

〈研究ノート〉

**Case Studies of Medium
/large-scale Mines in the Philippines (1)**

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Abstract

The paper tries to collect information/data of all medium/large-scale active mines in the Philippines at the end of 2012 about agreement process for further analysis to make clear a new route leading to ‘Resource Curse’ from difficulty of agreement among local stakeholders through deterioration of institution for democracy.

The information/data set here inevitably includes many vagueness and misinformation but it is the only attempt trying to evaluate the same criteria with all mining projects in the same period even though the criterion is still vague. Through discussion on the information/data set on the criteria, I hope information/data set will be improved into varied way for several analytical frameworks.

Information/data on agreement process is divided into two, one is pre-development agreement process and another is post-agreement process. Although the analysis is still vague, it will bring one important step for ‘Resource Curse’ by specific analysis.

Introduction

Richness of mineral resources has been recognized as promise of richness and development from ancient period up to now. But especially after World War II, only a few mineral producing countries have performed well. On the contrary, several negative mechanisms caused by unique characteristics of mineral industry have been found. My former studies based on mineral industrialization process of the Philippines (Kurita 2013) (Kurita 2014) 1) divided main negative mechanisms into eight mechanisms, rentier mechanisms, mechanism of de-industrialization, debt overhanging mechanism, mechanism of rent-seeking 1 & 2, mechanism of oppression, mechanism of greed, and mechanism of grievance, 2) addressed anti-democracy, or authoritarianism, as a key medium factor connecting between most of above mechanisms and social deterioration, then 3) added difficulty of democratic agreement with local stakeholders as a new factor to deterioration of institution for democracy, which often strengthen latter three mechanism and deteriorate institution for democracy in the result (Figure 1).

If influence of the new factor, difficulty of agreement in mining project, has strong enough for deteriorating institution for democracy, it means creating transparency of mineral benefit by Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (EITI) and Resource Fund (RF) are not sufficient solutions to some countries with strong population density in mineral rich area. Democracy, focusing on transparency and participation in the paper, in more broad area from agreement process for deciding usage of resources are to be considered for overcoming ‘Resource Curse’.

Many case studies already examined process of agreement in many mineral development projects,

which shows difficulty of agreement among stakeholders especially with residents and NGOs and also shows factors of good practice of agreement process. However, I do not know yet comprehensive and comparative studies with same annalistic criteria and with big number of cases.

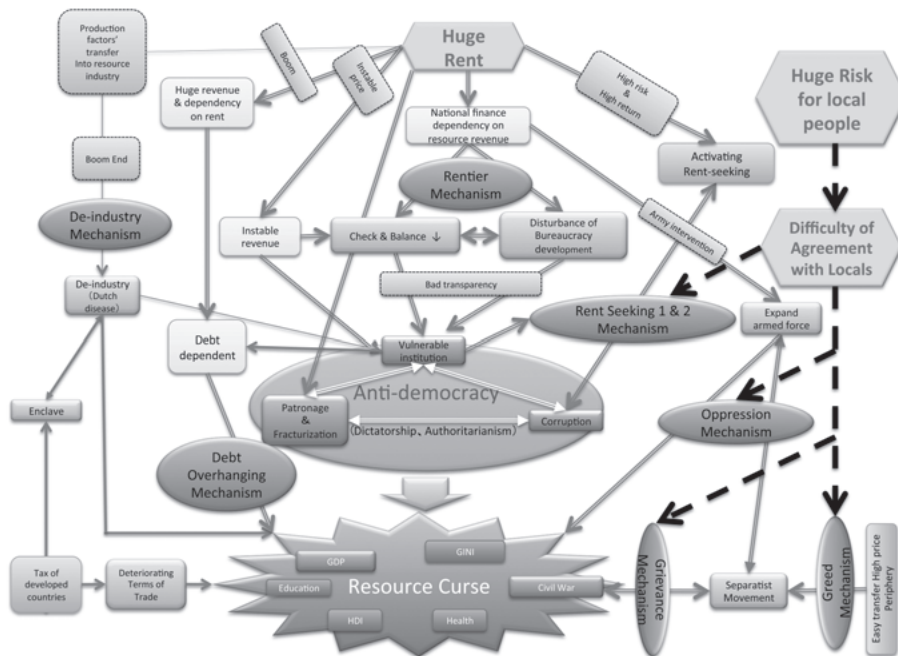
This research tries to collect enough number of cases and to analyze with the same criteria by using the same country and the same period, the Philippines, meaning under the same legal system. I divided the case studies into two for limitation of space. In this paper, part 1, I showed basic framework of the case studies and selected cases which I already researched. Remained cases and analysis will be showed in next paper after further field research.

Legal system on democracy around the Philippines mining project

Mining Rights

There are two types of agreement on medium/large scale mining operation between national government through Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and contractors. One is Mineral Production Sharing Agreement (MPSA) and another is Financial or Technical Assistance Agreement (FTAA). FTAA offers more governmental support including 100% ownership to foreign contractors but requires projects a minimum authorized capital of US\$ 4,000,000 and a capital investment of US\$ 50,000,000 for infrastructure and development in the contract area¹⁾.

Figure 1. Varieties of routs leading to 'Resource Curse'



Source : Author made by Kurita (2013) (2014)

1) About more conditions and information of these mining agreement, see <http://www.mgb.gov.ph/pgs.aspx?pgsid=32>.

Although there are several differences between two agreements, agreement process required with local stakeholders especially affected peoples is the same. Practical legal systems of democracy, people's participation into agreement process on development project, for medium/large-scale mining project appeared in Mining Act 1995 (Republic Act No. 7942 (RA 7942)) and Indigenous People's Right Act 1997 (IPRA) (RA 8371) which are strongly reflected by concepts of local government act 1991, laws of Environment Impact Assessment (EIA), and Labor Code of the Philippines 1974 (Presidential Decree 442).

Pre-development agreement

Agreement process on mining project can be divided into two characteristics by process of mining activities. One is agreement on acceptance of mining project with local stakeholders before start of project. Agreement with local government such as provinces and cities or municipalities, and agreement with IP (indigenous people) communities are required in the process of EIA (Environmental Impact Assessment). About agreement with IP communities, Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) and agreement process of traditional ways are necessary.

It is vague on affected non-IP people and their organization. They must be consulted in EIA process with enough information on affect and benefit from the project and their opinion should be reflected into improvement of project. However, both of them do not have clear right to reject but contractor often make effort to gain agreement from every affected people during consultation. Affected members do not have clear right to reject but the process is still important for legitimating of mining project.

Contractor needs to prepare and to show Community Development Program (CDP) and compensation for loss of livelihood apart from 1% benefit share to affected barangay and 1% benefit share to IP communities. In addition, contractor must create Mine Rehabilitation Fund (MRF) for unpredicted environmental problems and for managing Multipartite Monitoring Team (MMT).

It goes without saying that the procedure of agreement must be done by democratic and non-violent method with enough information about project. Here in this paper I call the agreement process on acceptance of mining project as pre-development agreement process.

Post-development agreement

Another agreement process is required after starting mining activities for unpredicted or un-included problems in pre-development agreement process such as environmental problems, labor condition, implementation of CDP and compensation, and additional affect by expand of project²⁾.

Damages by mining activities should be compensated or avoided by legal process with proper stakeholders' participation in MMT, negotiation, and agreement. MMT is so important for finding and addressing new problems with MGB. Representative of province, municipality, barangay, environmental NGO, IP community must be a member of MMT. I call this agreement process after contracting MPSA as post-development agreement process.

Kurita (2013) already showed framework of my research result. However I could not show detail information of each project in it. This paper aims to offer complement data from each project.

2) I do not mention in this paper about procedure after closure of mines because of small number until now.

Figure 2. Map of active mines in the Philippines : At the end of 2012



Methodology

Figure 2 and Table 1 show basic information about all medium/large scale nonfuel mines in the Philippines at the end of 2012. Information of mines in this paper is based on report of government agencies, mining companies, NGOs, newspapers, and direct field researches. Field research and interview with informants are also important not only for collecting information but also for checking credibility of information because much information on agreement process includes vague, wrong, and distorted information led by rumors, by misunderstandings, by hearsay, by protecting mining benefit, and by political intentions.

For vagueness and wrong information, knowing informants and background of them are important to check information. Therefore field research, direct interview, and continuing conversation through e-mail are critical for reducing vagueness and wrong information. Because my study analyses how complains and problems are addressed in the viewpoint of democracy, my effort focuses on collecting information from complaining bodies.

Table 1. Basic data/information of sctive mines at the end of 2012

	Operating Mining Project Mining Company#1	Region	Municipality Province	IP groups for FPIC	Registration no. of MPSA	Main minerals	Field visit or interview	Organizations opposing project or improving problems
1	Victoria/Teresa Gold Project LEPANTO	CAR	Mankayan Benguet	Kankana-ay Ibaloy	MPSA/1990/001	Gold	2004.3 2007.3 2011.3 2013.7	*STARM *CPA *KMU
2	Padcal Copper-Gold Operation PHILEX	CAR	Iligan & Tuba Benguet	Kalanguya	MPSA/2009/276	Copper/Gold	2013.7	*CPA *KMU *Community residents
3	Sta. Cruz Candelaria Project ZDMC	III	Sta. Cruz Zambales		MPSA/2004/191	Nickel	2013.7	*KMU *CCSC *Former town councilor *Fishpond owners *Irrigator Association *NIA
4	Sta. Cruz Nickel Project BC	III	Sta. Cruz Zambales		MPSA/2005/226	Nickel/Chromite	2013.7	*KMU *Save Zambales *Catholic Church *Former town councilor *Several Brgy Captains *Defend Zambales *NIA
5	Berong Nickel Project BNC	IVB	Quezon Palawan	Tagbanua	MPSA/2007/235	Nickel	2013.6	*PNNI *IP communities & some leaders *CEBRO *BNC *Quezon Town
6	Toronto Nickel Projects CITINICKEL	IVB	Narra Palawan	Palawano Tagbanua		Nickel	2013.6	*PNNI *IP communities
7	Pulet Nickel Projects CITINICKEL	IVB	Espanera Palawan	Palawano Tagbanua	MPSA/2007/229	Nickel	2013.6	*PNNI *IP communities & some leaders *Former secretary of mayor *IA leaders
8	Rio Tuba Nickel Project Rio Tuba	IVB	Bataraza Rio Tuba	Palawano	MPSA/1998/114	Nickel	2007.12 2009.6	*PNNI *FoE Japan *IP communities & some leaders
9	Paracale Gold Project JGMC	V	Jose Panganiban Camarines Norte	n.d.	MPSA/1999/139	Gold/Silver	not yet	
10	Masbate Gold Project Filminera	V	Aroroy Masbate		MPSA/1997/095	Gold	not yet	
11	Rapu-Rapu Mine RRM	V	Rapu-Rapu Albay	Taboys	MPSA/1998/122 MPSA/2000/163 MPSA/2007/255	Copper/Gold	not yet	
12	Toledo Copper Project ACMDC	VI	Toledo Cebu		MPSA/2005/210 MPSA/2006/264	Copper/Gold	not yet	*KMU
13	Leyte Magnetite Project NICUA	VI	MacArthur Leyte		MPSA/2009/290	Iron	not yet	
14	Homonhon Chromite Project CAMBAYAS	VII	Guluan Eastern Samar		MPSA/2009/292	Chromite	not yet	*HERO
15	Canatuan Mining Project TVI	IX	Siocon Zamboanga del Norte	Subanen	MPSA/1996/054	Copper	not yet	*Christian Aid
16	APEX Macro Operation APEX	XI	Maco Compostela Valley	Mansaka	MPSA/2005/225	Gold	2013.6	*Bantay Kita
17	Dinagat Chromite-Nickel Project AAM-Phil	X III	Basilisa / San Jose Dinagat Island		MPSA/2010/329(SMR)	Chromite	2013.3	*Caraga Watch
18	Dinagat Chromite Project Krominco Inc	X III	Loreto Dinagat Island		MPSA/2009/291(SMR)	Nickel/Chromite	2013.3	*Caraga Watch
19	Mountain Top Nickel Project OSMC	X III	Loreto Dinagat Island		MPSA/1992/92(SMR)	Nickel/Chromite	2013.3	*Caraga Watch
20	Cagdano Nickel Project CMC	X III	Cagdano Dinagat Island		MPSA/1997/078(SMR)	Nickel	2013.3	*Caraga Watch *KMU
21	Tagana-an Project HMC	X III	Tagana-an Surigao del Norte	Manobo/Mamanua	MPSA/2007/246	Nickel	2013.3	*No field visit *Former organizers of labor union, KMU in HMC
22	Taganito Nickel Project TMC	X III	Calaver Surigao del Norte	Manobo/Mamanua	MPSA/2008/266	Nickel	2013.2	*IP communities *Caraga Watch *Workers & former workers
23	Cagdano Nickel Project PGMC	X III	Calaver Surigao del Norte	Manobo/Mamanua	MPSA/1992/007	Nickel	2013.2	*LRC *IP communities *Caraga Watch *Workers & former workers
24	Tandawa Nickel Project SMGC	X III	Calaver Surigao del Norte	Manobo/Mamanua	MPSA/1998/103	Nickel	2013.2	*IP communities *Caraga Watch *Workers & former workers
25	Adlay and Dahican Nickel Projects CTP	X III	Carrascal Surigao del Sur	Manobo/Mamanua	MPSA/1993/018(SMR) MPSA/2000/158(SMR)	Nickel	2013.3 2014.3	*Church
26	Carrascal Nickel Project CNC	X III	Carrascal Surigao del Sur	Manobo/Mamanua	MPSA/2007/243	Nickel	2013.3 2014.3	*KMU
27	Cantilan Nickel Project MERC	X III	Cantilan Surigao del Sur	Manobo/Mamanua	MPSA/1993/016(SMR)	Nickel	2013.3 2014.3	*Church *Caraga Watch *Municipality
28	Tubay Nickel-Cobalt Mining Project SRM	X III	Tubay Agusan del Norte	Mamanua	MPSA/2008/261	Nickel/Cobalt	2014.3	*Caraga Watch *IFI *Gina Lopez *LGU
29	Banahaw Gold Project PHILSAGA	X III	Bunawan Agusan del Norte	Manobo	MPSA/2008/262	Gold	2014.3	*Catholic Church *Water District of San Francisco *AMOMA

*1 LEPANTO ; LEPANTO CONSOLIDATED MINING COMPANY, PHILEX ; Philex Mining Corporation, ZDMC ; Zambales Diversified Metals Corporation, BC ; Benguet Corporation, BNC ; Beron Nickel Corporation, CCITINICKEL ; CITINICKEL Mines and Development Corporation, Rio Tuba ; Rio Tuba Mining Corporation, JGMC ; Johson Gold Mining Corporation, FILMINERA ; Filminera Resources Corporation, RRM ; Rapu-Rapu Minerals Inc., ACMDC ; Atlas Consolidated Mining and Development Corporation, NICUA ; NICUA Corporation, CAMBAYAS ; Cambayas Mining Corporation, TVI ; TVI Resources Development Philippines Inc., APEX ; APEX Mining Company Inc., AAM ; AAM-PHIL Natural Resources Exploration and Development Corporation, Krominco ; Krominco Inc., OSMC ; Oriental Synergy Mining Corporation, CMC ; CAGDIANAO MINING CORPORATION, HMC ; Hinatuan Mining Corporation, TMC ; Taganito Mining Corporation, PGMC ; PLATINUM GROUP METALS CORPORATION, SMGC ; Shenzhou Mining Group Corporation, CTP ; CTP Construction and Mining Corporation, CNC ; Carrascal Nickel Corporation, MERC ; Mercventures Mining and Development, SRM ; SR Metals, Incorporated, PHILSAGA ; PHILSAGA Mining Corporation

Source Web site of MGB and author's Field Research

Case Studies

I Benguet Province

1. Victoria/Teresa

Information on Victoria/Teresa project is based on documents/interview from/with Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA), Tebtebba Foundation, STARM (Save the Abra River Movement), website of Lepanto Corporation (Lepanto) and field research in 2004, 2007, and 2013.

Municipality of Mankayan has a long history as a mining town of Lepanto Consolidated Mining Company (Lepanto) since 1936. Big populations and big portion of economy of Mankayan already depended on Lepanto when Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) permitted MPSA.

A. Pre-development agreement

A-1. MPSA before Mining Act and IPRA

The Victoria/Teresa gold project was granted in 1990 as one of the first MPSA projects in the Philippines. The project was agreed before IPRA and such companies were not required FPIC as precondition for operation. Companies was asked by DENR to get agreement with IP communities but IP communities' disagreement could not stop or reject mining operation.

A-2. Participation of local stakeholders

Public hearing were not held and affected area was narrowly defined by Lepanto³⁾, which led strong critics from affected people and communities especially from IPs after start of operation. However, during 1990's agreement procedure I could not find any reports and stories about strong oppositions or objections from local affected people and communities.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Narrow predict of affected area

Almost all kinds of accidents and problems of mining activities have been reported in broad area after commencing exploration and operation. Displacement of livelihood such as SSMS' mining area, residential lots, burial site, and farmland and environment destruction such as land slide, land sink, land corruption, spill over of tailings into Abra river, and dust and health problems in these results, after MPSA was signed⁴⁾. Lepanto did set some negotiation tables with affected people and did compensate to some of them, but still many disputes have not yet been solved or have not yet been negotiated.

3) Many residents in several sitio of Mankayan said that they got to know Victoria/Teresa project through workers or barangay officials and they did not remember consultations or public open forum. Barangay officials at the moment said Lepanto informed only officials of Barangay and Municipality about the project.

4) NAMIS (1993) well mentions about problems, critics from local peoples, and future fears of Lepanto mining at the moment of its publication. We can see strong political intention of NGO in the report especially on future strategy but problems and reactions of local people which already occurred are trustworthy. I checked most of damages and movements issues by my field research in 2004.

B-2. Opposition from surrounding LGUs

It is noteworthy that reactions from surrounding municipalities after increasing public concerns on environmental destruction especially through Abra River. News of many river pollution by mining activities in the Philippines and Abra River water quality research conducted by an environmental NGO, STARM (STARM 2003), were big impetus for creating public concerns.

The concerns of people living along with Abra River created one big challenge through LGU in province of Ilocos Sur. In 2012 League of Municipalities of the Philippines (LMP)-Ilocos Sur Chapter passed a resolution to ask cancellation of Lepanto mining activities (LMP 2012).

B-3. Conflict with strong Labor Union

Severe conflicts were also observed in labor disputes. Legitimacy of Labor Union, improper dismissals, oppression to union workers, and labor conditions have been core issues. Not only legal communication including strikes and rally but also illegal methods such as barricades and pickets from union side and dismissal and threat from company side has been also generalized.

B-4. Violent conflict

Undemocratic and sometimes oppressive process especially in post development agreement brought oppressive and violent ways in the conflict. Armed revolutionary group, New People's Army (NPA), sometimes appeared and showed their support to opposition movements against Lepanto. Military presence and even their super legal actions, which brought strong oppression not only to armed movements but also to legal activists and even to ordinal residents, have been justified especially government statements of 'Total War' to terrorists in reaction to 9.11. The 54th Infantry Battalion deployed, CPLA and CAFGU also activated, and Census Survey which ask all local residents about their position, anti or pro mining, was done by military in 2009. They all brought strong stress to residents especially to critical people to the mining project.

Anti-mining community leaders and organizers came to have been often harassed by extrajudicial operation by police and army. What being called 'political killing' or 'extrajudicial killing' became eminent all over the Philippines especially political hot spots including mining project⁵⁾. Members of CPA and STARM have been targeted through black mail, extrajudicial jailing, and oppressive hearing by police and army. In addition, a CPA organizer was killed by supposed as political killing in 2005⁶⁾. Extrajudicial activities by army in relation with the project was treated in United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Executions (Alston 2007) in 2007.

2. Padcal Copper-Gold Operation

Tuba, home municipality of Padcal mine, also has been developed with Philex Mining Corporation

5) For example, Globalwitness mentioned in its report (Globalwitness 2014) "The Philippines is the worst-hit country in Asia with 67 known killings, the majority over mining conflicts," between 2002–2013.

6) However, it is hard to know whether anti-mining activity is the main reason of such 'political killing' or not. One reason is most of organizers killed as political killing also participated other politically hot issues so that the reason might be not anti-mining but other issues. Another reason is that they might be killed not by political intension but by personal conflicts.

(Philex) since 1958.

Information on pre-development agreement process is based on my interview with several workers in the mining community including one of IP leaders of original APPSOL during my field visit. Information on post development agreement process is based on the above interview, NGO reports, web site of MGB, and several newspapers.

A. Pre-development agreement

Agreement with all local stakeholders, LGUs, affected residents, and IP communities were done without any strong objections.

Smooth pre-development agreement process does not mean no critic to the project. CPA have shown strong concern about its management of Tailing Pond 3 (TP 3) by pointing out illegal release of waste tailings into Balog River and overcapacity of TP 3.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Tailing Disaster activates NGO

Collapse of TP 3 in 2012 brought severe water pollution to downstream of Balog River, then flowing into Agno River. The accident noticed especially to residents in downstream that assumption of affected area and stakeholders in the Padcal project was too narrow. It also proved CPA's concerns about over capacity of TPs.

DENR ordered Philex four conditions in spite of payment for re-permit mining operation until July 2013, 1) Clean Blog River, 2) Rehabilitate TP 3, 3) Creating plan of new TP (TP 4), 4) Construction of spill way. However, CPA and Catholic church organization CBCP-NASSA demanded DENR more fundamental improvement based on strengthening monitoring and investigation (CPA 2013) (CBCP-NASSA 2012).

B-2. Conflict among IP stakeholders with LGU

Two conflicts among local IP stakeholders and one conflict between two municipalities on benefit sharing appeared after conducting MPSA. The first one of IP conflicts is also related with LGU's conflict. Stakeholder of Kalanguya people organized APPSOL for negotiating and managing benefit share from Padcal project in 2007. However, excluded Kalanguya who lived in Municipality of Itogon, next to Municipality of Tuba, started to ask share of benefit and organized APPSOL 2 in 2010. In addition, municipality of Itogon also started supporting APPSOL 2 and also demanded their share of resource tax. Governor of Benguet Province at last arbitrated the conflict and settle the problem by recognizing Itogon's participation and share of benefit.

Both two groups above were organized by Kalanguya people living in affected area. Also some Ibaloy, who have demanded their IP right over Benguet Province for a long time, organized NUCLASI in 2009 and appealed their right to the Royalty sharing.

II Municipality of Sta. Cruz, Zambales Province

Sta. Cruz has also a long history of mines since 1935 by Acoje Mining Company. However unlike

above two mines in Benguet, Sta. Cruz did not develop mining town because of relatively small mine scale. The information here was based on interview with KMU local organizers, organizers of Concerns Citizens of Sta. Cruz (CCSC), NIA Sta. Cruz, several barangay captains, Priest of Sta. Cruz Catholic church, fish pond owners, former city council, affected farmers for mud flow, and affected fishermen living front of ore loading pier.

3. Sta. Cruz Candelaria Project

4. Sta. Cruz Nickel Project

At the time of negotiation on two MPSAs by two companies, Zambales Diversified Metals Corporation (ZDMC) and Benguet Corporation (BC), only small and medium scale mining activities were operating.

The agreement process of two mines above are the same in relation with analytical factors of the paper. Therefore information of both processes would not be divided here.

A. Predevelopment agreement

There are no reports about strong opposition in negotiation with local stakeholders for MPSA of ZDMC and BC.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Conflict with pre-existing mining company

During feasibility study and construction of both ZDMC and BC, a medium size local mining company, A3UNA, that mayor of Sta. Cruz at the moment of MPSA agreement period (here I call him former mayor) has a big share of benefit^(7).8) operated over its permitted area into both two MPSA areas. Complicated conflicts between A3UNA and above two mining companies occurred. The ZDMC and BC mining companies complained about A3UNA's illegal activities of cutting trees and extracting ores within their MPSA area to DENR. DENR ordered to stop its illegal operation, then.

In addition, former mayor and one barangay captain criticized port construction by ZDMC and BC for environmental destruction of seashore. They filed a case.

ZDMC and BC supported by DENR won these conflicts against 3AUNA and former mayor but it took until 2012 (Daily Inquirer 2012).

B-2. Environmental damages

After starting operation by two mines, environment problem became eminent to local residents. Water pollution, dust, and land erosion brought severe damage to farm crops, fishponds, and health in Sta. Cruz. Several meetings between farmers, sometimes initiated government agency NIA (National Irrigation Authority) and mining companies could not solve damages, then accumulation of complain against mining

7) Mr. Luisito Marty had occupied mayor position of Sta. Cruz maximum 9 years, three period, until 2013. His wife succeeded position of mayor after him up to now.

8) People of Sta. Cruz including some higher position of local politics believe that former mayor owns A3UNA. But I could not find trust worth information of his ownership during my field research. From his statement to his political friends and staffs, I can say that he has a big benefit from A3UNA.

activities leded organizing work to solve and even reject mining activities in Sta. Cruz with strong initiatives by nation wide NGOs such as Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN)⁹⁾ and Alyansa Tigil Mina (ATM)¹⁰⁾.

Strong lobby by NGOs' support moved EMB (Environment Management Bureau) to suspension order to both mining companies in June of 2014 and following 'impact evaluation of waterways and the shores of Sta. Cruz, Zambales' on April and May of 2015 conducted by the EMB-Region III with the Concerned Citizens of Sta. Cruz, Zambales, local and provincial government representatives and the Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) (Business World 2014).

III Palawan

Procedure of Palawan is unique from other regions of the Philippines. Republic Act 7611, Strategic Environmental Plan (SEP) for Palawan Act, requires permission to MPSA application from Palawan Council for Sustainable Development (PCSD). PCSD was established for creating Environmentally Critical Areas Network (ECAN) and makes ECAN map made under strategy for sustainable development of Palawan.

Without Rio Tuba, another three mines in Palawan have been well monitored by Palawan NGOs Network Inc. (PNNI)¹¹⁾ with organized local affected people and through Multi-sectoral Monitoring Team (MMT).

5. Berong Nickel

The Information was base on interview/report with/of IDEA, mayor of Quezon, LEMITTA, PNNI, and Berong Nickel Corporation.

A. Pre-development agreement

A-1. Government agencies

This is the first experience for municipality of Quezon, host town of Berong Nickel Project, to accept a big mine. Municipality of Quezon, and PCSD agreed with the project even though mining area was in the restricted zone by ECAN map. During negotiation with PCSD, Berong Nickel Corporation (BNC) asked PCSD to change zoning of ECAN map and started to change zoning of Quezon for enabling BNC to develop nickel mine¹²⁾.

However, the decision of PCSD that gave permission to BNC's project in restricted area of ECAN map, even though PCSD started improvement of it, is not proper procedure.

9) BAYAN is an alliance of liberal socialist militant organizations that has been strongly influenced by Maoist principles. More information, see <http://www.bayan.ph>.

10) ATM is 'a coalition of organizations and groups who have decided to collectively challenge the aggressive promotion of large-scale mining in the Philippines. Composed of Non-Government Organizations, People's Organizations, Church groups and academic institutions, the ATM is both an advocacy group and a people's movement, working in solidarity to protect Filipino communities and natural resources that are threatened by large-scale mining operations' (<http://alyansatigilmina.net/about/>). More information about ATM, please see <http://alyansatigilmina.net>.

11) About PNNI, see <http://pnni.net/whatwedo.html>

12) At the moment of my research in July 2013, new ECAN map was already completed and waited the last approval by PCSD

A-2. IP communities

There is one IP communities of Tagubanua in two barangays, brgy. Berong and brgy. Aramaywan, in affected area of municipality of Quezon. Traditional systems there had already stopped its function when BNC try to proceed FPIC so that residents newly organized MASIKAMPO for negotiating the project by support of BNC. Majority was pro in consultation voting from all residents in two barangays and agreement was done by decision of 68 chieftains in MASIKAMPO in 2007.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Conflict with LGU

After commencing mining operation, municipality of Quezon tried to levy tax to BNC, and BNC tried to reject because of no condition in MPSA about additional local tax but accepted at the last after several negotiations between municipality of Quezon and BNC¹³⁾. However, municipality of Quezon still had doubt about BNC's report data about quantity of ore transport because the municipality did not have any way to check it.

B-2. Legitimacy of delegation in IP communities

After MPSA, MASIKAMPO was divided into two groups, MASIKAMPO and LEMTTA, and they filed cases each other. LEMTTA denied legitimacy of original MASIKAMPO because of selection way for leaders. LEMTTA said many leaders in MASIKAMPO were not selected by traditional way but by intentional from pro mining peoples. At the moment of July 2013, total number of chieftains in two barangays were 100, and 68 were anti project.

From interview of some chieftains and members in LEMTTA, their reasons of opposition were environment destruction especially muddy road and severe siltation in the River, unclear distribution of mining benefit through CDP, fewer employment from brgy. Aramaywan than brgy. Berong, and insincere response to their complains from BNC.

B-3. Negotiation in monitoring

Institute for the Development of Educational and Ecological Alternatives (IDEAS) in Palawan that has been working close to PNNI has been an important role as a delegate of NGO in MMT. The MMT committee has been held in every three month as Philippines Mining Act prescribed and been well-functioned as not being controlled by BNC or politicians but as a strained relations among members to check each other¹⁴⁾.

Dust and muddy along with mining road, siltation, pollution of living water, and air dust were reported by MMT but not yet improved enough at the moment of July 2013.

In addition to formal monitoring activities, NGO found illegal logging by BNC. BNC explained that

13) At the moment of the conflict on local tax between municipality and BNC, there were also many legal disputes between host town and mining companies.

14) It does not mean that operation goes without any problems. Many problems on mining operation had been found by monitoring team, discussed, and improved by BNC. I already visited more than 30 mines in the Philippines but this is the best case of functioning monitoring team.

they already gained a logging permission from DENR. However when NGO asked DENR office, DENR denied the permission. Explanation of an officer of DENR and a staff of NGO taught that the regional officer of DENR gave BNC a logging permission without proper procedures. It means that logging permission was not authorized by DENR.

6. Toronto Nickel Project

The Information was base on interview/report with/of IDEA, PNNI, affected farmers of Narra.

The project is located in municipality of Narra. Palawano and Tagbanua IP communities own their IP title within the area. Contracting companies have been changed several times about MPSA of Toronto Nickel Project. In addition, there was a mineral right dispute between CITTI Nickel and PGMC, which CITTI Nickel won at the last in 2009.

A. Pre-development agreement

There was no conflict or objection from local stakeholders in pre-development agreement. However, Toronto Nickel Project also occupies restricted area in ECAN map.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Resource Fund

MMT found that CITI Nickel did not establish Resource Fund required as one of conditions of MPSA. CITI Nickel did not show sincere reaction to the critics from MMT.

B-2. Negotiation with farmers

Several damages to farming lands through pollution of Pinagduguan River occurred. After MGB's order of penalty (GMA News 2014), CITTI Nickel paid penalty fee, compensated damaged farmers, and also bought some portion of polluted farming land from farmers¹⁵⁾. However, some farmers still complained about decrease of harvest without any compensation from CITTI Nickel but CITTI Nickel rejected because of unclear causality¹⁶⁾.

B-3. Armed struggle ?

Around 2013, activities of NPA came to obvious in Palawan. Burning of trucks owned by CITTI Nickel, regarded as by NPA's operation, happened in 2013.

7. Pulot Nickel Project

The project is located in municipality Sofronio Española. Palawano and Tagbanua IP communities own their IP title within the project area.

The Information was base on interview/report with/of IDEA, PNNI, former municipal councilor of Sofronio Espanola, IP members in affected area of Pulot Nickel Project, affected farmer in Sofronio

15) About a big incident of pollution, see Inquire (2012)

16) At the moment of my field visit in Narra, some farmers contacted with IDEA for help of negotiation with CITTI Nickel about harvest decrease.

Espanola and Narra.

A. Pre-development agreement

There was no conflict or objection from local stakeholders including IP in pre-development agreement. Palawano communities accepted the project by being offered a good CDP and employment opportunities.

Pulot Nickel Project, like Toronto Nickel Project, also occupies restricted area in ECAN map.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Conflict with LGU

Attitude of Municipality Sofronio Española to the project changed from pro to anti by mayor. The first mayor who agreed in MPSA process was supportive to the project. He could expand his own truck business by transportation of ore and other soil of the project.

However, another mayoralty during 2010–2013 showed strong attitude to oppose by support from many affected people in the municipality. Many disputes occurred such as local tax and compensation of severe damages to farmlands and health by environment destruction around mining site and along with rivers. Then, CITTI Nickel filed a case against the mayor about over charge during mayor election period in 2013, which caused severe burden to the mayor. From 2014, former mayor who accepted MPSA was returned in the position of mayor again.

B-2. Negotiation with farmers

Environmental destruction and severe damages became eminent since 2011 near mining site, along with mining road, along with Pasi and Pulot Rivers. Affected farmers complained about damages of farmlands. Even research result of Department Agriculture (DA) that shows strong content of laterite in the Pulot River, CITTI Nickel did not response to affected farmers.

DENR implemented suspension order to CITTI Nickel at least two times based on the information from MMT about environment destruction. However, still many farmers remained unconsulted by CITTI Nickel and uncompensated.

B-3. Complains of IP

Palawano communities, especially near mining site got severe damages of farmlands, and river fishes because of air and river pollution and laterite flowing to their farmland. In addition, diarrhea, skin disease, and bronchus disease became common since 2011 just after development started.

At the time of July 2013, IP communities had not yet gained any CDP. What IP members gained was only Christmas gift of 700 pesos in each household in 2011. Or IP members did not been informed CDP by CITTI Nickel and IP chieftains.

Many IP members already did not trust IP chieftains who are supposed to be delegates for negotiation with CITTI Nickel. They did not know where should they bring their problems and complains.

B-4. Armed struggle ?

Around 2013, activities of NPA came to obvious in Palawan. Burning of trucks owned by CITTI

Nickel, regarded as by NPA's operation, happened in 2013.

8. Rio Tuba Nickel Project

The Information was base on interview/report with/of Friend of the Earth Japan, PNNI, and IP community member in affected area.

A. Pre development agreement

Municipality of Bataraza, hometown of Rio Tuba Nickel Corporation (CBNC), has a long history of mining town from 1970. There was no big complain and objection from local stakeholders including Palawano IP communities.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Environment destruction

There are severe environment problems about damages of farmland, sea, rivers, and daily water in Bataraza (ONUMA 2011). However, it is difficult to discriminate damages from CBNC. The damages might be occurred by nickel mining operation. But also they might be by nickel refining operation operated by Sumitomo Metal Mining Co., Ltd. Nickel mining operation and refining operation are directory connected but project and also owner are different. PNNI and Friend of the earth Japan criticize both operations with IP and Muslim community members but no practical response from both companies.

Many health problems such as skin disease, cough, diarrhea, and bronchitis became eminent in surrounding communities of the project and refining factory. However medical services as one of SMM social service denied health problem.

B-2. Royalty sharing among IP

Many of Palawano IP member has complains on CDP and employment opportunities distributed by chieftains. CDP and benefit from CDP for IP communities was not distributed well to all IP community members. In addition, information of CDP is concentrated to some IP leaders.

IV Dinagat Island

Dinagat Island started to attract Nickel and Chromite mining investors from around 1990s, then mining boom that attracted many investors of medium/small scale mining and mining workers occurred around 2010, which brought many mining activities all over Dinagat Island.

Dinagat Island has a unique informal political system. The island is the base of Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association, Incorporated (PBMA) established 1965 and no one can compete with them in political power in Dinagat Island since 1963.

There is no traditional IP community that holds IP title in the island.

All information is based on field research in each affected area. I could not find any news and reports on agreement process.

A. Pre development Agreement

There is no conflict between local stakeholders and mining companies during MPSA process in four mining projects. Mining area of three mining projects, Dinagat Chromite-Nickel Project, Dinagat Chromite Project, and Mountain Top Nickel Project, locate remote and other side of residential area. In addition, all four mining projects, especially Cagdianao Nickel Project, promised priority of employment to all workable residents and CDP to each affected communities. Therefore many affected residents welcomed or did not oppose against projects.

17. Dinagat Chromite-Nickel Project

B. Post development agreement

Although mining site is other side of the thin island, out of their livelihood, pollution of sea by loading of ore and erosion by road construction brought some trouble to farmers and fishermen. The affected farmers who claimed several times to AAM-PHIL office in the island could not get any response by AAM-PHIL.

About labor condition, there is no Labor Union. In addition, salary of contract worker tends to delay several weeks.

CDP did not come yet at the moment of March of 2013.

18. Dinagat Chromite Project

A. Pre development agreement

During my interview at small shop, Sarisari store, where many residents of affected area gathered, no one even barangay officials knows public consultation. At least around 20 families in affected area who participate my interview were not consulted by mining company, Krominco.

B. Post development agreement

There is no active LU in the mine. In addition, every month's salary delay is reported by community labors.

19. Mountain Top Nickel Project

B. Post development agreement

Situation of post development agreement in Dinagat Chromite Project and Mountain Top Nickel Project are the same. Road connecting between loading pier and mining site produced dust and mud which is maybe causes of polluted domestic water, health hazard, and farm damage to residents. However residents did not complain directly to operation.

20. Cagdianao Nickel Project

A. Pre development agreement

Narrow local stakeholders welcomed the project because of employment opportunity and good offer of CDPs.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Environment pollution

Muddy sand went into the seashore but residents of brgy. Cagdianao, recognized as directly affected area, did not have intention to negotiate or to make critique with/to Nickel Asia Corporation (NAC) because most of residents already stopped fishing for their main livelihood.

On the other hand, other residents living in surrounding communities has accumulating complains for pollution of water and less priority, or insufficient employment opportunity, of employment by NAC. However they did not have any intention to make critics to NAC because they felt powerless to NAC.

B-2. Situation for labor

Cagdianao Nickel Mine has a LU supported by KMU. Negotiation between LGU and NAC was not oppressive or exclusive and LU members had some confidence for their negotiation power by their negotiation experience.

V Surigao del Norte

Surigao del Norte has the biggest nickel deposit in the Philippines and also holds rich deposit of other precious and base metals such as gold, silver, copper, and chromite.

Surigao del Norte has a long mining history from ancient period but the first big mining town was established in municipality of Claver after success of Taganito Nickel Mines by Taganito Mining Corporation (TMC) which started mining operation in 1989. Many investors have been attracted after big success of TMC. At the time of 2012, seven mines are operating in Surigao.

Dominant IP communities are Mamanuwa and Manobo. Both two IP communities live in six mining areas, not in Hinatuan Island for Taganaan Project, as IP title holders.

Because big numbers of IPs and non-IPs have been displaced and been threatened by mining activities, and maybe because of big benefit, NPA also have been active in the area.

The Information was based on interview/report with/of Caraga Watch, LRC-KSK, Catholic Sisters working in Claver mining area, Mamanuwa and Monobo's leaders, and newspapers.

21. Taganaan Project

The project is located in remote island, Hinatuan Island in North Surigao, where small fisher communities occupied without any land title when Nickel mining started in 1979. No information I could get about procedure of agreement on both pre and post development.

22. Taganito Nickel Project

A. Pre development Agreement

TMC started mining operation in 1989. Until MPSA procedures in 2008, many residents including IP were hired in TMC and also in other mining companies. The salary and working condition of TMC were higher than other employment opportunities even comparing with other big mining companies in the Province of Surigao del Norte so that many residents including LGU agreed with new mining project in the same mining site even though environment destruction was so obvious in the area.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Environment

Environmental NGOs with some residents had criticized marine and river pollution by mining activities. However the practical investigation had not been held by proper governmental agencies such as MGB and DENR until 2012.

Task force of MGB and DENR that investigated environment around coastal area of municipality of Claver ordered alleged violations committed by three mining companies, TMC, PGMC, and SMGC, and ordered improvement. Response of TMC was rapid and DENR allow again TMC's operation by TMC's improvement (Rappler com. 2014).

B-2. IP

IP communities found the first agreement for royalty payment with IP communities, one of conditions for MPSA, below 1% of mining benefit which is company's duty of minimum payment. IP communities appealed the problem by rally in front of TMC building in brgy. Taganito and succeeded to gain 1% benefit by renegotiation with TMC.

In addition, complicated conflict among IP communities occurred. IP groups divided into three groups. Each three groups were initiated by local elites.

B-3. NPA

NPA had been active around mining area of municipality of Claver and Carrascal. In 2011, NPA attacked five mines in these municipalities, TMC, PGMC, SMGC, CTP, CNC. Media and some higher officials of mining companies told that the reason of NPA's attack was above mining companies' payment reject of revolution tax to NPA.

B-4. Military and paramilitary oppression

After NPA attack, the 30th IBPA, 3rd Special Forces Battalion of Philippines Army started providing security to the mining company. In the same time, private army that sometimes stays under the control of Philippines Army and some are controlled by local political leaders increased its number and threatens opposition IP movements. Some IP leaders had to hide during conflict on compensation.

23. Cagdianao Nickel Project

A. Pre development Agreement

Affected IP communities were the same with Taganito Nickel Project. FPIC were not necessary because procedure of MPSA was before IPRA. During MPSA process of early 1990s, IP communities in the area were neglected.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. IP

Practical negotiation with IP started 2008, 11 years already passed after implementation of IPRA. Platinum Group Metals Corporation (PGMC) promised payment of royalty and protect of sanctuary for IP.

However, PGMC did not pay royalty and IP found destroy of their sanctuary by mining operation. PGMC did not have any office of social affairs. Also IP leaders did not trust on National Council of IP (NCIP), national body to protect IP right, and MGB. Therefore IP member conducted rally to appeal their demand in 2009, which succeeded to gain royalty later. On the other hand, sanctuary issues were not improved until 2013.

B-2. Environment

As mentioned above, PGMC also got order of improvement on environment, and was allowed operation by DENR for improvement.

B-3. NPA and Military and Paramilitary

The situation is the same as Taganito Mine.

24. Tandawa Nickel Project

A. Pre development agreement

Affected IP communities were the same with Taganito Nickel Project. FPIC were not necessary because procedure of MPSA already started when IPRA was implemented. Although FPIC was not the condition for MPSA, they needed to negotiate for gaining agreement. However IP communities were not allowed to negotiate well with Shenzou Mining Group Corporation (SMGC) because of oppressed negotiation. Only one month was spent for negotiation. SMGC said IP community that they did not have any option without accept the project during negotiation. NCIP also allowed such improper process.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. IP

SMGC did not pay royalty and did not implement any CDP. Therefore IP member barricaded entrance of SMGC mine in 2012.

B-2. Environment

SMGC got order to improve environment protection with other four companies but only SMGC never showed improvement to DENR. Then DENR ordered to stop mining operation.

B-3. NPA and military and paramilitary

The situation is the same as Taganito Mine.

VI Carrascal, Surigao del Sur Province

A. Pre development agreement

Municipality of Carrascal accepted two mining projects. Both mining Project was owned Carrascal (CTP) whose owner is mayor of Carrascal but operators are different. Adlay and Dahican Nickel Project was operated CTP and Carrascal Project was operated by Carrascal Nickel Corporation (CNC).

A-1. Local Community

There is no report about opposition from local stakeholders. However, process for collecting signature of affected residents for agreement of both project were not proper. All affected people were invited to gathering without any explanation, and were asked to sign on white paper. All affected people signed it or at least mayor said he could gain signature of all affected people for both MPSA.

A-2. Military Presence

The 36th and the 75th IBPA have deployed for protecting three mines located in Carrascal and Cantilan. Also private guard of these three mines controlled by mayor of Carrascal have often been mobilized for negotiation with IP leaders.

25. Adlay and Dahican Nickel Project

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Local community

Severe environment destruction such as river pollution, marine pollution, daily water pollution, siltation, dust caused big damages to health, farmlands, and catch of fish.

Residents accumulated complain so much but they could not complain CTP, it meant they could not complain to mayor, because they were so afraid of mayor. What they could do recently (in early 2014) is that they absented public hearing of constructing pier and that they rejected to sign again on white paper which they recognized the sign for agreement of quarrying in Marga River where was only daily water source left to the residents.

B-2. Labor

CTP does not have regular worker without a few. Labor Union was just under being organized and waited response from Department of Labor (DOL) about allowance for LU election in CTP. On the other hand, leaders of organizers and some employees had been oppressed by black mail and even by guns.

B-3. NPA

The situation is the same as Taganito.

B-4. Military presence

The 36th and the 75th IBPA have deployed for protecting three mines located in Carrascal and Cantilan, as mentioned above. In addition, private armed guard of these three mines controlled by mayor of Carrascal protects areas.

26. Carrascal Nickel Project

B. Post development agreement

Caraga watch and KMU had not yet been organized in CNC so that I could not get enough information about agreement process especially on environmental destruction issues.

B-1. Labor

CNC also did not have LU. However, CNC hired many regular workers and gives better salary than CTP.

B-2. Military presence

36th IBPA and 75th IBPA have deployed for protecting three mines located in Carrascal and Cantilan, as mentioned above. In addition, private armed guard of these three mines controlled by mayor of Carrascal protects areas.

VII Cantilan, Surigao del Sur Province

27. Cantilan Nickel Project

A. Pre development agreement

A-1. LGU

Although municipality of Cantilan where mining site locates did not agreed with Mercventures Mining and Development (MERC), MERC gained MPSA. Municipality which MERC gained agreement was only municipality of Carrascal, neighboring municipality of Cantilan, where mining road was connected. In municipality of Cantilan, affected barangay, brgy. Cabangahan agreed with MERC.

A-2. IP

At the first, leader of affected IP community was negative to the project. However after several negotiation, sometimes very oppressive way, between the IP leader and politicians of Carrascal¹⁷⁾, he agreed with MERC.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Excluded farmers

Farmers using irrigation system of Cantilan River started strong opposition with Caraga Watch, which has monitored and opposed mining in Caraga Region, Catholic Church, and municipality of Cantilan. The farmers insisted muddy water came from mining site after start of mining operation caused decrease of rice harvest. In addition, severe flood came to occurred several times because of deforestation and erosion in the mountain by MERC mining operation.

Negotiation with MERC did done through municipality of Cantilan several times but they could not get any practical improvement.

B-2. LGU

Municipality of Cantilan tried to negotiate on damages seemingly caused by MERC and also tried to appeal illegality of MERC for no agreement of proper municipality and no business permission. In addition, municipality of Cantilan suspected MERC illegal logging in their municipality.

17) Because of oppressive negotiation with some politician in Carrascal, the leader of IP even felt dangers of his life, hid himself in the mountain, and asked help to others. The story was told by former political friend with mayor of Carrascal. He was one of persons asked help from the IP leader.

Because of no practical reaction and improvement from MERC and also from DENR, municipality of Cantilan filed a case against MERC as for environmental destruction and Surigao del Sur Regional Trial Court ordered Temporary Environmental Restraining Order (TEPO) in 2010.

However, MERC did not follow the TEPO. Also DENR did never enforce MERC to obey legal order.

B-3. Affected barangay

Many people in brgy. Cabangahan got angry at breaking promise and insincere response on employment priority of the barangay member by MERC. They barricaded at the entrance of mining site on 2013 but no improvement. On the other hand, all 160 labors who also participated barricade were fired.

B-4. IP communities

IP community was divided and many members are not well included in benefit sharing through CDP and employment opportunities. Excluded IP members could not criticize way of benefit management and could not oppose the project after the IP leader and his close members gained fire arms given by MERC for hired as guard men of MERC.

B-5. Labor

MERC also did not have any LU. Many severe accidents of mining workers occurred especially under bad weather condition and accident workers are easily fired.

Already mentioned above, 160 workers from brgy. Cabangahan whose family participated barricade of 2013 were also fired. In addition, every time when manager of MERC changes, he brought many workers, which means many workers were fired.

B-6. Military presence

The 36th and the 75th IBPA have deployed for protecting three mines located in Carrascal and Cantilan, as mentioned above. In addition, private armed guard of these three mines controlled by mayor of Carrascal protects areas.

VIII Tubay, Agusan del Norte Province

28. Tubay Nickel-Cobalt Mining Project

Information is based on field research with Caraga Watch, former and present mayor of Tubay, affected barangay captains, and affected fisherfolks.

A. Pre development agreement

All local stakeholders agreed with the project. Former mayor of Tubay at the moment of agreement said that they believed municipality could not reject mining project which was already accepted by national government. In addition, politicians and residents were fascinated by future benefit through CDP, tax, and employment opportunity which San Roque Metals Inc. (SRMI) showed.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Environmental destruction

Because of destruction of marine environment such as pollution of the sea and corral death by erosion and ore flow into the sea from stockpile of ore, and decrease of catch fish after start of operation.

Daily water was also polluted. Dust, mud, and erosion harmed residents' health and agricultural products. Barangay road was blocked, which cause trouble of daily life of residents.

B-2. Benefit sharing

Tax from SRMI did not come enough to municipality and many promises to residents such as CDP, resettlement sites, and compensation to farmers were stopped after municipality complained SRMI about damages. In addition, future of opportunity for tourism as beautiful corrals which municipality of Tubay promoted have been threatened.

B-3. LGU

Municipality of Tubay with affected people tried to negotiate above problems but improvement that municipality demanded was not implemented by SRMI, which created municipality's distrust on SRMI.

B-4. IP

Royalty had been paid to six chieftains of IP but other members did not know how the money was spent. Moreover, promised of employment, skill training, and offering education for all were not kept by SRMI.

IX Bunawan, Agusan del Norte Province

29. Banahaw Gold Project

Banahaw Gold Project is located in municipality of Bunawan. Manobo IP groups have IP title in affected area. Information is based on field research on Catholic Church of San Francisco and brgy. Rosario, Water District of San Francisco, residents and worker in brgy. Rosario, and worker in environment office of Philsaga.

A. Pre development agreement

There was a big rally organized by Catholic Church of municipality of San Francisco for opposing the project. San Francisco is located in next to Bunawan and Bunawan is upper part of river system for San Francisco. However no practical negotiation was done between anti-mining group in San Francisco and Philsaga.

Local stakeholders all agreed with Banahaw Gold Project without any big conflicts. However, local consultation did not done properly. Residents in brgy. Rosarina, directly affected barangay, were not invited and only barangay captain was called for negotiation, and signed it without any communication with residents.

B. Post development agreement

B-1. Environment damages

Severe environmental damages such as pollution of river, erosion, and deforestation around mining site occurred. Not only Bunawan but also San Francisco has been suffered from damages. However, many SSMs are illegally operating inside and around Philsaga's mining sites. Some Small Scale Miners armed themselves to guard. Affected people and government agencies could not enter for investigation so that it is hard to discriminate cause of damages between Philsaga and Small Scale Mining.

Catholic Church in municipality of San Francisco is still the center of anti-mining network to Philsaga. However network for anti-project or monitoring has not yet organized well.

B-2. Labor

Labor Union does not function well for illegal dismiss of employees. In addition, free LU activities are oppressed by illegal dismisses since 2012.

B-3. SSM

Illegal SSM activities were also destructive and were armed by many guns to protect their mining activities from investigation. In addition, Some SSM operated in MPSA area of Philsaga. Therefore Philsaga also needed to guard by themselves.

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