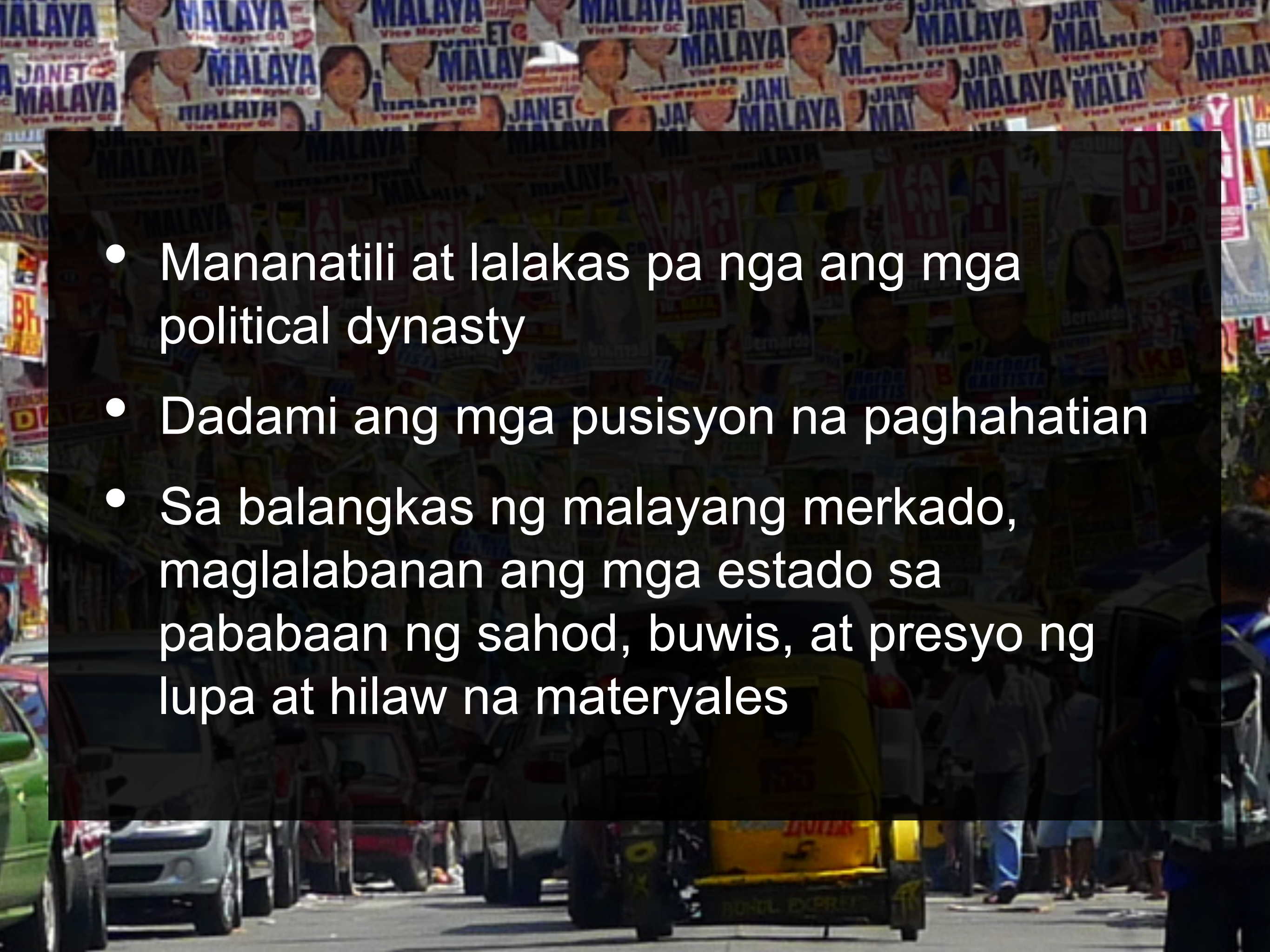
**Article III, Sec. 4.** No law shall be passed abridging the RESPONSIBLE EXERCISE OF THE freedom of speech, of expression, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievance.



# Dagdag na poder sa mga naghahari

- Limang estado: Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao, Bangsamoro, NCR
- Pamumunuan ng isang Premier at ng State Assembly
- Sa transition period, pamumunuan ng State Commission at Consultative Assembly
- Ang Parliament ay bubuuin ng Senate at Federal Assembly
- Magmumula sa Federal Assembly ang Prime Minister at kanyang kabinete
- Ang Prime Minister ang Head of Government habang Head of State ang Pangulo

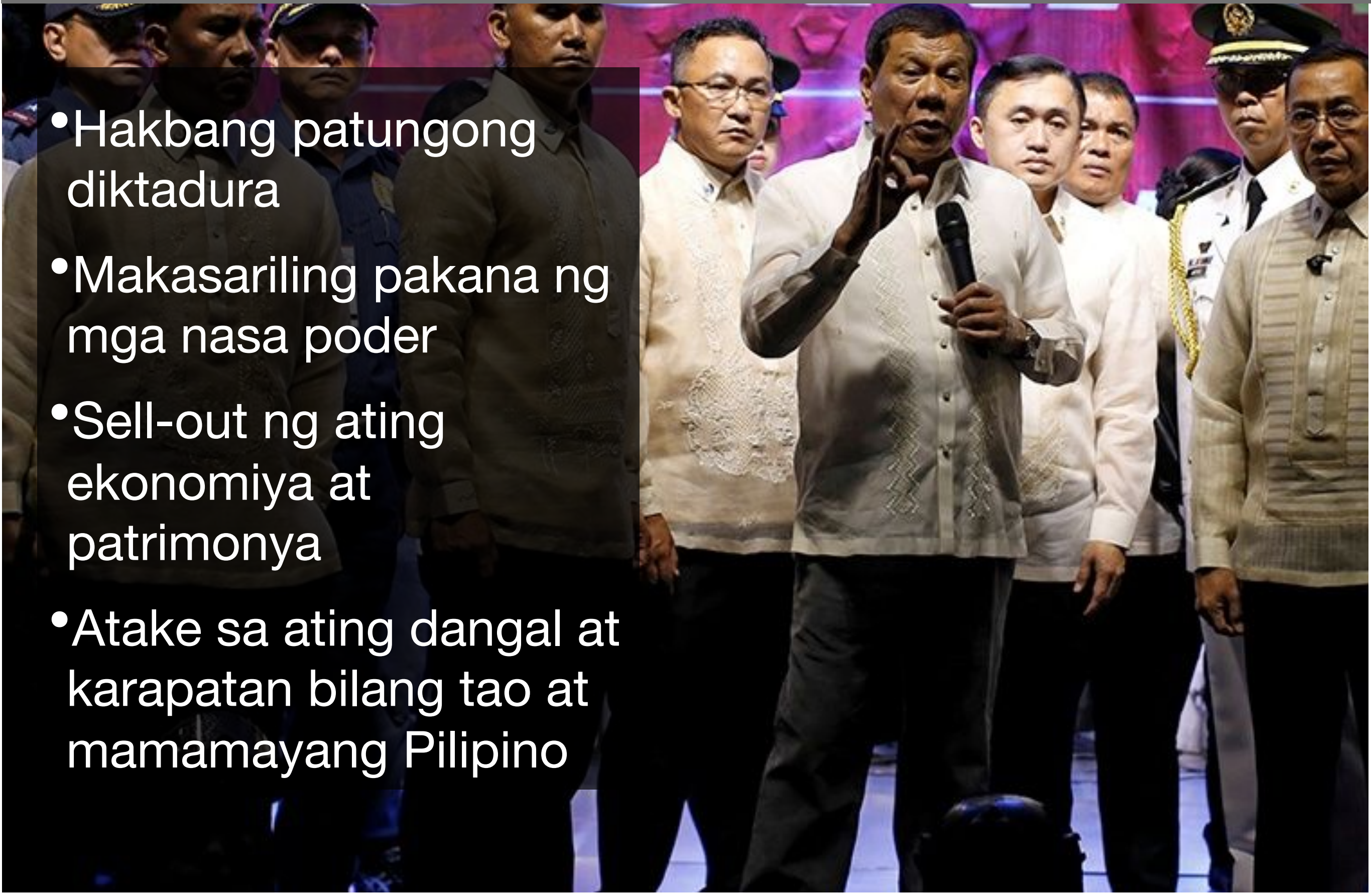


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- Mananatili at lalakas pa nga ang mga political dynasty
  - Dadami ang mga pusisyon na paghahatian
  - Sa balangkas ng malayang merkado, maglalabanan ang mga estado sa pababaaan ng sahod, buwis, at presyo ng lupa at hilaw na materyales



# Ang Cha-cha ni Duterte ay:

- Hakbang patungong diktadura
- Makasariling pakana ng mga nasa poder
- Sell-out ng ating ekonomiya at patrimonya
- Atake sa ating dangal at karapatan bilang tao at mamamayang Pilipino





Sa ngayon,  
niraratsada ni  
Duterte at  
kanyang  
“supermajority”  
sa Kamara ang  
Cha-cha sa  
pamamagitan ng  
Con-Ass.





**Ano ang ating tugon?**



- Mag-aral
- Manindigan
- Lumaban

