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C.F.

589090

00125

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1988

Dear Ferdinand:

I have read with great care the letter you sent to me today. I must tell you that I have been kept fully informed of the proceedings in this case.

I understand fully your belief that you and Mrs. Marcos are not guilty of any wrongdoing. As you well know under our system, you have the right to have such charges resolved before a court of law with the benefit of the presumption of innocence.

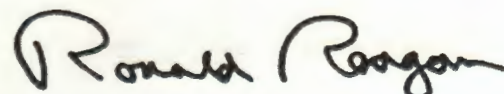
In an attempt to see if this matter could be resolved without such proceedings, it was with my full knowledge and concurrence that Mr. Guiliani and representatives of the Justice Department provided you with an opportunity to enter a plea upon the terms outlined to your counsel. This was an extraordinary procedure to see if we could resolve this matter in a way that you would find acceptable. Your lawyers have advised us that this is not acceptable and for this I am sorry.

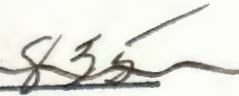
You are quite right that the President of the United States does retain the ultimate executive authority, but as I mentioned above, the facts and circumstances in this case left me no choice except to defer to the Attorney General.

I regret very much that this has become necessary but under our system you will have every opportunity to refute these charges.

Nancy joins me in extending to you and Imelda our best wishes.

Sincerely,



~~ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS~~ 

His Excellency
Ferdinand Marcos
Honolulu, Hawaii

S. JENSEN, PERITO, DONLEY, BATTIER, KELLY J, ROSTOW, POPADUIC
<RIG> UPI
<TOR> 881019192354
CHILDRESS

<TEXT>U A AM-MARCOS 1STLD-WRITETHRU 10-19 0782

URGENT@
(COMPLETE WRITETHRU DETAILS FROM RULING; REACT)@
@BY WILLIAM M. REILLY@=

NEW YORK (UPI) - A FEDERAL APPEALS COURT WEDNESDAY UPHELD A CIVIL CONTEMPT RULING AGAINST FORMER PHILIPPINE PRESIDENT FERDINAND MARCOS AND HIS WIFE, IMELDA, FOR FAILING TO COMPLY WITH A FEDERAL GRAND JURY SUBPOENA, PAVING THE WAY FOR THEIR ARREST.

RELEASE OF THE RULING BY THE 2ND U.S. CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS MARKED THE FIRST PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF SUCH GRAND JURY PROCEEDINGS OR CONTEMPT CITATIONS. THE GRAND JURY IS INVESTIGATING WHETHER THE MARCOSES DIVERTED MONEY BELONGING TO THE PHILIPPINE AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS TO THEMSELVES, THE COURT SAID.

THE MARCOSES, LIVING IN EXILE IN HAWAII, WERE FOUND IN CIVIL CONTEMPT BY U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE JOHN WALKER FOR FAILING TO COMPLY WITH GRAND JURY SUBPOENAS TO PRODUCE FINGER AND PALM PRINTS AND EXAMPLES OF THEIR HANDWRITING AND VOICES.

THE COURT ALSO CITED THEM FOR FAILING TO SIGN 'CONSENT DIRECTIVES THAT AUTHORIZE FOREIGN BANKS TO TURN OVER TO THE GRAND JURY THEIR FINANCIAL RECORDS.'

THE AUG. 11 WALKER ORDER NAMED 'MR. AND MRS. DOE,' INDICATING THE ACTION WAS SEALED. HOWEVER, THE RULING BY THE FEDERAL APPEALS COURT NAMED THE MARCOSES.

WHEN THE MARCOSES FAILED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE JUDGE FOR IMPOSITION OF THE SANCTIONS AUG. 18, 'A BENCH WARRANT WAS ISSUED FOR THEIR ARREST,' THE APPEALS COURT DECISION SAID.

BUT WALKER'S IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WERE STAYED WHILE THE HIGHER COURT TOOK UP THE CASE. THAT STAY WAS LIFTED BY THE APPEALS COURT, ALLOWING FOR ARRESTS. IT WAS NOT KNOWN IF THERE WERE PLANS TO SERVE THE BENCH WARRANTS.

'ESSENTIALLY, THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES (THE MARCOSES) FRAUDULENTLY DIVERTED ENORMOUS SUMS OF MONEY THAT BELONGED TO THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES,' A THREE-JUDGE PANEL OF THE APPEALS COURT SAID IN ITS 21-PAGE DECISION.

'AMONG THE ALLEGED MEANS EMPLOYED WERE EMBEZZLEMENT OF FUNDS IN BOTH COUNTRIES, A PORTION OF WHICH WERE THEN USED TO PURCHASE PERSONAL AND REAL PROPERTY IN THE U.S., AND THE REMAINDER OF WHICH WERE TRANSFERRED TO SECRET SWISS BANK ACCOUNTS FOR THE MARCOSES' BENEFIT.'

THE COURT SAID NO INDICTMENTS HAD BEEN HANDED DOWN BY THE GRAND JURY. HOWEVER, RECENT REPORTS HAVE SAID EITHER A SEALED INDICTMENT WAS DELIVERED OR INDICTMENTS WERE EXPECTED. IT HAS ALSO BEEN REPORTED THAT THERE IS A DISPUTE WITHIN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION OVER WHETHER TO INDICT THE MARCOSES.

THE OFFICE OF U.S. ATTORNEY RUDOLPH GIULIANI HAD NO COMMENT ON THE REPORTS. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMEN IN WASHINGTON ALSO WERE UNAVAILABLE FOR COMMENT.

IN HONOLULU, MARCOS SPOKESMAN GEMMO TRINIDAD SAID HE HAD NO INFORMATION ABOUT THE RULING AND COULD NOT COMMENT.

THE FBI SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE IN HONOLULU, EUGENE GLENN, SAID HIS OFFICE NORMALLY WOULD HANDLE AN ARREST BUT THAT BECAUSE OF THE 'UNPRECEDENTED' NATURE OF THE CASE ANY DECISION ON WHAT TO DO WOULD BE MADE IN WASHINGTON.

THE APPEALS COURT SAID THE MARCOSES ARGUED AGAINST COMPLYING WITH THE REQUEST ON THE GROUNDS THEY RETAINED HEAD-OF-STATE IMMUNITY, THEY WERE 'AFFORDED A PRIVILEGE UNDER THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION' BEFORE THE U.S. GRAND JURY AND THE GRAND JURY 'LACKED THE AUTHORITY TO OBTAIN EVIDENCE THROUGH THE USE OF COMPELLED

CONSENT DIRECTIVES.''

THE INVESTIGATION, WHICH BEGAN IN JUNE 1986, WAS LED BY GIULIANI'S OFFICE BECAUSE OF ALLEGATIONS THE MARCOSES HAD VIOLATED THE RACKETEER INFLUENCED AND CORRUPT ORGANIZATIONS ACT. THE INVESTIGATION REPORTEDLY FOCUSED ON THE COUPLE'S PROPERTY IN NEW YORK CITY.

MARCOS, 71, RULED THE PHILIPPINES FROM 1966 UNTIL 1986. IN FEBRUARY 1986, THE MARCOSES WERE EVACUATED FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE IN MANILA BY U.S. AIR FORCE HELICOPTERS. FERDINAND MARCOS WAS REPLACED BY CORAZON AQUINO, WHOSE SLAIN HUSBAND WAS A LEADING MARCOS OPPONENT.

THE APPEALS COURT SAID WHEN THE MARCOSES LEFT THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE, THEY TOOK 'THEIR PERSONAL PAPERS, PHILIPPINE CURRENCY AND JEWELRY.

'EVENTUALLY, THEY WERE TRANSPORTED BY U.S. MILITARY AIRCRAFT TO THE STATE OF HAWAII, WHERE THEIR PERSONAL EFFECTS WERE SEIZED BY U.S. CUSTOMS OFFICERS,' THE COURT PAPERS SAID.

THE APPEALS COURT NOTED THE FIRST TIME THE MARCOSES 'ASSERTED HEAD-OF-STATE IMMUNITY AS A REASON TO RESIST THE SUBPOENAS' WAS ON AUG.

4.

UPI 10-19-88 07:23 PED

M E M O R A N D U M

21 October 1988

TO: General Powell
FROM: SDO, Situation Room
RE: Marcos' Response to President Reagan's letter

Sir,

CINCPAC informed Situation Room at 0328 this morning that Maj. Bradford, accompanied by two INS agents, successfully delivered President Reagan's letter to Ferdinand Marcos in Hawaii. Maj. Bradford was subsequently provided a ninety-four page response for delivery to President Reagan (enclosed).

INS Public Affairs also requested approval for press guidance to respond to media inquiries. Doug Paal provided guidance that INS may say Major Bradford delivered a message from Washington to Mr. Marcos. If asked, INS may clarify that the document delivered was not a subpoena. In addition, INS should offer no further comments nor referrals for inquiries. (The original press guidance suggested by INS is also enclosed.)

CC: J.Kelly
D.Paal

URGENT

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES 1

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX # _____

DTG 21 00 25Z Oct 88

PRIORITY

ADMIN FAX # 58

RELEASER TRC

ROUTINE

FROM/LOCATION

1. WHITE HOUSE

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. MAJ DAVID BRADFORD, USAF

2. CINCPAC

3. _____

TOP: 210030Z Oct 88

4. FAX #: (808) 477-6247

5. CONF #: (808) 477-6606

6. _____

7. _____

INFORMATION ADDRESSES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. _____

2. _____

URGENT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION

URGENT

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8807578
RECEIVED: 21 OCT 88 09

029474

TO: POWELL

FROM: WHSS

DOC DATE: 21 OCT 88
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: LEGAL ISSUES

PHILIPPINES

PERSONS: MARCOS, FERDINAND E

SUBJECT: MARCOS RESPONSE TO PRES LTR

ACTION: NO ACTION REQUIRED PER ROSTOW DUE DATE: 21 OCT 88 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ROSTOW

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCIF:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
ROSTOW

FOR CONCURRENCE
CHILDRESS
KELLY, J

FOR INFO
NEGROPONTE
PAAL
PERITO
POWELL
STEVENS

COMMENTS: *** STAFFING PER STEVENS & THIS ITEM IS NOT TO LEAVE WH PER KAY ***

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSAPK

CLOSED BY: NSEF

DOC 1 OF 2

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 8807578

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 ROSTOW
001
002

Z 88102111 APPROPRIATE ACTION
X 88120612 NO ACTION REQUIRED PER ROSTOW
X 88120914 PRES SGD LTR

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/S PROFILE

RECORD ID: 8807578
RECEIVED: 21 OCT 88 09

TO: POWELL

FROM: WHSS

DOC DATE: 21 OCT 88
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: LEGAL ISSUES

PHILIPPINES

PERSONS: MARCOS, FERDINAND

SUBJECT: MARCOS RESPONSE TO PRES LTR

ACTION: OBE / ORIGINALS RETURNED DUE DATE: 21 OCT 88 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: ROSTOW

LOGREF:

FILES: PA

NSCIF:

CODES:

D O C U M E N T D I S T R I B U T I O N

FOR ACTION
ROSTOW

FOR CONCURRENCE
CHILDRESS
KELLY, J

FOR INFO
NEGROPONTE
PAAL
PERITO
POWELL
STEVENS

COMMENTS: *** STAFFING PER STEVENS & THIS ITEM IS NOT TO LEAVE WH PER KAY ***

DISPATCHED BY _____ DATE _____ BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSAPK

CLOSED BY: NSEF

DOC 1 OF 1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED
ACTION DATA SUMMARY REPORT

RECORD ID: 8807578

DOC ACTION OFFICER

CAO ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

001 ROSTOW
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~~Z~~ 88102111 APPROPRIATE ACTION
~~X~~ 88120612 NO ACTION REQUIRED PER ROSTOW
X 88120612 ORIGINAL NOT RETURNED TO NSC/S
X 88120720 OBE / ORIGINALS RETURNED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP



88 OCT 21 10:55

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 7578

ACTION OFFICER: ROSTOW DUE: 21 OCT

- Prepare Memo For Powell/Negroponete
- Prepare Memo For Dawson/Dolan
- Prepare Memo _____
- Prepare Memo Stevens to Peterson / Murr
- Appropriate Action
- to _____

URGENT

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS* PHONE* to action officer at ext. 6538

- | | | |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Batjer | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Henhoeffer | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Perina |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Beers | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Jameson | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Popadiuk |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Brintnall | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, B | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Porter |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Brooks | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Kelly, J | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Rodman |
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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Childress | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Leach | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Saunders |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Cobb | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Ledsky | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Snider |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Cockell | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Levin | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Tahir-Kheli |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Cohen | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Lewis | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Tice |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Ebner | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Melby | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Grant | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Onate | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |

INFORMATION Stevens Perito Secretariat
 Powell (advance) Negroponete (advance) Exec. Sec. Desk

COMMENTS *No further action required.*

Logged By AC

Return to Secretariat

BB

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1988

C.F.
589090
CO125

MEMO FOR RECORDS

Please do not provide access to the enclosed without prior approval from Rhett Dawson or Katherine Ladd.

KENTRIZ

Ferdinand Marcos

Case Against the Former Philippine President

B/B

C. F. 589090
3101
CD125
Shood
WWS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1988

Dear Ferdinand:

I have read with great care the letter you sent to me today. I must tell you that I have been kept fully informed of the proceedings in this case.

I understand fully your belief that you and Mrs. Marcos are not guilty of any wrongdoing. As you well know under our system, you have the right to have such charges resolved before a court of law with the benefit of the presumption of innocence.

In an attempt to see if this matter could be resolved without such proceedings, it was with my full knowledge and concurrence that Mr. Guiliani and representatives of the Justice Department provided you with an opportunity to enter a plea upon the terms outlined to your counsel. This was an extraordinary procedure to see if we could resolve this matter in a way that you would find acceptable. Your lawyers have advised us that this is not acceptable and for this I am sorry.

You are quite right that the President of the United States does retain the ultimate executive authority, but as I mentioned above, the facts and circumstances in this case left me no choice except to defer to the Attorney General.

I regret very much that this has become necessary but under our system you will have every opportunity to refute these charges.

Nancy joins me in extending to you and Imelda our best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

His Excellency
Ferdinand Marcos
Honolulu, Hawaii

Sent Telex by Counsel

Case Against the Former
Philippine President

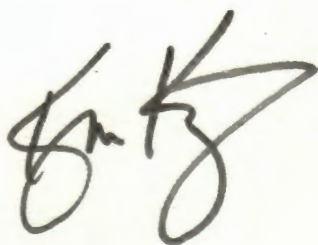
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 20, 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

The attached letter was penned at the request of the Chief of Staff.

The text of the letter was approved prior to that by the President in the presence of the Chief of Staff, National Security Advisor, Counsel to the President, and the Attorney General. The approval included the hand-written changes on the attached draft.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "G. H. W.", is written below the text. The signature is stylized and somewhat cursive.

KD, CLP, ABC, RT WITNESS.
RR APPROVAL

Dear Ferdinand:

I have read with great care the letter you sent to me today. I must tell you that I have been kept fully informed of the proceedings in this case.

I understand fully your belief that you and Mrs. Marcos are not guilty of any wrongdoing. As you well know, under our system, you have the right to have such charges resolved before a court of law with the benefit of the presumption of innocence.

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You are quite right that the President of the United States does retain the ultimate executive authority, but as I mentioned, above, the facts and circumstances in this case ~~compelled the~~ ^{left me no choice} ~~decision to refer~~ ^{decision to} the Attorney General.

except

decision to

RR

I regret very much that this has become necessary but under our system you will have every opportunity to refute these charges.

Nancy joins me in extending to you and Imelda are best wishes.

RR

October 20, 1988

1988 OCT 20 PM 5:42

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I have no other recourse except to write you this letter.

My lawyers inform me that in a meeting yesterday called by the U.S. Department of Justice, U.S. Attorney Rudolf Giuliani, claiming to be with the full knowledge and approval of the President of the United States, directed our lawyers that Mrs. Marcos and I should plead guilty to a RICO substantive count by 5:00 p.m., Thursday, October 20, 1988 (which is today).

He said that this was not a negotiating proposal but was a last offer and not subject to negotiation. It was an ultimatum, not a proposal.

Mrs. Marcos and I plead that the President of the United States as a basic policy should retain the right to finally decide to indict or not to indict a former or present foreign head of state. This present confusion weakens the U.S. presidency.

We also plead that negotiations be allowed where we may show that there has been no stealing of public or private funds -- at least not by Mrs. Marcos and me.

Although we are ready to die for our principles, and we probably will, Imelda and I will ever be grateful to you.

Imelda sends her prayers to you and Nancy.

I remain your obedient servant.

(S) FERDINAND EDRALIN MARCOS

Dictated by Ferdinand Marcos to Janene Assuras, Secretary to Paul Laxalt

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO FILES:

Attached is the original Presidential letter to Ferdinand Marcos. A telex was sent by Counsel to Marcos, so Counsel and NSC agree that this original should not be sent, but retained in files. As with the rest of the file, Rhett Dawson should be consulted before anyone is given access to this file. Thanks.

Katherine Ladd

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 20, 1988

Dear Ferdinand:

I have read with great care the letter you sent to me today. I must tell you that I have been kept fully informed of the proceedings in this case.

I understand fully your belief that you and Mrs. Marcos are not guilty of any wrongdoing. As you well know under our system, you have the right to have such charges resolved before a court of law with the benefit of the presumption of innocence.

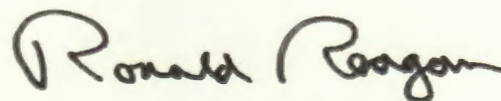
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Nancy joins me in extending to you and Imelda our best wishes.

Sincerely,



His Excellency
Ferdinand Marcos
Honolulu, Hawaii

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

MODE

PAGES

94

IMMEDIATE

SECURE FAX #

DTG

Z10752Z

PRIORITY

ADMIN FAX #

102

RELEASER

OCT 88

ROUTINE

FROM/LOCATION

1. MAJ BRADFORD/CINCPAC, HONOLULU

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. EVA MARY DAVIS/WHSN

TON: Z10909Z OCT 88

- 2. _____
- 3. _____
- 4. _____
- 5. _____
- 6. _____
- 7. _____

INFORMATION ADDRES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

- 1. _____
- 2. _____

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

UNCLASSIFIED

CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED TELEFAX

COMMANDER IN CHIEF, U.S. PACIFIC COMMAND
(USCINCPAC)

CAMP H.M. SMITH, HAWAII 96861-5025



Telecopier: (808) 477-6247 automatic
Voice: (808) 477-6480
Location: Room 212, Wing 2c (2nd floor)
Bldg #1

2nd part

Date: *20 OCT* Subject: *MARCOS DOCUMENTS*

Destination Telecopier: *WHITE HOUSE*
Phone number: *(202) 395-5221*

Number of Pages Transmitted: *60-70*
(Excluding this cover sheet)

To:

Name: *EVA MARIE DAVIS*
Organization: *WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM*

Office Symbol: *SEN. DUTY OFFER*
Phone Number: *395-6313*

From:

Name: *MAJ BRADFORD*
Organization: *CINCPAC
HONOLULU*

Office Symbol: *FPA*
Phone Number: *(808) 477-6606*

Remarks:

The media are surrounding the Marcos residence in great numbers. Maj Bradford arrived in uniform and the media got his name as well as seeing his CINCPAC badge, so they know he is from here. We have two media queries at this time, and more will be forthcoming as it is still early here. We propose the following statement for use immediately in response to query. "Maj David Bradford, Assistant Foreign Policy Advisor to the Commander in Chief, Pacific, was asked by another federal agency to deliver a document to Mr Marcos. He delivered the document late this afternoon. We are not at liberty to comment further."

It is important to include the "by another federal agency" statement, or we could be inundated with questions implying it was a CINCPAC document.

Also need to know to whom you want us to refer queries from media who want to know who to call after they get our approved statement.

Request your reply urgently.

Signed, Theodore R Heil, Colonel USAF
Public Affairs Officer, USCINCPAC

UNCLASSIFIED TELEFAX

FERDINAND E. MARCOS

20 October, 1985

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your letter of October 20. I am sadly disappointed with statements contained in it. Your comments reflect a lack of knowledge of what has really been happening to me.

I was brought to the United States on your orders. I respectfully refer you to pages 5-10 of my book, A Trilogy on the Transformation of Philippine Society, a copy of which is enclosed herewith as Annex 1, with supporting documentation as Annex 2. As a consequence, my fate is entirely in your hands. Therefore, you should know these facts.

The procedure by which the Justice Department conveyed its proposal was extraordinary not because it took place but because:

1. The proposal was non-negotiable;
2. It required me to plead guilty to a felony;
3. It provided that I must testify against others, possibly including my own family; and
4. The proposal covered only my problems in New York and specifically left open other investigations in the United States and the Philippines.

This proposal offered no peace for me and my family; it offered nothing.

Your letter puts great weight on my opportunity to refute charges that will be made against me in a trial. The reality is that I am simply physically unable to withstand the rigors of a trial of this magnitude. It will likely mean my death.

Understanding this, I have chosen the course of defending myself rather than to plead guilty to being a racketeer.

Mr. President, as my lawyers conveyed to Mr. Giuliani, I remain willing to negotiate a reasonable settlement of

FERDINAND E. MARCOS

2

all my disputes with my adversaries, whether in the Philippines or the United States.

I urge you to reexamine your decision to defer to the Attorney-General because it is to you that I have always looked for a solution to these problems, not only for me but for my country. And certainly, you must realize that a criminal prosecution of Imelda and me in the United States cannot accomplish this.

I am asking that you give me the opportunity to persuade you, through my actions in pursuing settlement, why we ultimately should not be indicted.

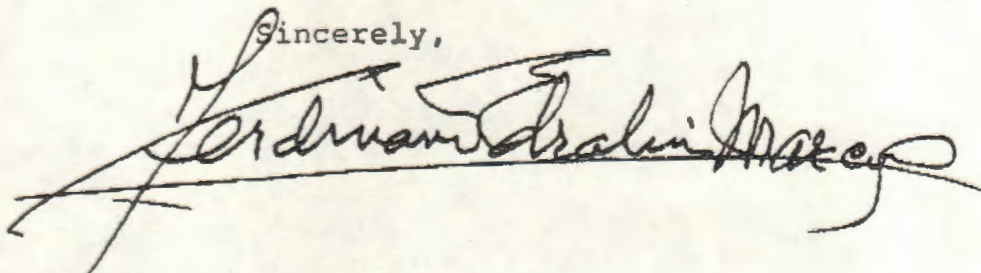
This letter is a plea to you for the chance to create a solution worthy of our countries and one which would be humanely considerate of Imelda's and my plight.

Whatever the results of my plea to you, I will always be the first to rise to salute you for the legacy of universal peace that your administration will leave to the world.

We pray for Nancy and you, and for our countries.

I remain

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Ferdinand E. Marcos". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "F" and a long, horizontal flourish extending to the right. The signature is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

ANNEX 1

Ferdinand E. Marcos

A Trilogy on the Transformation of Philippine Society

- Total Transformation of
Philippine Society (1972-1985)
- The Era of Crisis (1986-1988)
- Revival and Salvation
of Philippine Society

Ferdinand E. Marcos

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the Transformation
of Philippine Society*

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Philippine Society (1972-1985)
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of Philippine Society

A TRILOGY ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF PHILLIPINE SOCIETY

First Edition
First Printing
By Ferdinand E. Marcos

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Honolulu, Hawaii
By Ferdinand E. Marcos

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EVENTS OF FEBRUARY 1986

On February 26, 1986, the Philippine political environment changed drastically and radically. The cause was aptly described by Donald Regan, White House Chief of Staff, on page 294 of his book **For the Record** and I quote: "The State Department was happy over the fall of Ferdinand Marcos which was in contravention of U.S. policy and the president's wishes."

The Cable from U.S. Department of State

After the election of February 7, 1986, I was practically ordered and directed by a telex quoting a cable of the U.S. State Department, telling me to give up the presidency. The special envoy whom I had earlier dispatched to the United States sent me a cable that totally ignored the Filipino people's verdict - that I won the presidential election - as supported by the official proclamation of the Batasan Pambansa or the Philippine National Parliament - the only body mandated by the Philippine constitution to canvass the returns of the election for President and Vice-President and to proclaim the winners.

The message from my envoy Labor Minister Blas Ople which was transmitted on February 24, 1986 read in part:

"In this regard, He (Secretary George Shultz) is genuinely concerned that you understand we are ready to facilitate THE SAFE and MEDICAL CARE of you, your immediate family and close associates in the United States." He said the President, by stepping aside and preparing a transition government, will save the country from being split asunder and probably from a bloody civil war which the communists will ruthlessly exploit. . .

"...Then I asked whether the transition government contemplated by the President meant that a government headed by Corazon Aquino and Salvador Laurel would replace the government of Marcos and Tolentino and he said the UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE FORMULA DEVELOPED BY THE FILIPINO LEADERS THEMSELVES..."

Senator Paul Laxalt in his article "My Conversation with Ferdinand Marcos" published in the Summer 1986 issue of the quarterly magazine Policy Review wrote: "On February 24, President Marcos phoned me at the Capitol, where I was being briefed by Secretary of State George Shultz and Philip Habib, the President's special emissary, about the latest events in the Philippines. President Marcos asked me whether the message he had received from the White House calling for a 'peaceful transition' to a new government was genuinely from President Reagan. I told him it was, but I could not answer all his questions about what a 'peaceful transition' would mean - whether, for example, it might permit some form of power sharing with Mrs. Aquino."

I tried calling President Reagan by phone but for some unexplained reason, I could not reach him.

I called Ambassador Stephen Bosworth about the message from Secretary Shultz calling for an interim government and for the Filipinos to decide their future. He answered that it was too late. I told him that I would rather die in the Palace and he coldly answered that this would be tragic. He told me that thousands of troops were marching on to the Palace and that they had surrounded it. I sent my son and an aide to the perimeter defense of the Malacanang to investigate. They returned to say that the report was untrue.

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Message from U.S. Embassy

I had earlier received from the U.S. Embassy, through Mr. Calixto Fernandez of the Presidential Press Staff, a message which threatened to field the U.S. Marines against us "should massive violence continue." Allegations were made by the U.S. Embassy of massive violence being committed by my troops. On the contrary, my troops suffered casualties because of my order for them not to retaliate. In a sworn statement of one of the many witnesses, Mr. Albert Irving Romero, a retired U.S. Navy officer, said, "I was at Nagtahan Bridge on the night of February 24 and 25, 1986. I saw loyalist soldiers, most of them wounded and some of them seemingly dead, being brought by their comrades to Malacanang Clinic for treatment. I was there together with some of my neighbors from Quezon City. We were eager to help defend Malacanang from the vicious and violent actions of the pro-Aquino forces. But we were restrained by an order from President Marcos 'not to retaliate'."

Senator Laxalt also wrote that I was terrified by reports that U.S. Marines were on their way to join the rebels. He further wrote that he checked the reports with the President and Secretary Weinberger and found out they were absolutely untrue. However, I know for a fact that U.S. Marines had landed in the Palace grounds. Even members of my Presidential Security Command manning the Philippine Navy boats and the presidential yacht "Ang Pangulo", moored at Manila Bay, were disarmed by the U.S. Marines. I was also informed by another American source that U.S. Marines and even U.S. naval gun boats would be fielded against me.

I was not terrified by reports that U.S. Marines were on their way to join the rebels. I was just alarmed by the prospects of an armed confrontation with the elements of the U.S. Armed Forces which could lead into a bloody civil war wherein the Filipino people would end up the loser. Furthermore, I had no wish to fight American troops.

I don't want to fight comrades-in-arms. I prefer to fight with them just like what I have honorably done during the Second World War.

Air Attack on Malacanang Palace

For four days, Philippine Air Force helicopters had armed and fueled at Clark Air Force Base and then attacked the Palace with rockets, threatening the lives of my family and staff, including my grandchildren, one of whom was barely nine months old. Mr. Bryan Johnson described the attack on the Palace in his book "The Four Days of Courage" as follows: "The rebels intentionally sent Captain Wilfred Evangelista over the Palace... Evangelista swung the Sikorsky out over Manila Bay, ducked down among the buildings surrounding Rizal Park, and used the Manila Post Office as a screen to sneak up on Malacanang, which allowed him to come out of nowhere as he screamed in low over the Palace... Evangelista squeezed the trigger and watched his rockets skate through the air before kicking up fire around the Marcos sanctuary. One put a hole in the metallic blue Mercedes Benz convertible of Marcos' son-in-law Gregg Araneta. Another exploded near the First Lady's bedroom. A third did slight damage to the white and blue presidential helicopter sitting on the lawn."

There were actually more than three rockets (which according to our Air Force officer who inspected the fragments of the rockets were not found in the inventory of the Philippine Armed Forces) fired against us. This was confirmed by Col. Antonio Sotelo when he said in conversation with Bryan Johnson, "we sent one helicopter, one pass and he fired six rockets. Actually, he (Evangelista the pilot) was only supposed to fire four, but the trigger is very delicate and the pilot held it too long."

"I want them gassed up now! And I want fuel for my choppers, too." was the demand of Col. Antonio Sotelo to the Clark Air Force

Base authorities according to Cecille T. Arillo in his book "Breakaway" and was collaborated by Bryan Johnson in his book "The Four Days of Courage". Bryan Johnson further wrote that "Clark's U.S. officer responded to this demand in the time-honored manner: they dumped the whole thing in Washington's lap ... Finally, just before 4 a.m., the Pentagon's bureaucrats handed down their decisive ruling: Yes ... All along Juan Ponce Enrile as well as Jaime Cardinal Sin were on the phone both to the base and Ambassador Bosworth.

Was I Kidnapped?

The Philippine Observer and other major Philippine newspapers reported that Madame Aquino, on February 21, 1988, in her weekly radio talk show "Magtanong sa Pangulo", said "the role of the U.S. Embassy during Marcos' final hours as president was 'making arrangements' for Marcos to leave the country." Madame Aquino, further said, "U.S. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth called me. He said that the Marcoses would be leaving and they would be flown to Clark. When they reached Clark, Ambassador Bosworth called me and said, will it be possible for the Marcoses to stay overnight in Clark. So I said, is he in a very weak condition? Bosworth said, maybe he needs to rest. And he is asking if he can fly to Ilocos Norte. And I said, why, is it because he is in danger of dying? And Bosworth said, no, but he would just like to rest there. I said, no, he can rest in Clark, but he has to leave first thing in the morning. And so that was the agreement, and that was why Marcos and his family flew the next day to Honolulu."

The complete transcript of the February 21, 1988 "Magtanong sa Pangulo" program is on Appendix B.

"Right up until the last minute they were seeking to at least be allowed to remain in the Philippines, perhaps in Marcos home province", wrote the presidential spokesman Mr. Larry Speakes in his book "Speaking Out". It was my desire to remain in the Philippines.

Even before we left Malacanang, it was a solemn agreement that I would be flown to Ilocos Norte, my home province, from Clark Air Force Base. When we were at Clark Air Force Base, our agreement that we will be brought to Ilocos Norte the next morning was reiterated. But to our surprise at about 3 a.m., we were awakened by Gen. Ted Allen, Chief of the U.S. Joint Military Assistance Group (JUSMAG) and told that we will be flown to Guam.

The late Teodoro Valencia, in his column in the Manila Bulletin quoted Gen. Allen as saying, "Mr. Marcos refused to be taken out of the Philippines. He insisted, as originally agreed, to be brought to Laoag. But I told him that I have orders from higher authorities to fly him out of the Philippines. And I am going to do it even if it needs to take him bodily to the plane." The report was never denied. Gen. Ted Allen confirmed it in a speech made in Memphis, Tennessee.

My unheeded refusal to leave the Philippines was further expressed by Senator Laxalt: "It is important to understand, too, that he didn't believe he was going to have to leave the Philippines...He thought he was going home to northern Luzon."

So I am here in Hawaii, virtually an exile and prisoner, inspite of the "distinguished foreign visitor" status accorded us through a letter we received from President Ronald Reagan upon our apparently long expected arrival at Hickam Air Force Base.

"A Genuine and Heartfelt Reconciliation"

What ever might be the opinion of the Aquino administration right now - the fact remains that Madame Aquino, in a February 28, 1988 United Press International wire report, admitted sending two of her relatives (Congressman Egmidio Tanjuatco, a cousin and House Majority Floor Leader Francisco Sumulong, an uncle) to Honolulu to

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ANNEX 2



DOCUEMENTATION ON
MARCOS AND AQUINO
ADMINISTRATIONS

- 1965-1972
- 1981-1986
- 1986-1987

- (1) Aide Memorie
 - (2) PFM article: "The Philippine Crisis"
 - (3) Resoltuion of the Batasang Pambansa adopted on February 15, 1986 proclaiming Ferdinand E. Marcos as the duly elected President of the Philippines
 - (4) Oath of Office of the President of the Philippines, Ferdinand E. Marcos
 - (5) Batasang Pambansa Resolution No. 644 calling for the impeachment of President Ferdinand E. Marcos dated August 8, 1985
 - (6) Batasang Pambansa Resolution No. 645 dated August 13, 1985 annulling the impeachment resolution
 - (7) Telex message Of Minister Blas Ople regarding the message of Secretary of State George Shultz date February 24, 1986 (Washington, D.C. time)
 - (8) Letter of Calixto Fernandez from the Office of Media Affairs dated February 25, 1986
 - (9) Letter of President Ronald Reagan to President Ferdinand Marcos dated February 26, 1986
 - (10) Letter of Secretary of State George Shultz to President Marcos dated February 26, 1986
 - (11) Letter from the White House dated February 26, 1986 designating Ferdinand Marcos as a distinguished foreign visitor
 - (12) General Accounting Office report dated May 2, 1986 with excerpts
 - (13) Decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit dated June 4, 1987
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AIDE MEMOIRE
(The Philippine Situation)

In the past two years various newspapers and wire services in the Philippines, the United States and around the world carried headlines and news stories indicating of what was and what would become of the Philippines. Headlines like 'Reds to Overthrow RP Government in 1991?' (Manila Journal 8/15/87), 'AFP Losing Propaganda War to NPA' (Business World 10/5/87), 'Philippines on Verge of New Strife' and 'Discord Underlies Philippine Truce' (Knight-Ridder Service 11/12/86), 'Communist Rebellion is Growing in Philippines, U.S. fleet chief says' (Corpus Christi Caller-Times 04/26/87), 'Shultz says Rebels Ready to Attack' (Philippine Star 06/20/87), 'Rebels Raid Sugar Mill' (Malaya 08/16/87), 'Bomb Blast Rocks Cotabato City Hall and Big Manila Hotels' (The Independent 08/12/87), 'NPA Has own Navy, Airforce' (The Independent 08/21/87), 'The US Military Bases Agreement must be Junked Immediately!' (We Forum 07/14/87), 'Salonga says US bases retention proposal faces defeat in Senate' (Malaya 07/13/87), 'Solons Press US Bases Demolition' (Midday 07/30/87), 'A Limit to Aquino's Honeymoon' (The New York Times 03/13/87), 'Suffocation in Sanctimony' (Los Angeles Times 03/17/87), 'Is Cory in Command' (The Sunday Times 08/16/87), 'Aquino Effigy Burned' (The Philippine Daily Inquirer 07/28/87), 'Labor Strikes Cripple Philippine Business' and 'Policy of Avoidance mulled for RP debt' (Malaya 08/21/87), 'RP's Economic Plan Unrealistic' (Business Day 08/30/87), 'Biggest Nestle plant suspend operation' (Malaya 08/21/87), 'Sugar Planters postpone crop' (Manila Journal 08/12/87) have made it plain even to the ordinary Pilipinos to conclude that the Philippines is plunging headlong to disaster.

Keen political observers of the Philippine situation both Filipino and foreign have come up with nothing but dismal assessments of the Philippines' fate. The communists have seized the political and military initiatives. The military is fractious, Mindanao secessionists now aggressively seek to dismember the Republic, rich landowners in Negros and Panay islands in Central Philippines are stockpiling arms, officials and their cronies are raising their own private armies, criminality and corruption on the rise, the public sector and private industry face recurring strikes, the political leadership is paralyzed, the bureaucracy demoralized and the tenure of US bases is in jeopardy and so with the security of the United States and all of Asia. These have all been hastily brought about by an administration so corrupt, inefficient, indecisive and ineffective.

The figures available clearly indicate that the economy is on the verge of a virtual collapse. The same is true and with empirical evidence of the military grossly divided and failing in its task to contain the rising tide of communist insurgency.

Communist Insurgency

The communist insurgency is raging at its fiercest yet, in all of its nineteen years. When President Marcos was kidnaped out of the country in February 1986, the New People's Army's armed regulars, according to Philippine and U.S. official sources numbered only 16,500. Nine months later, the figure drastically rose to 23,500. And according to the Gen. Renato de Villa, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines, today is 57,000 and growing.

In 1972 when Martial Law was declared by President Marcos, the NPAs were knocking at the gates of Manila. Today, NPA forces are in and around the metropolis. NPA assassinations and ambushes have increased in number, frequency and audacity, and have become routine occurrences in the city even in broad daylight. NPA guerillas now engage the Armed Forces of the Philippines in greater numbers and for much longer durations, often on their own initiative. They are well armed and supplied. They collect taxes from property owners and from some revenue-making Government offices that they have infiltrated, and above all they receive direct funding and arms shipments from abroad.

The NPA held the military at a standoff in Bataan province, virtually isolated the Bicol mainland by blasting railway structures and several vital bridges and about 1,500 armed partisans all members of the Alex Bonçayo Brigade now operate in Manila. At the same time, the communist have gained much political ground in the villages, the media, the universities, the labor unions, the Church and Government where they have infiltrated sensitive offices.

The CPP-NPA-NDF had earlier predicted a strategic stalemate (full military parity with Government forces) within two years. The military has not disagreed with that estimate. But the timetable may have been advanced with the announcement by Carolina Malay-Ocampo, spokesperson of the National Democratic Front that they are now setting up a provisional national revolutionary government similar to the provisional regional revolutionary governments they had set up earlier in southern Philippines and in other parts of the country's so-called liberated areas.

While the Communist insurgents are growing in strength, the Philippine military has remained divided and poorly supported by the current political leadership. In one unforgettable statement, Mrs. Aquino once proudly pointed out that the NPA was not against her Government, only against the Armed Forces. She released the communists captured by the Marcos Administration and initiated her disastrous cease-fire and peace talks with the National Democratic Front without any consultation and without prior notice to, the military. She pursued her initiative without enlisting its expertise. This policy virtually handcuffed the military. Military and police casualties soared to unprecedented heights. Thus to date the kill ratio of the Armed Forces of the Philippines versus New People's Army stood at 3:1 in 1986 and about 3.5:1 in 1987 compared to an over-all kill ratio of only 1:2.9 from 1981 to 1985. Aquino even fomented public indignation against the members of the Armed Forces describing them as murderers and human rights violators when she publicly said that the military killed her husband in 1983, even while the new trial of the accused - an unseen occurrence made possible by the unprecedented ruling of her Supreme Court junking the universally revered law on double jeopardy. On the other hand, Mrs. Aquino was ambivalent to act on the well known atrocities committed by the New People's Army whose titular head, Mr. Bernabe Buscayno alias Commander Dante, she still coddles todate. This infirm relationship with the military manifested itself in serious disorder in the Armed Forces and the seven coup d'etat staged against her government, the most serious of which was the 28 August coup led by Col. Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan.

Stagflation and Economic Collapse

The unabated increase in the prices of commodities has likewise been a bonanza to the Communist cause, as families already impoverished by unemployment have grown weary in the struggle to cope with the weight of inflation, which grew 385 per cent in 1986 over the 1985 level. The peso has steadily deteriorated, so much so that the exchange rate today is P22.30 to \$1, from P18.60 in 1985 and P20.30 in 1986. This has been accompanied by dwindling support for farmers and medium-scale industries, reversing a revered and long-standing policy by the past administration. Along with inflation, these factors have dragged per capita income down to \$572 in 1986, from the 1985 level of \$1,400.

Stagnation and ruin are similarly evident in the affairs and services of the government. Although revenue collection is reported by the government to have increased by about 15.5% in 1986, the budgetary deficit in that year of P27.85 billion, was more than twice the size of the deficit in 1985 (P11.8 billion). Equally bewildering is the nearly total absence of physical accomplishments, despite the claim that some P41.5 billion, 67% more than 1985, was expended in 1986 for the construction of roads, bridges, ports and airports and for other capital outlays. Instead, some of the infrastructure assiduously built during the Marcos Administration is in total disrepair, some facilities have merely been renamed after "new heroes", and no construction that had been planned, funded or commenced before 1986 have been undertaken.

The variance between stated revenue and visible accomplishment has raised questions, chiefly the logical one about what useful ends have been served by the money spent for items the government has chosen not to identify. People may be asked to understand, of course, that these invisible items will serve them somehow, at some time; but for the moment it apparently serves the purpose of the Aquino administration to leave them undefined and unexplained. In an atmosphere that is not conducive to scrutiny anyway, one need not reach too vigorously for answers.

A Study in Contrast

It would be highly entertaining were it not for the very real danger that it has helped to create - a communist victory is closer today than it could ever be in the past not merely because of the obvious lack of will in the political leadership to subdue the communist rebellion. It is also helped along by the failure of the Aquino government, despite much rhetoric and repeated promises, to provide the basic services that no society can do without. The country is definitely ill. The institutions of democracy are in shambles.

The Aquino government has made no effort to meet the needs of a growing population for adequate sources of electric power, for orderly transport, for better nutrition, for more classrooms, for greater farm and industrial productivity, for less dependence on imported oil, for an expanded housing program, and for more medical and rural health facilities and services.

Instead, the Aquino government has busied itself with large gestures in destroying and or abusing the various institutions which are the palpable and outstanding testimonials of the Marcos years. They abolished the Batasan Pambansa, rewrote and fraudulently ratified a new Constitution, dismissed judges and public servants, fired all elected officials, clandestinely changed the electoral code and totally isolated the military establishment from public respect.

They also abused and neglected the International Rice Research Institute - the institution that is responsible in developing the high-yielding varieties of rice, specifically the IR-8 also known as the "Miracle Rice" that enabled the Philippines to attain self-sufficiency in rice in 1976 and a net exporter of the commodity in 1977.

The same thing happened to the South East Asian Fisheries Development Council facilities in Tigbauan, Iloilo in central Philippines that propelled the country to greater heights in aquaculture.

The unique and only non-collateral and non-interest bearing livelihood financing and development program, known during the Marcos years as the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK), loosely translated as the Movement for Livelihood and Development is now totally moribund and its beneficiaries are in a quandary as to whom to approach for help, assistance and guidance.

The Land Reform Program under Marcos was not just the transfer of land from one farmer to another. It was part of an entire program of

redistribution of wealth and supported by institutions that gave to both urban and rural populace the basic needs of man. It was also an educational process. It indoctrinated the Filipino farmer with a pride in his intellectual, military, social and economic heroes. The Marcos land reform succeeded in producing a new upright race that recognized the dignity of man and labor. The Aquino government tried to replace it with its own and the result, landowners threatened to cut and burn their crops, farmers went to demonstrate against the program in front of Malacanan Palace last 23 January 1987 only to be massacred by its dreaded "Yellow Army". At the same time, the ill-thought off program did not receive the required support from the landed members of the Philippine congress.

The Marcos administration successfully transformed government into an effective instrument of change. It developed into a responsive machinery for public service, whose decision-making processes allowed the active participation of the people. It laid down the foundation for the people's control over the conduct of their affairs. One of the many pillars was the institutionalization of a unique and revolutionary system of barangay (village) democracy. It is a system of democracy which restored power directly to the people that enabled them to actively participate in decision-making issues that affect their economic and social lives.

Thus, a wider participation of the Filipino people in national affairs and in the decision-making process was effected through the barangay, which was revived by the Marcos administration as the basic political unit in the Philippines. The barangays made up the base for

the participation of the citizenry in government affairs, wherein their collective views were considered in the formulation of national policies, plans and programs.

The Marcos administration, in short, shared political power with some 291,333 elected barangay officials in addition to the 180 elected members of parliament and around 16,000 elected local government officials. Today under the Aquino administration the political power is preserved in much less number consisting mostly of the landed gentry and the oligarchy.

Events of February 1986

The much ballyhooed "EDSA Revolution" or "People's Power Revolution" was not actually a revolution. It was more accurately, a restoration - the reinstatement of the old oligarchy that Marcos in the course of his "democratic revolution" was about to totally dismantle when he was kidnaped to Hawaii on orders of Ambassador S. Bosworth and Madame C. Aquino. And this was done after he was proclaimed winner of the February 7, 1986 presidential snap election by a majority of 1.5 million votes by the only body authorized by the Philippine constitution - the Batasan Pambansa (Philippine Parliament).

President Ferdinand Marcos was first elected to a four year term in 1965. He was reelected by a landslide in 1969. In 1972 he declared Martial Law not with the intention of prolonging himself in power but to save the country from the imminent threat of a communist

takeover. He instituted various reforms which were also presented to the people for their ratification. As such the period between 1972 to 1981, the Philippines experienced the most number of electoral democratic processes, referenda and plebiscites and elections than any other period of its history.

In 1981 President Marcos presented himself once more to the people. And again he won resoundingly against his presidential opponent.

Meanwhile, prominent businessman and political figures during the pre-martial law days, like Benigno Aquino, Raul Manglapus, Jovito Salonga, Justiniano Montano, John Osmena, Ramon Jacinto, Raul Olaguer, Steve Psinakis, and the Lopezes were mounting a massive destabilization campaign in the United States against the democratic government of President Marcos which was very friendly to the United States. Many wondered why these destabilization activities had flourished in the United States when they were glaring violations of the U.S. Neutrality Act.

The smear campaign against the Marcos government peaked after the assassination of Benigno Aquino in August 21, 1983. Demonstrations, bombings, labor strikes, and NPA attacks which were financed by monies coming from various groups in the United States failed however to totally and fully destabilize the Marcos Government. However, they succeeded in enlisting the American media to help them oust Marcos out of Malacanan. So when the presidential snap election was called in February 7, 1986 - the result was already known that Marcos could only win if he cheated.

But the Filipino people knew better. They gave President Marcos a resounding mandate to lead the country till 1991. The report of the then Chief of the Philippine Constabulary, Gen. Fidel Ramos showed that the presidential snap election of February 1986 was the cleanest and the most peaceful of all the election in the Philippines' electoral history. The report also indicated that more Marcos' party leaders were either killed, injured and kidnaped during the election was greater by 20% over than those of the Aquino party.

At the same time, the Commission on Election canvassed the votes and determined that President Marcos was the winner by a majority of 1.5 million votes. Many then asked the question, "If Marcos really cheated, how could he have cheated more than one million Filipinos?"

The Kidnapping

The plot to oust and kidnap Marcos was already in place and the conspiracy at work. First a coup d'etat was staged by Enrile, Ramos and Honasan. Then Cardinal Sin joined the fray. Ambassador Stephen Bosworth sent a message to Malacanan saying that they would not hesitate to use the U.S. Marines against the Marcoses. A telex message from President Reagan said that President Marcos should organize an interim government for the Filipinos to work out a solution. But this was totally ignored by Ambassador Bosworth. Meanwhile General Ted Allen, Chief of the JUSMAG appeared in Malacanan saying that he represented the President of the United States and that he had orders to take Marcos out of the Palace because it was about to fall into the hands of the communists. Gen. Allen also ordered the landings of U.S. Marines on board U.S. helicopters in Malacanan.

These marines disarmed and took into custody 50 to 60 of the members of the Presidential Security Command. Later on, to prevent bloodshed, President Marcos and his family agreed to be taken to their home province of Ilocos Norte. But again they were misled by Ambassador Bosworth, General Allen and Major Gen. Williams and instead were spirited out of the country against their will.

Recent statements of Madame Aquino have confirmed the claim of President Marcos that he was kidnapped to Hawaii. Madame Aquino publicly admitted in a television program "Magtanong sa Pangulo" that she was actually helped by the United States government through Ambassador Bosworth in kidnaping President Marcos. Thus this kidnaping of the President of an independent state with the help of foreign country has become unprecedented in contemporary world history.

The kidnaping of Marcos led to the installation of Mrs. Aquino as President of the Philippines. It also opened the avenue for the various vicious campaigns directed by Aquino's "de facto" government against the Marcoses, their friends and relatives and the members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines whom the Aquino administration considered loyal to the kidnaped president.

A great number of the members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines were tortured by the Aquino government. Cases were filed against the Marcoses and their friends. Their properties up to this day confiscated or sequestered without due process.

At the same time, some four million Filipinos in May 1986 signed a petition for the return and restoration of President Marcos to the Philippine presidency. Copies of this petition were sent to the members of the U.S. Congress hoping that action might be initiated to correct a grave error in American intervention.

The Allegation of Misuse of Public Funds

Multiplicity of cases filed against the kidnaped President is the order of the day. But none todate were decided in favor of the Aquino government. In fact both the U.S. and the Japanese governments have cleared President Marcos of charges of misuse of funds.

The U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) has certified to the proper utilization of all of the U.S. assistance to the Philippines. The GAO which conducts investigations for the U.S. Congress, examined all relevant documents and made ocular inspections of projects financed by U.S. aid and special project funds made a report in May 1986 which said in part: " In the Philippines, we reviewed selected files and records provided by the AID and, to a limited extent, by the Government of the Philippines (GOP); visited ESF project sites; and obtained independent cost analysis of selected ESF construction activities which showed the amounts paid for the facilities were reasonable . . .

" We reviewed several allegations concerning misuse of U.S. assistance. None of these could be substantiated. We also reviewed documents ex-President Ferdinand Marcos and others had brought with

them to the United States. None of these referred to U.S. assistance."

The Japanese government's National Tax Board also investigated allegations that President Marcos received pay-off monies from Japanese corporations doing business in the Philippines and their finding conclusive - that "they have found no incriminating evidence that President Marcos had received pay-offs from Japanese corporations and that they considered the case closed."

In addition, the U.S. Court of Appeals of the Ninth Circuit handed down a ruling to the effect that President Marcos was covered by the act of state doctrine and therefore the public acts preformed by him could only be tried in the Philippines. Moreover, they ruled that no direct evidence could be obtained of stealing public money, exacting money or commissions.

Earlier, in August 1985, an impeachment resolution was filed on the same basis as these allegations. After full hearing and debate in the Committee on Justice of the Parliament and on the floor of the Parliament in which 68 opposition members actively participated, Resolution 645 of Parliament was passed declaring President Marcos innocent and absolved of all charges. This resolution was later appealed to the Philippine Supreme Court which similarly denied the appeal.

Harrassments and Confinement

On several occasions representatives of the two offices of the American government namely the Departments of Justice and State, as well as Immigration and Naturalization Services visited President Marcos. One of those occasion was on July 6, 1987 to convey a message from the President of the United States and the Secretary of State. These representatives read to President Marcos the curt and blunt statements contained in the "Talking Points". President Marcos was further threatened with arrest and detention if they should believe that he was committing any acts prohibited by these "talking points". They also informed President Marcos that an additional condition on his parole has been imposed by the President of the United States forbidding President Marcos to leave the island of Oahu, Hawaii without the written permission of the District Director of the INS. These conditions are all contrary to the contents of the letters sent allegedly by President Reagan and Secretary Sshultz upon President Marcos' arrival at Hickam Air Base in February 25, 1986 which considered him as the guest of the President of the United States.

The above does not also conform with answer to the letter of Dr. Rolando Atiga to the President of the United States requesting that assistance be given to President Marcos for his return to the Philippines. The letter dated 6 January 1987, from John Finney, Jr., Acting Director of the Office of Philippine Affairs, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, stated that "President Reagan invited Mr. Marcos, his family and close associates to come to the United States

with the understanding that they would subsequently be free to enter and depart as they pleased."

The Cory Constitution and January 1987 Plebisite

While President Marcos languished as a virtual prisoner in the island of Oahu, Madame Corazon Aquino and her cohorts continued with their systematic destruction of the various Filipino institutions of democracy.

Madame Aquino selected and appointed the members of a Constitutional Commission tasked with the drafting of a new constitution intended to replaced the properly ratified constitution of 1973. This Commission drafted a constitution that contained the nuclear free provision that virtually sealed the fate of the U.S. bases in the Philippines while at same time legalizing the communist movement in the country.

The rigging of the Constitution making process resulted in the ratification of an unread, undiscussed and flawed Constitution. The Commission on Election was deluged with telegrams and petitions denouncing the fraudulent conduct of the plebisite by the Aquino government. Reports indicated that government funds amounting to billions of pesos were used to bribe the country's electorate. In Region I members of the Marcos party complained that some 4 billion pesos in public works funds were released for purposes other than construction of public works projects.

The May 11, 1987 Congressional Elections

The Aquino government then followed the plebisite process with the elections for congressional and senatorial seats. It was highly touted as the next big step in the country's return to democratic processes. What happened was just the exact opposite. The May 11 elections became the most dishonest and the most fraudulent electoral exercise since the country became independent. Through the use of modern technology such as the computer, systematic cheating was achieved by the Aquino government. Votes were added to administration candidates by the millions. The administration tool in committing this scandalous method was the NAMFREL (National Movement for Free Elections). And perhaps adding insult to injury, the NAMFREL even admitted that the administration candidates did indeed cheat. But the protests from the defeated opposition candidates fell on deaf ears.

The January 21, 1988 Local Elections

Having gained control of Congress despite the rigged elections, the Aquino government proceeded to the holding of local elections in order to gain full and solid political control of the entire country. What resulted was a more massive duplication of what happened earlier in all the other political exercises under her administration. Votes were bought and opposition candidates were terrorized and eliminated. And for the first time in the history of Philippine elections, more candidates than followers lost their lives. The local elections also revealed one single significant aspect. Aquino was not

as popular as she was perceived to be. In crucial and major areas of the country even with her full backing and support, her candidates lost.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR MARCOS' RETURN

In December of 1987 and January of 1988, fresh overtures for the return of President Marcos to the Philippines were made by two close relatives of Madame Aquino. The two envoys met with President Marcos in two separate occasions in Honolulu. In both meetings, President Marcos expressed his willingness to return home and be able to help save the country from its twin problems of communist insurgency and economic collapse. Beyond that first stage, the Aquino government has dilly dallied in its decision imposing seemingly impossible conditions for President Marcos return. Meantime, the former President has not changed his original position that he is willing to help in whatever capacity he can to save the country. In the Philippines also, the clamor for his return has grown stronger. More and more people high and low have come out in the open and have expressed their desire for his immediate return.