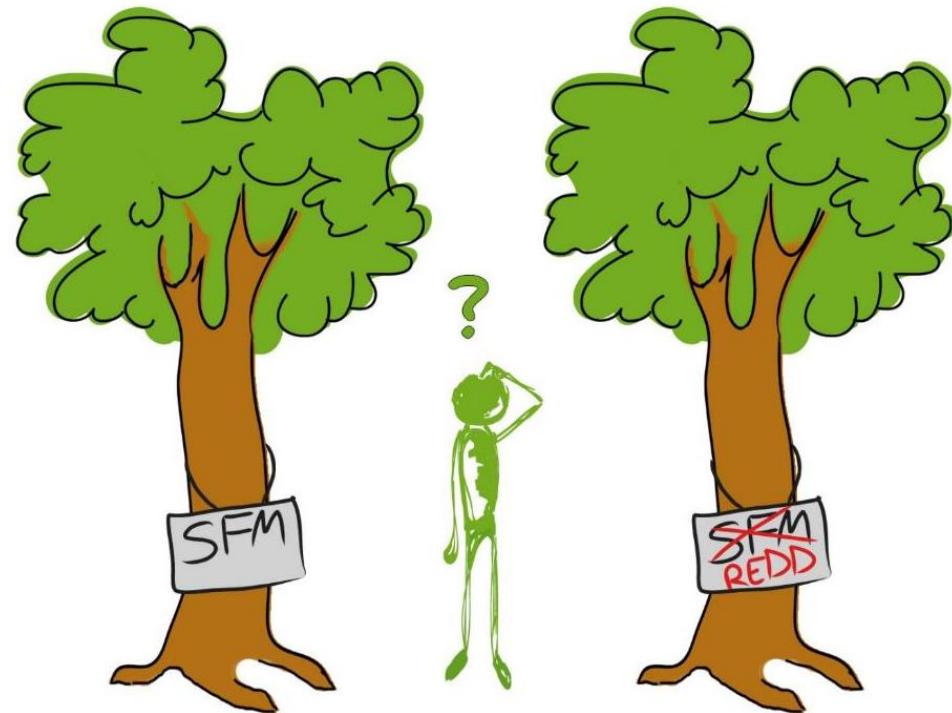


Das klimapolitische Instrument „REDD“

Eine kritische Betrachtung
und
Details zum Engagement ANRICAs
in Surinam



Thema 6 zu Seminar Waldpolitik

...
BOKU, Wien, 16.1.2014

AGENDA



REDD

Entstehungsgeschichte – die offizielle Version

Die Faktenlage – die offizielle Version

Die Faktenlage – eine kritische Betrachtung

Interessens- und Neigungsgruppen

Was macht ANRICA?

Wald und Klimaschutz

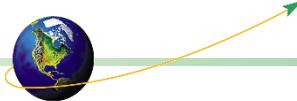
die „Wikipedia“ Version



A Brief History of REDD/REDD+

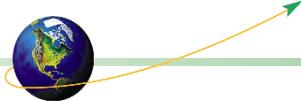
Year	Meeting Name (Location)	Key Points	
1997	COP3 (Kyoto)	Adoption of Kyoto Protocol	Article 3 Provision related to forest-related sinks Discussions on LULUCF in developed countries
2001	COP7 (Marrakech)	Marrakech Accords	Adoption of rules for application of LULUCF activities
2005	COP11 (Montreal)	Papua New Guinea and Costa Rica proposed the idea of issuing carbon credits from REDD and avoiding deforestation in developing countries. It was decided that the related discussions should be concluded within two years. Subsequently, the SBSTA (Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice) and workshops coordinated by SBSTA started their reviews.	REDD proposed for negotiations
2007	COP13 (Bali)	The Bali Road Map was adopted. The member state governments decided to engage in national and international actions against climate change by considering "Policy approaches and positive incentives on issues relating to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries (REDD)".	Development from REDD to REDD+

Die Regenwaldnationen wollten REDD



"The concept of 'avoided deforestation' re-emerged on the international stage in 2005 with the formation of the Coalition for Rainforest Nations (CfRN), a group of tropical countries lobbying for the inclusion of forest conservation as a way to mitigate climate change. Led by Papua New Guinea and Costa Rica, the Coalition for Rainforest Nations presented a draft proposal "Reducing emissions from deforestation in developing countries: approaches to stimulate action" at COP11 in Montreal in 2005. Two years of negotiations and technical advancements culminated in the Bali Action Plan of December 2007, which called for "policy approaches and positive incentives on issues relating to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries [REDD], and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stock in developing countries." Support for REDD has deepened and broadened since Bali: REDD was one of the only areas of progress during climate talks in Copenhagen in December 2009"

Finanziert wird über Carbon-Trading



- Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) is a global initiative to reduce carbon emissions from forests in the atmosphere. This is done by incentivizing countries to protect or to maintain long-term high quality and at least the same quantity of forests and compensating them for the income they would have gained by converting the forest to agriculture or other land uses. As the name says,
- REDD+ specifically aims to reduce carbon dioxide emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, though there are other important benefits it seeks to achieve such as poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation. If it succeeds, it could help protect and enhance the world's forests as carbon reservoirs and maximize their potential for slowing down and reducing the impact of climate change.
- One crucial element of REDD+ is the finance mechanism – the source and methods of incentivizing countries to protect their forests. One option for financing REDD+ includes a carbon market. In this case developed countries and private companies fund the development and implementation of REDD+. This is further explained in the following question.
- The exchange of money for absorbing carbon and its storage in forest biomass is known as forest carbon trading. Forest carbon markets are economic means in which the producers or sellers of carbon (e.g. forest managers and communities) receive compensation from international buyers (e.g. governments and corporations) for their forest conservation efforts. In return, the buyers obtain written certification of the carbon enhancements known as carbon credits. Forest carbon markets involve compensation for carbon conserved and taken up in forests.

Geringe Probleme in der realpolitischen Umsetzung erwartet...



- **How to accurately measure the amount of carbon stored in forests and forest soils;**
- **What is the criteria to qualify for funding support under REDD+;**
- **How should forest-dependent communities be included in the mechanism;**
- **Who will ensure that Free, Prior and Informed Consent is given by the local stakeholders for implementing REDD+;**
- **How is the consent of forest-dependent communities sought;**
- **Who will have rights over the forests and carbon stored therein and who will decide about related rights and ownership issues;**
- **What will happen if REDD+ is in conflict with government policies;**
- **If the ownership of land and carbon rights were determined, how and who will do the carbon measurement;**
- **How will the technical knowledge in carbon trading be developed; and**
- **Who will ensure that community beneficiaries will get a fair deal?**

Das Rundumsorglospaket für alle vom Wald abhängigen Menschen...



For local communities, REDD+ means an opportunity to get compensated not only from limited timber cutting and selling of non-timber forest products as in the past, but also by keeping the trees standing in future. Additionally, they get to continue to use the forests' environmental services, food, raw materials and medicine while being paid to sustainably manage them. Timber-cutting and harvesting of non-timber forest products will depend on the country's policy on REDD+

The image displays three logos side-by-side. On the left is the UN-REDD Programme logo, featuring the text 'UN-REDD PROGRAMME' in blue and red, with the FAO, UNDP, and UNEP logos below it. In the center is the Forest Carbon Partnership Facility logo, which includes a stylized tree icon and the text 'FOREST CARBON PARTNERSHIP FACILITY'. On the right is the FIP Forest Investment Program logo, featuring a green background with a white tree icon and the text 'FIP FOREST INVESTMENT PROGRAM'.



offiziell kolportierte

Die ✓ Faktenlage zu REDD

ausgewählte Zitate

Hohe CO₂ Belastung...



“...The link between deforestation and climate change is well known and estimated to cause between 25-30 per cent of global greenhouse gas emissions - and excessive demand for wood is one of the main causes of forest destruction...”

“Stop the biomass blackout: say no to the UK's destructive bioenergy policies”

The Ecologist, Ian Lander

7th February, 2012

Billig...



“...Unter Klimaforschern besteht kein Zweifel, dass der Erhalt von Wäldern verglichen mit technischem Klimaschutz preiswert, risikoarm und effizient ist und eine große und dauerhafte Minderung von CO₂-Emissionen ermöglicht...“

Wissenschaftliche Dienste



Deutscher Bundestag

Zitat: (2011)

Holznutzung...



“Fuelled by high demand for timber products, legal and illegal logging are important drivers of Amazon rainforest destruction”

© WWF;

http://wwf.panda.org/what_we_do/where_we_work/amazon/problems/other_threats/logging_amazon/

What are the causes of deforestation?

- **Conversion of forests for other land uses including pulp, palm, and soy plantations, roads and other infrastructure**
- **Forest degradation from fires, illegal and unsustainable logging, fuelwood harvesting, and climate change**

© WWF; http://wwf.panda.org/about_our_earth/about_forests/deforestation/

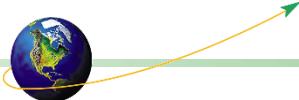
Biologische Vielfalt & Holznutzung



"... But as anyone who has worked on forestry issues – particularly in the tropical regions home to the world's greatest biodiversity – knows, the demise of natural forests usually comes in the form of a double whammy: first come the loggers but then come the settlers who turn the land into farms or plantations, preventing the re-growth of natural forest..."

Can Logging and Conservation Coexist?
The New York Times, ANDREW C. REVKIN
February 17, 2012

„Direct/indirect drivers“ Argumentation



"Illegal logging is a major driver of deforestation, with the volume of industrial wood from illegal sources estimated at 350 to 650 million m³ per year, representing 20%-40% of global industrial wood production."

**What are the links between Forest governance (FLEGT) and climate change (REDD)?
The governance and market failures which drive illegal logging are much the same as those that drive deforestation. The constraints to tackling deforestation are the same as those we face in tackling illegal logging: unclear and contested tenure of land and forests, lack of institutional capability, weak regulatory capacity, and corruption.**

European Parliament gets tough on illegal logging

The European Parliament

May 11, 2010

Frequently asked questions on illegal logging and the FLEGT voluntary Partnership Agreement

The European Union

July 14, 2010

Holznutzung...



"The extraction of wood comprises 4% of global GDP (Butler, 2012) and causes around two-thirds of tropical deforestation (Geist & Lambin, 2001). Wood is extracted for timber production, fuelwood and charcoal production"

The REDD Desk, Global Canopy Program
The Little Forest Finance Book

2012

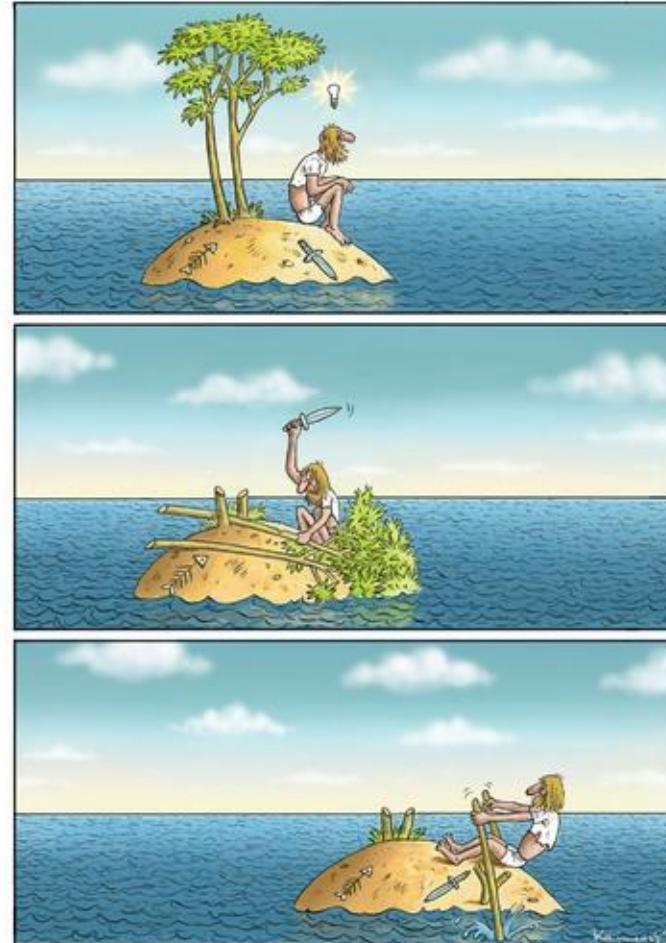
REDD: Problem erkannt, Lösung gefunden



- **Ca. 25 - 30% der globalen CO₂ Emissionen werden durch Entwaldung verursacht → „in etwa so hoch wie der gesamte Transportsektor“**
- **Hauptgrund für die Entwaldung ist die (il-)legale Holznutzung**
- **Grundsätzlich ist menschliche Tätigkeit im Wald schlecht (vor allem Holznutzung) und schadet der biologischen Vielfalt**

→ Wollen wir also unser Klima „retten“ dann müssen wir unsere Tropenwälder „SCHÜTZEN“

„Und außerdem ist Tropenwaldschutz die billigste und einfachste Methode um unser Klima zu retten“





Das REDD Argumentarium am Prüfstand

20 – 30% der globalen CO₂ Emissionen aus Entwaldung?



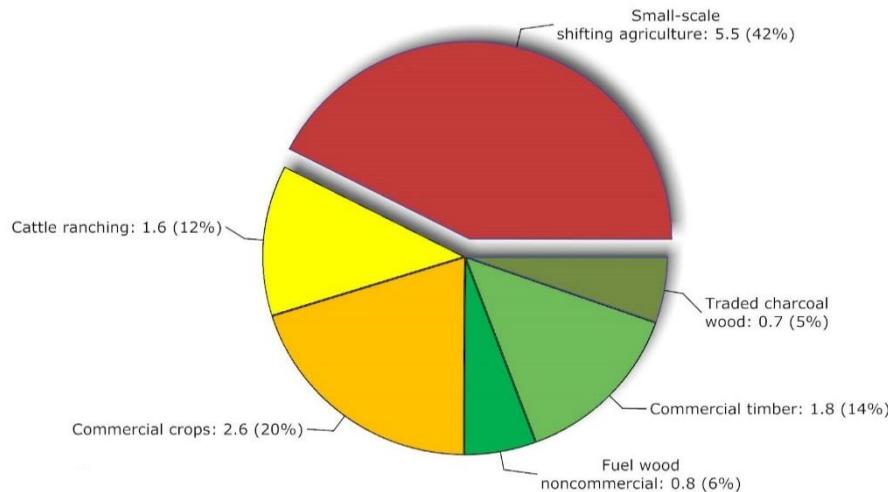
The researchers found that from 2000 to 2005, the gross loss in tropical forest cover resulted in carbon emissions of 0.81 Petagrammes per year, with a 90% prediction interval from 0.57 to 1.22. This equates to 7–14% of total global man-made carbon-dioxide emissions over the same time period

NATURE NEWS BLOG

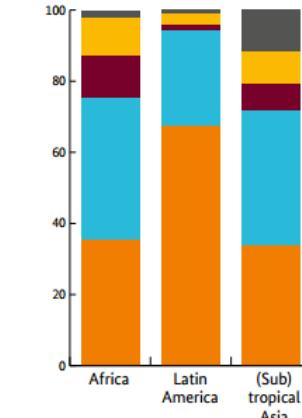
Scientists publish consensus statement on deforestation emissions

04 Dec 2012 | 20:01 GMT | Posted by Jeff Tollefson | Category: Earth, environment & ecology

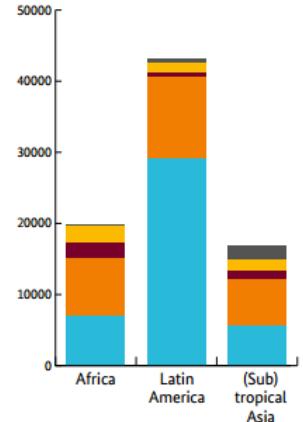
Holznutzung („logging“) ist der Hauptgrund für Entwaldung



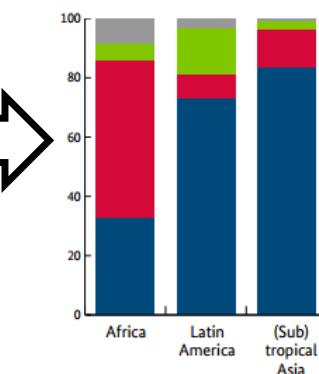
a) Proportion of deforestation drivers



b) Area proportion of deforestation drivers



c) Proportion of forest degradation drivers



Woher kommen die Zahlen über das Ausmaß an degradierten Waldflächen, die durch Holznutzung entstanden sind?



Source: Hosonuma et al. 2012; drivers as reported by 46 countries (a), the same data shown in terms of absolute net forest area change (km²/y, (FAO 2010) for the period 2000–2010 (b), and for continental estimations of relative importance of degradation drivers (c).

Holznutzung im Tropenwald vermindert die biologische Vielfalt

The screenshot shows a news article from environment360. At the top, there's a small globe icon and a banner with the text "environment360" and "Opinion, Analysis, Reporting & Debate". Below the banner, the date "07 MAR 2013: ANALYSIS" and the title "Biodiversity in Logged Forests Far Higher Than Once Believed" are displayed. The author's name, "BY FRED PEARCE", is also mentioned. The main text discusses new research that challenges the assumption that logging significantly damages biodiversity. It includes a photo of the author, Fred Pearce, and a sidebar with his bio and a link to more of his work. Below this, there's a section titled "FORESTS news" with the subtitle "A blog by the Center for International Forestry Research". The sidebar lists categories: Climate Change, Livelihoods, Energy, Gender, Food sec. A green box at the bottom left indicates the date as "19 JUL 2013". The main headline below the sidebar reads "Biodiversity paradigm questioned after flaws found in logging impact research" by Maya Thatcher.

Schätzungen zum Ausmaß der Degradierung von Tropenwaldflächen müssen hinterfragt werden.

Degradierung und Verlust biologischer Vielfalt werden meist synonym verwendet.

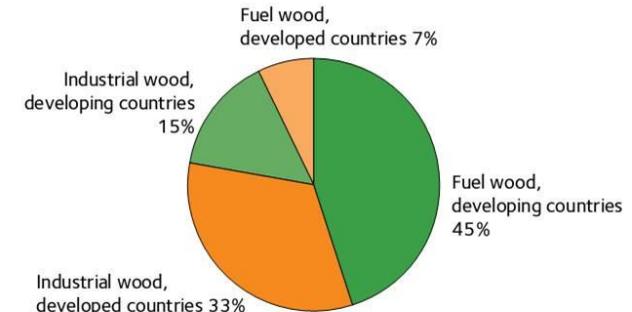
Was jetzt?

Durch Ursprungsnachweise im Holzhandel kann die Entwaldung verringert werden (Stichworte „EU – FLEGT, EUTR und VPA“)



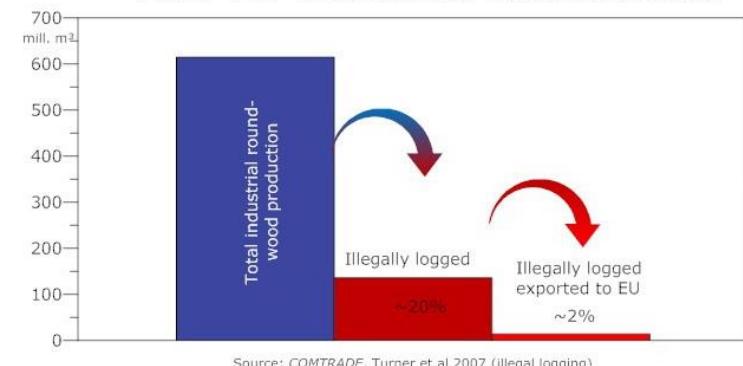
- Zur Erinnerung – Aussagen der EU (EC):
 - *Between 20-40% of the world wood production comes from illegally logged tropical forests*
 - *"Illegal logging is a major driver of deforestation, with the volume of industrial wood from illegal sources estimated at 350 to 650 million m³ per year, representing 20%-40% of global industrial wood production."*
- Laut FAO werden ca. 15% der globalen Holzproduktion in Entwicklungsländern als exportfähiges Rundholz genutzt → 450 mill m³
- Die EU selbst hat eine Studie bezüglich der Anteile von illegal geschlägertem Holz am Gesamtholzhandelsvolumen bezahlt (COMTRADE, Turner et al 2008). Das Ergebnis:
 - Nur ca. 2% des illegal geschlägerten Holzes wird die EU Grenzen passieren
- Zum gleichen Ergebnis kam eine Studie die fünf Jahre später von der EU finanziert wurde:
 - 2013 – EU Studie zum Beitrag der EU-Landwirtschaftsprodukte zur globalen Entwaldung – Kernaussage:
 - *"Of the 132 Mha (55%) of deforestation linked to global production of agricultural and forestry products, only 4.5 Mha (2%) of deforestation was attributed to logging.*

Global wood utilisation 2003



Source: FAO

non-EU industrial Roundwood



Source: COMTRADE, Turner et al 2007 (illegal logging)

Entwaldung verhindern „Kost“ fast nix“ – Stichwort Opportunitätskosten



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Agricultural Intensification Could Run Up High Bills In The Long-Run

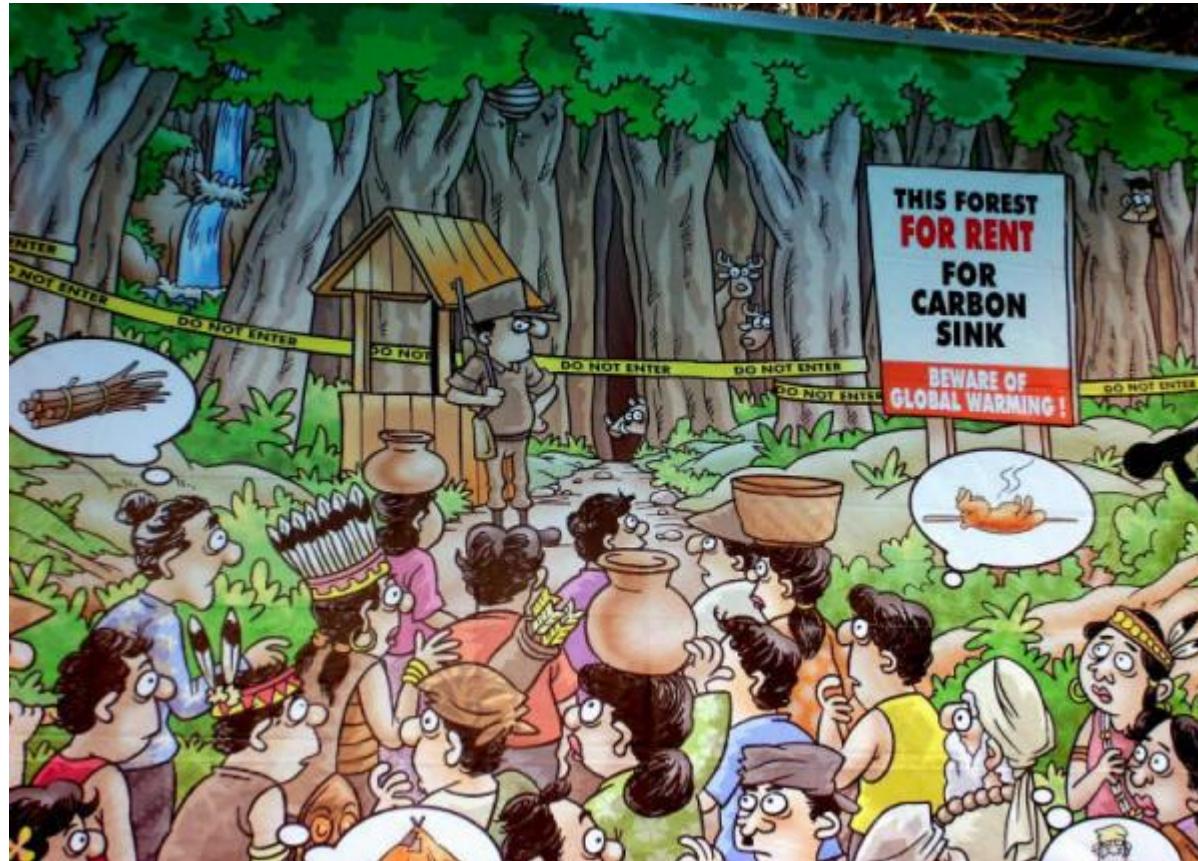
By Juliana Chan | Featured Research
May 8, 2013

Maximizing crop yields on existing farms to reduce deforestation in developing countries may become financially untenable in the long-term, researchers say.



“Increases in the cost of conservation in places like Indonesia could be significantly greater than we discuss in the context of the DRC, because of the high value of oil palm compared to lower-value cassava and maize we modelled in the DRC,” Carrasco says.

Waldschutz ist die Lösung?



Der Yosemite-Effekt...



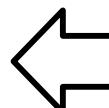
"As corporate and government money flow into the three big international organizations that dominate the world's conservation agenda, their programs have been marked by growing conflicts of interest—and by a disturbing neglect of the indigenous peoples whose land they are in business to protect."

The briefing cover features the IIED logo, the MABIALE INITIATIVES logo, and the INTERNATIONAL LAND COALITION logo. The title 'Briefing' is in large red letters, with 'Land acquisitions and rights' and 'Keywords: Land grabs, land policy frameworks and guidelines, biodiversity, conservation' in smaller text. The subtitle 'Policy pointers' is in red, and the main article title is 'Land grabbing: is conservation part of the problem or the solution?'. The text discusses large-scale land acquisitions and their impact on local communities and biodiversity.

A Challenge to Conservationists
MAC CHAPIN

→2004!

IIED – International Institute for Environment and Development, 2013



Ein kleiner Blick hinter die Kulissen



the Good, the Bad and the ?

- **Wer wollte REDD anfangs?**
 - Bis auf einige Entwicklungsländer die sich Geld aus dem Norden erwarteten, niemand
 - Alle anderen hatten noch die „unheilvolle Klimaschutzdebatte“ rund um Wald für die erste Verpflichtungsperiode in Erinnerung – Stichwort „Umbrella States“ bzw. „Reversibilität von Waldkohlenstoffpools“
- **Aber später (bis Anfang 2008) wendete sich das Blatt – und es gab drei Gruppen von Befürwortern**
 - Entwicklungsländer (etwas mehr als zu Beginn, aber bei Weitem nicht alle)
 - Die EU und manche Industriestaaten (weil sie glaubten günstig an CO₂ Zertifikate zu kommen)
 - Spekulanten und deren Handlanger
- **Ende 2008 waren dann endlich auch die DREI großen Umweltschutzorganisationen „an Bord“ (CI, TNC, WWF)**

Hat tatsächlich die internationale Staatengemeinschaft REDD zum Durchbruch verholfen?



WWF ends contentious debate, will now support effort to fight climate change by saving rainforests
Rhett A. Butler, mongabay.com
September 24, 2008

MONGABAY.COM
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Nobel Laureate Conversation
Featuring Al Gore and Dr. Wangari Maathai

Moderated by Dan Rather

Protecting Rainforests, Communities and our Climate:
How U.S. leadership can make a difference

New York City — September 22, 2008



(From left to right) Jeff Horowitz, founder AD Partners – Peter Seligmann, Chair, CI – Stu Eizenstat, Partner, Covington & Burling – Mark Tercek, President TNC – Nobel Laureate Al Gore – Helene Gayle, President, CARE USA – Carter Roberts, President WWF US – Nobel Laureate Wangari Maathai – Dean Hirsh, President WVU – Ray Offenheiser, President, Oxfam – Nancy Lindborg, President, Mercy Corps and Kevin Knobloch, President UCS

http://climateforest.com/news_ny_event.html

Die „AD-Partners“



Dr. Jane Goodall and Sir Richard Branson
Co-Host AD Partners' High Level Rio+20 Event
ADP brokers alliance between the U.S. Government and the Consumer Goods Forum, an organization representing 400 leading CEOs with \$3.1 trillion in commodities – to be sustainably produced and deforestation-free by 2020.



Special International Guests



Nobel Laureate
Wangari Maathai



Dr. Pedro Leon,
Costa Rica



President Bharrat
Jagdeo, Guyana

Hans Brattskar,
Norway

Speakers List for the AD Partners Rio+20 Event *in order of appearance*

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales - Keynote Video Message
Dr. Jane Goodall, DBE - UN Messenger of Peace

The Hon. Mary Robinson - Former President of Ireland

The Hon. Lisa Jackson - Administrator, U.S. EPA

Julia Marton-LeFèvre - Director General, IUCN

Ambassador Donald Steinberg - Deputy Administrator, USAID

Muhtar Kent - Coca Cola CEO (Video Address)

Paul Polman - CEO, Unilever and Co-Chair, Consumer Goods Forum

The Hon. Bård Vegar Solhjell - Minister of the Environment, Norway

Jonathan Pershing - Deputy Special Envoy-Climate Change, U.S. State Dept.

Dr. Zhang Songdan - Deputy Dir. Gen., State Forestry Admin., China

Olav Kjørven - Assistant Secretary-General, UNDP

Jason Clay - Senior Vice President, World Wildlife Fund-US

Ashok Khosla - President, IUCN

Bianca Jagger - Plant a Pledge Campaign Ambassador

Tim Rollinson, CBE - Director General, Forestry Commission, Great Britain

The Hon. Stanislas Kamanzu - Minister of Natural Resources, Rwanda

Andrea Debbané - Vice President of Environmental Affairs, Airbus, S.A.

Maurice Strong - Former Under-Secretary General of the United Nations

Edward Norton - Actor and UN Goodwill Ambassador for Biodiversity

Sir Richard Branson - Founder, Virgin Group, and Event Co-Chair

Die Allianz der Wald- und Klimaretter



• Die Finanzwelt und deren Handlanger



GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT FACILITY
INVESTING IN OUR PLANET

• Umweltorganisationen und deren Handlanger



CHATHAM HOUSE
Independent thinking on international affairs



WINROCK
INTERNATIONAL



Wieso das Interesse der Finanzwelt...



...an REDD?

1. Hohe Renditen erwartet

- Jede dauerhaft „versenkte“ Tonne CO₂ zählt...
- Die EU hat mit ihrem CO₂ Handelssystem auf massiv steigende Preise gesetzt und bei vielen Hoffnungen geweckt (welche sich Ende 2008 schnell in [warmer] Luft aufgelöst haben)
- Carbon-Cowboys waren Allerorten unterwegs und haben versucht, die Indigenen über den Tisch zu ziehen

2. Geschäfte mit der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

- Entwicklungszusammenarbeit basiert hauptsächlich auf Krediten
- Verschränkung von öffentlichen und Mitteln des Privatsektors
- Private Fonds als Geldgeber (ebenfalls ausschließlich Kredite)

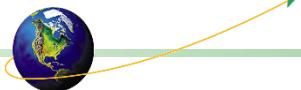


3. Die Geschäfte der Handlanger (McKinsey, McKenzie & Co)

- Berater der Regierungen von Papua, Guyana („LCDS“)

Das Interesse der Umweltorganisationen

...an REDD



**Umweltorganisationen stellen den Anspruch
die einzige moralisch unantastbare Instanz im
Schutz „unserer Wälder“ zu sein**

**Waldschutz ist sozusagen ihre
„Kernkompetenz“**

**Nachdem die Bindung von Waldkohlenstoff
reversibel ist, gefährdet menschliche Tätigkeit
im Wald die dauerhafte Bindung dieses
Kohlenstoffs.**

**Und weil nach landläufiger Meinung
menschliche Tätigkeit im Wald die biologische
Vielfalt ebenfalls gefährdet, besteht im
restriktiven Waldschutz eine gemeinsame
Interessenslage zwischen Finanz und
Umweltorganisationen**

SIX

There should be no reference to SFM in the REDD agreement. If reference to sustainable management of forests is included, it should be subsidiary to the protection of intact natural forests, and it should be clear that management activities resulting in carbon emissions are excluded.



global witness

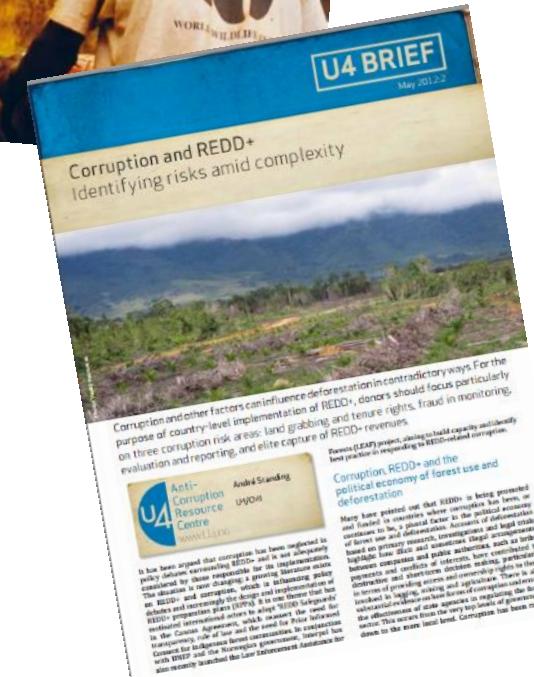
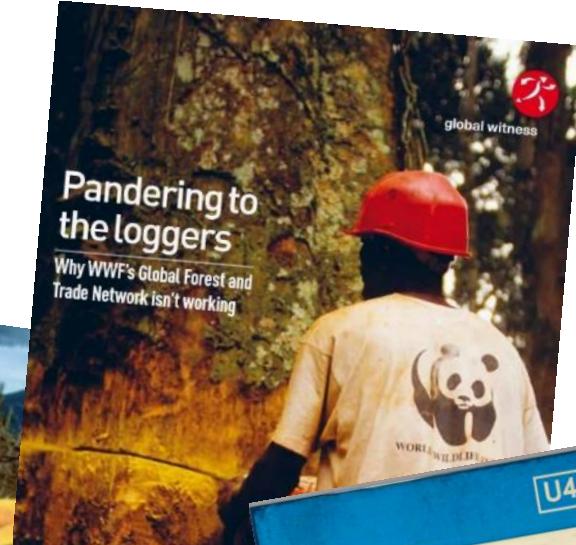
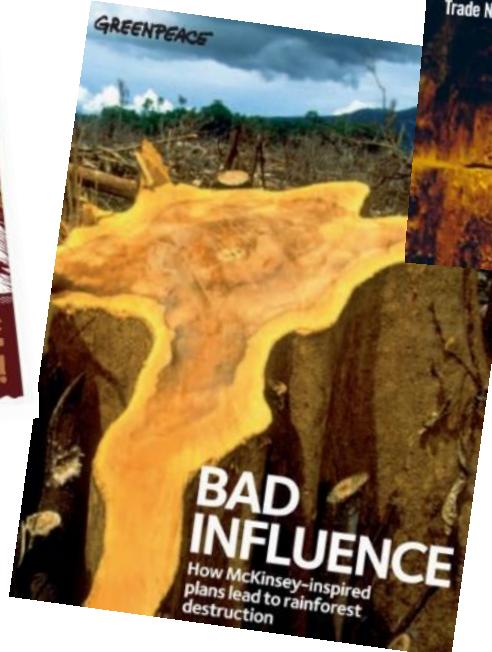


This objective will remove barriers to SFM by promoting the enabling environment for SFM, access to technology and good SFM practices combined with large-scale applications on the ground to reduce and avoid forest degradation. Results will include a net gain in forest area managed in a sustainable way and the improvement of selected forest ecosystem services such as habitat services (biodiversity), regulating services (carbon) and productive services (soil and livelihoods).

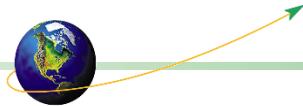


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Sand im Getriebe...



„Nationalstaatliche Umsetzung ist simpel“



Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](#)

Forest Policy and Economics

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/forpol



Can “fragile states” decide to reduce their deforestation? The inappropriate use of the theory of incentives with respect to the REDD mechanism

Alain Karsenty ^{a,*}, Symphorien Ongolo ^b

^a CIRAD, Dept. "Environnements et Sociétés", UPR 105, TA C-105/D, 34398 Montpellier Cedex 5, France

^b Institute for Environmental Decisions, ETH Zurich, Professorship for Environmental Policy and Economics, Universitätstrasse 22, CH-8092 Zurich, Switzerland

... “Governments of such nations are often dominated by “private agendas”, and will try to negotiate the most favorable rules for “capturing” REDD money, without having any intention to change the course of things. Even if they would behave differently, their intrinsic weakness would prevent them from achieving the in-depth reforms needed to tackle the drivers of deforestation.”...

The relationship between corruption and REDD+

Despite this complexity many believe eliminating or reducing forms of corruption will be important for the success of REDD+. A negative prognosis is that unless there are tremendous improvements in governance, REDD+ will fail to have a meaningful impact in countries where corruption is endemic. Yet corruption is not only considered a threat to REDD+. There is also the potential for REDD+ to create new incentives for corruption. In the existing literature there are a number of ‘corruption risks’ that have been identified in the implementation of REDD+ in countries. We can divide these into three themes:

1. Land grabbing and tenure rights

The most complex and worrying aspect seems to be the potential of REDD+ to further stimulate fraudulent ‘land



“...Distinguishing between corrupt or just bad is a something that is area...”



that is

something “

area...”

Roundtable discussion hosted at McKinsey and Company



Carter Roberts
President WWF

Dr. Pedro Leon,
Costa Rica

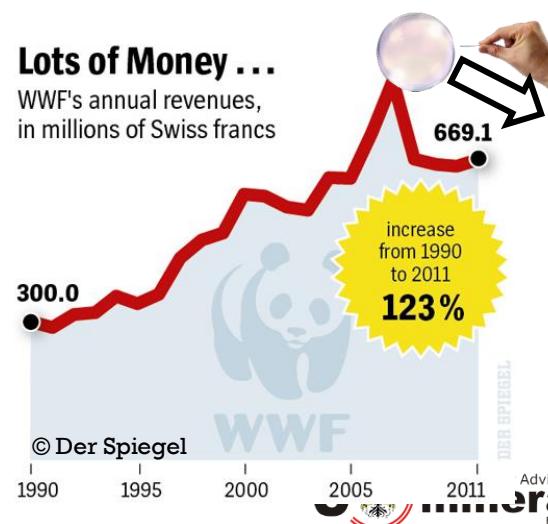
President Bharrat
Jagdeo, Guyana

Hans Brattskar,
Norway



Lots of Money ...

WWF's annual revenues,
in millions of Swiss francs



Die Zukunft
hätte so rosig
werden können
– Spekulationen
auf Waldkohlen-
stoffpools wären
ein einträgliches
Geschäft für
viele gewesen...

Das Bekenntnis der internationalen Staatengemeinschaft zu REDD...



...abseits der unmittelbar profitierenden Interessensgruppen...

- **Ecuador – Yasuni Regenwald: 4,8 Millionen ha Regenwald mit hoher biologischer Vielfalt**
- **Großes Ölfeld darunter**
- **Ecuador macht der internationalen Staatengemeinschaft ein Angebot: gegen Zahlung von 3,5 Milliarden USD (was der Hälfte der entgangenen Erdöl-Millionen entspräche) würde Ecuador auf eine Ölförderung verzichten**
- **2008/2009 wurde 1,7 Milliarden USD auf 13 Jahre angeboten (von Deutschland, Spanien, Belgien, Frankreich und Schweden)**
- **Allerdings waren die Mittel an Bedingungen zur Verwendung geknüpft → Absage seitens Ecuador (2009)***
- **2011 gab es dann einen neuen Anlauf → es wurde ein Fonds eingerichtet**
- **August 2013: im Fonds befanden sich 13 Millionen USD und es gab Zusagen auf Zahlung von weiteren 116 Millionen USD**
- **Vorerst hat Ecuador begonnen, nach Öl zu bohren...**



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*Neokolonialismus lässt Grüßen...

REDD – es sollte Nachgebessert werden...



„Primary REDD concepts and principles are fundamentally flawed“

- Lösungsansätze basieren teilweise auf falschen Tatsachen
- REDD wird instrumentalisiert zur Realisierung von Partikularinteressen
- Eigentumsrechte am Wald wurden völlig außer Acht gelassen
- Isolierte Betrachtung des Problems – Stichwort „direct/indirect drivers“
(deshalb wird seit DURBAN vom „landscape approach“ gesprochen)
- Negiert die realpolitische Situation in den Zielländern
- Keine ernsthaften Problemlösungsanstrengungen in Sicht (siehe Agrarpolitik der EU)

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Implementation
is our success