

Leaking cases: An overview

There is an endless list of the violation of environmental regulations, leaking cases, contamination of environment and people, violation of human rights attached to the numerous mining enterprises that operate over South East Asia. Most of the 26 deep-ocean tailings disposal enterprises that are up and running or at the planning stage are located in South East Asia. Most still employ the land disposal though building dams. Whatever system employed though - It is an illusion to believe that there won't be disasters. All cases described are taken from **Indigenous Peoples and Environmental Issues: An Encyclopedia. Irian Jaya/Papua New Guinea by Bruce E. Johansen, Professor of Communication and Native American Studies University of Nebraska at Omaha**

In Papua New Guinea, **Rio Tinto's Panguna Mine**, which was one of the world's largest open-pit copper mines before it was closed, dumped more than one billion tons of mine waste into the Pangana, Jaba and Kawerong Rivers, killing all aquatic life in the 480 kilometer river system. The waste formed a deposit approximately 20 kilometers long, as much as a kilometer wide and several meters deep along these rivers, with a copper-contaminated outwash fan in Empress Augusta Bay covering roughly nine square kilometers. ([Mining in the South Pacific, N.d.](#)) The U.S. State Department at one point attempted to defeat a lawsuit alleging genocide and environmental damage that had been filed by Bougainville landowners against Rio Tinto's operation of the Panguna mine. State Department officials wrote to the judge hearing the case saying that airing of the class-action suit would affect U.S. relations with Papua New Guinea. The government of Papua New Guinea also tried to block the lawsuit, according to a report November 30, 2001 by the *Australian Broadcasting Corporation*. ([Hotspots: Bougainville, 2001](#))

The **Porgera gold mine**, maintained by Placer Pacific of Australia, (majority shareholder Placer Dome of Canada) has been one of the dirtiest operations on Papua New Guinea. It dumps 40,000 tons of tailings and waste rock daily into the Strickland/Fly River catchment basin. Environmental sampling has indicated levels of metals as much as 3,000 times levels permitted by government regulations, which are not enforced.

Rio Tinto, a mining partner of Freeport in West Papua, is the parent company of C.R.A., an Australian mining company which operated the huge **Bougainville Copper Mine**, which was established by Rio Tinto during the 1970s while Papua New Guinea was still an Australian protectorate. A guerrilla movement has been campaigning since the 1980s for compensation of Bougainville's traditional landowners, who have been dispossessed by the company's operations. An estimated 5,000 civilians were killed (or died of imported diseases) in the Bougainville area during the 1990s.

The Ok Tedi Mine has been a subject of controversy because its tailings killed all aquatic life along 70 kilometers of the Ok Tedi River of Papua New Guinea following pollution by tailings and waste rock. Court suits by indigenous landowners forced B.H.P. Billiton of Australia, owner of the mine, to reach an out-of-court settlement for Australian\$550 million. Members of communities affected by the mine's pollution blockaded and shut it down on November 25, 2001, costing the company close to U.S. \$1 million in lost production.

Late in 2001, B.H.P. Billiton convinced the Papua New Guinea government to endorse three acts of legislation affecting the Ok Tedi Mine which "have caused an uproar in the environmental and human rights communities who say that the company will escape responsibility for the damage it has caused to the environment and communities living near the Ok Tedi in the western province of Papua New Guinea." ([B.H.P. Billiton, 2001](#)) According to a summary provided by Slater and Gordon, an Australian law firm that has filed a lawsuit against the company, the agreements will give B.H.P. and Ok Tedi Mining "unrestricted legal indemnity for the pollution and destruction caused now and into the future by

the operations of the Ok Tedi mine. The mine's owners will have no obligation to stop tailings entering the river system in future, and will be permitted to increase the amount of copper it is currently permitted to dump into the river system." (B.H.P. Billiton, 2001) The agreements release Billiton from any liability under an ongoing suit in Australia's Victorian Supreme Court; under the same agreements, landowners also lose their common-law rights to enforce a 1996 settlement as well as any future legal rights to sue the mine for any environmental damage.

At about the same time, representatives from four indigenous communities living near the mine presented a petition demanding compensation and a share of B.H.P. Billiton's 52 per cent stake in Ok Tedi. The local people also demanded compensation for environmental damage from the date the mine opened (1981) to the present. The government of Papua New Guinea denied a request from local landowners to grant them 12 per cent of the benefits from the Program Trust Company, to which B.H.P. Billiton's interest in the mine was sold in 2002. (Hotspots: Papua, 2001)

Papua New Guinea's Prime Minister, Sir Mekere Morauta, has called the Ok Tedi Mine a national asset. Morauta argues that closure of the mine could devastate the nation's economy and cause the ruin of communities that depend on it. The mine accounts for 10 per cent of Papua New Guinea's gross national product and 20 per cent of its export income.

As the mine's owners were sealing their deal with the Papua New Guinea government, the Australian Conservation Foundation issued a report saying that nearly 70 kilometers of the Ok Tedi River has become "almost biologically dead," and 130 kilometers of riverbank have been "severely degraded." Fish stocks have declined between 50 per cent and 80 per cent, according to the mine's own internal report. Roughly 30,000 downstream landowners have lost their ability to live off their own land. A scientific Peer Review Group employed by the mine's management identified potential for a total collapse of the fishery. (B.H.P. Billiton, 2001)

By early 2002, B.H.P. Billiton had officially exited Papua New Guinea leaving behind operations at the Ok Tedi gold mine, leaving 30,000 people displaced by pollution. The company admitted in 1999 that the "sediment load" (a build-up of waste rock or tailings) has caused a 90 per cent fish kill in the lower Ok Tedi River. (Hotspots: Papua, 2002)

According to a report in *Drillbits and Tailings*, "Part of B.H.P.'s plans to exit Ok Tedi included a transfer of its 52 per cent equity interest to the P.N.G. Sustainable Development Program. SDPL is a special-purpose development fund that will channel dividends to sustainable development projects, mainly in the Western province. According to the PNG-based Environment Watch Group, the deal is "a slap in the face" especially because B.H.P. has destroyed the Fly River." (Hotspots: Papua, 2002)

There is also a mining enterprise in the Indonesian province of Papua.

Freeport's Grasberg Mine: Tidal Waves of Waste

New Orleans-based Freeport McMoRan's Grasberg Mine, in West Papua's Jayawijaya district, operates in conjunction with the Rio Tinto Company (formerly Rio Tinto Zinc). Grasberg, the largest gold mine (and the third-largest copper mine) in the world, is situated on 16,500-foot high, snow-capped Mount Jaya, a few hundred miles south of the equator in Papua New Guinea, in an area considered sacred by indigenous people in the area. The Grasberg Mine contains gold, silver, and copper valued at \$50 billion. (Bryce, 1996) According to one observer, "Freeport's Grasberg mine is essentially grinding the Indonesian mountain into dust, skimming off the precious metals, and dumping the remainder into the Ajkwa River." (Bryce, 1996)

The [Mineral Policy Institute](#) has called for an end to Rio Tinto's environmentally destructive mining activities at the Freeport Mine, "a mine described as having them world's worst record of human rights violations and environmental destruction." (Rio Tinto's Shame, 2000) The Freeport mine uses Lake Wanagon, an alpine lake that also is considered sacred by the indigenous Amungme people, to dispose waste rock in from its massive gold and copper mining operation near the Grasberg gold mine.

Freeport mines 78,000 tons of ore a day, as well as additional overburden, nearly all of which is dumped as mine waste and tailings into the rivers surrounding the mine, and others in the area, "making the water toxic and thick with silt, smothering and killing all plant life along the previously fertile river banks," contaminating drinking-water supplies. ([Resource Boom, N.d.](#))

In Freeport's five-square-mile strip mine, between 80 and 100 giant trucks haul 600,000 tons of rock daily from a pit almost 3,000 feet deep. Twelve miles of conveyor belts carry ore to a milling plant that uses more than a billion gallons of water a month. Most of the machinery in the mine was dismantled and hauled up rock walls in pieces on an aerial tramway. ([Roberts, 1996](#)) Mount Jaya, 16,500 feet high towers above the mine, containing three of the world's eight remaining equatorial glaciers. Gold production from the mine averages between 1 million and 1.5 million ounces a year; copper production averages 1 billion pounds a year. The mine employs about 17,000 people, 89 per cent of them non-Papuans. ([Roberts, 1996, 14](#))

Freeport has not paid any mining royalties (or any other compensation) to the roughly 4,000 Amungme indigenous people displaced by the growing mine's concession area of 9,266 square miles since strip mining began there in 1972. Many of the displaced people have moved to the lowlands, where malaria and other diseases have killed several hundred of them. ([Roberts, 1996, 15](#))

Mine tailings are dumped into a tributary of the Ajikwa River, after which they flow down steep mountainsides into rain forests at lower elevations, producing a desolate landscape. The scene was described by one observer: "Dead and dying trees are everywhere, their broken branches protruding from tracts of gray sludge. . . . Vegetation is being smothered by accumulated sludge that is several yards deep in places. . . . By the company's own calculations, 51 square miles of rain forest is expected to be destroyed before the century is out." ([Roberts, 1996, 16](#))

An estimated 3 billion tons of rock will have been processed by the time the mine is exhausted about 2040. According to the [Mineral Policy Institute](#), "This waste is acidic and contains heavy metals. The water from Lake Wanagon flows into the Ajkwa River system that flows down to the Arafura Sea. In addition the mine dumps 300,000 tons of waste tailings into the Ajkwa River every day." ([Rio Tinto's Shame, 2000](#))

In 1977, local indigenous peoples affiliated with the Free Papua Movement issued their own critique of its environmental record by blowing up one of its ore pipelines. According to Al Gedicks, writing in *Resource Rebels* ([2001](#)), reaction of the Indonesian military was swift and emphatic:

The Indonesian military responded by sending United States-supplied OV-10 Bronco attack jets to strafe and bomb villagers. The retaliation was code-named Operation Tumpas ("annihilation"). Papuans claim that thousands of men, women, and children were killed in this action; the government admits to 900. Reports of the use of these counterinsurgency aircraft did not appear in the world press until a year later. ([Gedicks, 2001, 95](#))

Local protests of the Grasberg mine have continued for many years. In 1996, after an indigenous man was hit and injured by a car driven by a Freeport employee, 6,000 tribal people laid siege to the mine's offices. When Freeport Chief Executive Officer Jim Bob Moffett arrived at a local airstrip March 12, 1996, a group of similar size gathered at the airport to demand that the mine be shut down. Moffett was quoted in the September/October, 1997 issue of *Mother Jones* as saying that the environmental impact of the mine is the equivalent of "me pissing in the Arafura Sea." ([Ziman, 1998](#))

Moffett earned \$83 million (salary, bonuses, and stock options) during 1995 and 1996; according to *Business Week*, he was the tenth-highest compensated C.E.O. in the United States. "Looking at it another way," reported the Austin (Texas) *Chronicle* in April, 1997, "Moffett's pay was nearly three times the total amount that [Freeport] has agreed to pay several thousand Amungme tribal members who have been displaced by the company's mining projects in Indonesia." ([Ziman, 1998](#)) Meanwhile, members of the indigenous Amungme tribe have literally watched their mountain disappear. Mining has removed enough earth to lower the mountain by 400 feet in seven years, and now the Ajkwa river is so badly polluted from the mine that Kwamki-lama residents have been warned by Freeport's own employees not to drink the water or eat plants that grow near the water. ([Ziman, 1998](#))

During March, 1997, several thousand villagers rioted in the towns of Timika and Tembagapura, located near the mine. Four people were killed and more than a dozen injured as protesters damaged Freeport's equipment. The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (A.C.F.O.A.) and the Catholic Church of Jayapura reported that Freeport turned a blind eye while the Indonesian military killed and tortured dozens of native people in the area surrounding the mining concession. "Villagers were beaten with rattan, sticks, and rifle butts, and kicked with boots," one tribal leader told Catholic Church officials. "Some were tortured until they died." (Ziman, 1998)

Even as Freeport adamantly denied responsibility for alleged human-rights violations, the company and the Indonesian military responded to local indigenous protests by spending \$35 million to assemble barracks and other facilities to house and support 6,000 troops, "more than one soldier for each adult Amungme." (Gedicks, 2001, 106-107) The company asserted that the A.C.F.O.A. had backtracked on its original claim that Freeport was involved in the killings. (Bryce, 1996) Indonesian military troops routinely guarded the area around the mine, and Freeport provided them with food, shelter, and transportation. (Bryce, 1996) The Indonesian government maintained a 9 per cent share in the mine, enough to earn several hundreds of millions of dollars a year in royalties, taxes, and benefits, making Freeport Papua New Guinea's largest single taxpayer.

During May, 2000, the Grasberg mine's waste-rock disposal dam collapsed, killing four workers, and, according to one account,

sending several 40-meter-high "tidal waves" of waste roaring down the Wanagon river towards Banti village. Incredibly, there was no loss of life at Banti despite most people being asleep when the waves arrived, passing just meters below homes, killing livestock and destroying the village graveyard. Adding insult to injury, 30 minutes after the flood reached Banti, an early-warning system installed by Freeport rang the alarm. (Rio Tinto's Shame, 2000)

One witness at the site reported in the Jakarta Post that a "150-foot high wave had 'destroyed pig sties, vegetable gardens, and a burial ground' about seven miles downstream of the basin." (Gedicks, 2001, 30) One report described the resulting tidal wave of waste as "a mini-tsunami." (Freeport Faces, 2000) The spill occurred, coincidentally, one day before the annual shareholders' meeting for Freeport McMoRan Copper & Gold.

Within days of the spill, on May 8 and again on May 18, protests against Freeport shut down the company's offices in Jakarta and prevented about 1,000 Freeport employees from entering their workplaces. In addition to protesting the environmental devastation and deaths caused by the spill, the protesters demanded that Freeport Indonesia provide a larger proportion of its earnings to support local people in the impoverished province surrounding the mine.

Soon after the accident, about 600 Amungme people from Banti, Tsinga, and Arwanop blockaded the Freeport mine's access road, preventing workers' buses from entering the mine. Roughly 100 police confronted the blockade but failed to break it until representatives met personally with Hermani Soeprapto, Freeport's General Manager, and addressed grievances to the company.

Indonesian environmental officials later told Freeport that it must submit a comprehensive new plan and obtain government approval before opening a replacement dump for its waste rock. Freeport also was instructed to clean up all destruction and pollution caused by the waste released during the accident. In addition, Freeport was told to allow a criminal investigation by the police and government officials into the four men's deaths caused by the collapse. The company also was ordered by the government to compensate losses suffered by residents of Banti.

The dam at Lake Wanagon has failed three times (June 20, 1998, March, 20, 2000, as well as May, 2000) due to the company's dumping of overburden. After the third breach, dumping was halted pending an investigation. The investigation, conducted by Freeport and the Institute of Technology of Bandung (Indonesia) cleared the company to continue operations in January, 2001.

Construction of a dormitory town at Tembagapura in association with Freeport Indonesia's mining operation at Mount Carstenz led to eviction of indigenous Amungme, who were barred from entering the town, which houses as many as 20,000 workers and family members. (Resource Boom, N.d.)

Freeport moved the 1,000 inhabitants of a village, Lower-Waa, to the coastal lowlands, where, in one month, 88 of them died of malaria. ([Resource Boom, N.d.](#))

"Freeport has taken over and occupied our land," said Tom Beanal, leader of LEMASA, an acronym for the Amungme Tribal Council, the community organization of the indigenous Amungme people. "Even the sacred mountains we think of as our mother have been arbitrarily torn up by them, and they have not felt the least bit guilty. Our environment has been ruined, and our forests and rivers polluted by waste." ([Ziman, 1998](#)) "They take our land and our grandparents' land," said Beanal. "They ruined the mountains. They ruined our environment. . . . We can't drink our water anymore." ([Bryce, 1996](#))

Indigenous peoples living in the area that is being mined by Freeport have no legal title to their lands under Indonesian law. Their land is classified as tanah negara (state-owned land) under the terms of the Indonesian Constitution. The same central government has granted Freeport a legal right to use the land largely as it sees fit, with only the lightest of environmental oversight.

During October, 1995, after a lengthy investigation, the Overseas Private Investment Corp., a federal agency that supports American companies doing business overseas, canceled Freeport's \$100 million political-risk insurance policy, citing environmental problems at the mine. In a letter dated October 10, 1995, O.P.I.C. told Freeport the mine had "created and continues to pose unreasonable or major environmental, health, or safety hazards with respect to the rivers that are being impacted by the tailings, the surrounding terrestrial ecosystem, and the local inhabitants." ([Bryce, 1996](#))

Mining enterprises using submarine tailings disposal

The first, begun in 1989, was at a huge gold and silver mine on the island of **Misima**, 200 kilometres east of the mainland of Papua New Guinea. This mine is owned by Canadian Placer Dome. At Misima the company discharges up to 22,000 tonnes of tailings a day into the Solomon Sea at a depth of 112 metres. The tailings flow down a steep slope and come to rest more than a kilometre down. A lethal carpet of tailings up to 75 metres thick covers 20 square kilometres of seabed, obliterating all life. Although some organisms will eventually return but, they will inhabit a much poorer ecosystem in which "hard-bottom" habitats are gone for good. For mining engineers this is a small price to pay. They see Misima as a success story as no tailings have resurfaced and nearby coral reefs are undamaged. Local deepwater fish do contain enough heavy metals though to make their sale illegal. In 1997 the first accident happened. A submarine landslide broke the discharge pipe. Fortunately, the breakage occurred far enough down the pipe for the tailings to continue falling to the ocean floor until repairs could be made. But it underlined the risks. And, say the critics, Misima is the exception in an industry still plagued by slack technical standards, wishful environmental thinking and a cavalier disregard for local communities ([Fred Pearce, Tails of Woe, New Scientist 11 Nov 2000](#)).

Besides Buyat Minahasa Raya the American Newmont company also operates an even larger mine on Indonesia's West Sumbawa island east of Lombok. This **Newmont West Sumbawa** mine is the largest Indonesian mine employing the submarine tailings disposal technique. On the 11th September 2005 a leak in the ocean pipeline was discovered, and it is widely believed that this was not the first case and it was going on for some time as the company had tried to hide it. It was established in 1999 as fishing catches became less and less, and also the variety of fish was reduced significantly (Walhi Jakarta, 06 May 2004).

Papua New Guinea's Lihir gold mine is another such case. The **Lihir Gold Mine** operated by a subsidiary of mining giant Rio Tinto, which praises itself for most environmental friendly technology, is in operation since 1997 as an open-cut mine located within an ancient volcano. Gold is extracted from the rock with cyanide, and the tailings – comprised of crushed rock particles, residual solution, cyanide

and other toxic metals – are discharged directly into the sea through an underwater pipeline. The mine will generate approximately 84 million tons of tailings and 300 million tons of waste rock over its seventeen-year life span. Ocean disposal of mine waste via submarine tailings disposal will undoubtedly have longterm impacts on the coastal ecology. The company has already acknowledged that ocean dumping has been smothering organisms living on the ocean floor. Islanders see fewer seashells, more dead fish and they complain of itchy skin. In fact, submarine tailings disposal is banned by many countries through the London Convention on Dumping in the Sea, to which Papua New Guinea is a signatory.

Or the **Marinduque gold mine of Canada's Placer Dome** company which is a combination of both land and deep sea disposal. Imagine the load carried by a line of trucks parked bumper-to-bumper and stretching three times around the Earth. That is the volume of toxic, ground-up, waste rock piped into Calancan Bay between 1975 and 1991. An estimated 200 million tonnes of mine **tailings** have smothered coral reefs and sea grasses across 80 square kilometres of seabed, poisoned fish and created a causeway 7 kilometres long that is gradually being blown ashore by the wind. "The **tailings** in the bay are a continuing source of heavy metal contamination of the soil, air, biota and people of these fishing villages," says Catherine Coumans, an anthropologist who studied the incident. After five years of storing the waste in an abandoned pit, a badly sealed tunnel burst in 1996 releasing more than a million cubic metres of thick sludge into the nearby Boac river. Although the mine was closed down the river remains clogged with acid sludge and all the fish have died. In the effort of cleaning up the mess, Placer Dome suggested dumping the tailings into the sea, which finally was successfully turned down, but the problem how to get rid of the tailings stayed. (Fred Pearce, Tails of Woe, New Scientist 11 Nov 2000)

The whole debate, documented by Anthropologist Catherine Coumans PhD in **Philippines International Review** , Vol.2, No.1, Autumn 1999 gives many valuable insights in how complicated the problem is:

Marinduquenos Intensify Struggle Against Placer Dome

These tailings are now at the center of a major controversy. Placer Dome has twice applied to the DENR to pump the Boac River tailings into the sea through a submerged pipe. This technology is known as Submarine Tailings Disposal (STD). This procedure has been unacceptable under the environmental regulations of Placer Dome's home country, Canada, since 1977. It also contravenes the United States Clean Water Act. The technology saves the industry the otherwise high expense of proper waste management by externalizing this cost onto the sea environment. The people of Marinduque, including the mayor of Boac, the island's Congressman Edmundo Reyes and numerous members of the Sangguniang Panlalawigan have repeatedly voiced their vehement opposition to STD. The DENR has twice turned down Placer Dome's request for a permit.

In 1997, Placer Dome applied for a permit from the DENR to dispose of the tailings in the Boac river via Submarine Tailings Disposal. The company's first application was turned down on October 30, 1997 by then-DENR Secretary Victor Ramos, who noted that under Philippine laws and regulations, offshore areas "are considered to be Environmentally Critical Areas."

Mayor Madla wrote DENR-chief Ramos, "on behalf of the people of Boac we are extending our sincerest gratitude for heeding our call to save Tablas Strait by not allowing [the company] to dump their contaminated mine tailings into the said Strait." Placer Dome appealed this ruling and on March 23, 1998 the DENR allowed the company to conduct an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) as long as a "major part" of the study focussed on "alternative land-based disposal options."

On February 16, 1999, Placer Dome's second request for a permit was turned down on the basis of "social unacceptability." Nonetheless the company persists in seeking a permit. At a Congressional Inquiry on May 25, 1999 islanders reported that Placer Dome officials are actively canvassing citizens of Boac offering livelihood programs and other "incentives" in exchange for signatures supporting ocean dumping.

It is important to realize that the struggle of Marinduquenos to stop STD and to protect the sea off the Boac coast from contamination has much wider implications. First of all, the now closed mine could only reopen if future tailings could be dumped off the Marinduque coast. Marinduquenos have made it very clear that they oppose the reopening of the mine. But the issue goes even further than that. The mining industry in the Philippines is closely watching events in Marinduque and exerting considerable pressure on the DENR to approve STD in Marinduque so that it can be applied throughout the Philippines.

Both the Australian Western Mining Corp. and the Canadian owned Mindex in Mindoro have indicated their intention to dispose of tailings through ocean dumping. Another major controversy that arose this year has been over the ownership of the assets of the mine - including the mineral rights and all the mine equipment.

While Placer Dome insists it divested from Marcopper in 1997, court documents that surfaced late in 1998 indicate that the mine's assets are in fact now owned by a Cayman Island holding company known as MR Holdings. Placer Dome set up MR Holdings as an indirect wholly-owned subsidiary in 1997. While Placer Dome insists it divested from MR Holdings shortly after setting the company up, lawyers for MR Holdings continued to identify Placer Dome as the holding company's owner as recently as January of 1999.

In the light of all these controversies, Marinduque's new congressman, Edmundo Reyes, read a position paper in congress on March 18, 1999 in which he stated "Placer Dome has not done what it proudly promised to do, but has shown incontrovertibly that it wants to walk away as fast and as cheap as possible."

This position paper led to an ongoing congressional inquiry that started on May 25, 1999. The inquiry is meant to shed light not only on the issue of STD and the mysterious ownership of the mine's assets but also to highlight the grievous and longstanding problems at Calancan Bay and at the Mogpog River where uncontained mine waste has also led to severe soil, water, air and human contamination.

At the time of writing children from Calancan Bay who have been discovered to have heavy metal poisoning are being brought to Manila for detoxification. At the congressional inquiry spokesperson Benjamin Alfante, Vice President of the Calancan Bay Fisherfolks federation, presented a position paper that reflects the concerns and hopes of the 47 Marinduquenos who attended the hearing in Manila as representatives of villagers from all three affected municipalities.

"We are very strong in condemning the toxic spill in Boac River on March 24, 1996 but met me remind you that this occurrence was only an accidental and new one. (...) let us not forget the suffering of the residents of Sta. Cruz [Calancan Bay] who are now reaping the negative effects of the irresponsible acts of Placer Dome/Marcopper. At the same time, we should not lose sight of the older spill that brought mine waste to the Mogpog River virtually killing it to the detriment of those residents who rely on the river for their living through farming, laundry, fishing and others. (...) Let us not allow the re-opening of Marcopper or any subsidiaries. Let us not allow submarine tailings disposal (STD). Let us not allow greed [to] lord it over at the expense of thousands of lives. Thank you! (position paper presented at the congressional inquiry, Manila, May 25, 1999).

The Philippines International Review is a quarterly publication of the Philippine-European Solidarity Centre (PESC-KSP).