

Republic of the Philippines
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Batasan Hills, Quezon City

TWENTIETH CONGRESS
First Regular Session



HOUSE Resolution No. 515

Introduced by
ACT Teachers Party-List Rep. ANTONIO L. TINIO,
Gabriela Women's Party Rep. SARAH JANE I. ELAGO,
and **KABATAAN Party-List Rep. RENEE LOUISE M. CO**

RESOLUTION
CALLING FOR AN URGENT INVESTIGATION, IN AID OF LEGISLATION, INTO
THE CLAIMS OF FORMER HOUSE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
CHAIRPERSON ELIZALDY CO AND FORMER DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC
WORKS AND HIGHWAYS UNDERSECRETARY ROBERTO BERNARDO
REGARDING INSERTIONS AND PAYMENT OF KICKBACKS IN THE 2025
NATIONAL BUDGET, ALLEGEDLY ORDERED BY PRESIDENT FERDINAND
MARCOS, JR.

WHEREAS, public outrage has been steadily mounting over worsening floods amid revelations of ghost projects, overpricing, kickbacks, and other forms of corruption in flood control projects where Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) and national government officials have been implicated;

WHEREAS, the flood controversy sparked several investigations by this House, the Senate, the Office of the Ombudsman, and the newly-created Independent Commission on Infrastructure;

WHEREAS, on November 14, 2025, while the Senate Blue Ribbon Committee hearing was ongoing, former Ako Bicol Representative and House Committee on Appropriations Chairperson Elizaldy Co, who is currently out of the country, broke his silence over the controversy by releasing a "tell-all video" on social media, followed by two other videos in the succeeding days;

WHEREAS, former Rep. Co made the following allegations:

1. President Ferdinand Marcos, Jr. ordered budget insertions amounting to ₱100 billion in the 2025 General Appropriations Act (GAA), as communicated by then-Secretary of the Department of Budget and Management (DBM) Amenah Pangandaman and Presidential Legislative Liaison Office (PLLO) Undersecretary Adrian Bersamin;

2. Former House Speaker and presidential cousin Martin Romualdez, when public outrage against deadly floods and the flood control scandal was rising, told him to “stay out of the country, and you will be well taken care of as instructed by the President”;
3. In late 2024, when the bicameral conference proceedings for the 2025 budget began, then-DBM Secretary Pangandaman called him, informing him that she just came from a meeting with President Marcos and that “there were instructions to insert or put ₱100 billion worth of projects in the bicam”;
4. PLLO Undersecretary Adrian Bersamin, nephew of then-Executive Secretary Lucas Bersamin, confirmed to former Rep. Co this directive of the President, as Pangandaman stated that both she and Bersamin were at that meeting with the President;
5. Then-Speaker Romualdez told him, when he immediately called the former Speaker after Bersamin’s confirmation, “What the president wants, he gets”;
6. A few days later, then-Secretary Pangandaman and then-Undersecretary Bersamin arranged a meeting with him and Romualdez at the Aguada Building in Malacañang. At that meeting, which was also attended by Department of Justice Undersecretary Jose Cadiz, Jr., Bersamin gave him a list of projects that the President ordered inserted;
7. Former Rep. Co believed that the order indeed came from President Marcos because the list of projects to be inserted came from, according to Bersamin, a “brown leather bag” which former Rep. Co recognized as the one in the possession of the Presidential Security Group and the President back in 2022, when he, Rep. Romualdez, and the President were in Singapore;
8. The insertions remained at the full amount as per orders of the President, despite former Rep. Co’s suggestion to split the amount—placing half in the programmed appropriations and half in the Unprogrammed Fund;
9. The President and Rep. Romualdez reneged on their promised protection when he was charged with corruption cases, and instead asked him to return to the Philippines to face them;
10. He personally delivered kickbacks in luggage bags to the houses of the President and Rep. Romualdez;

WHEREAS, former Rep. Co disclosed the list of projects that the President allegedly ordered inserted in the 2025 GAA, consisting mostly of roadworks, drainage projects, and other items for various agencies, including ₱5.4 billion for “ASEAN Summit and Meetings for 2026” under the Office of the President. When compared against the 2025 National Expenditure Program and the final 2025 GAA, these items can be verified as insertions;

WHEREAS, while the Office of the President has denied these allegations, former Rep. Co’s revelations—coming from the head of the Committee tasked with the budget process and a key person in the secretive bicameral proceedings—constitute strong indications of involvement by the Office of the President, and possibly the President himself, in budget insertions and payoffs. The detailed allegations of discussions on how these insertions were to be carried out indicate that corruption involving billions of public funds was orchestrated at the highest levels

of government—something that could not have occurred without the knowledge or consent of the President;

WHEREAS, Senate President Pro Tempore Panfilo Lacson corroborated former Rep. Co's allegations regarding the ₱100-billion insertions. Citing the alleged sworn testimony of former DPWH Undersecretary Roberto Bernardo, Senator Lacson stated that Undersecretaries Bersamin and Trygve Olaivar "namedropped" the President to facilitate the insertions, claiming to then-DPWH Secretary Manuel Bonoan that "we will take care of it [the inserted projects]";

WHEREAS, former Undersecretary Bernardo, in his November 14, 2025 testimony before the Senate Blue Ribbon Committee and in other statements relayed by Senator Lacson, provided additional details confirming the 2025 insertions and the billion-peso "commitments" raining down on officials surrounding the President:

1. "SOPs" or kickbacks were delivered by Undersecretary Bernardo to officials such as Department of Education (DepEd) Undersecretary Olaivar and PLLO Undersecretary Bersamin after the projects were inserted in the budget. These SOPs were delivered in 10 tranches at the Diamond Hotel using armored cars, ranging from ₱800 million to ₱2 billion each;
2. Bernardo learned from Olaivar that ₱52 billion in insertions were "facilitated" by former Executive Secretary Lucas Bersamin, who allegedly informed former DPWH Secretary Bonoan that they would "take care" of these insertions;
3. Former DPWH Secretary Bonoan, who was allowed to resign when the flood control controversy broke out, reportedly received ₱1 billion in kickbacks, according to Senator Lacson citing Bernardo;
4. Bernardo had direct knowledge of the insertion and kickback system within the DPWH during Bonoan's tenure as Secretary, but he was also aware of similar practices during the administration of former President Rodrigo Duterte and under GAAs prior to 2025 during the term of former Secretary Mark Villar. From Bonoan's appointment to his resignation as DPWH chief, Bernardo stated he handled at least ₱5 billion per year for 2023, 2024, and 2025, with an average of 15% going to "commitments";
5. Senator Lacson stated that Bernardo had handwritten notes containing his testimony and the names of personalities allegedly involved in the insertions and kickbacks. The Senator announced that he had already submitted these notes to President Marcos;

WHEREAS, on November 24, 2025, former Rep. Co released another video containing further explosive allegations detailing the systematic and extensive nature of the corruption scheme:

1. Upon his assumption as chairperson of the House Committee on Appropriations, former Speaker Romualdez instructed him to deliver ₱2 billion to Romualdez per month, which amount would be shared between Romualdez and President Marcos, Jr.;
2. The share in DPWH kickbacks was distributed as follows: 22% for Romualdez, 2% for Undersecretary Bernardo, and 1% for DPWH Bulacan 1st District Engineer Alcantara;

3. The delivery scheme operated as follows: Alcantara coordinates with and delivers money to Rep. Co's staff John Paul Estrada and Mark Tecsay; Rep. Co's staff then coordinates with Jocelyn Sereno, Rep. Romualdez's staff; Rep. Co states that he only confirmed the delivery to Romualdez through text message;
4. A total of ₱55 billion was delivered to Romualdez's house;
5. He (Rep. Co) personally delivered ₱1 billion in two tranches to Undersecretary Cadiz, who would then deliver it to President Marcos, Jr.'s residence in Forbes Park;
6. From 2022 to 2025, the total SOP delivered for President Marcos Jr. amounts to ₱56 billion;
7. This ₱56 billion does not yet include the SOP from the aforementioned ₱100-billion insertion during the bicameral conference committee proceedings for the 2025 budget, as well as the ₱97 billion in flood control projects inserted in the 2026 proposed national budget or National Expenditure Program;
8. President Marcos, Jr. reportedly remained angry despite the delivery of ₱56 billion and the insertion of ₱100 billion during the bicameral conference committee hearing;

WHEREAS, these additional revelations establish a pattern of institutionalized corruption at the highest levels of government, involving not only budget insertions but a sophisticated and long-running system of monthly kickbacks and profit-sharing arrangements that allegedly directly implicate the President and his closest political allies;

WHEREAS, the magnitude of the alleged corruption—involving at least ₱156 billion when combining the ₱56-billion SOPs and the ₱100-billion insertions—represents an unconscionable theft from the Filipino people, diverting massive public funds that could have been used for social services, education, healthcare, and other urgent needs of the masses;

WHEREAS, this systematic plunder of public resources has direct consequences for the Filipino people: substandard or non-existent flood control projects lead to loss of lives and livelihoods during typhoons and floods; diverted funds mean inadequate public services, crumbling infrastructure, and unmet social needs; and the culture of corruption at the highest levels perpetuates the oppression and exploitation of the masses;

WHEREAS, even before any official statement from the Office of the President or President Marcos himself, Senator Lacson and Ombudsman Remulla prematurely concluded that the President had no participation in the insertion and corruption scheme, claiming that his name was merely used to facilitate the insertions. However, such conclusions are premature and were made without the benefit of thorough investigation;

WHEREAS, a comprehensive investigation is vital given that the allegations are direct testimonies from individuals with intimate knowledge of the inner workings of the budget process—a process that has largely been kept from public scrutiny. The persons implicated include the President himself and his top officials and key persons in his administration: former Speaker Romualdez, former Executive Secretary Lucas Bersamin, former Budget Secretary Pangandaman, former PLLO Undersecretary Adrian Bersamin, former Undersecretary Olaivar, and DOJ Undersecretary Cadiz;

WHEREAS, these implicated personalities have either resigned or been dismissed by the administration under circumstances that suggest an intention to shield them—and possibly the President—from further public scrutiny and from necessary investigation;

WHEREAS, the pattern of sudden resignations and dismissals, combined with the detailed and corroborating testimonies from multiple sources, demands a thorough and independent investigation that follows the evidence wherever it may lead, regardless of how highly placed the officials involved may be;

WHEREAS, given that these grave allegations involve billions of pesos in taxpayers' money and heavily impact the lives of millions of Filipinos, Congress has a constitutional duty to investigate them thoroughly, with the aim of:

1. Strengthening laws on national government budgeting to prevent such massive insertions and diversions;
2. Enhancing the public's right to information and the government's duty of disclosure, particularly on matters involving public funds;
3. Improving transparency in the bicameral conference committee proceedings, which have historically been conducted in secrecy;
4. Establishing stronger safeguards against corruption in the budget process; and
5. Enacting other related legislation necessary to protect public funds and ensure accountability;

WHEREAS, Congress must likewise exercise its oversight function on the implementation—or lack thereof—of existing laws against corruption and plunder. All officials involved in corruption, from past and present administrations, from the small fry to especially the big fish, must be held accountable;

WHEREAS, the resounding cry of the people, “Lahat ng sangkot, dapat managot,” and the demand for justice from the millions of victims of floods and the man-made disaster that is the diversion of public funds for private gain, must not only be heard but must be acted upon to the fullest extent;

WHEREAS, genuine accountability requires that investigations not be limited to convenient scapegoats but must reach the highest levels of power where these schemes were allegedly orchestrated and from which they were allegedly ordered.

NOW THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, AS IT IS HEREBY RESOLVED, that the House of Representatives call for an urgent investigation, in aid of legislation, into the claims of former House Committee on Appropriations Chairperson Elizaldy Co and former Department of Public Works and Highways Undersecretary Roberto Bernardo regarding the alleged insertions and payment of kickbacks in the 2025 national budget, which they allege were ordered by President Ferdinand Marcos, Jr.;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the House of Representatives, through the appropriate committee or committees, summon the following individuals to testify, expound upon, and clarify the allegations, and to produce all relevant documents and evidence:

1. Former Rep. Elizaldy Co;


2. Former DPWH Undersecretary Roberto Bernardo;
3. Former House Speaker Martin Romualdez;
4. Former Executive Secretary Lucas Bersamin;
5. Former DBM Secretary Amenah Pangandaman;
6. Former DPWH Secretary Manuel Bonoan;
7. Former DPWH Bulacan 1st District Engineer Henry Alcantara
8. Former DepEd Undersecretary Trygve Olaivar;
9. Former PLLO Undersecretary Adrian Bersamin;
10. Department of Justice Undersecretary Jose Cadiz, Jr.;
11. John Paul Estrada;
12. Mark Tecsay;
13. Jocelyn Sereno;
14. Other persons who may have relevant information regarding these allegations;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the investigation be conducted with transparency and that the public be given full access to the proceedings, consistent with the people's right to know how their public funds are being used and misused;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the House of Representatives direct the appropriate committees to submit their findings and recommendations within a reasonable period, including proposed legislation to address the systemic weaknesses in the budget process that have allowed such massive corruption to occur;

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that copies of this Resolution be furnished to the Office of the President, the Senate of the Philippines, the Office of the Ombudsman, the Commission on Audit, the Department of Justice.

Adopted.



REP. ANTONIO L. TINIO
ACT Teachers Party-List



REP. SARAH JANE I. ELAGO
Gabriela Women's Party



REP. RENEE LOUISE M. CO
KABATAAN Party-List