



KATARUNGAN:

The Filipino People vs. the U.S. Government, and the Marcos and the Duterte Regimes

Findings and Ruling of the International War Crimes Tribunal on the U.S.-directed Counterrevolutionary War in the Philippines

May 17-18, 2024 Brussels, Belgium





The IPT 2024 is convened by the International Association for Democratic Lawyers (IADL) and the Friends of the Filipino People in Struggle (FFPS) to investigate and address the war crimes committed by the U.S.-supported Marcos and Duterte regimes.

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Glenn Mercado, Joe Lampasa, Troy Osaki, Victoria Aquino, Kenji Sario, Nikky Guzman, People Organizing for Philippine Solidarity, BANDILA - FFPS

> Layout: Hiyas Saturay



Preface

The photographs within this book document a historical and critical moment in the pursuit of justice and peace in the Philippines: the International People's Tribunal (IPT) on the war crimes of the United States government, the Marcos Jr. and Duterte regimes in the Philippines. Convened by the Friends of the Filipino People in Struggle (FFPS) and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) on 17-18 May 2024 in Brussels, Belgium, the tribunal sought to address years of systemic violence, state-sponsored terror and violations of international humanitarian law (IHL).

The cases presented during the tribunal and the documentation provided by this photobook demonstrate the extent and nature of these war crimes. Many of the IHL violations have taken place in the Philippine countryside, and it is also in these parts of the country that the liberation struggle of the Fllipino people wages the strongest.

After centuries of colonial and semi-colonial occupation and oppression, the Fllipino people are strongly asserting their right to national and social liberation. They have established the strongest united front of workers, peasants and other progressive forces through the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). The NDFP represents the exploited and oppressed Filipino people and has demonstrated to the international community not only the necessity and justness of

people's war, but that armed struggle is a legitimate assertion of the Filipino people's inherent right to self-determination.

The tribunal's verdict is important not only for the FIlipino people, but also for international allies, friends and supporters of peace and justice in the world. U.S. imperialism continues to fund and direct wars across the globe and because of U.S. backing, war criminals, not just in Israel, but also in the Philippines think that they can get away with murder. For this reason, it is important for us to use the findings of the IPT to challenge and further isolate U.S. imperialism.

This photobook is not just a collection of images; it is a visual chronicle of the Fllipino people's resistance. As you turn these pages, we hope you are moved by the stories of those who have suffered the atrocities of the U.S. government and the Philippine puppet state. Let these images serve as a reminder of our shared humanity and our collective responsibility to stand against tyranny and oppression, wherever it occurs.

Robert Reid

Chairperson

Friends of the Filipino People in Struggle

Phobest Kind

Jurors



Lennox Hinds

Lennox Hinds is founder of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. In addition to his practice as a criminal defense and international human rights lawyer, he was Nelson Mandela's U.S. attorney and served as counsel for the African National Congress. He is a retired professor in the Criminal Justice Program at Rutgers University.



Séverine De Laveleye

Séverine de Laveleye is a Belgian politician active for Ecolo. In 2018 she was elected as a municipal councilor of Vorst for Ecolo. She was elected as a member of the Chamber of Representatives of the Kingdom of Belgium in 2019.



Suzanne Adely

Suzanne Adely is founder of the Middle East, North Africa Labor Solidarity Network in the United States. She is a long-time member of Al-Awda-NY, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Defend the Egyptian Revolution Committee of New York.



Julen Arzuaga Gumuzio

Julen Arzuaga Gumuzio is a Basque politician, writer and lawyer, member of the Euskal Herria Bildu coalition in the Basque Parliament since 2012. He is member of the European Association of Democratic Lawyers.



Joris Vercammen

Joris Vercammen is a Belgian cleric and former archbishop of the Old Catholic Church, active in the Netherlands. Vercammen was member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in 2006.

Prosecutors



Jan Fermon

Jan Fermon is a distinguished Belgian lawyer specialized in criminal law, international humanitarian law and human rights law. He has represented trade unionists, victims of the genocide in Rwanda and victims of war crimes committed by U.S. troops .



Czarina Musni

Czarina Musni is a lawyer and human rights defender. She is secretary general of the Union of People's Lawyers in Mindanao (UPLM) and part of Karapatan, a national alliance that works for the promotion and protection of people's rights.



Katherine Panguban

Katherine Panguban is a Filipino human rights lawyer and member of the National Union of People's Lawyers (NUPL). She assisted in several high-profile human rights cases including Australian nun Patricia Fox's deportation case and other cases of violence against women and children.



Roland Meister

Roland Meister is an active asylum lawyer for numerous political refugees in Germany for over 40 years. He was also responsible for internationalism in the Marxist Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) for many years.

Amicus Curiae



Edre U. Olalia

Edre U. Olalia, from the Philippines, is a Bureau member and current Transitional President of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL). He is the chairperson of the National Union of Peoples Lawyers (NUPL).

Charges

The Complainants charge the Defendants with War Crimes or Violations of International Humanitarian Law (IHL), viz:

- a) The killing and massacre of civilians, the abduction, torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of civilians, directing attacks against civilians and civilian objects, the forced displacement of civilians, acts or threats of violence intended to spread terror among the civilian population, hamletting of villages and communities, and impeding humanitarian aid and relief, and the use of means and methods of warfare that are indiscriminate, cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering, or cause widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment;
- b) The killing of persons *hors de combat* and members of the NDFP that do not perform combat functions, the desecration of bodies of slain combatants, outrages upon their personal dignity, the abduction, torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of the said persons; and
- c) Attacks, killings, abduction, detention, torture and other forms of cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of NDFP consultants, peace advocates, activists, human rights and environmental defenders, humanitarian aid workers, journalists, and members of organizations red-tagged as "fronts" of the Communist Party of the Philippines—New People's Army—National Democratic Front of the Philippines (CPP-NPA-NDFP),

All committed in the context of the armed conflict between the NDFP and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, aided and supported by the U.S. Government.





Top: Clerk of Court Atty. Katrina Abarcar reads the indictment to the Tribunal Bottom: Witnesses take their oath collectively.



The armed conflict and applicable law

The NDFP is engaged in an armed struggle for national liberation against the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. The Tribunal found that by all accounts, the GRP-NDFP conflict satisfies the legal thresholds that qualify it as an armed conflict under international law. Under the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL), both parties are required to protect and ensure the humane treatment of civilians, persons not taking an active part in hostilities, and persons rendered hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause.

From the Verdict:

IHL, in particular, lays down basic principles that no entity or state – regardless of treaty ratification status – can legally disregard, including the principles that a distinction must always be made between combatants and civilians, and between military objectives and civilian objects; that the attack must be proportionate to the military advantage anticipated; that the means and methods of warfare employed must be lawful, and not cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering; that all feasible precautionary measures are undertaken to avoid or minimize civilian harm; and that all persons, civilians and combatants alike, must be treated humanely and with due regard for their dignity. In other words, through these well-entrenched principles, IHL imposes clear obligations which the conflicting parties cannot overlook or evade.

IHRL, on the other hand, requires the protection of human rights insofar as these may offer greater protection in a given situation. The existence of an armed conflict does not *ipso facto* result in the wholesale denial of human rights. Even amidst war, civilians still enjoy the rights to life, liberty, and security and remain entitled to the fundamental guarantee of due process.



"Venues such as the International People's Tribunal is a most welcome endeavor. Not only does it provide an opportunity to expose the grave violations of human rights and international humanitarian law committed by the GRP, but more importantly, it serves as a moral expression of our responsibility to seek justice for the victims."

Coni Ledesma

Expert Witness on the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL)

Attacks against the civilian population and civilian objects during military operations

From the Verdict:

The evidence before us betrays a reality far removed from the expectations created by IHL and human rights law and by the CARHRIHI.

The evidence established that counterinsurgency operations by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) resulted in the deaths of scores of civilians, including the massacre of entire families, even children, members of rural and indigenous communities, land rights defenders, and activists.

The GRP attempted to cover up these extrajudicial killings by falsely claiming that the victims were all NPA fighters, by engaging in a campaign of what is widely known in the Philippines as red-tagging and other forms of disinformation and vilification, and by planting evidence on the crime scenes, such as weapons and paraphernalia purportedly belonging to the NPA.

Violations of International Humanitarian Law under the U.S.-Duterte and U.S.-Marcos regimes

Violations	U.SDuterte Regime July 2016 - June 2022	U.SMarcos Regime July 2022 - November 2023
Extrajudicial killings	422	87
Enforced disappearances	21	12
Illegal or arbitrary arrests	2,957	316
Fake or forced surrender	3,991	552
Bombings	378,203	22,391
Forced evacuation	481,918	24,670
Indiscriminate firing	20,348	39,769
Threats, harassment and intimidation	2,890,623	1,609,496

Source: Duterte Term-ender and 2022 Marcos Jr. Year-end report; Karapatan, 2023





Fausto Massacre

On June 14, 2023, Billy Fausto and his wife Emelda Fausto, together with their two minor children, Ben and Raben, were massacred inside their home. The couple were farmers and members of a local farmers and farmworkers association. That night, soldiers arrived at their residence and opened fire at the house. Gunshots were heard throughout the community. Prior to their massacre, the Fausto family was subjected to strafing of their house, illegal searches, robbery, interrogation and red-tagging.

Tumandok Massacre

On December 30, 2020, nine Tumandok (indigenous peoples of the Visayas islands) leaders were massacred by police and soldiers allegedly to "serve search warrants" to different Tumandok communities in Iloilo and Capiz. Families of the victims killed during the simultaneous incidents testified how police and soldiers forcibly entered their homes and killed the victims while other members of their families, including children, were violently held outside their homes. All victims bore multiple gunshot wounds.

Bombings of Communities

Eufemia Bog-as (pictured on the right), testified on a series of aerial bombings by the Armed Forces of the Philippines in the province of Kalinga. In some instances, farmers and community members were detained on their way to check on their farms. In another instance, a military aircraft strafed and dropped bombs around 100-200 meters away from a school during class hours, causing panic among the children.



From the Verdict:

...As exemplified by the massive military operations affecting rural communities in Kalinga province, the AFP carried out indiscriminate attacks through airstrikes and shelling in areas with civilian infrastructure, households, and schools. The AFP used heavy ordnance that, by their nature, indiscriminately cause damage to the target area and result in superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering for any person caught in the blast zone. These bombing campaigns threatened and terrorized civilians and destroyed the natural environment on which local communities depend for their livelihoods.

...The AFP deployed units that encamped in civilian communities which were then hamletted and placed under *de facto* military control. Government troops conducted house searches, interrogated residents, strafed civilian homes, and detained, threatened, assaulted, and even killed civilians.

The scale and frequency of these attacks against civilians and civilian communities indicate that they were deliberate and undertaken as a matter of policy by the GRP.



IHL violations against persons rendered hors de combat

Customary international humanitarian law has long prohibited attacks against persons recognized as *hors de combat* - combatants who no longer have the means of defense. International law also requires parties in conflict to respect the remains of those who died in the course of the armed conflict.

From the Verdict:

The evidence also established that GRP forces, as a matter of practice, carried out summary executions of NPA fighters who had been captured or were no longer capable of taking part in hostilities because of sickness, wounds, or other causes.

The shocking conduct of GRP forces are blatant violations of the most fundamental rules in warfare: the duty to treat captured enemies humanely and to allow the fallen their dignity in death. Apart from being war crimes, these acts of the AFP expose an utter disdain for the principle of humanity and deserve the utmost condemnation by this Tribunal.



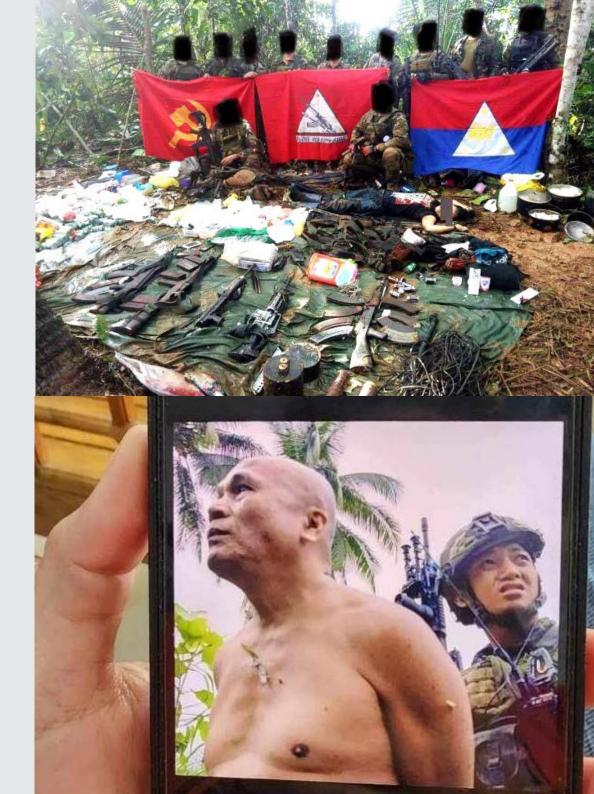


Desecration of Remains of Jevelyn Cullamat

On November 28, 2020, the Philippine Army claimed that 22-year-old Jevelyn Cullamat was killed during a clash between the NPA and a 12-man Army Special Forces team in the mountains of Surigao del Sur. To the shock of Jevelyn's family, various units of the military released photographs of her corpse with a rifle slung to her chest and surrounded by firearms and personal belongings. Flags of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the NPA, and the NDFP (CPP-NPA-NDF) were displayed behind her, with soldiers also posing, some grinning and gloating. (pictured on the right)

Bilar 5 Massacre

Five members of the NPA in Bohol were murdered by the military. According to witness accounts, they heard the voice of bar-passer Hanna Cesista begging for their lives. When the families of the dead claimed the remains of their family members, they noticed several torture wounds indicating they could not have been from a firefight. The autopsies supported this observation. A photograph of one of the victims, Domingo Compoc, also circulated, appearing to have been captured alive by the military (pictured on the right).



Attacks against and persecution of individuals and organizations allegedly linked to the NDFP

From the Verdict:

The evidence showed that the GRP waged a nationwide campaign of persecution and attacks against individuals and organizations suspected of having links with the NDFP.

Through an executive issuance (Executive Order No. 70 s. 2018), the GRP formally institutionalized its whole-of-nation approach in counterinsurgency and created the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC). This body spearheaded an intensified campaign of redtagging or "terrorist"-tagging and other forms of disinformation. Such red-tagging or "terrorist"-tagging often preceded other human rights violations, including extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearance, threats, harassment and intimidation, trumped-up charges, arbitrary arrests, and detention.



Photo: Randall "Ka Randy" Echanis (right) participating in one of the peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP.

The Murder of Randall Echanis

On August 10, 2020, Randall 'Ka Randy' Echanis and his neighbor Louie Tagapia were brutally murdered in an apartment unit in Quezon City by five unidentified state agents. Echanis was one of the peace consultants of the NDFP for the Comprehensive Agreement on Social and Economic Reforms (CASER). His autopsy report indicated that Echanis' death was caused by a stab wound to the back. His skull was fractured due to bluntforce trauma and his body was covered in bruises and multiple stab wounds. A foreign object – a sharp metal similar to that of an icepick without a handle – was still lodged on his back.



"The barbarity, the brutality, and the ruthlessness of the killing of Ka Randy is a crystal clear violation of IHL and all existing human rights laws in the Philippines. Ka Randy was an unarmed consultant of the NDFP. He had no involvement in combat operations.

Yet, the 'counterinsurgency' operation both by the previous Duterte administration and the present Marcos Jr. administration targets all, including unarmed civilians. They all consider us enemies of the state."

Ariel "Ayik" Casilao Witness on the Murder of Randall Echanis and its impact on peasants



Attempted Murder of Brandon Lee

Brandon Lee was the Human Rights Officer of the Ifugao Peasant Movement when he was shot four times in the back. Prior to the incident, he and his colleagues received a death threat in the form of the Ifugao burial blanket. They were repeatedly followed, photographed and harassed in their homes, offices, and public spaces. The military distributed flyers in communities, calling him an NPA recruiter. The shooting resulted to his current quadriplegic condition.

"Even the captain in the Barangay said that I have no enemies... I just help the Ifugao Indigenous people. I was clearly only harassed by the military and the police, and most likely, it was the 54th Infantry Batallion that shot me.

...I can't walk or use my hands anymore but I will still use my voice to help the Filipino people."

Brandon LeeSurvivor of Attempted Murder



"They (the military in the camp) intimidated us, they did not want us to enter the camp, and they did not want to sign the Disappearance Form."

Mercedita De JesusMother of disappeared activist Bazoo de Jesus



Abductions, Enforced Disappearances and Forced Surrenders

The prosecution presented two witnesses to testify on the increasing cases of abductions and enforced disappearances under the Marcos Jr. and Duterte regimes. Jonila Castro was abducted with her fellow organizer, Jhed Tamano, and were kept away from the public for 17 days. They later presented them in a live press conference, where instead of reading the script that they are "surrenderees" from the NPA, they stated that they were abducted

Mercedita de Jesus also testified on the case of her son, Bazoo de Jesus, who disappeared with fellow activist Dexter Capuyan. She described how authorities refused to help in their search for her son, even refusing to sign a form stating that they do not have them in their custody. Both Dexter and Bazoo remain missing to this day.

From the Verdict:

The evidence showed that, under the Marcos Jr. administration, there has been a steady rise in cases of abduction and enforced disappearance perpetrated by GRP forces against activists.

The systematic nature of the abductions, the fact that some of the victims were later proven to be in the custody of the AFP, the lack of any genuine investigation into these cases, and the impunity that characterized these acts all point to the GRP as the author. These factors also indicate an existing state policy to abduct and disappear activists or persons suspected of having links with the NDFP. Under such circumstances, these incidents of enforced disappearance are a crime against humanity. When committed in the context of an armed conflict, they also amount to an attack against civilians and, thus, a war crime.

"Terrorist" Labelling of Hailey Pecayo and other Human Rights Defenders

Hailey Pecayo is spokesperson of a provincial multisectoral human rights organization. She was only 17 years old when the state labeled her as a 'terrorist' together with other activists from Southern Tagalog. They were charged with violation of the Anti-Terror Law, the domestic law on IHL, and other common crimes.

From the Verdict:

The Prosecution also established that the GRP resorts to "terrorist" labeling and designations and operationalized the much-assailed Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA) and other penal laws to target civilians engaged in humanitarian work.

The use of these laws against individuals and organizations with alleged links to the NDFP are a component of an overall counterinsurgency strategy that deliberately targets civilians and, thus, forms part of an attack against the civilian population. The GRP cannot rely on the existence of its national laws as justification for violating its humanitarian or human rights obligations under international law.



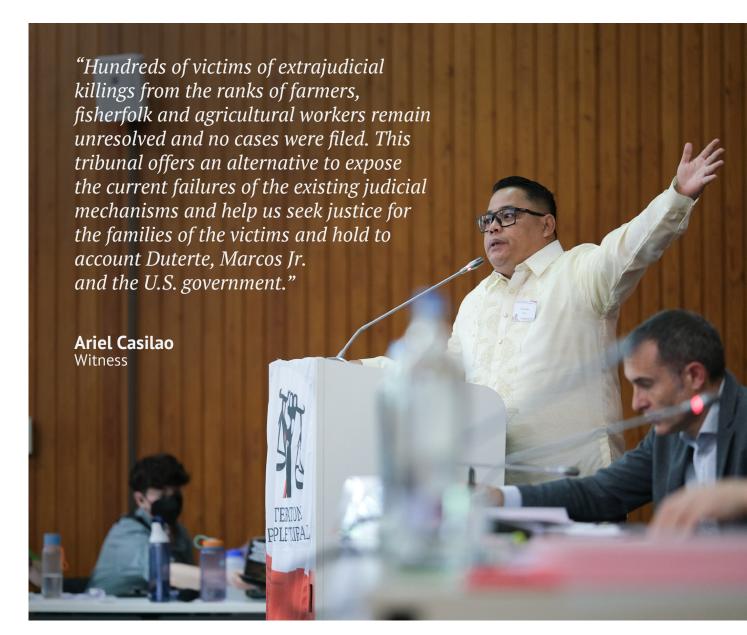
Impunity and lack of domestic remedies

From the Verdict:

In the cases before us, a recurring fact and common denominator notably runs through all the testimonial and documentary evidence as well as by responses to the questions of the Tribunal: the continuing lack of genuine accountability, brazen impunity, and proven general ineffectiveness and inadequacy of domestic remedies that by and large prevent or fail to give justice to the victims. The submissions before us point to various factors that engender this impunity.

These include, among others, reprisals or threats of reprisals and intimidation of the victims, relatives and witnesses, both physical and legal through harassment suits and weaponization of the law; lack of trust and frustration in the legal and judicial system based on experience and record.

... Ultimately there seems to be a lack of political will on the part of authorities to pursue cases against perpetrators.



U.S. Involvement

From the Verdict:

It has been cogently argued and amply demonstrated before the Tribunal that maintaining a U.S.-controlled regime in the Philippines and suppressing efforts by the Filipino people to assert their right of self-determination is essential for the United States to preserve its dominance and to counter any threat in the region.

The evidence presented individually and collectively supported the allegation that the whole-of-nation approach, the heavy bombardment and forced displacement of communities, and the killing of civilians and persons hors de combat by state forces would not have been possible without the direction, arms, and training provided by the U.S. government. It can be concluded, therefore, that the U.S. government played an indispensable role in these atrocities, making it complicit in the IHL and human rights violations committed against the Filipino people.

"The U.S. has supported every puppet regime that came to power, providing them with military arms and equipment, training and advice, sometimes even directly involving U.S. troops in combat operations...

The U.S. hand has been present through every iteration of the Philippine counterinsurgency drive and its resulting human rights and IHL violations."

Teddy Casiño Expert Witness on U.S. Counterinsurgency



Expert witnesses Teddy Casiño and Marjorie Cohn established evidence that the U.S. government placed enormous resources at the GRP's disposal. The Philippines is the largest recipient of U.S. military aid in the Asia-Pacific, with \$1.14 billion worth of equipment and training since 2015, more than \$1 billion in weapons sales, and another \$128 million set aside to build U.S. military facilities.

The U.S. and the Philippine armed forces also engage in joint military exercises every year.

The expert witnesses also emphasized that the Philippines derives its 'counterinsurgency' strategy from the U.S., with its militaristic approach combined with civil relations that, in the end, serve military goals.



"The NDFP has shown its consistent and long-standing cognizance of the declarations it has issued and agreements it has signed.

It is a national liberation movement that truly respects human rights and international humanitarian law. In its campaign to misrepresent and demonize the revolutionary movement as "terrorist", the U.S. and the GRP both aim to intimidate and pressure the NDFP to capitulate one way or the other.

Against these, the NDFP asserts its status of belligerency which it has established from decadeslong revolutionary armed struggle.

The NDFP will always defend and fight for the rights of the exploited toiling Filipino masses in their struggle for national and social liberation and will seek justice everywhere and anywhere.

The NDFP and the Filipino people continue to fight a just war in a just way."

Julie de Lima

Expert witness on the effects of IHL violations on National Liberation Movements



Ruling

In conclusion, the Prosecution was able to establish through ample and credible evidence that, as part of a counterinsurgency campaign undertaken in the context of the armed conflict, the Defendants engaged in the following acts:

- a. willful killing (murder) of civilians;
- b. intentionally directing attacks against civilians and civilian objects;
- using means and methods of warfare that are indiscriminate, by their nature cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering, and expected to cause widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment;
- d. forced displacement of the civilian population as a result of military operations;
- e. impeding humanitarian aid intended for civilians and civilian population;
- f. acts or threats of violence aimed at spreading terror among civilians;
- g. willful killing of NPA fighters already rendered hors de combat;
- h. torture, and other forms of cruel, degrading and inhuman treatment;
- i. commission of outrages upon personal dignity, and humiliating and degrading treatment, and desecration of bodies of slain NPA fighters;
- j. abduction and enforced disappearance;
- k. arbitrary arrest and detention; and
- deliberate attacks against civilians suspected of having links with a belligerent party, including the filing of trumped-up charges, redtagging, "terrorist" labeling and designation, threats, harassment and intimidation.

These acts constitute serious violations of treaty and customary international law applicable in armed conflict.

In view of the foregoing factual and legal findings, the Tribunal unanimously finds the Defendants, namely President Ferdinand R. Marcos Jr., former President Rodrigo R. Duterte, the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, President Joseph R. Biden, and the Government of the United States GUILTY of all charges of War Crimes and Violations of International Humanitarian Law alleged in the Indictment.

The Tribunal will issue in due time a full Decision elaborately containing all its findings related to each of the cases and supplemental materials presented by the Prosecution; the nature of the individual and collective responsibility of the Defendants; the specific violations of the body of international humanitarian law; as well as other remedies and recourses appropriate.

Let copies of this Verdict be served on the Defendants and published and sent to individuals, organizations, entities, and governments concerned or interested, including, among others:

- a. the Philippine Embassy in Brussels;
- b. the United States Embassy in Brussels;
- c. the European External Action Service;
- d. the European Parliament;
- e. the International Criminal Court;
- f. the International Court of Justice;
- g. the United Nations Human Rights Council;
- h. the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights;
- i. the International Committee of the Red Cross;
- j. the Secretary-General of the United Nations; and
- k. the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal.

The members of the Tribunal extend their sincere gratitude to the witnesses who bravely gave their testimonies, the experts and resource persons who shared their valuable opinions, and all the participants who made the conduct of these proceedings possible. The Tribunal will continue to monitor the situation in the Philippines and the individual cases presented before this body to ensure that further appropriate steps are taken to demand and attain accountability for crimes committed in the context of the armed conflict.

In view of the foregoing factual and legal findings, the Tribunal unanimously finds the Defendants, namely President Ferdinand R. Marcos Jr., former President Rodrigo R. Duterte, the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, President Joseph R. Biden, and the Government of the United States GUILTY of all charges of War Crimes and Violations of International Humanitarian Law alleged in the Indictment.

SO ORDERED.	
18 May 2024.	
Brussels, Belgium.	
THE PANE	of Jurors
EENNO SUZANNE ADELY JULIEN ARZUAGA	S. Je Lavelly Séverine de Lavelleye LORIS VERCAMMEN JORIS VERCAMMEN











Top left: Supporters of the tribunal hold a protest in front of the White House in Washington D.C. to hold the U.S. Government and U.S. President Joseph R. Biden accountable

Above: Activists hold a die-in in Portland, Oregon to highlight the IHL violations

Bottom left: Witnesses Eufemia Cullamat and Ariel Casilao after delivering the verdict to the Philippine Embassy in Brussels

Bottom right: Ariel Casilao speaking in a demonstration outside Brussels Central Station.

