



COUNTERMAPPING
NETWORK PH

NEW CLARK CITY SITUATIONER

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
NEW CLARK CITY IN CENTRAL LUZON, PHILIPPINES



New Clark City Situationer

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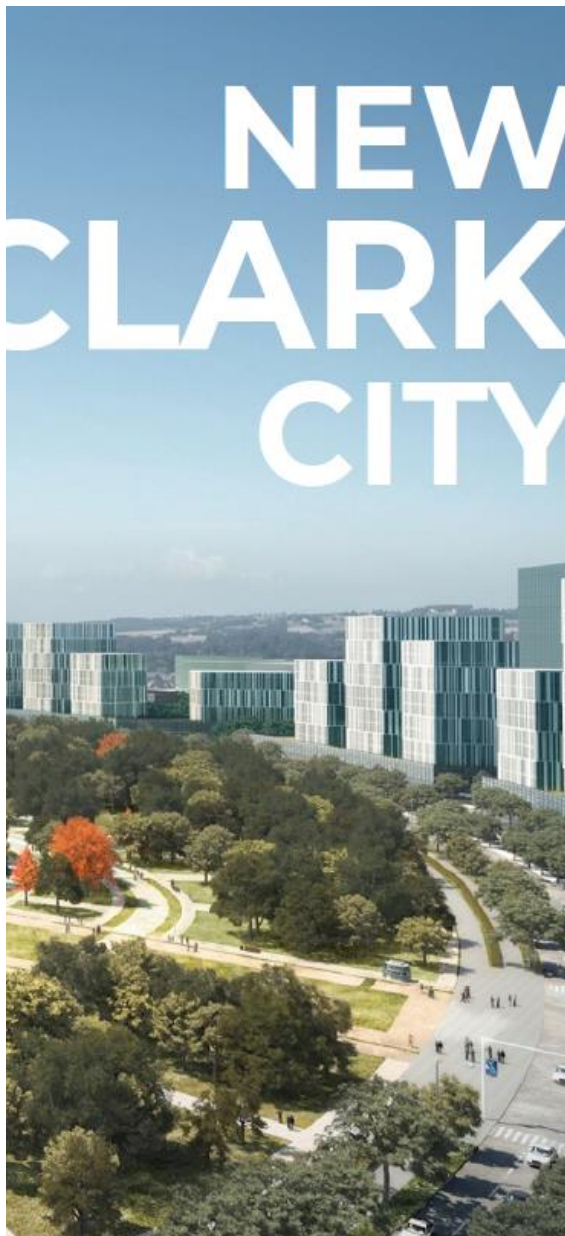
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADMU	Ateneo De Manila University
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
Agkkatan	Aguman para qeng Kalalangan, Kabyayan, Ampong Tuknangan
AGP	Aboitiz Geothermal Powerplant
AKMA	Asosasyon ng Katutubong Mahawang
AMGL	Alyansa ng Magbubukid sa Gitnang Luzon
ATA	Ayta Tribal Association
BATA	Bamban Ayta Tribal Association
BAYAN	Bagong Alyansang Makabayan
BBB	Build, Build, Build
BBMD	Balog-Balog Multipurpose Dam
BCDA	Bases Conversion and Development Authority
CADT	Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title
CADT 025-A	CADT No. R03-BAM-1204-025-A
CALT	Certificate of Ancestral Land Title
CAP	Concerned Artists of the Philippines
CDC	Clark Development Corporation
CDC-JMA	Clark Development Corporation - Joint Management Agreement
CDP	Comprehensive Development Plan
CFSEZ	Clark Freeport and Special Economic Zone
CFZ	Clark Freeport Zone
CGC	Clark Green City

CLAA	Central Luzon Ayta Association
CRK	Clark International Airport
CSEZ	Clark Special Economic Zone
DBP	Development Bank of the Philippines
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
DICT	Department of Information and Communications Technology
DOTr	Department of Transportation
DPWH	Department of Public Works and Highways
EDCA	Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement
EO	Executive Order
FDC	Filinvest Development Corporation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FLI	Filinvest Land Incorporated
FPIC	Free Prior and Informed Consent
FS	Feasibility Study
GAA	General Appropriations Act
GOCC	Government-Owned or Controlled Corporation
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFFM	International Fact-Finding Mission
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
IFMA	Integrated Forest Management Agreement
InfraComm	Infrastructure Committee
IP	Indigenous Peoples
IPRA	Indigenous Peoples Rights Act
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JOIN	Japan Overseas Infrastructure Investment Corporation for Transport & Urban Development
JVA	Joint Venture Agreement

JVC	Joint Venture Corporation
KAMP	Kalipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas
KMP	Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas
KNIK	Kilusang Nagtatanggol sa Inang Kalikasan
LIPAD	Luzon International Premiere Airport Development
MERALCO	Manila Electric Company
MPIC	Metro Pacific Investments Corporation
MTD CB	MTD Capital Berhad
NCC	New Clark City
NCR	National Capital Region
NEDA	National Economic Development Authority
NGAC	National Government Administrative Center
O&M	Operations and Management
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OGCC	Office of the Government Corporate Counsel
PCC	Philippine Competition Commission
PEZA	Philippine Economic Zone Authority
PGH-SSMW	Philippine General Hospital-Satellite for Sports Medicine and Wellness
PHSS	Philippine High School for Sports
PNR	Philippine National Railways
PO	People's Organization
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
PSHS	Philippine Science High School
PTA	Philippine Tax Academy
PUP	Polytechnic University of the Philippines
RA	Republic Act
SCRP	Subic Clark Railway Project

SEA	South East Asia
Sinomach	China National Machinery Industry Corporation
SMHC	San Miguel Holdings Corporation
STA	Sangguniang Tribung Ayta
TABAK	Tunay na Alyansa ng Bayan Alay sa Katutubo
TUP	Technological University of the Philippines
UP	University of the Philippines
USA	United States of America
VFA	Visiting Forces Agreement



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The situationer examines the development of New Clark City (NCC), touted as the Philippines' next metropolis that embodies significant development for the Filipino people, from the standpoint of the affected communities and human rights advocates. Drawing from a wealth of collected data, it situates the NCC within a global trend of rapid urbanization facilitated by the process of accumulation by dispossession. By factually contextualizing the development of the NCC and presenting counter-narratives based on people's experiences on the ground, the situationer aims to respond to the needs of those who are marginalized and affected by the project, and contributes to people-based campaigns geared towards the championing of social justice and inclusive development.

As a project under the Private-Public Partnership (PPP) scheme, the NCC is a collaboration between the government and the private sector, involving various government agencies and local and international private actors. Its establishment is financed through local and foreign arrangements of loans and

investments. Multiple government agencies are also involved as implementing bodies for supplementary constructions in NCC and are tasked to bridge more private concessionaires for funding. Also, various International Financial Institutions (IFIs) have participated as creditors for the private entities involved in the NCC project. Foreign assistance plays a major role in networking international investors to NCC. Elite Filipino conglomerates are also seizing the investment potentials of the NCC project.

NCC's zoning is characterized by a diverse set of classifications, from commercial and industrial to residential and recreational zones. It is envisioned by its developers to become a "green" city wherein at least 60% of its land area will remain open areas free from structures such as roads, buildings, and other built-up features (Nebrija, 2017). While it is theoretically expected that structures and developments will be built in their designated zones, there are still undetermined

projects and ventures specific to certain zones, because a steady flow of investments is not readily assured. NCC is at the heart of what the Bases Conversion and Development Authority (BCDA) envisions as a “Super Region” that will emerge from Central Luzon northwards, as part of the effort to increase the region’s competitiveness in the global market. Super regions are deemed as significant zones or areas that fuel global economies; these are characterized by substantial economic activities from various sectors such as agriculture, tourism, trade, etc. (BCDA, 2017).

Across government media platforms, NCC is promoted as a new urban development that is inclusive, culturally-oriented, economically-beneficial, disaster-resilient and environmentally sound. However, grounded narratives and spatial data demonstrate several impacts NCC has caused to the farmer and indigenous communities of Tarlac. Since the onset of its construction, it has incurred massive displacement and destroyed ecologies in the area. Moreso, its implementers continuously disregarded IP claims on ancestral lands affected by NCC. Subsequently, locals who are largely dependent on their lands struggled to make their ends meet and adjust to the inevitable shift in their way of life. Since the inception of NCC in 2014, residents have experienced various forms of aggression as lands were being cleared and roads were being constructed. Military presence was heightened, which impacted many communities within and in surrounding areas. Locals were prohibited from transporting their produce and barred from bringing tools for constructing their houses. In contrast to BCDA’s claims, NCC is built in an occupied and agriculturally developed area inhabited by indigenous Aytas and farmers for generations. Numerous communities suffered from cases of uncompensated lands, forceful eviction, and harassment, while there is still imminent displacement at surrounding localities. Moreover, while NCC is branded as a green city, data obtained show that it caused large-scale and destructive land conversion exhibited by flattened productive farmlands, excavated and deforested mountains, and polluted streams. In effect, the abrupt landscape alterations led to precarious social and financial conditions for the residents. Contrary to the promised employment in NCC, locals did not just lose their traditional livelihoods but were also excluded from the opportunities offered by the city.

In response to the ongoing development of NCC, the Aytas, peasant settlers, and other concerned citizens participated in collaborative efforts in asserting the rights of the people and the environment. Such efforts resulted in the formation of alliances, organizations, networks, and associations coming from specific sectors. Aside from protest actions and community-based campaigns, concerned lawmakers also participated in probing on issues surrounding the development of NCC. Moreover, efforts from the academe have been made in support of the local communities’ campaign. These collective actions coming from various agents contribute in the pursuit of a more inclusive and sustainable mode of development.

INTRODUCTION

This situationer provides a detailed discussion of the New Clark City (NCC) as an influential project that threatens the communities living within and around its area. Through spatial analysis, this document shows the mapped experiences of marginalized communities caught in the midst of urban transition. It investigates the territorialization of peri-urban dispossession and resistance through a participatory counter-mapping methodology that aimed to produce maps and information that are useful for the affected communities.

The situationer examines the NCC, touted as the Philippines' next metropolis that embodies significant development for the Filipino people, from the standpoint of the affected communities and human rights advocates. Drawing from a wealth of collected data, it situates the NCC within a global trend of rapid urbanization facilitated by the process of accumulation by dispossession. By factually contextualizing the development of the NCC and presenting counter-narratives based on people's experiences on the ground, the situationer aims to respond to the needs of those who are marginalized and affected by the project, and contributes to people-based campaigns geared towards the championing of social justice and inclusive development.

This report was produced through a collaborative project among researchers, community organizers, scholars, volunteer students, and academic institutions from the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The contributors to this output are the following:

- a) Countermapping PH Network, which developed the counter-mapping methodologies for the project and ensured that project operations were in accordance with partner institution regulations.
- b) Kaisahan ng mga Artista at Manunulat Na Ayaw sa Development Aggression (KAMANDAG), which coordinated, planned, and facilitated all project activities with the communities in Tarlac.
- c) The Department of Geography, University of the Philippines-Diliman, Philippine Geographical Society, and Central Luzon Aytas Association (CLAA), which supported the means of research operation and data processing activities.

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This document is composed of eight parts:

Part 1 - What is NCC?

Part 2 - Major Stakeholders

Part 3 - Developing NCC and Surrounding Region

Part 4 - Before the Advent of NCC

Part 5 - Impacts of NCC on Communities and Ecologies in Tarlac

Part 6 - People's Response

Part 7 – Summary of Report

Part 8 – What Can be Done?

I. WHAT IS THE NCC?

A. Not Just a City

NCC is the Duterte administration's centerpiece infrastructure project in Central Luzon under the Build Build Build program. Its construction is in keeping with the government's commitment to spread infrastructure development outside Metro Manila and bring inclusive growth across all regions. (Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 2019)

The New Clark City (NCC), formerly called Clark Green City (CGC), is a comprehensive development project promoted as the first “smart, sustainable, and disaster-resilient city” in the Philippines. It is located 100 km north of Metro Manila and is currently being built on the former Camp O'Donnell in Capas Tarlac, covering a massive 9,450 hectares of land (see Figure 1). This project is the centerpiece of the Build, Build, Build (BBB) program of the Duterte administration under the initiative and management of the Bases Conversion and Development Authority (BCDA).

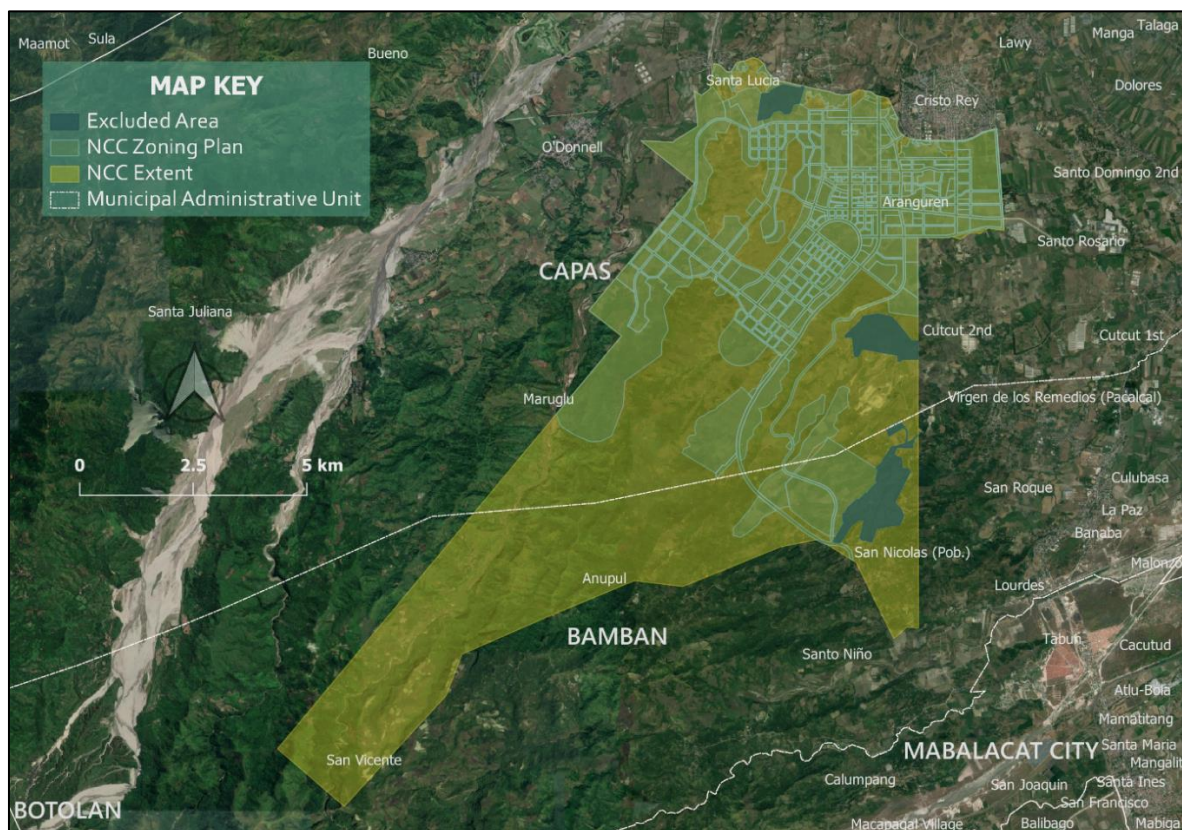


Figure 1. The NCC is located in the towns of Capas and Bamban, Tarlac.

Map produced by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

Data Source: Google Earth Satellite Image Tile (Basemap); Philippine Statistics Authority and National Mapping and Resource Information Authority (Municipal administrative units); BCDA (NCC Zoning Plan, in Shaping the Future Today)

The project is deemed as a viable solution to address the problems facing the National Capital Region (NCR), such as congestion, urban decay, and pollution, since it expects to attract business establishments and relocate government institutions along with approximately 1.2 million people (BCDA, 2018). According to BCDA president Vivencio Dizon (2017), the NCC is “a symbol of modernity, of economic prosperity, of inclusivity, of equality - a city for the people.” The NCC aims to become the center of major commercial activity in Central Luzon as well as a hotspot of economic opportunities that will draw in much-needed investors, both local and foreign (BCDA, 2018). Based on estimates by BCDA, the whole metropolis will take a minimum of 30 years to be completed, with Phase 1 expected to be completed by 2022 (see Figure 2) (Bracher, 2018). Once completed, it is expected to boost the Philippine economy with an estimated gross output value of Php 1.57 trillion per year (Miraflor, 2017) which is equivalent to 9.36% of the Philippines’ 2018 Gross Domestic Product (GDP).



Figure 2. An architectural rendering of NCC Phase 1. Image Source: BCDA

Furthermore, the NCC is part of a government-operated, large investment land in Central Luzon known as the Clark Freeport and Special Economic Zone (CFSEZ) (shown in Figure 3). This zone occupies an enormous 31,400 hectares of land, equivalent to half the size of Metro Manila, spanning over a number of municipalities and cities such as Capas and Bamban in Tarlac, and Angeles, Mabalacat, and Porac in Pampanga (see Figure 4) (European Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, 2017; Pillas, 2017). It is divided into two areas: the Clark Freeport Zone (CFZ), with 4,400 hectares, and the Clark Special Economic Zone (CSEZ), with 27,000 hectares, where NCC is located (See Figure 4) (Clark Development Corporation, n.d.; It's More Fun in Central Luzon, n.d.). The entire CFSEZ serves as a landscape of infrastructure development and capital accumulation in Central Luzon which needs around Php 8 trillion for its construction within the term of President Rodrigo Duterte (Torres, Mata, & Simon, 2019).

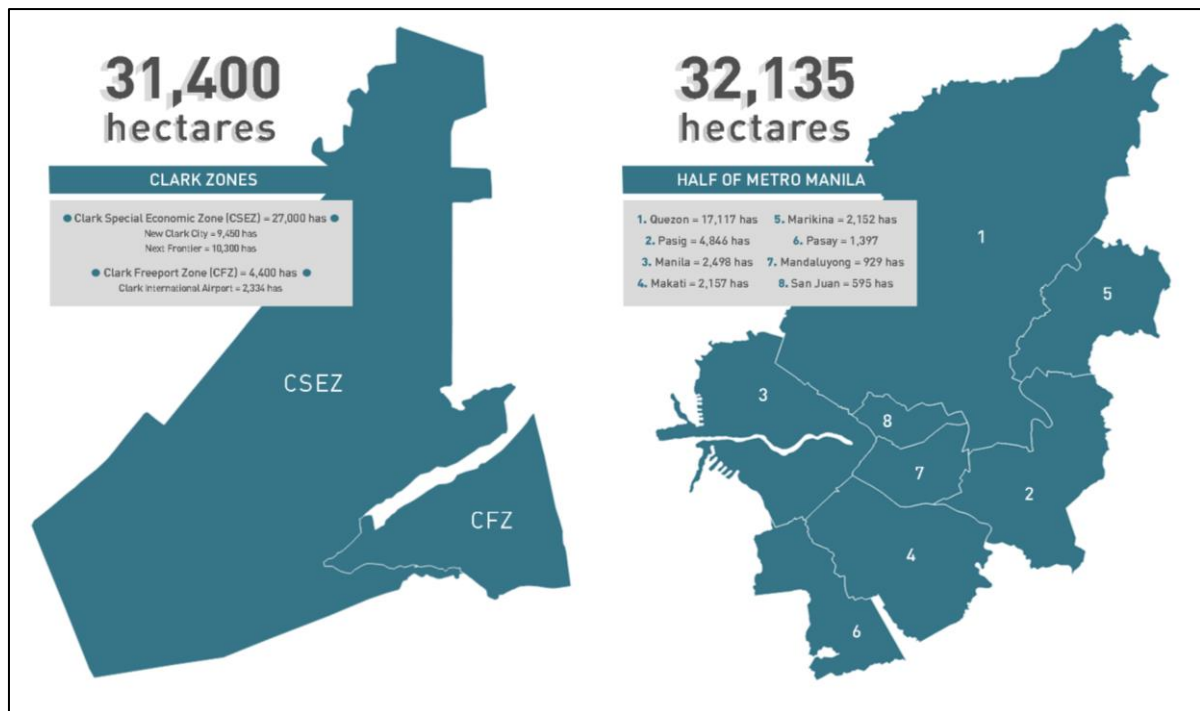


Figure 3. Eyeing to become a next super-region, Clark Zonal development requires a vast land area to locate investments and infrastructure. The 31,400-hectare metropolis is as big as half the size of Metro Manila.

Map produced by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

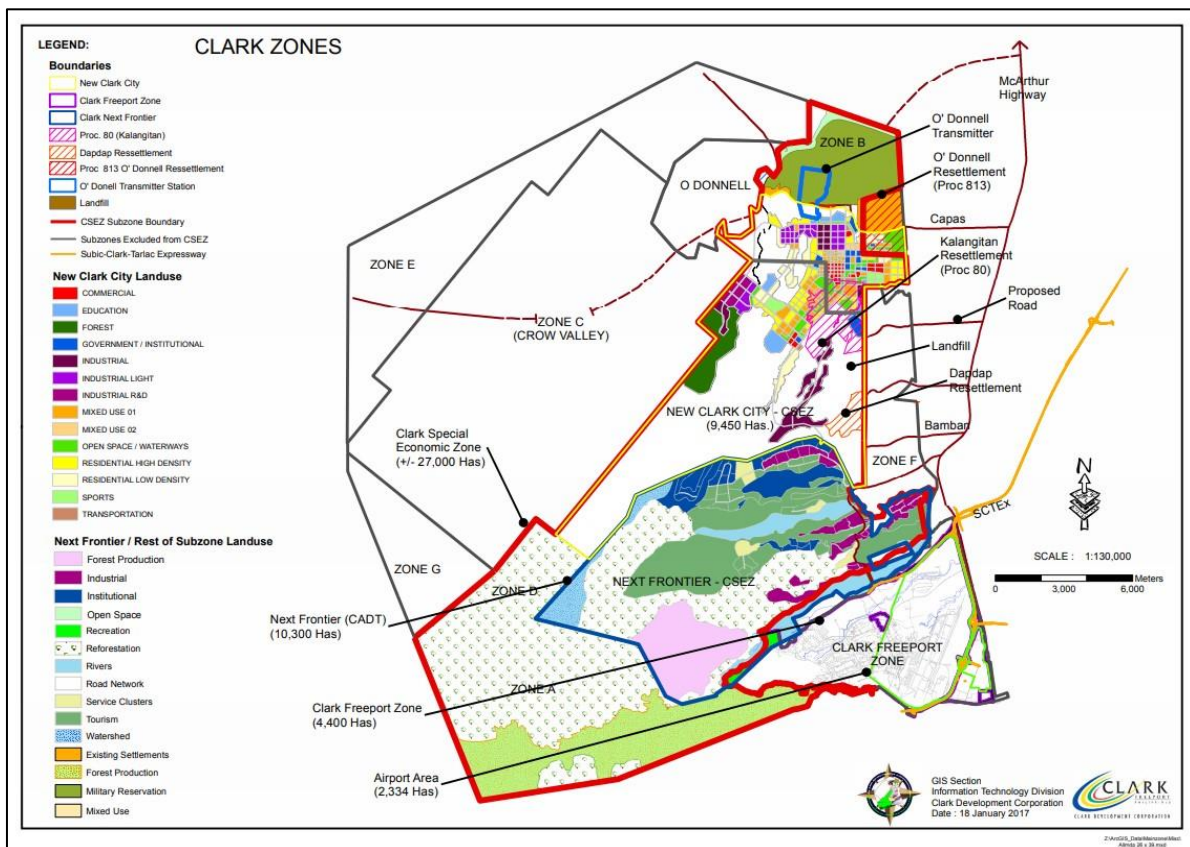


Figure 4. NCC is just a part of a larger urban renewal project called Clark Metropolis. This includes the Clark Freeport Zone and the Clark Special Economic Zone. Image Source: Clark Development Corporation

B. NCC: The beginnings

“Ang CGC sa Capas, Tarlac, pihado pong magsisilbing sentro ng komersyo at industriya, hindi lang sa Gitnang Luzon kundi sa kalakhang bansa. Sa dulo po, ang ambisyon natin sa CGC ay maging di-hamak itong mas malawak sa Bonifacio Global City. Ang dating liblib, magiging hitik sa oportunidad.” – President Benigno Simeon Aquino III, State of the Nation Address, 2014

The inception and implementation of NCC as a project can be traced back to the Aquino administration (2010-2016) (BCDA Annual Report, 2017). In October of 2012, BCDA unveiled the master plan for the 36,000-hectare CGC project patterned after South Korea’s smart eco-city, Songdo International Business District (Regalado, 2013). The following year, the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) approved the plan and along with 10 other agencies, formed the Infrastructure Committee (InfraComm), an inter-agency coordinating body committed to overseeing CGC’s execution and development. In May 2014, upon InfraComms endorsement, President Benigno Aquino III greenlighted the bidding and construction of the project. The following year, to consolidate various government forces, the Congress adopted House Resolution 116, an undertaking supporting the objectives and framework of the CGC Master Development Plan (See Figure 5) (Camero, 2014). However, according to former BCDA President Arnel Paciano Casanova, only the initial Php 59 billion funding will come from the government for the first five years of construction. The rest will be shouldered by private entities through the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) scheme (Rappler, 2012). Nonetheless, the Aquino administration argued that infrastructure projects, given government spending and private sector participation, will boost the country’s economic growth (Cruz, 2014). In April 2016, 80 days before stepping down as the Chief Executive, Aquino led the groundbreaking ceremony of CGC in Barangay Aranguren in the Municipality of Capas in Tarlac. During his speech, Aquino boasted how the project was crucial for benchmarking competitive market arrangements outside Metro Manila and was “the biggest ever joint undertaking between the government and the private sector” (Official Gazette, 2016).

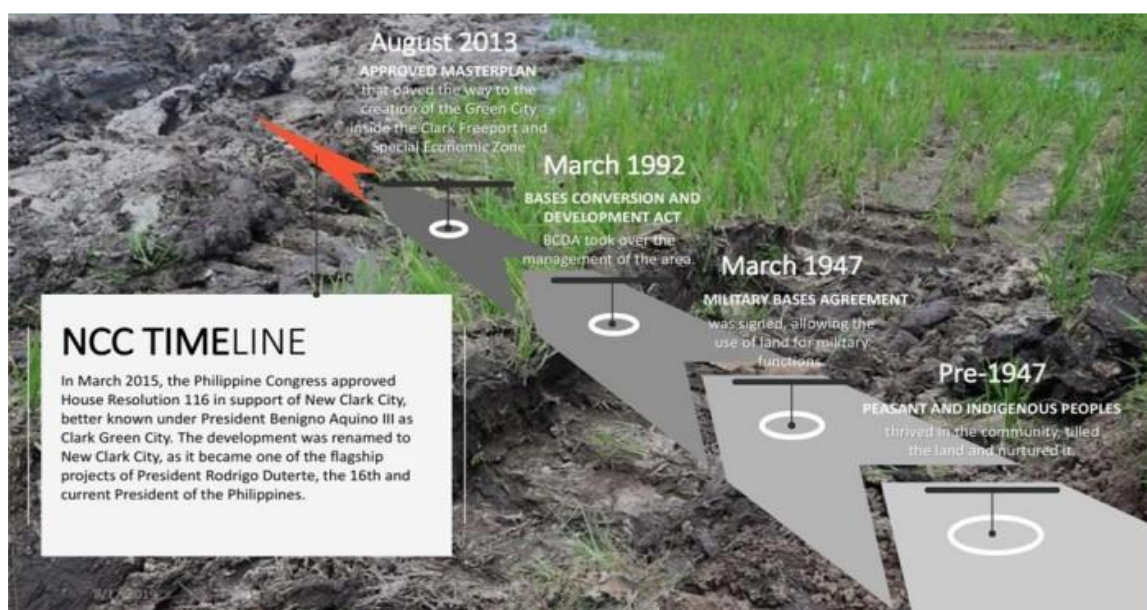


Figure 5. NCC Timeline of Events. (Read more about this timeline in Part 4: “Historical Background”)

During the Aquino administration, the NCC was called Clark Green City (CGC). Under the administration of Rodrigo Duterte, CGC became NCC and became a flagship project of the Build Build Build (BBB) program. Launched in 2017, the BBB program is guided by the current government's efforts to streamline the influx of investments from local and international institutions while still being dependent on staggering cash loans, corporate schemes, and foreign assistance (Ibon Media, 2017; Heydarian, 2018; Enano, 2018). This schema exemplifies the nature of funding and partnership underlying the construction of NCC, which is marshalled by International Financial Institutions (IFIs), driven by deregulated private entities, and planned by massive foreign investors. Furthermore, as shown in Figure 6, the PPP utilized in the project did not just incentivize profit-maximization but also secured the businesses from risks throughout its arranged duration (IBON, 2017).

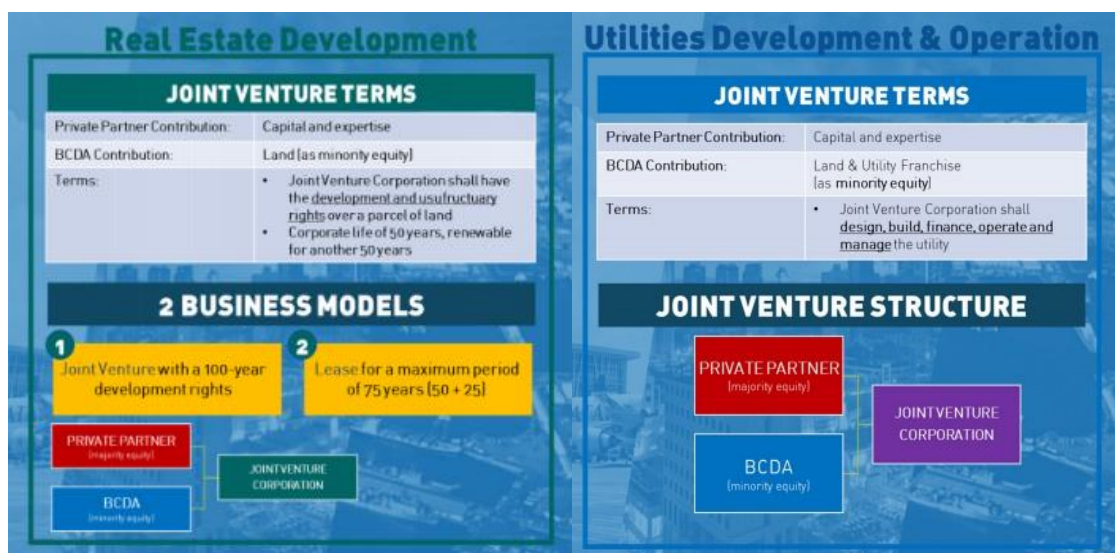


Figure 6. BCDA designed various PPP terms that immensely favored private firms to invest in BBB projects such as NCC. However, these agreements reveal how they treat public domain resources such as land and natural resources as mere vouchers for corporate approval. Government projects that were purportedly state-owned and democratically beneficial became business infrastructure dedicated to profit-generation. Image Source: BCDA

II. MAJOR STAKEHOLDERS

As a project under the PPP scheme, the NCC is a collaboration between the government and the private sector, involving various government agencies and local and international private actors. Its establishment is financed through local and foreign arrangements of loans and investments.

A. Government Actors

The principal implementer of NCC is the Bases Conversion and Development Authority (BCDA) (see Figure 7), a Government-Owned or Controlled Corporation (GOCC) established in 1992 through the Republic Act No. 7227, or the Bases Conversion and Development Act. The Act mandated the conversion of vacant military bases into profitable hubs that would contribute to the modernization program of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) (BCDA, 2017, BCDA Annual Report, 2017). With massive projects involved, the Office of the Government Corporate Counsel (OGCC) is assigned to supervise the legal arrangements of projects involving BCDA and its subsidiaries and partners (OGCC, n.d.). Since the onset of NCC, BCDA spearheaded the bidding for masterplans, PPP arrangements, and construction (BCDA Annual Report, 2017). Currently, it manages the linkages between NCC and other big-ticket projects within CFSEZ (BCDA, 2019).

Pursuant to BCDA's creation, Clark Development Corporation (CDC) (see Figure 8) was formed to become its implementing arm on the development of CSEZ and CFZ (Manabat, 2017). These zones along with NCC are critical components of an urban growth area that is expected to cater to “the global investment community” (Remo, 2019). As such, the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) 025 emplaced within these zones was fully taken under the jurisdiction of CDC.



Figure 7 and 8. Across the country, BCDA (left) manages corporations assigned to develop vacant military land into a profitable commercial zone. Particularly in Pampanga and Tarlac, CDC (right) administers the operations of CFZ and CSEZ.

Multiple government agencies are also involved as implementing bodies for supplementary constructions in NCC and are tasked to bridge more private concessionaires for funding. For instance, the Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) is in charge with the engineering and construction of infrastructure in the project but also has to engage with private capital for funding (Department of Public Works and Highways, n.d.). This arrangement underlies the

construction of access roads toward NCC, such as the Tarlac-La Union Expressway which is primarily funded by San Miguel Holdings Corporation (SMHC) (Manabat, 2018; Philippine News Agency, 2018; NEDA, n.d.; PPP, n.d.).

Another agency noteworthy to mention is the Department of Transportation (DOTr). DOTr serves as the overall administrator of coordinated transportation systems, and facilitator of funding and creation of transportation facilities, particularly railway systems, that will link NCC to adjacent areas (Department of Budget and Management, 2018; Department of Transportation, n.d.). Although presented as a key overseer, in the case of Clark International Airport (CRK), DOTr has acted more in cahoots with private companies such as Filinvest Development Corp., (FDC) for its master plan and execution (Filinvest Development Corporation, 2019).

B. Corporate Lenders

NCC and other BBB projects receive funding from foreign governments through the Official Development Assistance (ODA). Under the Republic Act (RA) No. 8182, also known as the ODA Act of 1996, the country is encouraged to apply for loans or grants that purportedly forward local economic welfare (ODA Act, 1996). As of 2018, under the Duterte administration and its BBB, it has outsourced P 1.03 Trillion from various lending institutions and countries as shown in Figure 9 (Gonzales, 2018).

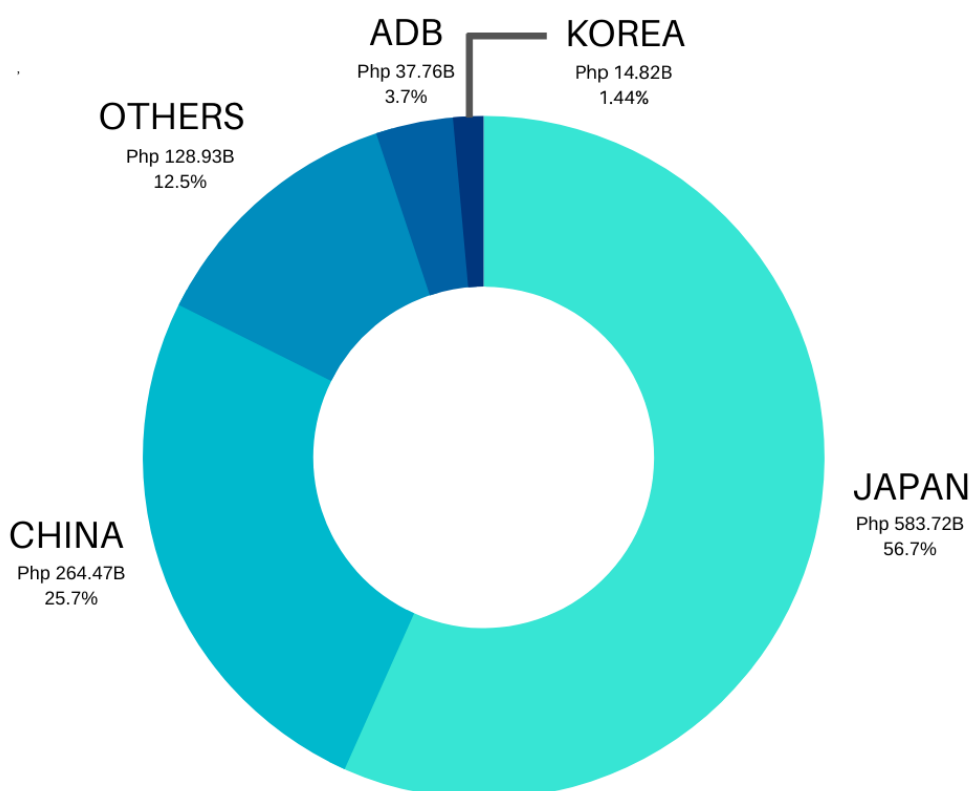


Figure 9. Actual amount (in billions Php) of financial assistance from top funding sources as of 2018 (Gonzales, 2018).

Government-backed financial institutions are responsible for the management of cash flows among entities participating in the PPP scheme. One of these institutions is the Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP), which functions as a development and thrift bank, specializing on financing agricultural and industrial enterprises (DBP, n.d.). The bank is also involved in infrastructure projects such as highways construction, generation of power and water as well as its distribution (DBP, n.d.). DBP supported NCC by providing loans to AlloyMTD Philippines which is a private partner of BCDA in its construction (Mercurio, 2018).

Also, various IFIs have participated as creditors for the private entities involved in the NCC project. One of these IFIs is the Asian Development Bank (ADB), a financial institution which aims to strengthen economic growth in Asia and the Pacific by providing loans, investments, and technical assistance in the region (ADB, n.d.). ADB agreed to serve as an advisor to BCDA in terms of planning successful partnerships with potential investors from the private sector (ADB, 2017). Also, ADB is set to support BCDA in the process of creating and promoting NCC (ADB, 2017).

C. Foreign Key Players

Foreign assistance plays a major role in networking international investors to NCC. One of the first foreign firms that took an interest was AECOM Corporation, a US-based firm that is actively expanding globally through its planning, engineering, and construction services (United States Securities and Exchange Commission Form 10-K, 2017). In 2014, AECOM won the BCDA-led competition for the improved plans of CGC Conceptual Master Development (BCDA Annual Report, 2017; Cailao, 2017; Maglalang, 2017).

The Government of Japan has also been a major player. The Japan Overseas Infrastructure Investment Corporation for Transport and Urban Development (JOIN) is responsible for bringing together Japanese and foreign companies to invest in urban development projects. According to the Japan Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport, and Tourism (2014), JOIN was established to export capital to both developing and developed countries and to strengthen competition among urban planning firms. In 2014, JOIN committed to assist in the development of CGC into a “major economic center in the ASEAN bloc” that could anchor more Japanese investments in various sectors (BCDA Annual Report, 2017). Now, together with Nippon Koei and Philkoei International Incorporated, they are set to cooperate for the revision of the masterplan, urban planning and engineering of NCC (BCDA, 2018; Cailao, 2017; Maglalang, 2017). In particular, Nippon Koei was assigned to update the master plan and design infrastructure, including roads, electric power, water supply, and sewerage of NCC for a period of 16 months (NNA Business News, 2019). Aside from construction, Japan also ventured on power generation systems, heavy industrial equipment, water treatment, railways, and transmission systems. This product chain is led by the Tokyo-based Hitachi Asia Ltd. which was reportedly on the move to accomplish more infrastructure projects in the country, particularly, with transportation connectivity and optimized energy supply in NCC (Saulon, 2019; The Filipino Times, 2019; Maglalang, 2017). Currently, the Manila-Clark Railway is being implemented by the DOTr in partnership with BCDA, and will be funded through Japan’s ODA. The

feasibility study and the detailed engineering design for the railway will be funded by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) (BCDA, 2018).

China has also been an integral part of the overall funding of BBB projects like NCC. In 2018, upon Xi Jinping's state visit in the country, he was able to secure 15 of the then 75 big-ticket infrastructure projects. Although NCC was not part of the said deal, the general contractor for cooperative development of industrial parks in the country designated the state-owned investor, China Energy Engineering Corporation, to seal the deal for the 500-hectare estate in the NCC Agro-Industrial Park (De Vera, 2018; Ranada, 2018; Siu, 2018). According to BCDA, this Php 105.2 billion-project is expected to yield a factory zone for medium and light industries, such as car assembly plants, robotic assembly lines, semiconductor processing factories, laboratories, and training facilities (Viray, 2018, Tubayan, 2018). It is expected that NCC will crystalize a "golden era for Chinese, Philippine relations" as it continues to attract more Chinese investors (Long & Gonzales, 2019).

A Malaysian-based investment holding company MTD Capital Berhad (MTD CB) also ventured in the early stages of real estate development, construction materials manufacturing, and construction phase in NCC (BCDA, 2017). Upon the approval of the Philippine Competition Commission (PCC), MTD Capital won the bidding for the joint venture construction of NCC Phase 1A (Manabat, 2018). According to the agreement, the firm and its extension company AlloyMTD Philippines are responsible for financing, design, engineering, establishment, construction, and eventually operation of the project (Lim, 2018). However, the percentage of ownership in the joint venture infrastructure largely favored MTD CB than BCDA, 90 to 10 respectively (Philippine Competition Commission, 2018).

Another foreign player in NCC is the Singapore-based Surbana Jurong of Temasek Holdings, both state-owned enterprises acquired from multiple mergers of infrastructure and urban development firms. It operates by consolidating top architectural and engineering firms to increase its presence and competence in bidding for massive urban projects such as NCC (Han, 2015). According to the BCDA (2018), Surbana Jurong is responsible for drafting the development management framework, design of standard guidelines and environmental guidelines, and for utilizing PPP to entice investors (BCDA Annual Report, 2017; Maglalang, 2017).

D. Local Elite Participation

Elite Filipino conglomerates are also seizing the investment potentials of the NCC project. The Villar family, for instance, through Prime Water Infrastructure Corporation, formed the consortium with their patrons, PAVI and MGS Construction, Inc. and Israel's TAHAL Group (BCDA, 2018; Buan, 2019; Canivel, 2018; PrimeWater, n.d.). PAVI and MGS Construction is a land construction company based in the Philippines and has managed over 400 subdivision projects with Crown Asia, Brittany Corporation, and Villar's Camella and Palmera Homes (MGS Construction, n.d.). Meanwhile, Israel's TAHAL Group is a construction firm that primarily operates water, wastewater, agriculture, solid waste, and natural gas segments of developing countries' projects (Tahal Group, n.d.). The Villar-led

consortium submitted the cheapest proposal for the water and wastewater infrastructure project in NCC outbidding Ayala's Manila Water Company (Campos, 2018; Canivel, 2018). As a result, they successfully inked a Joint Venture Agreement (JVA) with BCDA for NCC's water and wastewater infrastructure (Cabuenas, 2018).

Another major player in NCC is Filinvest Development Corporation (FDC), owned by Mercedes Gotianun and the Gotianun family. FDC is involved in NCC through investments in real estate and transportation development. In 2016, the FDC subsidiary, Filinvest Land, Inc (FLI) together with BCDA, formed the Filinvest BCDA Clark Inc. (FBCI) to lead the development of multiple properties within CSEZ (Ballesteros, 2019; BBB,n.d.; BCDA Annual Report, 2017). Moreso, Gotianun's Luzon International Premiere Airport Development (LIPAD) Corporation, will be manning the Operations & Management (O&M) of the CRK (Filinvest Development Corporation, 2019). Based on their projection, they will invest Php 20 billion for the projects allocated to them within 50 years (Francia, 2019).

Another major competitor in the market is the biggest power distributor in the Philippines, Manila Electric Company (MERALCO), owned by Manny V. Pangilinan. In April 2019, together with its Japan-based partners, Marubeni Corp., Kansai Electric Power Co. Inc., and Chubu Electric Power Co. Inc., MERALCO formed a Joint Venture Corporation (JVC) with BCDA to provide smart power grid electricity and retail sales businesses in NCC for 25 years (Cigaral, 2019; Chubu Electric Power, 2019). According to MERALCO, the JVC will be in charge of NCC's electric power distribution system through a comprehensive set of roles particularly financing, designing, engineering, establishment, construction, development, operation, and maintenance (Lectura, 2019). These private concessionaires are the majority of the shareholders of the JVC, leaving BCDA with only 10% of the total ownership (Marubeni Corporation, 2019). With their lowest tariff proposal, the consortium out-bid the Aboitiz-KEPCO led consortium with Olongapo Energy Corp. and KEPCO Philippines Holdings Inc. (Meralco Power Club, 2019). Furthermore, MERALCO's parent company, the Metro Pacific Investments Corporation (MPIC) which is also led by Pangilinan also ventured on food distribution and infrastructures in NCC. In 2017, together with the French firm SEMMARIS, MPIC conducted the Feasibility Study (FS) for the Food Terminal and International Food Market. Upon submission of the FS, these firms are given the option to spearhead the project implementation (BCDA, 2017).

In terms of designing NCC, BCDA contracted the Filipino-owned firm Budji+Royal Architecture+Design by Royal Pineda and Budji Layug. Their business specializes in master planning, architecture, interior, furniture and landscape design in the country (Revolution, n.d.). They were contracted as the principal architects of the Athletics Stadium and the Aquatics Center in NCC Phase 1 (Carpio, 2019).

III. DEVELOPING NCC AND SURROUNDING REGION

A. NCC Developments

NCC Zoning

NCC's zoning is characterized by a diverse set of classifications, from commercial and industrial to residential and recreational zones (see Figure 10).

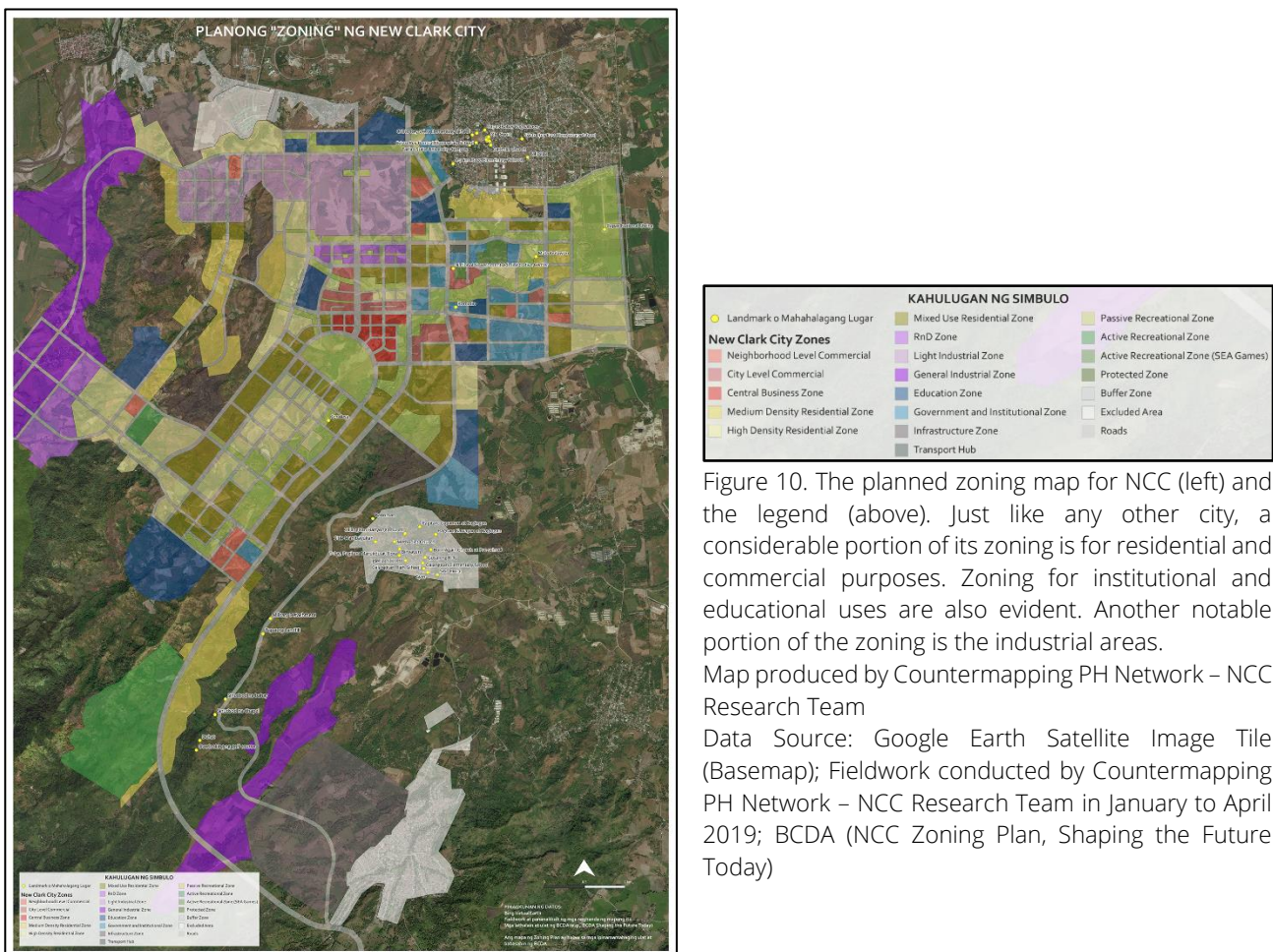


Figure 10. The planned zoning map for NCC (left) and the legend (above). Just like any other city, a considerable portion of its zoning is for residential and commercial purposes. Zoning for institutional and educational uses are also evident. Another notable portion of the zoning is the industrial areas.

Map produced by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

Data Source: Google Earth Satellite Image Tile (Basemap); Fieldwork conducted by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team in January to April 2019; BCDA (NCC Zoning Plan, Shaping the Future Today)

NCC is envisioned by its developers to become a “green” city wherein at least 60% of its land area will remain open areas free from structures such as roads, buildings, and other built-up features (Nebrija, 2017). While it is theoretically expected that structures and developments will be built in

their designated zones, there are still undetermined projects and ventures specific to certain zones, because a steady flow of investments is not readily assured.

The following sections identify and detail specific projects currently being constructed or planned for the NCC.

National Government Administrative Center (NGAC)

The National Government Administrative Center (NGAC) is a 200-hectare project planned to strategically function as a core for civic undertakings in cooperation with private developments and establishments (BCDA, 2018). NGAC was designed to function as a “one-stop-shop” for government transactions and services (BCDA, 2018). In cases of calamities, backup administrative offices are also expected to be built in NGAC (Manabat, 2018). Aside from administrative functions, NGAC also includes sports facilities that can be used for local and international competitions.

The private sector has played a significant role in the construction of the NGAC. BCDA signed a joint venture agreement with Malaysian firm MTD Capital Berhad which allowed AlloyMTD Philippines, the firm’s infrastructure arm, to finance, design, construct, and operate NGAC (Lim, 2018). The first phase of the construction of NGAC is divided into two: Phase 1A covering 40 hectares of land and Phase 1B covering another 20 hectares, resulting in a total of 60 hectares (Department of Budget and Management, 2018). In 2018, the Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP) signed a Php 9.5 billion loan agreement with AlloyMTD Philippines to fund the first phase of the NGAC construction (Mercurio, 2018). The loan comprises 75% of the Php 13 billion budget for the first phase of the NGAC construction (Mercurio, 2018).

Some of the resulting infrastructure from the Phase 1A construction of NGAC were utilized in the 2019 Southeast Asian Games. First was the Athletics Stadium, a 20,000-seater structure (BCDA, 2019) which was used for track and field events. Second was the Aquatics Center (see Figure 11), a 2,000-seater structure with an Olympic-sized pool for water events (BCDA, 2019).

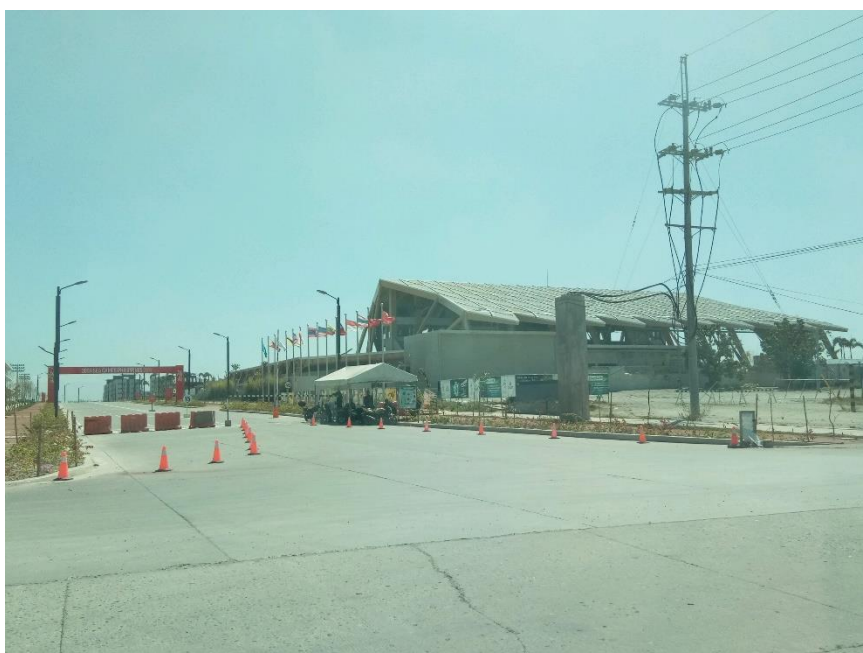


Figure 11. The Aquatics Center in NGAC as of February 2020. Located nearby are other sports facilities, particularly the Athletics Stadium and the Athletes’ Village.

The third facility was the Athletes’ Village, which was used for the lodging of athletes, officials, and volunteers (BCDA, 2019). To complement these facilities, the University of the Philippines established a

Philippine General Hospital-Satellite for Sports Medicine and Wellness (PGH-SSMW) polyclinic in NGAC which catered to the medical needs of the athletes for the duration of the games (BCDA, 2019). This polyclinic was the first of the three phases of PGH-SSMW in NCC (Datu, 2019). The second phase will be a hospital with a 25-bed capacity and the third will have a 250-bed capacity (Datu, 2019).

“Asia’s Next Food Hub” or “Food Processing Terminal & International Food Market”

With its location in Central Luzon, NCC is expected to become a major center for food marketing. With a Php 31.3 billion budget, there are plans to allocate a 200-hectare space for consolidating agricultural and industrially processed food products from the Northern and Central Luzon (BCDA, 2018; Subic-Clark Alliance for Development, n.d.). Aside from exporting food to Metro Manila and other countries, NCC hopes to attract food-related investors from private and local sectors (BCDA, 2018; Build Build Build, n.d.).

Filinvest NCC

In 2016, BCDA agreed to establish a joint venture corporation with Filinvest that will last for 50 years, with BCDA only holding 45% of the ownership (BCDA, 2017). The onset of this partnership granted the legal basis for Filinvest to create their projects in 288 hectares of land in NCC (BCDA, 2017).

Filinvest’s plans in NCC are diversified. They plan to configure the land for residential, commercial, institutional, and mixed-use purposes (Maglalang, 2017). A notable 120-hectare portion of the land will be used for the Filinvest Innovation Parks, where industrial activities will take place such as manufacturing, food processing, logistics, and warehousing (see Figure 12) (Philippine News Agency, 2019). Just like other features in NCC, this will also serve as a space for foreign and local capital



Figure 12. Filinvest put up promotional tarpaulins around NCC to advertise the Eco-Tech-Hub they are developing within an area called Innovation Park.

accumulation. This space was designated as a Philippine Economic Zone Authority (PEZA) zone,

whereby investors are granted fiscal and non-fiscal incentives for locating their business in the area (Ballesteros, 2019).

Industrial District

Aside from Filinvest's industrial park, BCDA has allocated 787 hectares of land for an industrial park that will focus on research and development (BCDA, 2018). This industrial district will embody NCC's "smart city" branding as it promises to be a site of innovation and investment, attracting major industry players particularly in information and communication technology (ICT).

Innovative and Academic District

One of the goals of NCC is to internationalize and promote the knowledge-production industry of the country to the global market. As such, it established an Innovative and Academic District composed of local and international educational institutions. Former BCDA President Arnel Casanova argued that this academic space could become the future brain capital of the country, generating innovative and creative products. One of the first approved partnerships was in 2014 when University of the Philippines (UP) President Alfredo Pascual agreed to develop a 70-hectare UP Campus within the institutional zone of NCC (ABS-CBN News, 2014; UPRI, n.d.). This BCDA partnership aims to upscale UP, making it responsive to global demands by the establishment of international programs and schools (Palana, 2015). Also, according to UP, additional campuses can help manage the increasing needs of students and faculty for spaces for learning and dwelling. Currently, several schools and universities have plans to establish a center in this district: Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU), Philippine Tax Academy (PTA), Technological University of the Philippines (TUP), Adamson University, Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP) and the Philippine Science High School (PSHS) (Terrado, 2018; The Philippine Star, 2018;). In 2020, the Philippine Senate has also approved the creation of the Philippine High School for Sports (PHSS) which will be located at the NCC Sports Hub (Ichimura, 2020). Furthermore, BCDA is optimistic that Ivy League universities and European academic institutions will also venture to locate satellite campuses in NCC in the future (Orante, 2015; Terrado, 2018).

Road Network Development within and outside NCC

Critical to the development of NCC is a network of access roads that will link it to existing roads (see Figure 13). The table below shows the reported access roads.

Table 1. Access Roads built in and around NCC

Access Road	Description	Length	Budget
NCC-SCTEX Access Road	Connects NCC to the Subic-Tarlac Expressway located a	11km	Php 3.5 billion

	few kilometers west of NCC		
NCC-MacArthur Access Road	-	6.98km	Php 450 million
Clark-Bamban-Capas Access Road	Expected to be completed in the year 2021	16km	Php 980 million
NCC-Clark International Airport Access Road	Will link NCC to the CRK in Mabalacat town in Pampanga, located south of NCC	20km	Php 9.1 billion

Source: BCDA, 2018; Crismundo, 2018; Flores, 2018



Figure 13. Massive corporations invest on public works such as roads but hardly provide local farmers accessible pathways for their agricultural means of production such as crops and carabaos. These were supplementary projects widening the market for goods and also transportation businesses such as vehicles, machinery and oil products. Image Source: BCDA

The following figure shows how the construction of the NCC-Clark International Airport Access Road affected the environment along the Sacobia River at the border of Tarlac and Pampanga:



Figure 14 and 15. Land cover change in a portion of the Sacobia River in Mabalacat, Pampanga. Figure 14 (top) is dated March 13, 2018 and Figure 15 (bottom) is dated February 23, 2020. This is a bridge being constructed as a part of the NCC-Clark International Airport Access Road. Satellite imagery from Google Earth Pro

At Php 9.1 billion, it is considered to be the costliest among the access road projects since it will consist of a railway system and a 1-kilometer bridge (BCDA, 2018).

Water and Wastewater Infrastructure of NCC

The consortium of the Villar-led Prime Water Infrastructure Corporation and some corporations will be in-charge of the water and wastewater infrastructure and services of NCC through its 30-year JVA with BCDA (Cabuenas, 2018). This project will involve the use of “smart” components and technologies for its future operations (Alvarez, 2018).

Electricity Distribution System

The Joint Venture Corporation of MERALCO with BCDA will give way to the development of an electricity distribution system using an underground cabling network (Domingo, 2019). According to the president of MERALCO Powergen Corporation, the cost of this electricity distribution project would be about Php 1 billion (Domingo, 2019).

Telecommunication

The Department of Information and Communications Technology (DICT), in partnership with BCDA and Facebook, launched the Luzon Bypass Infrastructure project in 2017 (Camus, 2018). With a cost of Php 975 million, BCDA will construct the 250-kilometer cable network infrastructure composed of two cable landing stations located in Poro Point, La Union and Baler, Aurora (BCDA, 2018; Camus, 2019). In addition, Facebook agreed to utilize the infrastructure to be made by BCDA for further construction, installation, and operation of submarine cable systems that will reach the cable stations in the East and West Coasts of Luzon (BCDA, 2018). Lastly, the role of DICT will be the operation of the infrastructure and maintenance of other related facilities for 25 years (BCDA, 2018; Camus, 2019).

The bypass infrastructure, including the submarine cable systems by Facebook, is expected to become ready for use in the first quarter of 2020 (Arcangel, 2019; Camus, 2019). According to BCDA, this will be a major component of telecommunication in NCC (BCDA, 2018).

Transportation - Subic Clark Railway Project (SCRP)

The Subic Clark Railway Project (SCRP) is a Php 50 billion worth railway system that will link Subic Freeport Zone and Clark Freeport Zone and is currently in the process of construction (see Figure 16) (Department of Budget and Management, 2018; Subic-Clark Alliance for Development, n.d.). It is funded by the budget from the General Appropriations Act (GAA) and the ODA from China (Department of Budget and Management, 2018). The freight railway system is expected to be 71 kilometers long and will enable the exchange of goods and services from the Port of Subic Bay to the CRK (Department of Budget and Management, 2018).



Figure 16. Architecture rendering of the Subic Clark Railway Project (SCR). Image Source: BUILD website

With a total budget of Php 50.03 billion, Php 40.26 billion will come from the Department of Transportation while Php 9.77 billion will come from BCDA (Department of Budget and Management, 2018). It is expected that this railway system will further extend northwards to NCC (Department of Budget and Management, 2018).

B. Attracting Capital in CFSEZ

Clark Freeport Zone

The establishment of the Clark Freeport and Special Economic Zone (CFSEZ) is geared towards attracting capital into Central Luzon. At the forefront of CFSEZ is the Clark Freeport Zone (CFZ). Branded by BCDA as “Asia’s Newest Gateway,” CFZ offers several incentives to entice investors and businesses, such as tax-free and duty-free benefits for the continuous importation of goods, and equipment, and a 100-percent foreign equity, special customs territory, and free-flowing and unlimited consumption of duty-free goods (See Figure 17) (BCDA, 2017). So far, CFZ hosts several investments from various industries, such as aviation enterprises, light industry semiconductors, tourism, and infrastructure (BCDA, 2017). To facilitate the in-flow of investments, the Clark Global City was established in the CFZ. With a land area of 177 hectares, Clark Global City is marketed as a “state of the art” business center (BCDA, 2017).

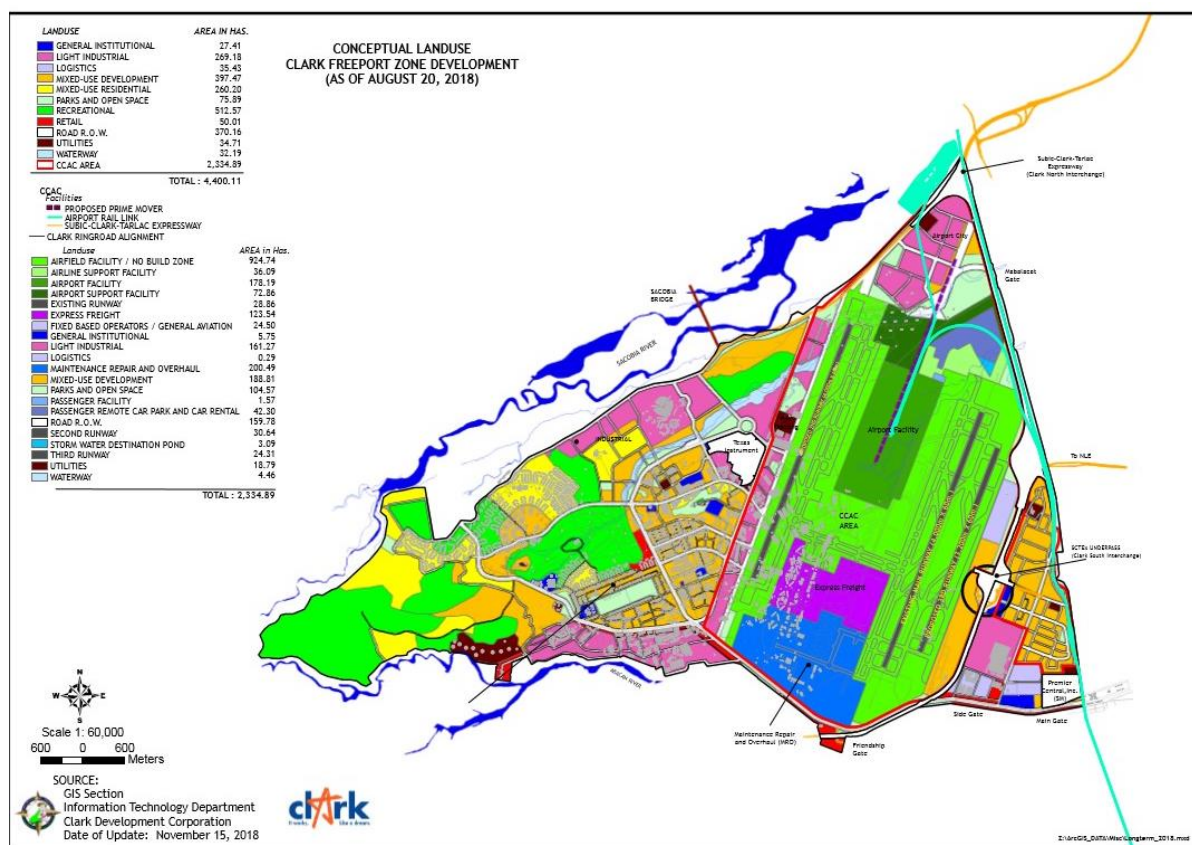


Figure 17. Clark Development Corporation designed this long-term masterplan for the Clark Freeport Zone development in 2018. Image Source: CDC

Tourism Site

Various tourism and leisure development abound in CFZ. There are plans to build more casinos and golf courses in the zone (BCDA, 2017). Luxury hotel brands such as Marriott and Hilton were also built in the area (BCDA, 2017). At the forefront of these developments is Filinvest's Mimosa Plus project, which is marketed as a "leisure city" and touted as the "newest productivity center" north of Manila (Mimosa Plus, n.d.). In spite of pending amenities to be constructed, Mimosa Plus is already operational and is expected to have a mall, business park, high rise apartments, a golf course, high-end villas, a hotel and casino, and a convention center within a 200-hectare resort facility once completed (BCDA, 2017; Mimosa Plus, n.d.). These developments are complemented by having theme parks, such as the planned Clark Safari Park and the Aqua Planet Theme Park which is now operational, both allocated with a total budget of Php 2 billion (BCDA, 2017).

Clark International Airport (CRK)

The CRK is a 2,3000-hectare international airport located in the southern part of CFSEZ. Its proximity is key in promoting CFSEZ and NCC as accessible sites for investment and infrastructure development. To increase the airport's capacity to accommodate 4 million passengers, a new

100,000 sqm international terminal is currently being built, worth Php 9.6 billion (BCDA, 2017). In 2019, the operations and maintenance of CRK were privatized and assigned the Luzon International Airport Development Corporation, a consortium in which Filinvest is also a member (Orejas, 2019).

Railway System from Manila to Clark International Airport

The railway system linking CRK and Manila is called the Philippine National Railways (PNR) North 2. Like other major infrastructure projects, the railway system is funded and developed through a foreign partnership, particularly with the China National Machinery Industry Corporation (Sinomach). The initial budget for the project is worth Php 150 billion (Orejas, 2017).

To build this railway system and other developments in CFZ and CSEZ, vast tracts of prime agricultural lands in Central Luzon will have to be converted. Such conversion would have an impact on the local livelihood and resources of surrounding communities (see Figure 18 and 19).





Figure 18 and 19. Satellite Imagery of land cover change captured in a portion of the Clark Freeport Zone in Mabalacat, Pampanga. Figure 18 (top) is dated November 2, 2003 and Figure 19 (bottom) is dated February 23, 2020. CDC started to manage projects in CFZ in 1997 pursuant to the creation of BCDA. Image Source: Google Earth Pro

C. Constructing a Super Region

BCDA envisions a “Super Region” to emerge from Central Luzon northwards, as part of an effort to increase the region’s competitiveness in the global market. Super regions are deemed as significant zones or areas that fuel global economies; these are characterized by having substantial economic activities from various sectors such as agriculture, tourism, trade, etc. (BCDA, 2017). Some of the agency’s planned projects are situated in what they call the “Belt of Progress” (see Figure 20). To facilitate this, BCDA is pushing for certain projects, such as seaports and airports, roads and commercial hubs, which are considered to be prerequisites to promote a stronger interconnection of products, labor force, and capital. The accomplishment of these projects, however, involves a pattern of development aggression where marginalized groups experience land grabbing and displacement.



Figure 20. BCDA publicizes a massive regional development aggression scheme as a project catalyst for national growth. NCC located in Tarlac is the centerpiece of their “Belt of Progress”. Image source: BCDA

NCC can be considered as a key intersection of other looming government-backed projects in the Zambales Mountain Range (see Figure 21). In recent years, various access road projects have been constructed in this area, some of which are nearing completion. For example, the 16-km Clark-Bamban-Capas Access Road is expected to traverse the fringes of the Dapdap Resettlement and Sacobia area in the municipality of Bamban (Sapnu, 2018). Meanwhile, the NCC-SCTEX Access Road is also traversing the barangays of Santo Rosario, Cutcut 1, Cutcut 2, Cubcub, Santo Domingo, San Juan, and Santiago. The Php 8.329 billion worth Capas-Botolan Access Road that will link NCC to Zambales is also on its way to completion (Del Rosario, 2019). Other communities in the area are also vulnerable to displacements because of an impending railway project that will link NCC and Malolos, Bulacan.

Aside from transportation infrastructure, a 34,410-hectare dam known as the Balog-Balog Multipurpose Dam (BBMD) is also set to be built in the areas of San Jose and Capas in Tarlac (Hernandez, 2018; National Irrigation Administration, 2016). With the Php 18-B Tarlac dam project, it has been estimated that Ayta sub-groups in 27 communities will be displaced (Salamat, 2010; Cervantes, 2012). Another planned megaproject in the region is the Aboitiz Geothermal Powerplant (AGP) which will be built to occupy 20,000 hectares of ancestral lands in the areas of Floridablanca,

Pampanga and San Marcelino, Zambales (Richter, 2012). These two extensive projects are expected to support the needs of NCC. With these plans in place, land speculation has intensified in various parts of the region, as manifested by the proliferation of residential subdivision developments such as Amaia, Ajoya, Camella, and other mixed-use establishments. Some of these developments include the Ayala developments in 290-hectare mixed-use estate in Hacienda Luisita; the P90 billion, 1,100-hectare Alviera investment in Porac; and the aggressive Pampanga Megalopolis Plan (Austria, 2015; Campos, 2018; Camus, 2019; Del Rosario, 2018; Reyes, 2019).

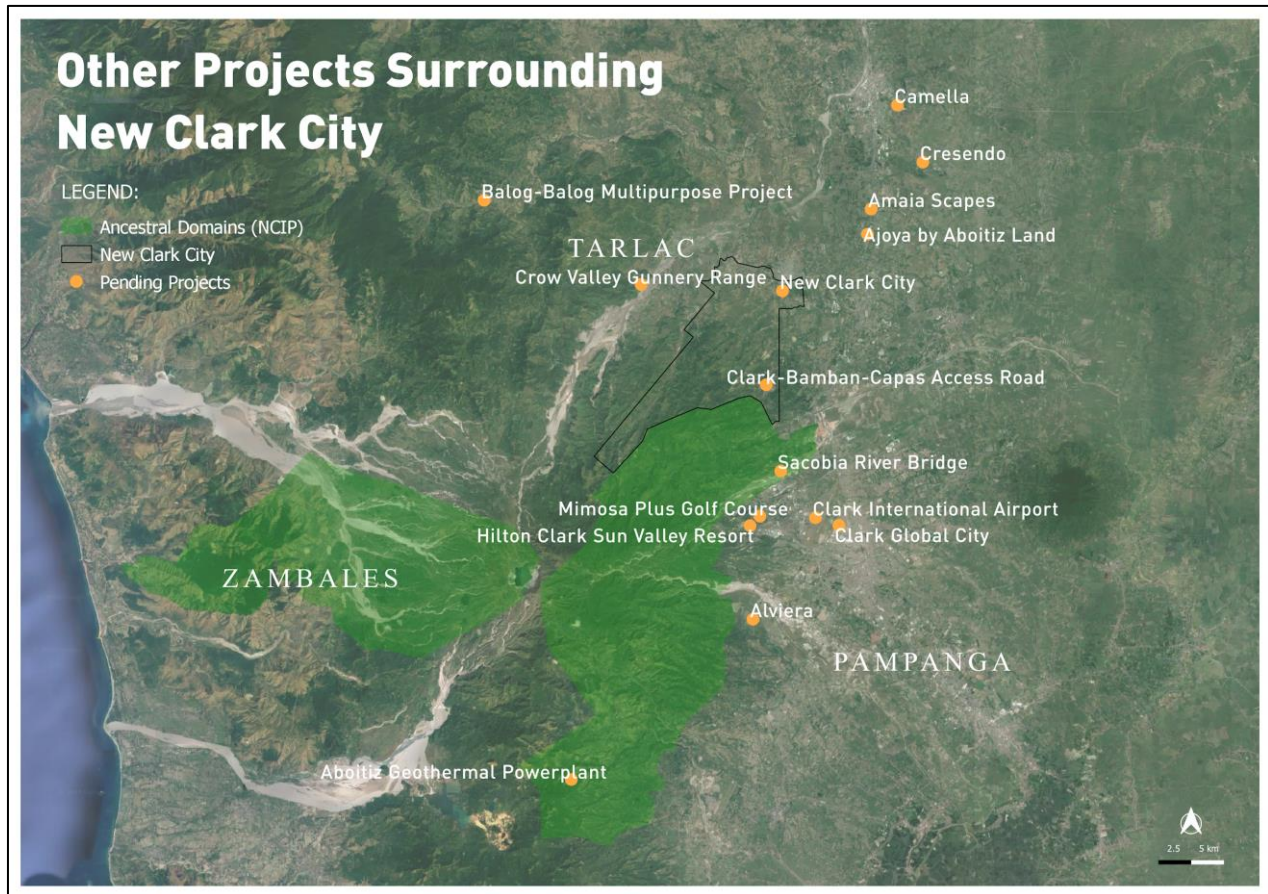


Figure 21. NCC is the centerpiece of Central Luzon urbanization projects. Its construction paves way for complementary businesses such as residential subdivisions, tourist spots, energy facilities, transportation modes and commercial hubs. These projects, although not directly located at the ancestral domains, impact the resource usage, economic networks, and land value of Indigenous Peoples in the area. The plotted sites are approximated by the map author based on news and reports by Campos, O. (2018); Camus, M.R. (2019, November 13); Cervantes, D. (2012, May 16); Del Rosario, M.D. (2018, February 8). Manabat, A. (2017 November 22); National Irrigation Administration. (2016); Nepomuceno, P. (2018, June 27); Richter, A. (2012, October 17); Salamat, M. (2010, January 24); and Salamat, M. (2014, June 27).

Map produced by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team using Google Earth Satellite Image Tile (Basemap)

Just beside NCC is the 17,000-hectare Crow Valley Gunnery Range, an asset to be developed by the Philippine Air Force Development Plan and transformed into a military complex (Salamat, 2014; Nepomuceno, 2018). This site serves as an important training ground for the military, particularly in hosting the Balikatan Exercises between the Philippines and US military forces.

To further extract resources from the region, corporate entities are allowed by the government to harness forest resources through the Integrated Forest Management Agreement (IFMA). One such corporate entity is the AWECA Agro-Forest Industries Corporation. The IFMA between AWECA and the government was granted by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) in 1992 and was supposed to end in 2016 (Benitez, 2003). However, AWECA currently has control over IFMA allowing it to operate over the mountainous lands that are measured at 5,000 hectares. Moreover, 2,190 hectares of this area is classified as degraded residual forest and the other 2,810 hectares are productive residual forests (Mapiles, 2011). In 2011, the corporation was allowed to extract resources from the area's vegetation (Orejas, 2011). In this setup, the ancestral lands originally occupied, cultivated, and nurtured by the indigenous population are systematically used by AWECA in extracting various natural resources.

Aytas in the peripheries of NCC are coerced to vacate their settlements because of the degradation of natural resources such as waterways, agricultural lands, and mountains due to unregulated quarrying and mining companies. In 2017, Aytas of Barangay Camachiles in Porac, Pampanga, whose lands were registered within CADT 123 (see Figure 23), were embroiled in a land dispute with various agencies, such as CDC, DENR, Ayalas, and various foreign quarrying firms. It is expected that through projects such as NCC and National Greening Program, the ancestral domains of Aytas will shrink from 18, 659 to 600 hectares (Salamat, 2018).

IV. BEFORE THE ADVENT OF NCC

This part will primarily discuss the contextual background of the area wherein NCC and other types of development are set to be built. This includes the indigenous histories of the area and the implications left by the American colonial rule and militarism. Moreover, this will talk about the existing dynamics and struggles in upholding the rights of indigenous peoples in the Philippines particularly in Central Luzon.

A. Since Time Immemorial

"BCDA's immediate implementation of the 9,450-hectare CGC—the country's first smart, green and disaster-resilient metropolis— ... sets the precedent for unlocking the value of idle government land for national development projects," - BCDA, 2016

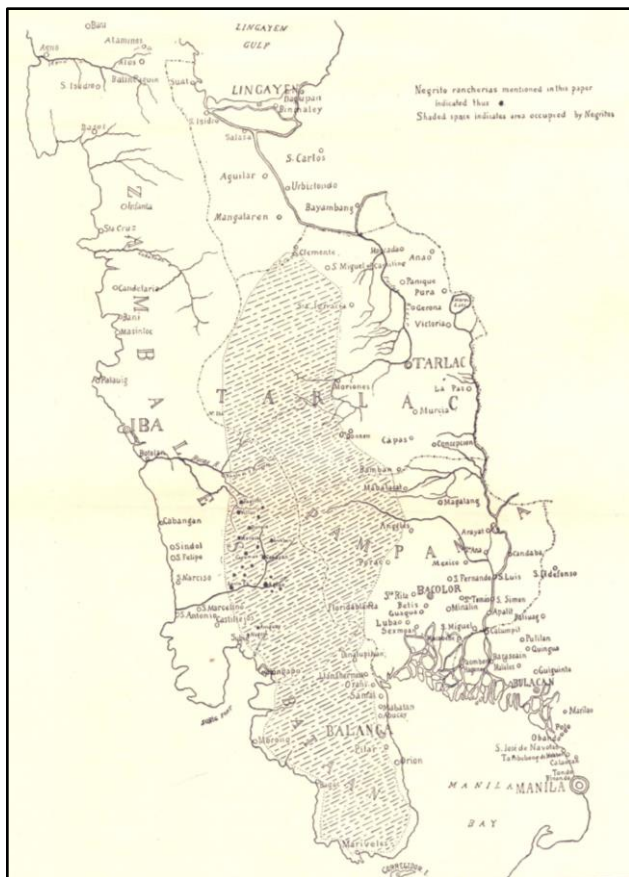


Figure 22. Map of the distribution of Negritos in Central Luzon as illustrated by Reed.

Image source: Reed (1904). Negritos of Zambales

Contrary to the claim by BCDA that the lands to be used for NCC are “idle”, the Central Luzon region of the Philippines has long been the home of the indigenous group known as the Ayta. In 1904, William Reed recognized the existence of indigenous settlements, which he identified as “Negritos” during that time in the area of Central Luzon. The figure below shows a map by Reed (1904), showing the locations of Ayta settlements:

Based on what can be seen on the map, an enormous portion of Central Luzon are known to be settlements of the Ayta as it encompasses parts of the Zambales Mountain Range and the provinces of Bataan, Zambales, Pampanga, and Tarlac. This map demonstrates that in terms of existence, the Ayta people have long been settlers and should be recognized as rightful protectors of their ancestral domain. Even before the Spanish colonial rule seized control over the Philippine islands, there were indications that they already had a systematic way of living within their environment (Reed, 1904).

Additionally, another document from the Spanish colonial period also indicates that the Ayta have been living in the area even before the Spanish colonizers grabbed their lands (Beltran, 2020). This document contained a report that aimed to inform the King of Spain about a successful attempt of a Spanish priest to establish a collective settlement called a “barrio” composed by Ayta people (Beltran, 2020).

B. *Colonized and Militarized Domains*

When the United States of America (USA) colonized the Philippines, militarization played an important role in controlling the islands. As such, the American government acquired vast tracts of land which were used to build military bases. In 1908, thousands of hectares of Ayta ancestral lands were used to build the 64,052-hectare Fort Stotsenburg and the 58,006-hectare O'Donnell military reservation to accommodate American military personnel (Dizon, n.d.; Executive Order 790, 1908).

Despite gaining independence, the Philippines was still subjected to American control through American presence in military bases. In 1947, the Military Bases Agreement between the governments of the USA and the Philippines institutionalized the establishment of American military bases in 20 locations all over the archipelago (Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines Concerning Military Bases, 1947). In Central Luzon alone, there were eight American military bases established (Agreement Between the United States of America and the Republic of the Philippines Concerning Military Bases, 1947):

1. Clark Field Air Base, Pampanga.
2. Fort Stotsenberg, Pampanga.
3. Mariveles Military Reservation, POL Terminal and Training Area, Bataan.
4. United States Armed Forces Cemetery No. 2, San Francisco del Monte, Rizal. Angeles General Depot, Pampanga.
5. Subic Bay, Northwest Shore Naval Base, Zambales Province, and the existing Naval reservation at Olongapo and the existing Baguio Naval Reservation.
6. Naule Point (Loran Station), Zambales.
7. Castillejo, Coast Guard #356, Zambales.
8. Florida Blanca Air Base, Pampanga.

The establishment of these military bases entailed a systematic pattern of land-grabbing of vast tracts of land occupied by indigenous peoples and peasant communities. It is not surprising that this region became the hotbed of armed rebel resistance. During the 1960s and 1970s, the presence of rebel armed groups was felt in Bamban, Mabalacat, and Angeles (Tadem, 2009).

In 1992, the American troops formally departed their military bases in the country after the Philippine senate decided to terminate the Military Bases Agreement (Drogin, 1992). Despite the departure of the American military from these bases, the lands were not returned by the Philippine government to the original settlers. Instead, the Bases Conversion and Development Act of 1992 (R.A. 7227) was enacted. Because of the law, lands where military bases are located were classified as military reservations which were placed under a newly formed government corporation, BCDA. Under the law, these lands were supposed to be transformed into profitable ventures, involving the private sector.

Despite the closure of the military bases in the Philippines, American military presence still persists through the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) of 1998. This is further reinforced by the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) of 2014. Under these agreements, military exercises and operations between Philippine and American troops, popularly known as Balikatan Exercises, are regularly held in the Philippines. In Central Luzon, the Balikatan Exercises are typically conducted in Crow Valley in Capas, Tarlac (Viray, 2019). As a result of Balikatan exercises in Crow Valley, the lives of Aytas in the area and surrounding zones are regularly endangered.

C. Indigenous Land Rights

Over two decades ago, through the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997, National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) was created as its administering agency. NCIP is tasked to support and protect indigenous peoples (IP) communities by providing assistance on legal and financial agreements (Republic Act No. 8371, 1997). However, various IP groups have expressed concerns about how NCIP handles various issues particularly on ancestral lands, with several groups calling for the scrapping of IPRA and the abolition of NCIP (Ayroso, 2016). For instance, Kalipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas (KAMP), a national IP alliance, has expressed their dismay over the controversial schemes NCIP has been involved in, which aggravated the conditions of numerous IP communities. By collating local tribe assessments, KAMP accused the agency of negotiating corporate operations on ancestral domains, appointing its own indigenous leadership, and conferring paramilitary forces as representatives (Sambalud, 2014).

According to accounts from IP groups, the enforcement of controversial schemes enabled NCIP to freely orchestrate the implementation of IPRA in a way that was favorable to commercial use. Given that NCIP controlled the issuance of Certificate of Ancestral Domains (CADT), indigenous leaders were compelled to allow the conversion of communally-held lands for disposition or purchase (Ayroso, 2014). As of today, there are six official CADT areas in Central Luzon located mainly in Tarlac, Pampanga and Zambales (see Figure 23). According to KAMP, the transfer of ownership and subsequent privatization of land tends to fracture social and political traditions, and dismantle generations of collective culture. Another issue involves the enforcement of Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC), which requires a full disclosure of projects in a manner that is comprehensible to communities and a 'consensus' among community members. However,

documented cases reveal that FPICs were most of the time disregarded, swindled and bypassed by corporations and the government itself (Ambay, 2016).

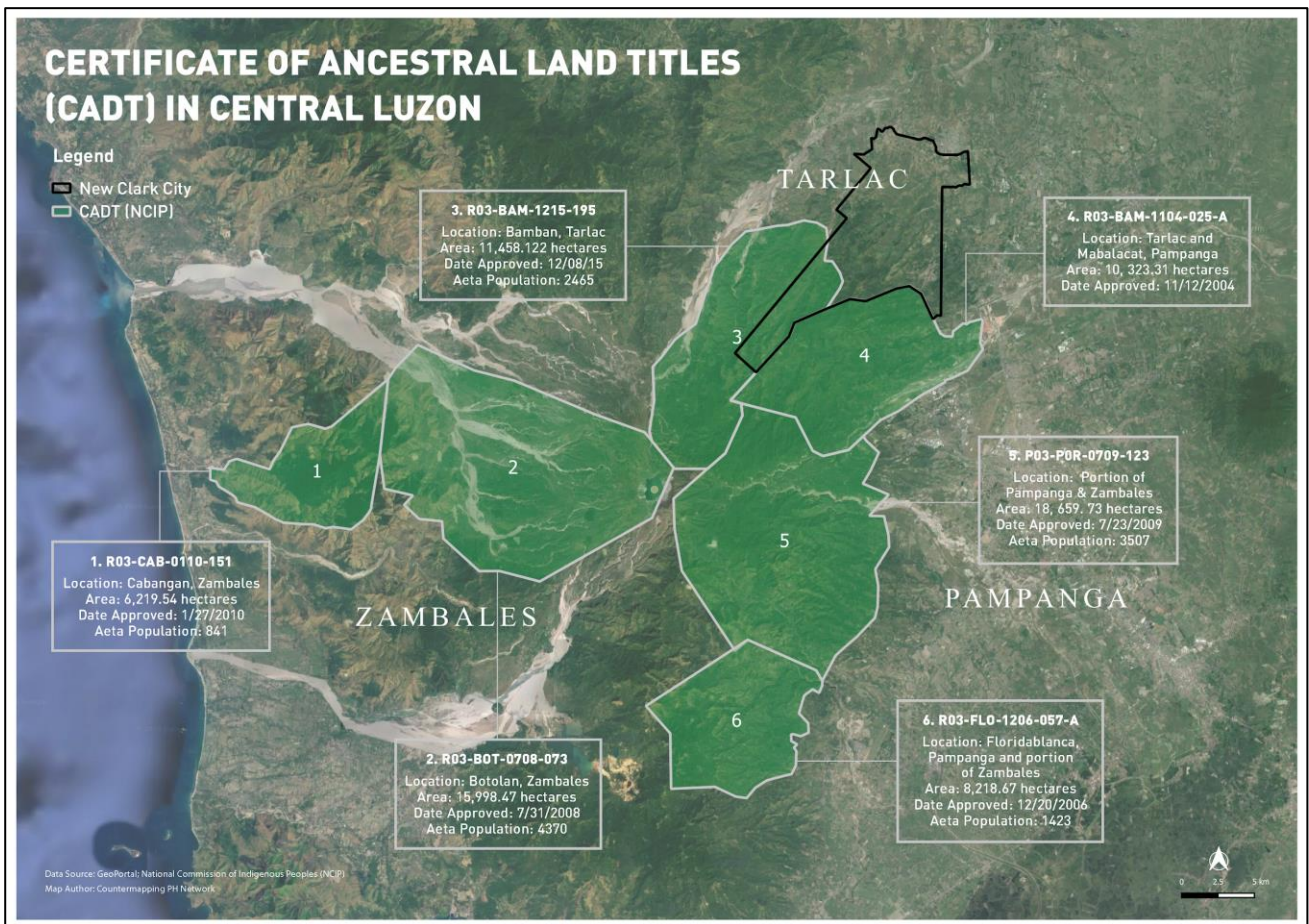


Figure 23. The six CADT areas in Central Luzon were registered and approved in the past two decades. Despite these institutionalized measures to protect Aytas domains, numerous development aggression cases have been also reported in these areas.

Map produced by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

Data Source: Google Earth Satellite Image Tile (Basemap); Philippine Geoportal; NCIP

In Central Luzon, NCIP is in a legal partnership with Clark Development Corporation - Joint Management Agreement (CDC-JMA). Adjacent to the CFZ and within the CSEZ, about 15,000 Aytas communally own a 10,684-hectare tract of ancestral domain registered as CADT No. R03-BAM-1204-025-A, or commonly referred to as CADT 025-A (Navales, 2007; Manabat, 2017). In December 2007, NCIP, CDC, Bamban Ayta Tribal Association (BATA) and tribal chiefs from 12 villages in Pampanga and Tarlac underwent a compromise agreement called Clark Development Corporation - Joint Management Agreement (CDC-JMA) allowing CDC to co-manage the area for 75 years (SunStar, 2007; Manabat, 2018). In return, CDC must ensure a 20% benefit-sharing scheme on all revenue collected from the projects created within the area. Meanwhile, NCIP, keen on the impacts of the project, provided a validation team to assess the development plans of CDC (Pavia, 2009).

As aforementioned, CDC was already assigned to lead the operations within the CSEZ pursuant to the creation of BCDA. With CDC-JMA at hand, projects and plans have become the main focus,

whereby the construction of development plans is prioritized over concerns on the welfare of IPs. The priority, it seems, has been merely to ensure that IPs are legally bound to development plans. As such, Ayta groups such as the Sangguniang Tribung Ayta (STA) protested to repeal the agreement and told CDC to leave their domains. However, CDC and NCIP lightly dismissed these contentions as mere “leadership issues” (Manabat, 2017). This situation effectively puts Aytas to a disadvantage. As they suffer from the ecological and cultural destruction, they do not hold any legal power to unilaterally cancel CDC-JMA without any amendments initiated by CDC and NCIP (Manabat, 2017).

V. IMPACTS OF NCC ON COMMUNITIES AND ECOLOGIES IN TARLAC

Across government media platforms, NCC is promoted as a new urban development that is inclusive, culturally-oriented, economically-beneficial, disaster-resilient and environmentally sound. However, grounded narratives and spatial data demonstrate several impacts NCC has caused to the farmer and indigenous communities of Tarlac. Since the onset of its construction, it has incurred massive displacement and destroyed ecologies in the area. Moreso, its implementers continuously disregarded IP claims on ancestral lands affected by NCC. Subsequently, locals who are largely dependent on their lands struggled to make ends meet and adjust to the inevitable shift in their way of life.

A. *Settlements within and around NCC*

In June 2014, BCDA officials presented a map of the Tarlac uplands to the House of Representatives and reported that it was a “large unoccupied territory”. BCDA implied that the area where CGC, now NCC, would be built on “abandoned and unproductive” land (Orejas, 2015). What was not accounted for were the Ayta and farming communities and diverse ecologies that are located in this area. As shown in Figure 24, numerous communities evidently dwell within and around the boundaries of NCC, which will most likely be affected by the project. Overlaying the boundary of NCC with the location of the barangays of Tarlac, 11 barangays were identified to coincide within the area, while Santa Juliana lies proximate to NCC (see Table 2).

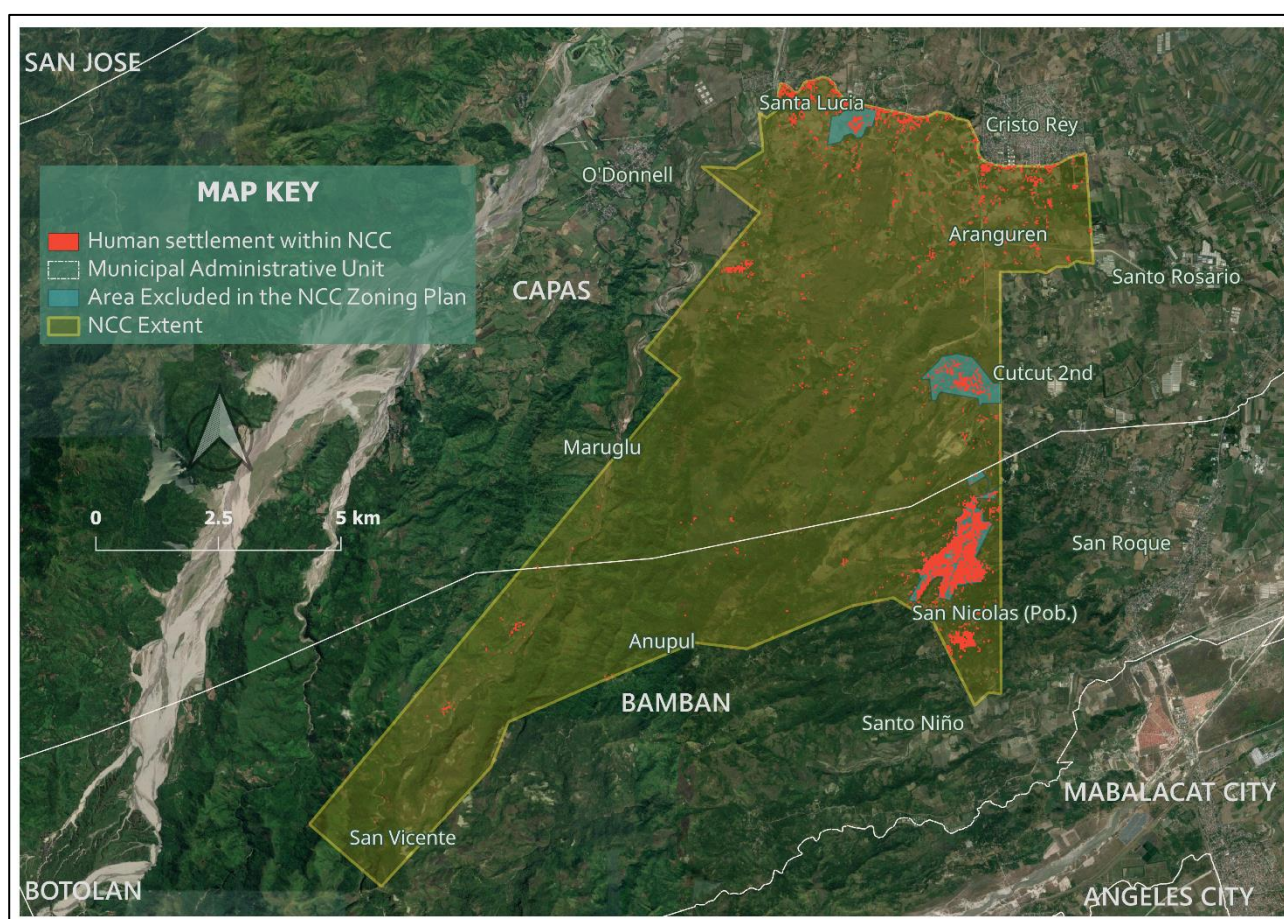


Figure 24. NCC overlaps with 11 barangays in Bamban and Capas Tarlac and consequently coincided with settlements within its area.

Map produced by the Countermapping PH Network - NCC Research Team

Data sources: BCDA; CIESIN; Google Earth Satellite Image Tile

Table 2. Population of barangays overlapping with NCC

BARANGAYS THAT OVERLAP WITH / SURROUND NCC	POPULATION (2015)
Aranguren	7,683
Maruglu	2,599
San Vicente	2,676
Santa Juliana	7,078
Santa Lucia	11,174
Santo Niño	2,111
Santo Rosario	7,099

Anupul	19,762
San Nicolas	19,739
San Roque	10,678
Cutcut 2 nd	6,885
O'Donnell	14,542

Source: Philippine Statistics Authority

As NCC draws closer to completion, its impacts on the communities did not go unnoticed. Case in point, as of 2019, 115 hectares of farmlands at Sitio Aranguren (ground zero) alone have been converted to roads, cement quarry sites, and structures (see Figure 25 and 26). An 8-kilometer paved road was built from Sitio Aranguren to Sitio Alli, which cut through Mt. Dalin. This left a

stretch of steep slope exposed at the west side of the road, a threat to Sitio Kalangitan, the settler community located beneath the slope.

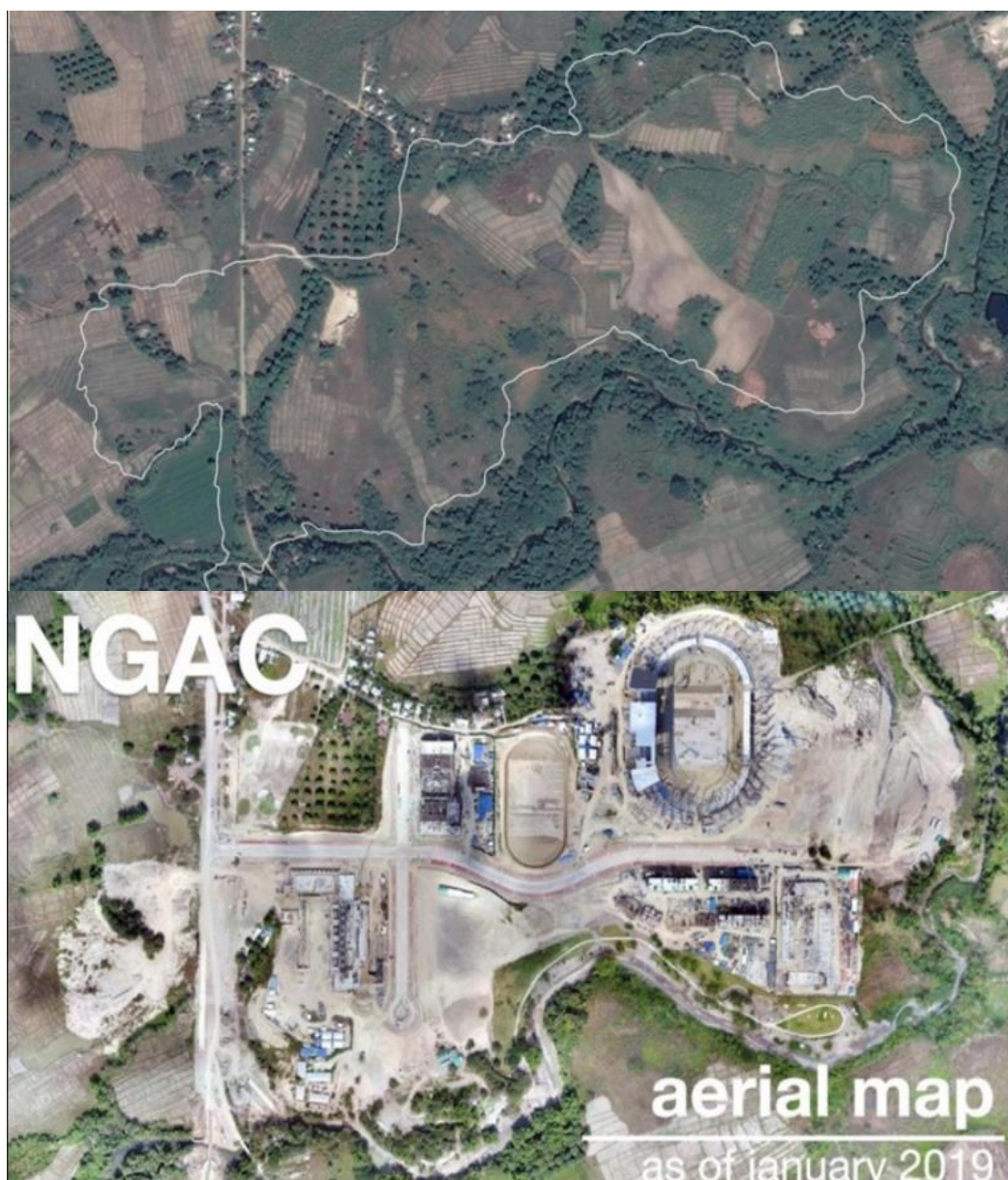


Figure 25 and 26. Figure 25 (top) Sitio Aranguren in 2016. (Image Source: Google Satellite). Figure 26 (Bottom) Sitio Aranguren in 2019. (Image Source: BCDA). The change in land cover caused by the construction of the NGAC can be clearly seen. The former rice fields and crops are now built-up areas.

Moreover, while BCDA (2019, para.1) contends that “there is no forcible demolition” in NCC, accounts from the ground demonstrate massive displacement already experienced by residents. Since 2016, numerous farmlands and houses were bulldozed to give way to roads that are part of NCC. According to residents, there was barely any announcement or warning of bulldozing activities. If there was any announcement, it only came in the form of threats. Concrete and specific relocation plans, if there are any, have not been discussed with residents. Furthermore, during the early phase of construction of NCC, BCDA-hired armed entities became an almost normal sight for the locals (see Figure 27). They were constantly threatened as large trucks and machines flattened their rice paddies and farmlands, multiple physical encounters occurred between them and the security sent by BCDA.



Figure 27. BCDA-hired guards, with their firearms, constantly harass and intimidate local peasants and Indigenous Peoples, human rights workers, and community organizers in NCC. Image source: Alyansa ng Magbubukid ng Tarlak (AMT)

Since the inception of NCC in 2014, residents have experienced various forms of aggression from military personnel as lands were being cleared and roads were being constructed. Military presence was heightened, which impacted many communities within NCC and in surrounding areas. For example, an Ayta Magantsi resident of Sitio Bulacan, Sta. Juliana shared how their lives were affected by the construction of NCC:

“We were prohibited from transporting our produce. We were also barred from bringing tools for constructing our own houses. What will we do now that our huts were destroyed by the typhoon? We are forced to go down and live in the plains but our livelihood, our history and culture, our dwellings are in the mountains.”

“Bawal na ang magbaba ng mga kalalakal na pananim, bawal na din ang mag-akyat ng mga gamit sa konstruksyon ng bahay! Papaano ngayon na nasira ng bagyo ang aming mga kubo? Itinutulak nila

kaming bumaba at manirahan sa patag pero naroroon sa bundok ang aming kabuhayan, ang aming kasaysayan at kultura, at ang aming mga tahanan” (from Manila Today, 2014, para. 3).

Another resident detailed his encounter with the entities supposedly associated with the BCDA, who harassed him and his other neighbors to vacate their farmlands:

“‘Why do you keep on resisting?’, they said. They claim that we harass them. ‘Why will we harass you? I replied. ‘We are the one living here. You came here and pestered us’, I asserted. Then, they threatened us saying that they will restrain us with handcuffs if we kept resisting.”

“Ang sinasabi nila, ‘bakit kayo lumalaban?’ Ang sabi nila sa amin kami ang nangaaway sa kanila. Sabi ko naman sa kanila, ‘bakit kami ang nangaaway sa’yo? Taga-rito kami’, kako. ‘Kayo ang pumunta kayo ang nang-aaway sa amin.’ Sabi lang nila poposasan kami kapag lumaban kami.”

- Farmer in Sitio Aranguren (January 12, 2019)

The farmer contends that these encounters have instilled fear among residents. For him, this only illustrates the unequal power relations between the community members and the BCDA and developers. Also, his encounters with armed forces demonstrates how power and control are being imposed upon ordinary community members, and how the prevailing message was that they could not demand higher compensation because they are mere residents of a small community.

During several land clearing and bulldozing operations in 2016, BCDA employees showed up in the villages with armed personnel, which intimidated the local residents. During these clearing occasions, farmers resisted and attempted to defend their farmlands, especially that rice crops were still waiting to be harvested. In all these instances, encounters between the farmers and armed personnel and BCDA were heated and violent, as guns were used to intimidate the farmers, and mobilization was violently dispersed. As one farmer recounted a confrontation with BCDA in December 2016:

“We barricaded in front of the bulldozer. I told them not to lay even a finger on me. There were about 10 personnel. They are armed. Nanay Rosa was even brought to the hospital because she already fainted.”

“Hinarangan namin yung bulldozer nga. Sabi ko sa kanila, subukan nila akong hawakan, walang hawakan. Marami sila, nasa sampu. May mga dalang baril. Si Nanay Rosa nun, naospital pa. Parang lantang gulay yun nun.”*

- Farmer at Brgy, Aranguren (January 12, 2019)

Another farmer described the situation:

"If they pulled the trigger of the shotgun, we would have died. I will not be here. The things I have worked hard for a long time will go to waste."

"Kung kinalabit yung shotgun edi patay kami. Wala na ko dito. Sayang naman yung pinaghirapan kong matagal na panahon."

- Farmer at Brgy. Aranguren (January 13, 2019)

Furthermore, some residents felt that the project railroaded community discussions and proceeded with forced selling of lands prior to construction. In Sitio Aranguren, residents contend that BCDA never discussed project details with the community, let alone that their lands would be ravaged or their houses demolished. What BCDA did was promise the farmers monetary compensation, which they had not yet fulfilled despite the destruction of their farmlands. In Sitio Alli, BCDA promised monetary compensation taking into account lands, trees, and crops.

During an FGD with community residents, they alleged that the local association did not have any stand regarding BCDA's attempt to acquire land and that local officials held exclusive meetings with BCDA officers. They were later informed that prior agreements on land acquisition had already been made, which resulted in residents having to forcibly sell their land or trees.

"According to them, every square meter is worth Php 300. It means that an hectare with 10,000 [sq.m.], we have a total payment of P300,000. But in our case, we sold over an hectare of land but we only received P180,000. I told them that it seems it was embezzled."

"Sabi nila bawat sq.m [ng lupa] Php 300. Lalabas sa isang hektarya 10,000 lalabas na 300,000 [yung bayad]. Eh yung sa amin mahigit isang hektarya binabayaran lang ng P180,000. Anu yun kako kinurakot nyo na naman."

- Farmer at Brgy. Aranguren (January 12, 2019)

To complicate their issue, residents felt deceived by the former town mayor who allayed their fears by telling them that BCDA would build roads that would help them transport goods and crops. But with the recent road construction, local tricycle drivers and produce distributors were prohibited from utilizing the roads.



Figure 28. Community members were forced to choose to either sell their land [PhP/land area] or their trees [PhP/trees] to compensate for the inevitable displacement. Contrary to the deeply-rooted ties of farmers to the environment, BCDA, on the other hand, converts everything into a monetizable property. Image source: Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

B. *Ancestral Domain Claims*

For BCDA and several government officials, the NCC project will not adversely impact the Aytas. The BCDA argues that “there are no declared ancestral domains or Certificates of Ancestral Domain Titles (CADT) in the area” and therefore, “Ayta families are not displaced” (Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 2019, para. 5). According to the Capas town mayor, “not one tribe is located inside the NCC” and thus, the project will not impact any Ayta community (Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 2019, para.9). However, accounts from the ground reveal how the lives of Aytas living within and beyond the areas designated as part of the NCC project have been significantly affected.

In 2013, according to the reports of Alyansa ng Magbubukid sa Gitnang Luzon (AMGL), the military constantly intimidated and harassed communities to abandon their lands to give way to the construction of CGC. The military has barred Aytas in the area from expanding their farms and imposed curfew in their communities. They also reported that some 2,000 Ayta families in 30 sitios and barangays in Capas, Tarlac were pressured by the military into abandoning their ancestral lands to give way to NCC (Cervantes, 2013).

While statements from the BCDA, Tarlac officials, local businessmen, and some tribal chieftains deny the displacement of Aytas, grounded accounts expose systematic patterns of dispossession. According to former NCIP Commissioner Bayani Sumawang, only lowlanders or “unats” were settling within the boundaries of the disputed areas and not Aytas (Manabat, 2019). However, based

on a mapping activity and interviews conducted for this study, there are Ayta sitios and villages located within and near the boundaries of NCC. On the south of NCC (see Figure 29) are lands covered by the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT). The Ayta communities in these areas fear the negative impacts of impending construction of a connecting road linking NCC with the CRK in Pampanga. In Sitio Sta. Rosa where an IP land is registered under CADT 025-A, the Clark Development Corporation (CDC) attempted to have a dialogue with tribal leaders to build a road within the area in exchange for road pavement. However, the community refused to sign the FPIC because BCDA did not provide a memorandum of agreement or MOA. In Sitio Coop, another CADT-holder community, locals identified that the road from Alli (NCC)-Clark Airport will pass through the community. This motivated a clan in the sitio to sign-up for the petition against CDC-JMA. Also, they would like to initiate an Ancestral Domain Sustainable Protection Plan and apply for Certificate of Ancestral Land Title (CALT) to address the uncertainties in the status of land ownership of the entirety of the Ancestral Domain via CADT. It was observed that the management of an entire AD under one title may compromise their communal tenure as a single title may be easily transacted with external entities.

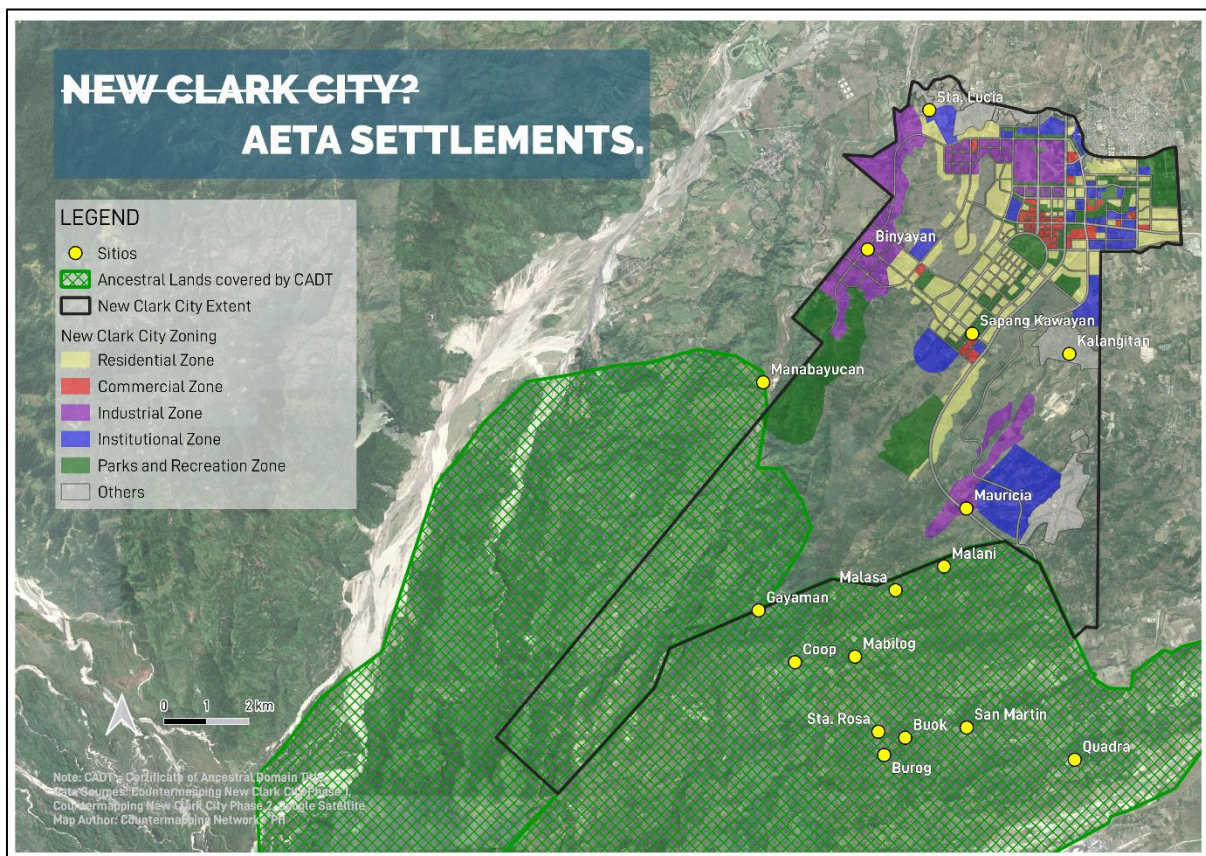


Figure 29. There are numerous Ayta settlements within or proximate to NCC. Communities indirectly affected also experienced development aggression because of the impending construction of roads and supplementary projects.

Map produced by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

Data Source: Google Earth Satellite Image Tile (Basemap); Fieldwork conducted by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team; BCDA (NCC Zoning Plan, Shaping the Future Today)

Ayta communities located adjacent to the NCC are concerned about the impacts to their lives of this project. Many of these communities were under continuous threat of encroachment due to supplementary projects of NCC such as roads, bridges, and quarries. In Sitio Mabilog, reports indicate that BCDA is trying to drill holes for a bridge. In Sitio Manabayukan, along Bangot River near the community, a Chinese-owned quarry has reportedly supplied construction materials for projects in the area.

Contrary to the claims of BCDA (2019, para. 1) that they “hold regular dialogues with the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the communities to assure that they are part of the development”, based on focus group discussions (FGDs) with community members, there had been minimal or no prior knowledge about the project. There has been no systematic consultation or planning initiated by the BCDA or NCIP ever since the original master-plan was approved in 2013. They had no knowledge about the extent of NCC and other detailed information about the project. Thus, they were surprised when bulldozers and security personnel first appeared in their community.

Ayta communities affected by NCC have a historical and legal basis to uphold their rights for ancestral domains. Various manuscripts point to the existence of ancestral domains for centuries (Bean, 1910; Reed, 1904; Shebasta, 1980; Tadem, 2009; Reid, 2013). Among elderly community residents, they point to the fact that their grandparents tilled and developed their lands even before the creation of BCDA (1992) or the Military Bases Act of 1947.

“Where will we dwell now and how can we live if they will displace us from our ancestral lands? What kind of government prioritizes the interest of foreign and few capitalists rather than the well-being of its own citizens?”

“Saan na kami titira, at paano na kami mabubuhay kung bubunutin kami sa lupang ninuno? Anong gobyerno ba ang umuuna sa interes ng dayuhan at iilang kapitalista kaysa sa kapakanan ng mamamayan?”

- Ayta, Sitio Abelling, September 2015

Bureaucratic requirements and institutional arrangements for legal acknowledgment of ancestral domains of IPs have impeded their efforts to legally acquire their lands. For instance, Ayta residents from Sitio Sapang Kawayan argued that they previously followed the processes set up by NCIP in applying for CADT but NCIP has yet to act and award recognition to them. Senator Risa Hontiveros backed these claims in a statement during her Senate Inquiry on NCC displacement issues in 2019 (Senate of the Philippines, 2019). She explained how the Ayta communities in Tarlac have repeatedly applied for CADT of 18,000 hectares in 1999, 2014 and 2019 but NCIP failed to recognize their rights:

“This obscures the fact that IP communities have always faced enormous difficulties in obtaining official documents of ancestral lands. The difficulty of obtaining official documents to prove

ownership has impeded the capacity of our indigenous people to protect their lands. This is a failure of the bureaucracy and not of IP communities,”

- Senator Risa Hontiveros (Senate of the Philippines, 2019, para. 5-6).

C. *Ecological Changes*

Although BCDA promotes NCC as a green and peaceful city, one that “is aligned with the natural contours and usage of the land” (Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 2019 para. 6), constructing NCC has required the felling of trees and houses and bulldozing and flattening of hills and mountains, where endemic trees and farmlands are located. Upon bulldozing farmlands, cleared lands are declared off-limits and agricultural cultivation is prohibited. Dusty roads and infrastructures now stand on what used to be lush and verdant agricultural lands. Meanwhile, hills and mountain sides have been excavated to serve as fillers for infrastructure projects within NCC (see Figure 30).



Figure 30. Where the communities' centuries-old trees and fruit-bearing mango trees once stood has now been turned into a complex where amenities for Southeast Asian Games will rise. Further changes in the community are depicted in this photo taken three years apart. Image source: Alyansa ng Magbubukid ng Tarlak (AMT)

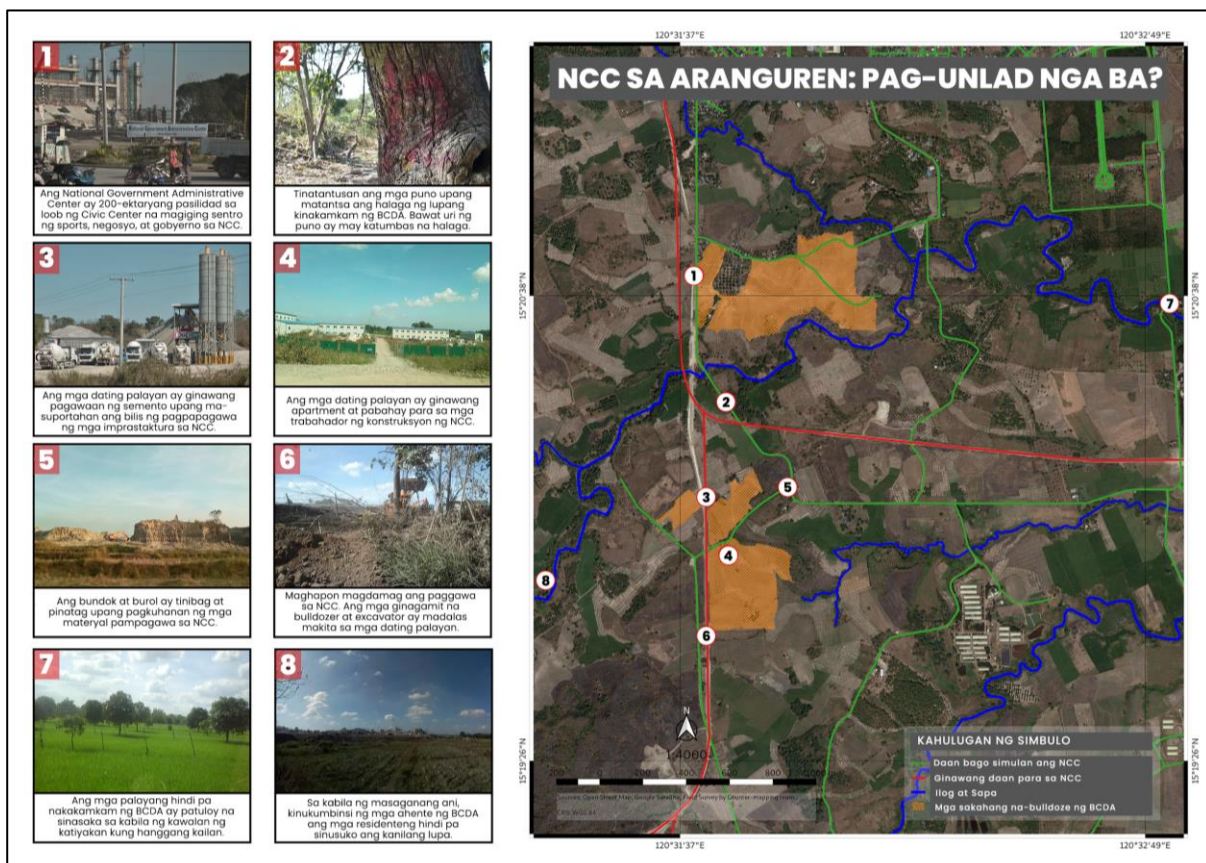
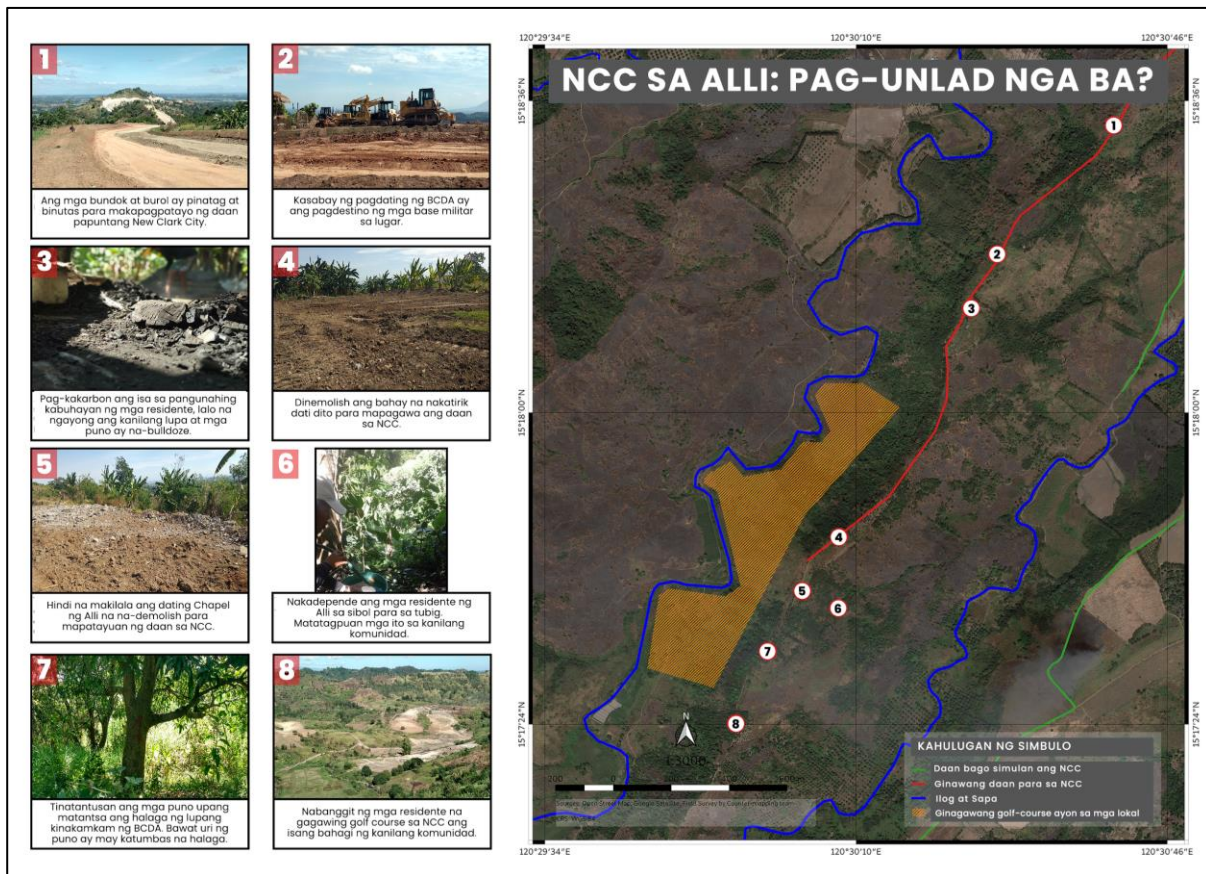
The construction of NCC has affected various bodies of water in the area. Sapang Kawayan or Bamboo Lake, which is located within the NCC, serves as a crucial water source for cultivation of

rice and of fishing. However, the flow of water from the lake was re-routed to serve as a contingent catch basin for floodwaters. This resulted in irrigation being cut off. It also produced murky, polluted waters and a decline in the number of fishes and crustaceans in the area. Several streams and other water bodies flowing along the path to Mount Dalin have also been cut off and made stagnant after multiple excavations.

On top of Mount Dalin, rich fruit orchards, houses, and community buildings were demolished. Fruit-bearing and non-bearing trees alike were cut and uprooted to make way for the infrastructure projects lined up for NCC (see Figure 31).



Figure 31. A mountain was excavated to make way for the development of infrastructure in the proposed NCC. This part of a mountain would serve as fillers that would cover what would once be rice fields. Image source: Countermapping Network PH – NCC Research Team



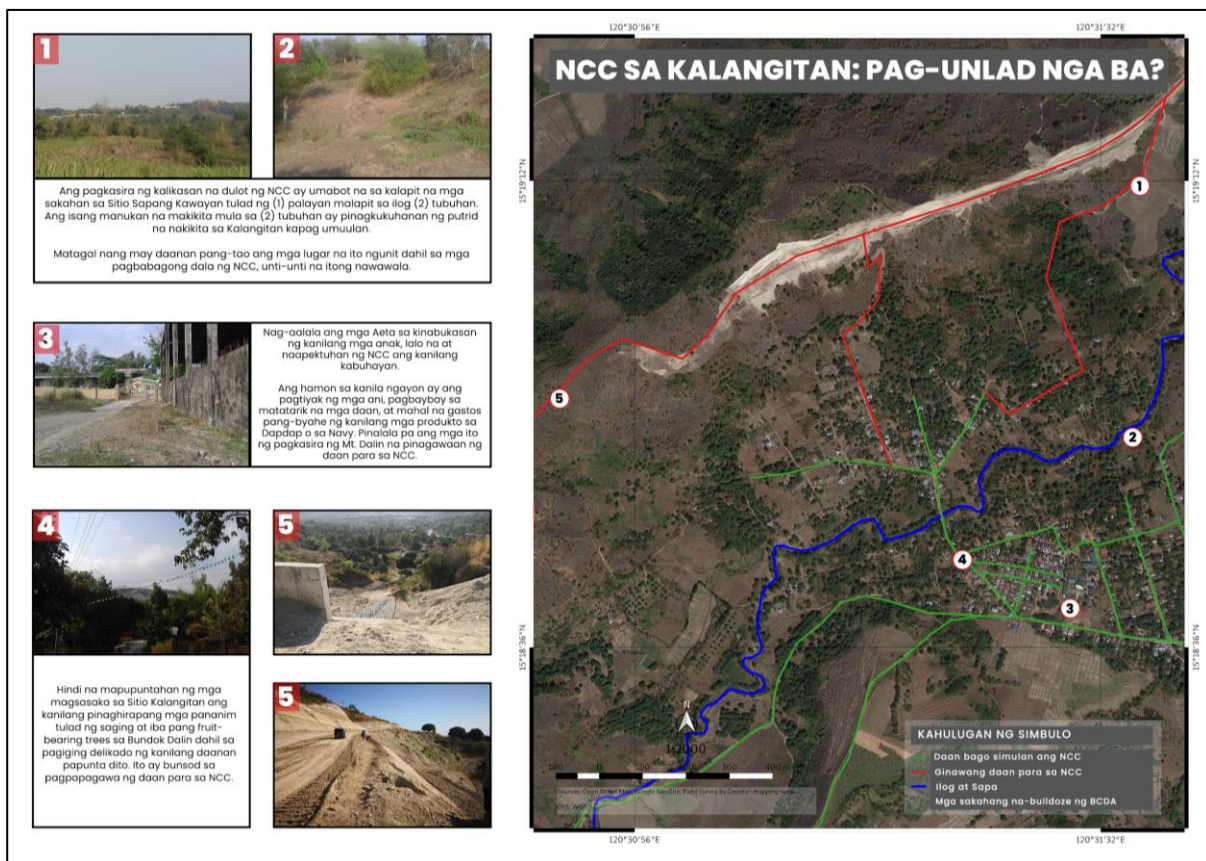


Figure 32, 33 and 34. The NCC Countermapping Team created story maps composed of pictures illustrating massive land conversion in the farmlands and mountains of communities within and in the environs of the “Ground Zero” of construction in NCC. (a) Sitio Alli (b) Sitio Aranguren (c) Sitio Kalangitan.

Community members are worried about the impacts of NCC to the biodiversity of the area. In Sitio Aranguren, residents claim that ever since NCC was constructed:

“When investors came in, fish were poisoned. Fields were damaged and deserted. The numbers of piggery and poultry were reduced. Many carabaos died.”

“Nang pumasok ang mga investor, nalason ang mga isda, namatay ang sakahan, at kumaunti ang piggery, poultry at namatay din ang mga kalabaw. Ang mga sakahan ay tinabunan.”

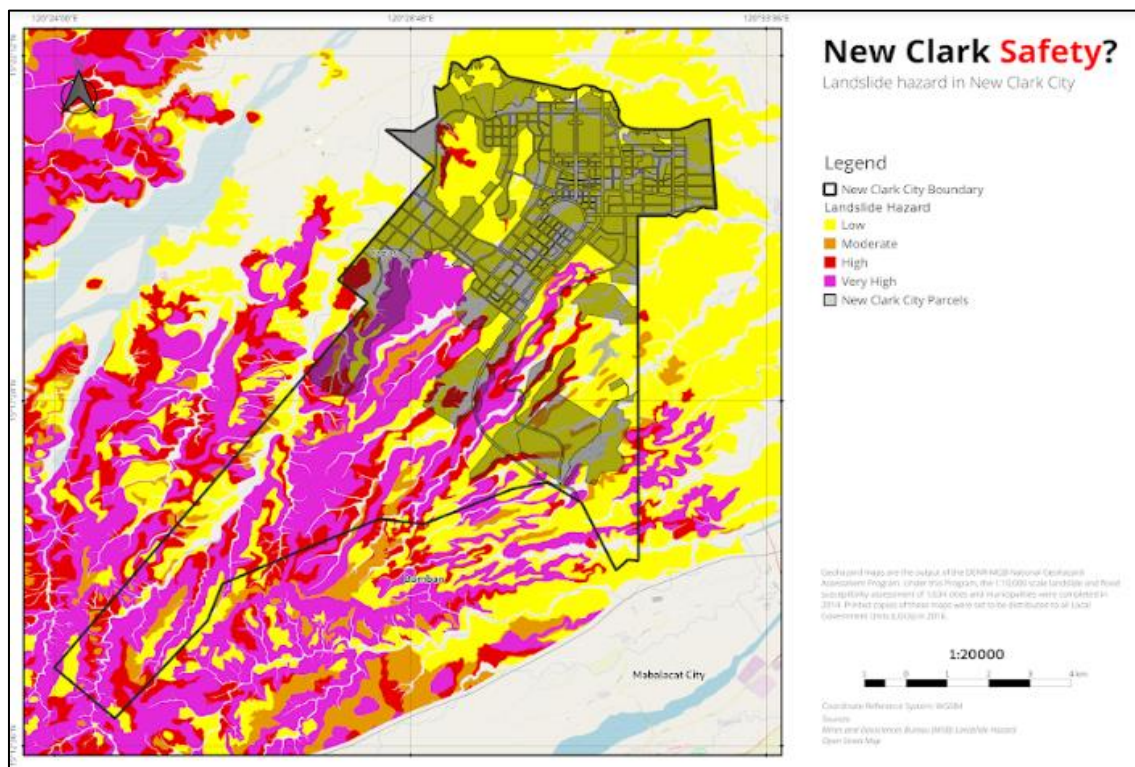
- Resident of Sitio Aranguren (January 13, 2019)

Moreso, they complain how the water in their small lake, which they used to bathe on, became murky ever since NCC construction began. The Bubon river used to have plenty of fish that they catch for extra money or for food, but because of the tailings from the landfill and piggeries that are toxic to the ecosystem, fish disappeared. Young adults in the community also pointed out that the micro-climate in their sitio drastically changed because of the flattening of mountains and the lack of trees and other natural barriers around the area.

D. Disaster-Prone Area

Although BCDA showcases the resilience of NCC, spatial analysis of the terrain shows a different picture. Based on this study's spatial analysis (see Figures 35), about 15% of the land area in Maruglu is within zones allocated for residential, industrial, commercial, institutional and recreational purposes under the zoning plan of BCDA. Two percent (2%) of these zones coincide with areas identified as highly susceptible, no-build zones in the landslide hazard map. Meanwhile, nearly 70% of Aranguren is within the spatial extent of NCC – 18% coincided with residential use zone, 14% were allocated to roads, and 12% to recreational uses. But as shown in Figure 36, almost 10% of these areas are susceptible to floods that are as high as 1.5m based on a 5-year rainfall scenario flood model.

In addition, NCC's proximity to the active Mount Pinatubo volcano is a cause for concern. As shown in Figure 37, the volcano is located only less than 40 kilometers from NCC. The catastrophic eruption of Mount Pinatubo in 1991 heavily impacted the populations and livelihood in Central Luzon. Aytas in the Zambales Mountain Range were displaced and relocated into resettlement camps due to the eruption. Their farmlands, forests and houses were buried by lahars and remained desolate until years later. Around 20,000 indigenous highlanders and 200,000 lowlanders were affected and evacuated from their communities (U.S. Geological Survey, 2005; U.S. Geological Survey, n.d.).



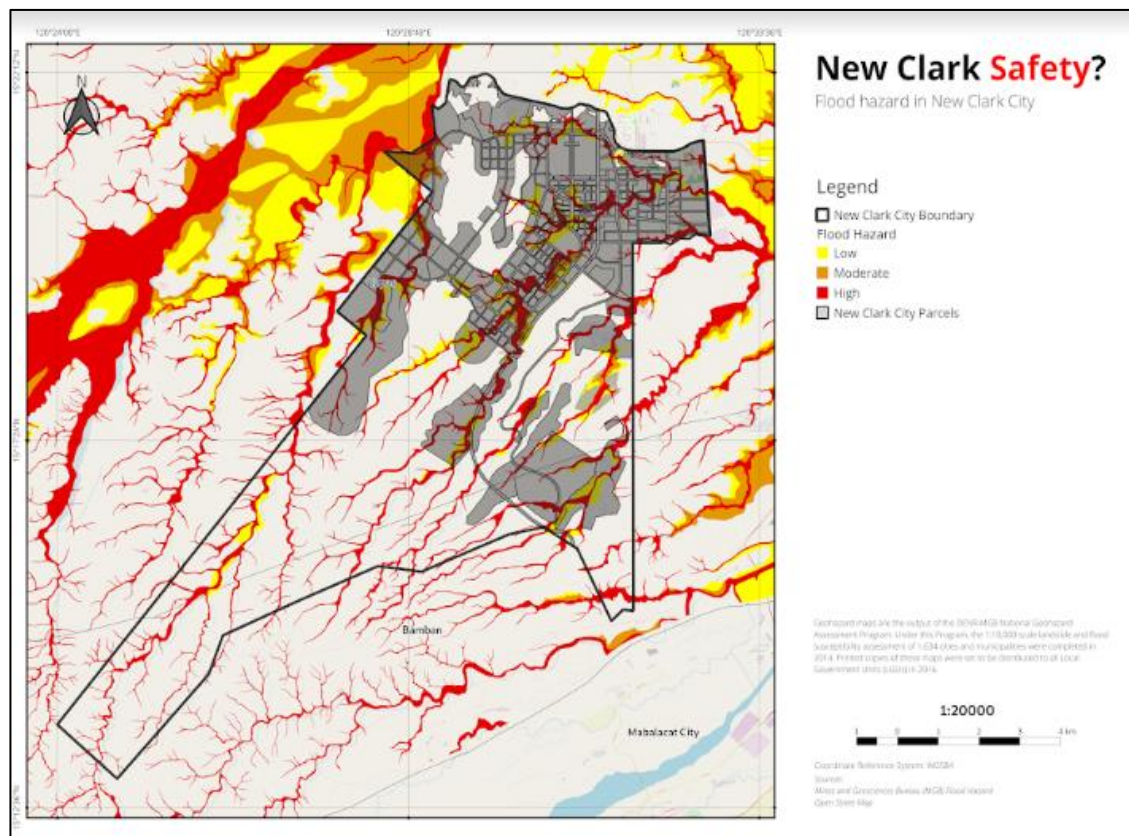


Figure 35 and 36. BCDA is concealing the evident topographical risk of NCC to natural hazards. Maps generated from the spatial analysis of the Countermapping Team reveal that the area is prone to flood and landslide hazards.

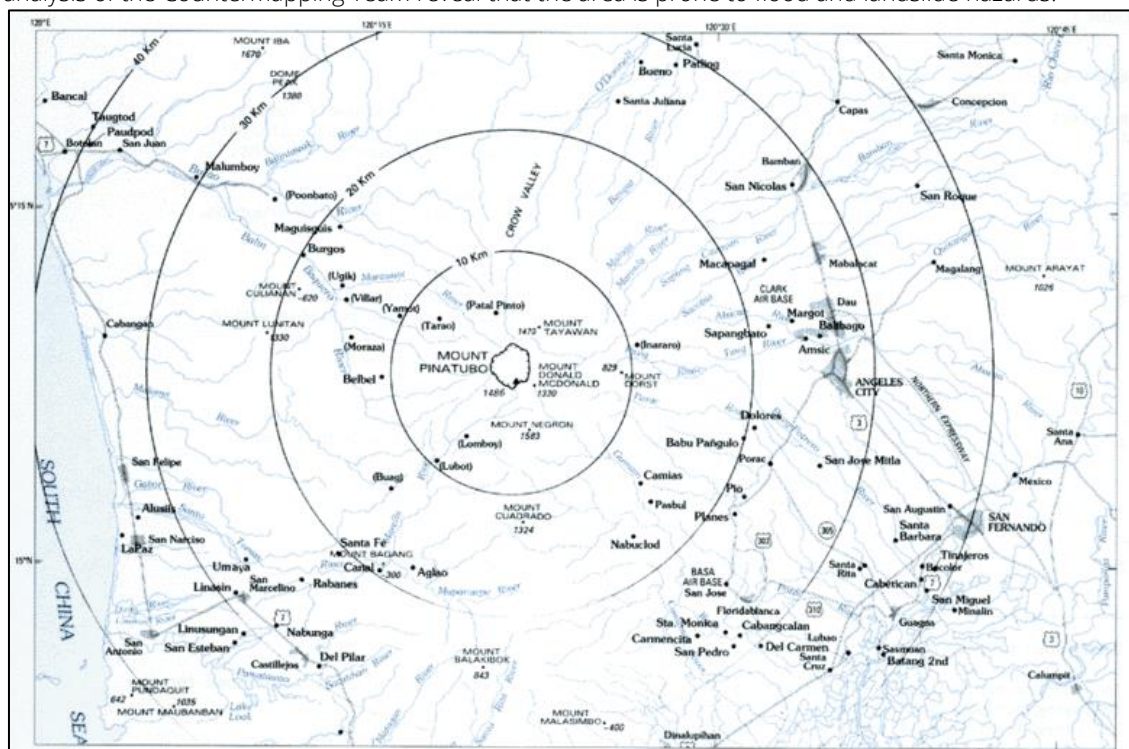


Figure 37. The upper right side of the buffer zone map, within the outer circles, is where communities within NCC's extent are located - namely, Mabalacat, Capas and Bamban. Source: USGS Buffer Zone map of Mount Pinatubo Eruption. Image Source: USGS

E. Livelihood Shift

"BBB program in Central Luzon has created more jobs and sources of livelihood for the residents including the indigenous peoples (IP) in the region." - Philippine News Agency, 2019

For decades, the communities within and around the NCC have tilled and cultivated these lands. The farmlands in the area are extremely fertile, surrounded by extensive river systems suitable for a wide variety of crops. In fact, based on the Comprehensive Land Use Plan of the Capas, Tarlac for 2011-2020, vast tracts of land were supposed to be assigned as a Major and Prime Agricultural Zone (see Figure 38). These lands, according to the Senate Economic Planning Office, (2014, para. 1) are "highly productive farm lands, very fertile and highly suitable for growing the country's major food crops and various agricultural products". However, despite the agricultural benefit of the landscape, the majority of these spaces have been classified for road construction, general industrial, and passive recreational uses under the NCC zoning plan.

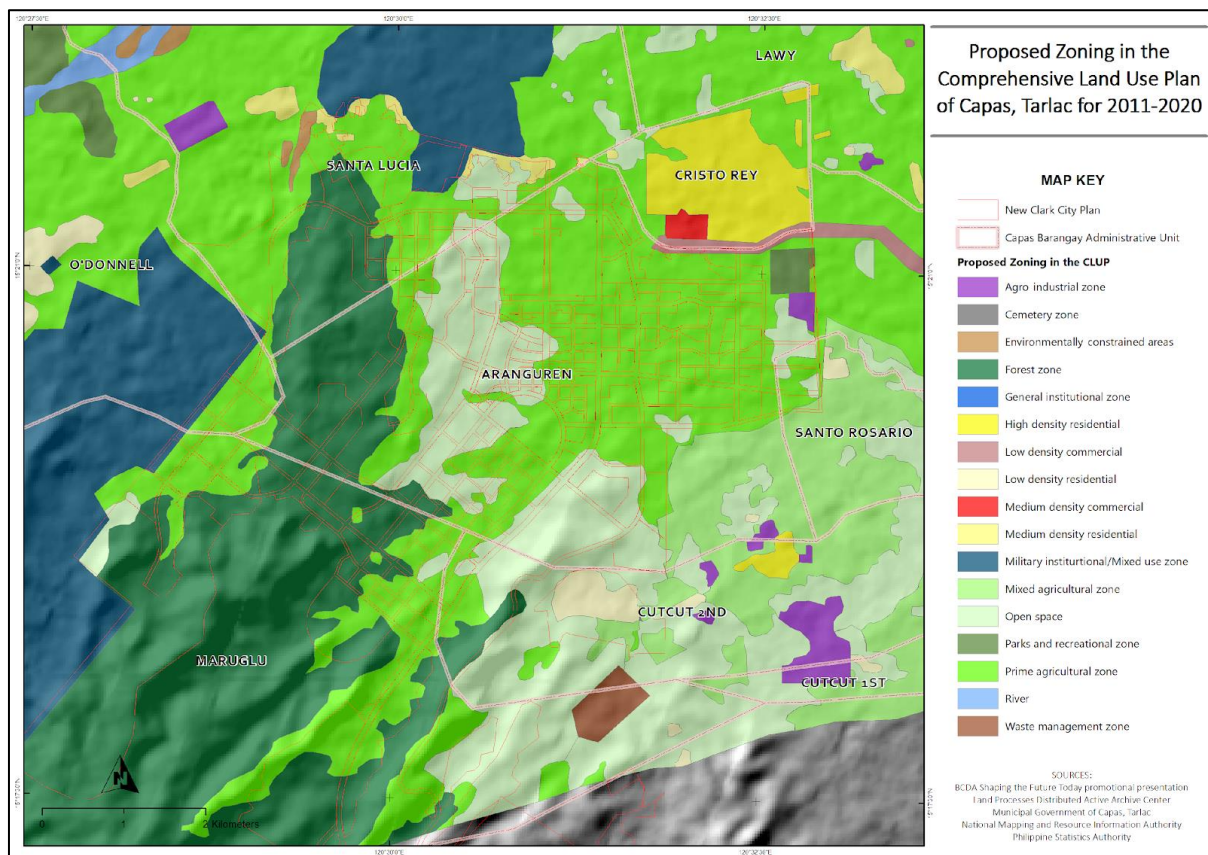


Figure 38. The supposedly Major and Prime Agricultural Zones for 2011-2020 were now classified for road construction, general industrial, and passive recreational uses assigned by the NCC zoning plan.

Map produced by Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

Data Source: BCDA (NCC Zoning Plan, Shaping the Future Today); LPDAAC; Municipal Government of Capas, Tarlac; NAMRIA and PSA

Based on community interviews conducted for this study, residents are afraid of the harmful and detrimental impacts of NCC to their communities, let alone their eviction from their lands. Despite promises of new job opportunities, affected communities have been living in precarity. Some Sitio Aranguren residents who were employed as construction workers in NCC projects complain about the unsustainability of the jobs and the low salary. Other construction-related jobs are usually low-paying and hazardous, and are mostly under sub-contractual firms. Moreover, future jobs that future NCC projects offer require skills that most local residents do not have. One local youth from Aranguren is afraid that his peers, who mostly do not have the educational competency will not be hired in future NCC jobs:

“Although they [BCDA] claim that the local residents will benefit from the project, I think it is not true. If you do not have educational background, you can’t apply to their company.”

“Kahit po sinasabi nilang [BCDA] mga tagarito ang makikinabang, sa akin po parang hindi po. Kung hindi ka po nakapag-aral so hindi ka po makakapasok sa company nila.”

- Local youth in Brgy. Aranguren (February 10, 2019)

A farmer from the same village expressed similar concerns. The job opportunities offered to him were all required computer literacy:

“I asked them [BCDA] how can I work for a company that uses a computer when I don’t even know how to use one.”

“Kako paano ako magtatrabaho dyan, mga puro kompyuter. Di ko naman alam na gamitin yan.”

- Farmer in Brgy. Aranguren, (January 12, 2019)

In Sitio Aranguren, farmers are afraid to plant again because their crops might get destroyed. One farmer expressed her worries:

“Our crops are very beneficial. For instance, we do not have enough supply of rice, we could just boil our harvested bananas. But if we are deprived of our lands, what will we do now?”

“Malaking tulong ang tanim (namin), halimbawa wala ka nang bigas, (pero) may saging ka, maglaga ka na lang. Pero kung wala nang lupa, paano na?”

- Farmer in Aranguren (February 6, 2019)

BCDA argues that a major factor that contributes to NCC’s inclusivity is its 60% land allocation for agricultural use (Bases Conversion and Development Authority, 2019). Hence, the people in the area will still be able to continue their farming practices. However, it is important to mention the agro-industrial orientation that will be expected to proliferate the area concerned. As Tadem (2009)

explained, integrated rural development particularly agro-industrial use in rural lands turns the government into a capitalist actor while the peasantry turns into daily wage earners just like factory workers but in this case, they work on the farmlands. With the private sector aggressively maximizing their investment opportunities in NCC, it is not far from reality that partnerships between the government and the private sector will take place for profit generation. When this happens, it can be said that the lands remain utilized for growing crops but the ones who originally tilled the land for their own consumption and sustenance are now slaves of an oppressive wage system that cannot even suffice a family's basic needs for a single day. In Central Luzon, an agricultural worker's minimum daily wage will not even exceed Php 390. What is this compared to the former setup wherein the farmers can freely utilize the farmlands for the long-term sustenance of their basic needs? This is a manifestation that land is tantamount to the lives of the people.

Since the start of BCDA construction, residents have experienced dramatic changes in their everyday lives. They are worried about their future as their lands are being taken away. One local farmer shares how their lives have become worse because of the construction:

"Everything got worse. How can I say that it has gotten worse? We could not even till our converted farmlands even we wanted to."

"Lalo pang lumala. Biruin mo. Paano ko di masasabi na hindi lumala? Dating sa bukirin pagkatapos gusto mong magsaka, di mo na masasaka."

- Farmer in Brgy. Aranguren (January 12, 2019)

With all the changes in their lives ever since the construction of NCC, farmers relive the strong sense of community they used to have among neighbors, sharing produce and surplus of harvests:

"Before, we were really happy because our stomachs are full, our neighbors' stomachs are full, our distant relatives' stomachs are full. We are really tired of harvesting so we just share string beans to our neighbors. I told them that as long as they are alive, they should never forget, I will always give them string beans."

"Noong araw maligaya ako kasi busog kami lahat ng nakapaligid dito kasi busog sila, busog kaming magkakamag-anak...pagod ka na at pinamimigay mo nalang ang sitaw, sabi ko ito hangga't buhay kayo maalala niyo, bibigyan ko kayo ng sitaw"

- Farmer in Brgy. Aranguren (January 12, 2019)

F. *Community Relations*

With the construction of NCC comes major shifts in everyday life in affected communities. In Sitio Kamatis, residents have taken note of the erosion of the Filipino values of *pakikipagkapwa* (kindness based on relationality) which used to be practiced among themselves through neighborly sharing

of vegetables and crops. Furthermore, exchanges of goods and services have now become transactional. In the last few years, hundreds of workers were hired to rush the construction of the sports complex and government center. This created demand for lodging, which in turn led to competition among resident families who were eager to offer spaces for rent to augment their incomes.

Residents also expressed drastic changes in safety and security in their community. In Sitio Aranguren, migrant laborers who work as construction workers have flocked to their community ever since the beginning of the project. Residents shared their dismay about how their community was more peaceful prior to the construction of NCC. The new migrant workers have become the subject of concern in the community, especially as they tend to congregate and drink alcohol after their work shifts. A youth adult expressed:

"After their work shifts, you can see them loitering and drinking in the streets. Of course, we got afraid of even passing by."

"After po nilang magtrabaho, galing trabaho makikita mo na po sa daan yung mga nagtatrabaho umiinom po. Syempre po nakakatakot pong dumaan kasi marami pong lasing sa daan."

- Youth from Sitio Aranguren (February 10, 2019)

Residents also lament on how they have caused a huge garbage issue. Many mothers fear for their daughters' safety due to incidents of catcalling by these workers. Changes in community life could also be attributed to occupational shifts among residents who were employed in construction. Many have noted how fellow residents who are now construction workers resort to drinking, gambling, and other vices.

Ayta residents firmly believe that land is equivalent to life. The strong relationship of the communities with their environment and resources have been a critical key aspect for their sustainable living. For them, the monetary offer by BCDA or any amount of money will not be enough to compensate them for the loss of ancestral lands. The construction of NCC, the loss of ancestral lands, and the subsequent changes in their everyday lives would have adverse impacts on their communities and culture.

In Sitio Kawayan, for instance, residents claim that their tribal histories and spiritual traditions are strongly attached to the mountains of Tarlac. In particular, a mountain they call Kanuman was home to mysterious creatures who safeguard the forest from outsiders. Kanuman is also the home of various trees and plants, and a diverse species of animals. Unfortunately, the mountain is now being flattened and turned into a vast golf course (see Figure 39).



Figure 39. An Ayta from Sitio Sapang Kawayan points to the extent of the constructed golf course where their spiritual mountain called Mount Kanuman was once situated. Image source: Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

VI. PEOPLE'S RESPONSE

A. *Growing Seedbed of Discontent*

Rene Romero, president of the Pampanga Chamber of Commerce and Industry (PamCham), has stressed the implications of the news item against the ongoing smart city project being implemented by the BCDA (BCDA). "For many months, I do not hear any complaints from our brother Aytas," he said. - Sunstar Pampanga, 2019

Because of the adverse impacts of NCC to various communities and ecologies, various communities and groups have organized themselves and built an active social movement that asserts a mass-oriented plan. Consistent grassroots mobilizations and legal campaigns have been crucial for communities to assert their rights. Moreso, newfound collectives have exerted creative, concrete, and progressive efforts to expose and oppose the project.

In opposition to NCC and other development projects in the area, local communities started to build alliances to protest the intensifying militarization and impending massive land grabbing in the area (see Figure 40 and 41). In line with the Aytas and farmers' struggle for genuine land reform, they immediately consolidated numerous groups to form the Kilusang Nagtatanggol sa Inang Kalikasan (KNIK) in 2013. Among these formations were Pagmimiha Organization, Labayku Organization, Bamban Ayta Tribal Association, Sta. Lucia Manggahan Association and, Nagkakaisang Naninirahan ng Sta. Lucia at Koalisyon Makabayan – Tarlak (Cervantes, 2013). In support, Alyansa ng Magbubukid sa Gitnang Luzon (AMGL), Central Luzon Ayta Association (CLAA), Anakpawis Party-list Central Luzon chapter and Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (Bayan – Central Luzon) stood in solidarity with these IP organizations (AMGL, 2013). Furthermore, the alliance held mobilizations amplifying their calls on strengthening their self-determination and ancestral claims against land privatization, military reservations, and CGC.



Figure 40 and 41. The alliance of Kilusang Nagtatanggol sa Inang Kalikasan (KNIK) composed of Aytas, farmers and residents affected by the CGC project marched to the street of Capas, Tarlac in November 2013. Image Source: AMGL

The following year, research groups, progressive officials, and other People's Organizations (PO) started to express support and solidarity with the plights and campaigns of the communities. In November of 2014, an international peasant fact-finding mission (IFFM) publicly denounced the government and private partners of CGC because of collected evidence of massive land conversion, all-out displacement, and human rights violations. The data from the IFFM backed the assertion of the Makabayan bloc in Congress to conduct an investigation on the situation of agriculture, national minorities, ecology and human rights in Tarlac and Pampanga. Contrary to the majority's push to support the project, the lawmaker coalition pursued to file House Resolution 1171 calling for a congressional probe on CGC (Ayroso, 2014). Also, during this year, former Congressman Noel Villanueva of Tarlac 3rd District expressed his concern for the human and environmental danger of the project. In a hearing at the House of Representatives, he contested that upland Capas is not an unoccupied territory in contrast to the BCDA presentation (Orejas, 2015).

Moreover, organizations such as Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) and Ayta Tribal Association (ATA) refuted major CGC propaganda. Chairman Rafael Mariano of KMP argued that it is impossible that the former military base was unproductive and idle because of farmers' long history of food production in the area (Ayroso, 2014). Meanwhile, Jay Merkado of ATA decried former President Benigno Aquino's allegiance with private firms at the expense of selling the country's human and environmental resources (Endriga, 2014). In 2015, Anakpawis condemned Aquino for utilizing climate change conferences as a marketing trip endorsing Zambales Mountain Range to foreign extraction and conversion (Navales, 2015).

B. Forging Stronger Unities

During the Duterte administration, relentless efforts have been made to interrogate the railroading of investments and development and to stop the NCC project. In October 2016, House of Representative Resolution Number 383 was introduced by Representatives Ariel Casilao, Carlos

Isagani Zarate, Emmi De Jesus, Antonio Tinio, Arlene Brosas, France Castro, and Sarah Jane Elago. The resolution recommended to the House committees on agrarian reform and human rights to conduct a joint inquiry, in aid of legislation, on the impact of the project on the surrounding communities, particularly those of Aytas (Navales, 2016).

While legal battles effectively scrutinize NCC, BCDA has secured environmental impact assessments and institutional recommendations from the ADB and University of the Philippines (UP). In response to this, the UP Department of Geography, in partnership with the University of Glasgow and local community organizations such as Kamandag, conducted a counter-mapping study in the communities affected by NCC in 2019 (see Figure 42, 43, 44 and 45). The study aimed to generate maps that could be used for community planning to advocate for sustainable and socially just urbanization and to disseminate collected information to the public through online platforms and social media. Initial results from the study exposed cases of displacement and exploitation of farmers and indigenous peoples due to NCC (see “New Clark City: Development for whom?” (Subingsubing & Ramos, 2019) and “P607-B Clark ‘green city’ to Displace Ayta Communities” (Subingsubing & Ramos, 2019). Consequently, BCDA denied the findings and Capas Mayor Reynaldo “Reycat” Catacutan threatened the researchers (BCDA, 2019; Manabat, 2019). Some media outfits used the data to supplement and juxtapose news articles regarding NCC.



Figure 42, 43, 44 and 45. The Countermapping Team from University of Glasgow and University of the Philippines Department of Geography conducted various research activities to foreground the narratives of dispossession in NCC. (From Left to Right, Top to Bottom) (a) Photo/ Video Elicitation (b) Mental Mapping (c) Community Mapping/ Focus Group Discussions (d) Formal/Informal Interviews

Through the resounding campaigns of mass organizations, groups and individuals, the struggle

against NCC was raised to the Senate. Just last 2019, Senator Risa Hontiveros filed Senate Resolution No. 257 which prompted further investigation on the displacement of Aytas due to the project. This was caused by the reported short-notice eviction of IP communities in the middle of the 2019 Southeast Asian (SEA) Games (Torregoza, 2019).

Many Ayta communities are also strengthening their capacities to participate in legal battles for their rights. In Sitio Koop, a clan, originally from Sitio Baguingan, plans to field a candidate for the Indigenous People Municipal Representative. According to the clan, having a representative could assist them in raising their campaigns and build alliances among other IP groups in Tarlac. This clan decries the CDC-JMA and is ready to deploy their 1,000 family members to organize a petition signing against the policy. In other parts of CADT 025-A such as Sitio Santa Rosa and Baguingan, IPs are also expressing their discontent and disapproval to the CDC-JMA. In an interview with Santa Rosa tribal leaders last January 2019, they mentioned that since 2007, they were not able to get any amount from the agreed 80-20% profit-sharing from CDC. Thereafter, they called for the scrapping of CDA-JMA and asserted that the MOA and FPIC have to be clear and agreed by their communities. Moreso, Sangguniang Tribung Ayta (STA) is eager to cut ties with CDC to fully realize IP's self-determination and community-based development. Also, they denounced CDC, NCIP and BCDA for spreading propaganda against IP organizations which invalidated legal assertions of the groups for just compensations (Manabat, 2017).



Figure 46 and 47. Aytas from Sitio Sapang Kawayan in Tarlac militantly assert their rights for the ancestral domain by posting signages calling for “Development for All” and putting up a people’s barricade within the vicinity of the ongoing road construction. Image source: Countermapping PH Network – NCC Research Team

Furthermore, locals continue to assert their right to till the land through barricades, mobilizations, and roadblocks. In response to the eviction notices from BCDA last December 2019, residents from Sitio Sapang Kawayan marked their protest in the area by putting up signages on trees and stationing a headquarter at the boundary of the road construction (see Figure 46 and 47) (Beltran, 2020). Although BCDA later denied that these notices were targeting Ayta communities, human right advocates and locals continuously organized a series of mobilizations to respond to these

threats (CNN Philippines Staff, 2019). In December 14-15, various organizations such as Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP), Alpha Phi Omega - UP Diliman, Council for Health and Development, Sandiwa Network for National Minorities, Tunay na Alyansa ng Bayan Alay sa Katutubo (TABAK), Kalipunan ng Katutubong Mamamayan sa Pilipinas (Katribu), BAI Indigenous Women's Network and Sandugo held a solidarity event called "Paskuhan sa Tribu" (*Christmas in the Tribes*) to provide medical support for the Aytas affected by the NCC construction and to amplify their calls for self-determination and rights to their ancestral domain (Katribu Youth, 2019).

Altogether, these actions play an important role in fighting against development aggression in Tarlac. The concrete victories such as moral affirmation of communities and newfound social collectives constitute a broader mass movement that ignites the clamor to end exploitation.

VII. SUMMARY

The results and data obtained show that NCC is a product of rehashed urban strategies that heavily relies on deregulated foreign and private partnerships. Since its inception, not only was it built from unequal trade and debt relations, but along its construction, has also submitted to substandard production costs due to race-to-bottom biddings and reduced foreign taxes. Moreso, the latest progress in NCC is driven by lending institutions, transnational corporations, Filipino tycoons, and business-oriented government agencies. While NCC's proponents boast the profitability of the project, the existence of narrowly-defined lopsided agreements such as the PPP and ODA imply that far from national economic growth, the project's direction will primarily serve the sole interests of its investors.

With the participation of major stakeholders coming from government actors, corporate lenders, foreign key players, and local elites, the developments in NCC have paved the way for business-led infrastructure. As what can be expected from a city, these infrastructural developments include administrative facilities, transportation networks, water and electricity utilities, business districts, leisure facilities, among others. What encompasses the whole area of NCC is the enormous Clark Freeport and Special Economic Zone (CFSEZ) which is now an active attraction for local and foreign investors because of its pro-capitalist incentives particularly in the Clark Freeport Zone (CFZ). Such incentives are in forms of tax-free and duty-free benefits, 100-percent foreign equity, special customs territory, etc. To a much greater extent than CFSEZ, what is eyed is to establish a super region in Central Luzon; an area characterized by the existence of major economic activities that can fuel global economies. This is why there are other forthcoming big projects in nearby towns such as the Balog-Balog Multipurpose Dam, the Aboitiz Geothermal Powerplant, among others.

Even before the Spanish colonial rule over the Philippine archipelago, the existence of indigenous people known as Aytas were already evident in Central Luzon. Literatures indicate that the Aytas already had their own systematic ways of living within the environment. When the USA emerged as a global power and an imperialist, it successfully colonized the Philippines in the early years of the 1900s. In accordance with the Americans' capitalistic and militaristic interests, thousands of hectares of Ayta ancestral lands were confiscated to accommodate the American military force. Despite the USA's departure from its military bases in the Philippines in 1992, the lands were not returned to their original indigenous settlers as the Philippine government assumed ownership of these areas. Today, despite the existence of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) which is mandated to safeguard and uphold the rights of the Aytas, settlers still encounter difficulties due to issues with bureaucracy and intervention from corporate entities.

Summing up the results of grounded narratives and spatial data, it is evident that NCC is accountable for indigenous and peasant dispossession, environmental degradation, unsustainable livelihoods, strained community relations, and disaster vulnerability. In contrast to BCDA's claims, NCC is built in an occupied and agriculturally developed area inhabited by Aytas and local farmers for generations. Numerous communities suffered from cases of uncompensated lands, forceful eviction, and harassment, while there is still imminent displacement at surrounding localities. Moreover, while NCC is branded as a green city, data obtained show that it caused large-scale and destructive land conversion exhibited by flattened productive farmlands, excavated and deforested mountains, and polluted streams. In effect, the abrupt landscape alterations led to precarious social and financial conditions for the residents. Contrary to the promised employment in NCC, locals did not just lose their traditional livelihoods but also were excluded from the opportunities offered by the city. In addition, findings suggest that NCC inflicted changes on cultural and social identity of the communities such as "*pakikipagkapwa*" and their indigenous practices. Furthermore, it must be distinguished that despite BCDA's showcasing of NCC as a disaster-proof city, some portions are considered extremely susceptible to natural hazards such as flood and landslide. Also, the city and the entire CFSEZ's proximity to Mt. Pinatubo, which is considered an active volcano, poses another risk to the susceptibility of NCC. By and large, in the name of modernization and development, NCC enabled pervasive and aggressive development which consequently violated basic human and environmental rights.

In response to the ongoing development of NCC, the Aytas, peasant settlers, and other concerned citizens participated in collaborative efforts in asserting the rights of the people and the environment. Such efforts resulted in the formation of alliances, organizations, networks, and associations coming from specific sectors. Aside from protest actions and community-based campaigns, concerned lawmakers also participated in probing on issues surrounding the development of NCC. Moreover, efforts from the academe have been made in support of the local communities' campaign. These collective actions coming from various agents contribute in the pursuit of a more inclusive and sustainable mode of development.

VIII. WHAT CAN BE DONE?

A key lesson from the project is the critical importance of solidarity among academics and communities, particularly those affected by big developments such as NCC. Through participatory counter-mapping, grounded narratives of displacement and dispossession are foregrounded, which are oftentimes silenced. On the basis of the vital findings presented in this situationer, work on the remaining issues such as community alternatives and comprehensive development plan is continuing and will be presented in future situationers.

A. Community Development Plan

During the counter-mapping study conducted in several sitios, residents identified and sketched places and objects that were relevant to their everyday lives. What has emerged from the study are common themes around dwelling, livelihood, environment, and community (Figure 48, 49, 50, and 51). These photos are responses to questions such as "What do you consider important things?" and "What are your typical daily activities?". These research activities suggest the need to have a definitive vision of a development that is inclusive, democratized, and free from exploitation. Thus, assembling a community development plan that represents the communities' assertion towards a genuine development is important to move forward.

Some fundamental aspects of creating a community development plan (CDP) are the following:

- Creation of a network of professionals such as engineers, architects, geographers, planners in order to provide technical assistance in building the community development plan
- Conduct a community profiling that will provide a comprehensive set of information about the residents. This will primarily involve the socioeconomic characteristics of the community.
- Conduct a series of workshops that will help in solidifying and consolidating the people's agenda in relation to the community development plan.

CDP means more than imprinting collectively-drafted plans for the community. CDP serves as a concrete manifestation of community calls and aspirations which can help in their legal and on-ground struggles.

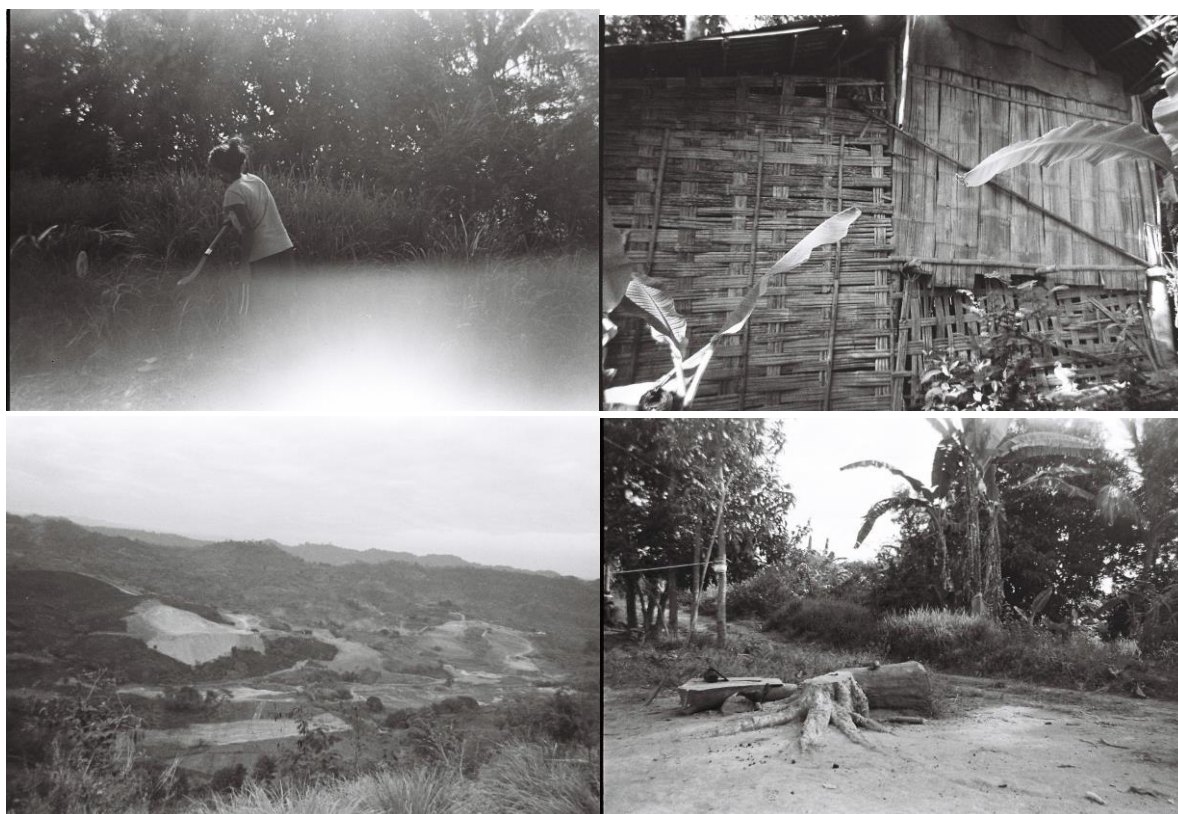


Figure 48, 49, 50 and 51. Left to Right, Top to Bottom: These are images photographed by locals in Sitio Alli, one of the communities heavily affected by NCC - a) local and crops b) dwelling c) mountains and forests d) yards/workspace.

B. *Urgent Tasks*

In confronting the NCC project, efforts can come not only from the affected communities but also from anyone who may wish to contribute in the campaign against development aggression and towards inclusive development. Partaking in at least one of the following will help:

- Supportive engagement with organizations that lead the campaign against the NCC project. The Ayta Tribal Association (ATA), Asosasyon ng Katutubong Mahawang (AKMA), and the Central Luzon Ayta Association (CLAA) are some of the organizations that unite the people from the localities in Central Luzon against development aggression.
- Become a part of the multi-sectoral alliance known as Agkkatan (Aguman para qeng Kalalangan, Kabyayan, Ampong Tuknangan). This alliance focuses on forwarding the people's rights on livelihood, land, shelter, safety, and welfare specifically in the area of Zambales Mountain Range and its vicinity.
- Committedly boost the completion of the signature campaign against NCC as soon as possible. With at least 10,000 signatures, this will reinforce the mobilizations and dialogues with government institutions such as municipal and provincial offices, congress, and even Malacanang.

- Maximize all means of information dissemination such as social media in amplifying the people's campaign. Statements from organizations can be released and on-ground mobilizations can be done. With these, we can enjoin others in supporting the people's agenda.

C. *Amplify Interrelated Calls*

- Fight for the People's Right to Land, Shelter, and Livelihood!
- Distribute the Reverted Base Land! Distribute Clark back to the People!
- Land to the tillers! Give the Ancestral Lands back to the Indigenous People!
- Defy the destructive and pro-foreign NCC and Balog Dam Project!
- Abolish Military Reservations and Defy Land Use Conversion!
- Junk the Bases Conversion and Development Act!
- Stand Against Militarization and Defy E.O 70!
- Junk VFA and EDCA! US Troops, Out Now!

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