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The recent Greenpeace book on "Protection Money" exposes the scandalous nature of Indonesia's carbon accounting for its promised REDD+ initiatives and its Second National Communication to the Climate Convention. There is plenty of good advice for the Norwegian government in seeing that its May 2010 commitment of US\$1 billion for avoiding deforestation in Indonesia has the promised benefits for climate and for biodiversity and local people. Some of the advice would also apply to Brazil, where Norway has made a similar US\$1 billion pledge, but much of it is specific to Indonesia, where oil palm and silvicultural plantations (rather than low-value cattle pastures) replace tropical forest, and where large areas of forest are on peatlands where carbon emissions are astronomical when cleared. Indonesia is also a place where transparency is still a distant hypothesis that presents no impediment to officials when divulging their statistics, whereas Brazil has made significant advances in this area despite having room for improvement.

Indonesia claims that all carbon sequestered by the growth of its pulp plantations is a carbon benefit, ignoring the emission when the paper products are burned or decay soon after they are produced. It is " $d\acute{e}j\grave{a}$   $v\acute{u}$  all over again" from my own debates on Brazilian carbon claims for massive plantations proposed over 20 years ago. The fallacious nature of Indonesia ignoring initial biomass when claiming benefits for oil palm plantations should be remembered in Brazil when assessing recently announced plans for oil palm expansion in Amazonia. Indonesia's Orwellian manipulation of language to recast replacing logged-over (but still biodiverse) forest with plantations as "rehabilitation of degraded lands" for carbon benefits should be condemned anywhere.

 The Greenpeace report argues that Indonesia could meet its targets for pulp and palm oil production without any further loss of forest (including "degraded" forest) by investing in raising the per-hectare productivity of pulpwood and oil palm plantations in areas that have already been cleared. The plan assumes the truth of statements by government and industry officials as to the yield increases they can achieve. It should be mentioned that statements by these sources quoted in the Greenpeace report, including those on estimates of current yields, do not inspire confidence in a scenario of such dramatic increases materializing in reality. In fact, the methodology section of the report notes that "Greenpeace has chosen to use government or industry data rather than seeking alternative – perhaps more scientifically upto-date – data sources" (p. 54). This certainly leaves room to believe that the Greenpeace authors themselves suspect the veracity of the yield increase scenario. Nevertheless, it is true that increasing per-hectare yield should be the channel for investment – not expansion of planted areas.

What stands out as missing in the Greenpeace report is any questioning of the Indonesian government's plans for increasing production of pulp and palm oil over the coming decades: tripling pulp and paper output by 2025 and doubling palm oil production by 2020. Instead, Greenpeace simply hustles to show that these amazing targets can be met without any deforestation. These targets are simply pronouncements of government officials and can be changed at any time at the stroke of a pen. I would suggest that Indonesian authorities should reduce their targets to more realistic levels as part of their plan for a "new development pathway". The targets should be set based on what can reasonably be obtained without any further deforestation or peatland conversion. Excluding forest and peatland represents a limit or "boundary condition" – not simply a desideratum that everyone wants, but only if absurdly high increases in total production can be obtained. The current

deforestation "moratorium", indefinitely extended and with "forest" properly defined, is the constraint to which production must adjust – not the other way around.

It should be remembered that government targets for production increases can be changed at will in either direction. If the Greenpeace plan were to show signs of successfully achieving the amazing tripling of pulp and paper production, for example, the government could always simply up the ante and declare that now they want a four, five or six-fold increase instead – or else cut the forest. The basic problem that Greenpeace needs to recognize, as does the government of Indonesia, is that there are real limits on how much can be produced. Those limits need to be realistically assessed and respected, with maintenance of the remaining forests and peatlands as a precondition.