

REDD+ Update Report

April 2018

The Biofuel Polemic

In the media from January until today, we see incessant streams of news about the European Parliament's Revised Renewable Energy Directive, which includes a proposal to phase out palm oil-based biofuel as renewable energy in 2021. Just like the report on palm oil and rainforest deforestation adopted in 2017, this created a media uproar in Indonesia (and Malaysia), which narratives can be summed up in the picture below. The unfortunate impact of the misunderstanding (disinformation) is that the narratives of deforestation, conflicts, and human rights violation in palm oil sector are now even more associated with foreign interests and anti-nationalistic sentiments.

The narratives in the media range from the view that the EU Parliament's RED is discriminatory against palm oil to misunderstanding the RED as "export ban" or embargo and therefore needs 'retaliation' or 'fight back' from the government.¹ Many of the proliferating news write erroneously that EU and Norway will ban palm oil (CPO) export from Indonesia in 2021 along with all its derivative products and therefore threatens the Indonesian economy.² Below is the summary of the main actors' narratives in the media:

- **President:** stop discrimination against palm oil, Indonesia will produce palm oil in sustainable manner, palm oil is crucial to the livelihood of 17 million people and smallholders, which comprise half of palm oil plantations in Indonesia.
- **Vice President:** Indonesia can and may retaliate to the 'trade war' by not buying Airbus for Lion and Garuda Indonesia Airlines. The Vice President's mention of 'import ban' suggest misunderstanding of the European Parliament's RED.
- **Parliament:** The government must fight back the EU for the negative campaign, EU RED is discriminatory, palm oil is vital for Indonesia's economy and poverty eradication. The Parliament probably misunderstood the content of the RED.
- **Minister of Foreign Affairs:** EU's decisions are discriminatory at best and constitute black campaign against palm oil, palm oil is crucial to achieving SDGs while EU's decisions are contradictory to SDGs and free trade principles. The Minister's understanding of the RED is correct, but she still says that the RED is discriminatory and protectionist.
- **Minister of Trade:** Not too concerned that the RED will impact on Indonesia's export volume to EU, but is against the 'negative campaign.' Asking for a mandate to retaliate against European products (including airbus from France and Salmon for Norway). Explicitly stated that Indonesia wants palm oil-based biofuel to still be counted as renewable energy.

¹ <https://www.medcom.id/ekonomi/mikro/VNnR4gXN-larangan-ekspor-cpo-lion-air-group-akan-boikot-airbus>

² Uni Eropa tak hanya melarang peredaran minyak sawit mentah dan biodiesel, tapi juga seluruh produk turunan yang menggunakan minyak sawit mentah. <http://ekonomi.metrotvnews.com/mikro/zNAwM4Zk-cpo-indonesia-diembargo-psi-dukung-boikot-airbus>

- **Head of CPO fund.** EU RED will impact more on smallholders than large companies. Smallholders' livelihood is at stake.
- **APKASINO** (Indonesian Palm Oil Farmer Association – not independent, always support the government): The government must stop export CPO to the EU as retaliation, can diversify, must fight back the negative campaign.
- **GAPKI:** The government must retaliate, Indonesia will diversify its market targeting other countries.

It is hard to believe that the Indonesian Government misunderstood the RED as import ban of CPO for biofuel. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Trade were correct in their quoted statements in the media. However, they did not clarify misunderstanding in the media about it not being an import ban. Some government officials (including the Parliament) whose statements were quoted in the media however probably misunderstood and went ahead with the retaliation narrative.

CSO initial reactions

WWF, Walhi, and Madani made comments in the media about the biofuel debate, Walhi (2017) demanded palm oil to be removed entirely from Indonesia-EU CEPA negotiations. Meanwhile, WWF stated that EU RED is discriminatory and that the EU should continue allowing certified palm oil to support poverty eradication in Indonesia. Recently, WWF ran into trouble with the Coordinating Minister of the Economy because it supported a radio ad campaigning for less consumption of palm oil. After the incident, its narrative in the media is 100% in support of palm oil as long as it is not planted in protection and conservation area. Meanwhile, Madani in Mongabay Indonesia highlighted the failure of the government to demonstrate to the market its commitment in forest and peatland protection, corruption, human rights violations, including against indigenous people, as the root of the adoption of the Report on Palm Oil by the European Parliament. Madani is in view that the government must not take a confrontative approach and should prioritize diplomacy and that the government must focus on improvement of the palm oil governance.³

Interests

- The interest of the government is to prevent a decline in internal CPO price and export volume to prevent a decline in state income. Most of CPO produced by Indonesia is exported (89% in 2017 according to Ministry of Agriculture). Indonesian CPO export volume increased by 49% in the period of 2010 and 2017. CPO contribution to export income for Indonesia is the largest, larger than oil and gas, coal, and tourism (Ministry of Agriculture, 2018).
- The Minister of Trade explicitly said **that Indonesia wants palm oil-based biofuel to still be considered as renewable energy in EU.**
- For smallholders, the international price for CPO does not always correlate with the price for their FFBs. Their interest is to get a higher price for their FFBs and to be empowered to produce more FFBs from their plantations with greater quality to get it.

³ <http://www.mongabay.co.id/2017/04/09/ketika-parlemen-eropa-keluarkan-resolusi-soal-sawit/>. 4 September 2018.

The table list in some more detail the reactions from the government, palm oil industry, and civil society with regards to EU Parliament’s revised Renewable Energy Directive and the issue of EU’s ban of palm oil-based biofuel.

No.	Name	Institution	Category	Statements
1.	Joko Widodo 28 November 2017	President of Republic of Indonesia	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jokowi urges the EU to stop policies and campaign that can damage the image of palm oil and palm oil producer countries. EU campaign is contradictory with the commitment of palm oil producer countries to manage natural resources in a sustainable manner.⁴ Palm oil industry in Indonesia is the livelihood of 17 million people. Half of the plantations are owned by smallholders.⁵
2.	Jusuf Kalla 11 April 2018	Vice President of Republic of Indonesia	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jusuf Kalla threatens to stop national airline companies from buying airbus as a retaliation to the EU’s ‘import ban’ of CPO and its derivative products from Indonesia. Garuda Indonesia and Lion are two airlines among others that buy airbus from France.
3.	Retno LP Marsudi 9 January 2018.	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indonesia will continue taking measures against ‘black campaign’ against palm oil. Indonesia will continue promoting sustainable palm oil. Palm oil is crucial in attaining SDG targets.⁶ The Minister will contact EU High Representative on Foreign Affairs and Security (Federica Mogherini) to discuss the EU decisions to remove the use of palm oil-based biofuel.
4.	Arrmanatha Nasir 15 Januari 2018	Spokeperson of Minister of Foreign Affairs	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EU Parliament’s decision is discriminatory, protectionist, and runs counter to the spirit of free trade, SDGs, and equals to black campaign against palm oil More than 17 million people in Indonesia, the majority of which is smallholders, rely on palm oil.
5.	Enggartiaso Lukita 16 January 2018.	Minister of Trade	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> EU Parliament’s RED will not impact significantly on CPO export to European countries because it only sets to remove CPO as renewable energy while CPO export can continue to EU countries.⁷ Indonesia is not concerned with a ban of CPO export to EU because it has plans to diversify its export product and open new markets.⁸ However, Indonesia is concerned because the decision constitutes negative campaign against palm oil. Indonesia wants palm oil-based biofuel to still be considered as renewable energy. Otherwise, the

⁴ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20171128162042-92-258666/jokowi-minta-dukungan-denmark-lawan-kampanye-hitam-sawit>. 28 November 2017.

⁵ <https://finance.detik.com/industri/d-3925595/jokowi-ke-pm-selandia-baru-perkebunan-sawit-libatkan-17-juta-orang>. 19 March 2018.

⁶ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20180115060231-134-268799/eropa-akan-hapus-biodiesel-dari-sawit-termasuk-dari-indonesia>. 15 Januari 2018.

⁷ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180115160715-92-269033/proposal-energi-parlemen-eropa-tak-goyang-ekspor-sawit-ri>. 16 Januari 2018.

⁸ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180118165123-92-269930/pemerintah-tak-khawatir-meski-eropa-tutup-pintu-ekspor-sawit>. 19 Januari 2018.

				<p>Minister asks for a mandate to conduct a retaliation against European products.⁹ It is possible that Indonesia will stop buying airbus if EU countries ban CPO use.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU plan to ban palm oil is not about the environment, but a form of trade war and is unhealthy competition. • The Norwegian Parliament also announced a ban on biofuel in its public procurement. The Minister will retaliate by banning fish imports from the EU. • Ministry of Trade will cooperate with Malaysia to counter the ban. • Indonesia will establish a negotiation team to lobby the EU on CPO import.¹⁰
6.	Oke Nurwan 9 May 2017	Ministry of Trade, Director General on International Trade	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU Parliament will ban the use of CPO-based biofuel in 2020 and will apply a single certification system for palm oil. This resolution was issued to prevent deforestation.¹¹ • Deforestation due to soybean production is bigger than palm oil, 19% of the world's total deforestation compared to 8% caused by palm oil (with the assumption that palm oil plantation worldwide is only 16 million hectares).¹² • In retaliation with Norway Parliament's decision to ban palm oil-based biofuel, Indonesia is considering to stop salmon import from Norway.¹³
7.	Panggah Susanto 18 April 2017.	Ministry of Industry, Director General on Agriculture	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 2016, 70% of CPO export value (US\$ 16.6 billion) consisted of downstream industry.¹⁴
8.	Bambang Soesatyo 19 March 2018	Head of Indonesian Parliament (DPR)	Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government (executive) - Minister of Trade – must fight negative campaign against palm oil by the US, Norway, India, and EU because it has hampered CPO and derivative products export from Indonesia. • The Minister of Foreign Affairs must continue diplomacy to the parliament of countries that want to impose trade barriers against palm oil.¹⁵
9.	Nurhayati Ali Assegaf	Head of Bilateral Cooperation Group Delegation Indonesia-EU of DPR RI	Parliament	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU Parliament's resolution is discriminatory. • For Indonesia, palm oil is the main instrument to eradicate poverty and drive economic growth. It is livelihood for 50 million people. • Indonesia has taken preventive measures to ensure palm oil sustainability including forest fire.¹⁶

⁹ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180409135954-92-289446/ri-ancam-balas-pelarangan-impor-cpo-uni-eropa>.

¹⁰ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180411170733-92-290102/balas-larangan-impor-cpo-jk-ancam-setop-beli-airbus>. 11 April 2018.

¹¹ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20170509135906-92-213466/resolusi-sawit-uni-eropa-disinyalir-karena-persaingan-dagang>. 9 Mei 2017.

¹² <https://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2018/03/06/150600426/luhut-pimpin-diplomasi-untuk-lobi-uni-eropa-soal-pelarangan-sawit>. 6 Maret 2018.

¹³ <https://finance.detik.com/industri/d-3927728/norwegia-setop-biofuel-dari-sawit-ri-ancam-tak-impor-ikan-salmon>. 20 Maret 2018.

¹⁴ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20170418112856-92-208328/ri-akan-terus-protes-sampai-uni-eropa-batalkan-resolusi-sawit>. 18 April 2017.

¹⁵ <https://finance.detik.com/berita-ekonomi-bisnis/d-3924768/sawit-ri-dicekal-as-hingga-eropa-ketua-dpr-minta-kemendag-lawan>. 19 March 2018.

¹⁶ <https://www.wartaekonomi.co.id/read177519/parlemen-eropa-diminta-perhatikan-sawit-indonesia.html>. 14 April 2018.

10.	Rizal Calvary Marimbo	Indonesian Solidarity Party, Spokeperson for Business and the Economy	Political Party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU's 'boycott' of Indonesia's palm oil because of environmental reasons is erroneous. PSI supports Lion Air Group's plan to stop buying airbus and to use palm oil as fuel. • CPO is strategic national industry and is vital for food and energy security.¹⁷
11.	Dono Boestami 16 April 2018	Chief Director of CPO Fund (<i>Badan Pengelola Dana Kelapa Sawit</i>)	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU is the third largest market of Indonesia's CPO export after India and China • EU's "import ban" of palm oil from Indonesia will affect smallholders more rather than large-scale companies, which comprise 41-42% of Indonesia's palm oil industry. • There will be production increase in 2018 (4 million tons).¹⁸
12.	Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan 15 April 2018	Coordinating Minister of Maritime Affairs		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indonesia will increase CPO export to China, taking advantage of China's trade war with the US and the resulting decrease of China's soybean oil import from US. In 2017, Indonesia's palm oil export to China was 3.73 million tons.¹⁹
13.	Joko Supriyono 10 April 2018	General Chairperson of GAPKI	Industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indonesia should retaliate if Europe insists on imposing trade barriers on palm oil.²⁰ • Domestic palm oil industry has targeted new markets to replace EU, namely China, Pakistan, Middle East, India, and Africa. Indonesia's palm oil export to EU is around 4 million tons annually.
14.	Asmar Arsjad 26 January 2018.	Secretary General of Indonesia Palm Oil Growers Association (APKASINDO)	Industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government must fight EU Parliament's resolution by stopping CPO export to European countries. The devisa from CPO export to EU is not significant. • Indonesia's export is 70% processed products and CPO. • APKASINDO has sent a petition letter to the President.²¹
15.	Mahendra Siregar 26 January 2018	Executive Director of Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries (CPOPC)	Industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Europe is not determinant in Indonesia's CPO export survival. Indonesia's palm oil export to EU is only 20% with the value of US\$ 4 billion dollars or Rp 54 trillion.²² • Palm oil's export to EU is dominated by derivative products, namely 80% and 20% of CPO. If Indonesia stops its export to the EU, EU industries will not be able to operate.²³ • The main consumers of Indonesia's palm oil are India, followed by Indonesia itself. The largest importer of palm oil is China, followed by EU and Pakistan.²⁴
16.	Edward Sirait	CEO Lion Air Group	Airline industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lion Air Group plans to use palm oil as fuel (bioavtur).²⁵

¹⁷ <https://www.merdeka.com/uang/imbis-pelarangan-cpo-lion-air-group-boikot-impor-ratusan-airbus.html>. 12 April 2018.

¹⁸ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180416093137-92-291031/pelaku-usaha-tantang-uni-eropa-cari-pengganti-cpo>. 16 April 2018.

¹⁹ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180415144825-92-290930/perang-dagang-dengan-as-china-sepakat-tambah-impor-sawit-ri>. 15 April 2018.

²⁰ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180410083528-92-289604/uni-eropa-larang-impor-cpo-gapki-dukung-pembalasan-ri>. 10 April 2018.

²¹ Ibid.

²² <https://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2018/01/26/174000626/asosiasi-petani--lawan-uni-eropa-dengan-boikot-dan-stop-ekspor-cpo>. 26 Januari 2018.

²³ <https://www.infosawit.com/news/7922/boikot-ekspor-minyak-sawit-ke-uni-eropa-bisa-dilakukan>. February 2018.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ <https://economy.okezone.com/read/2018/04/10/320/1884816/lion-air-bakal-gunakan-sawit-sebagai-bahan-bakar>. 10 April 2018.

17.	Vincent Guerend 29 November 2017	EU Ambassador for Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam	Government (EU)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU countries' import of palm oil from Indonesia increased in 2017. Indonesia's market share is better than other producer countries.²⁶ • EU's focus is ensuring obtainment of ISPO certificate by mills, plantations, and suppliers that export CPO. • Indonesia must stop clearing plantation by burning.²⁷ • EU highlights three issues regarding CPO export from Indonesia: sustainability, deforestation, and the issue of renewable energy.²⁸ • EU is not banning Indonesia's CPO, but is debating whether or not biofuel from palm oil can be categorized as renewable energy because it is indicated to be contributing to deforestation. • On April 17, 2018, EU ambassadors visited palm oil plantation belonging to Asian Agri in Jambi with good impressions.²⁹
18.	Aditya Bayunanda 13 April 2018	Director Policy, Sustainability, and Transformation WWF	CSO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WWF rejects discrimination against palm oil by the EU. The EU is discriminatory against palm oil because it does not apply the same restrictions on soybean, which deforestation contribution is larger than palm oil. • Palm oil is very important in eradicating poverty. Palm oil is not a threat if it is not planted in national park and protection forest. • EU must allow certified palm oil as feedstock for biofuel. Palm oil ban is not a solution.³⁰
19.	Yuyun Harmono 15 September 2017	Climate Justice Campaign Manager	CSO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indonesian Government and EU Commission must remove palm oil issue from EU-CEPA negotiations. Palm oil should not be used as trade-off instrument. • Certification schemes (RSPO, ISPO) are false solutions because they do not change the structure of land ownership in Indonesia, which is still dominated by corporations. • Indonesian government must develop a road map for palm oil governance that is based on economic justice for smallholders and reduce land ownership inequality by accelerating agrarian reform implementation. • Indonesian and EU government must develop environmental standards and evaluation of human rights impact on trade and investment.³¹

Civil society biofuel meeting April 2018

- On April 18, Madani hosted a meeting with selected NGOs (Greenpeace, Walhi, SPKS, Pusaka, Kaoem Telapak, FWI, Kemitraan, JPIK, and Koaksi) to discuss the biofuel debate. The meeting sought to take stock on NGO's knowledge and views (including but not limited to positions) regarding palm-oil based biofuel today and to formulate action plans to respond to the biofuel

²⁶ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20171128214016-92-258764/pangsa-pasar-sawit-di-uni-eropa-masih-bergairah>. 29 November 2017.

²⁷ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20180416093137-92-291031/pelaku-usaha-tantang-uni-eropa-cari-pengganti-cpo>. 29 November 2017.

²⁸ <http://industri.bisnis.com/read/20180417/99/785181/uni-eropa-serius-perhatikan-3-aspek-ini-untuk-cpo-indonesia>. 17 April 2018.

²⁹ <http://industri.bisnis.com/read/20180417/99/785180/kunjungi-kebun-sawit-asian-agri-begini-kesan-para-dubes-eropa>. 17 April 2018.

³⁰ <https://sawitindonesia.com/rubrikasi-majalah/berita-terbaru/wwf-tolak-diskriminasi-sawit-di-eropa/>. 13 April 2018.

³¹ <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/ekonomi/20170915124016-92-241914/lsm-minta-isu-sawit-dihapus-dari-kongsi-indonesia-uni-eropa>. September 2017.

- issue in general. We agreed to produce a joint white paper or fact sheet, formulate alternative narrative, and conduct some media outreach about this, building on fact sheet written by RFN.
- Views and positions about biofuel
 - **Greenpeace Indonesia**
 - GP does not pay specific attention to the issue of biofuel. GP is more focused on how companies implement their NDPE policies.
 - Agrees on addressing demand is key. Increase of palm oil demand will increase demand on land. If biofuel is accepted as a mitigation solution, *Indirect Land Use Change* (ILUC) will increase.
 - GP International is also lobbying the same thing with Walhi and Institute for Global Justice, that palm oil must be removed from Indonesia-EU CEPA negotiations, along with the issue of international settlement body.
 - **Walhi**
 - Walhi does not pay specific attention to the issue of biofuel in itself. But even from long time ago, Walhi has warned that the use of food crop for fuel (at that moment it was jalathropa) could have negative impacts on land use.
 - Walhi's view is that biofuel targets in Europe will cause deforestation and environmental damage in producer countries and is a false solution for mitigation. This applies to all food crops including soybean.
 - **SPKS**
 - SPKS is concerned about potential impacts on smallholders if the EU bans palm oil-based biofuel from Indonesia. SPKS sent a letter to the EU (no response) but after the letter, the Indonesian government changed their arguments by incorporating the interests of smallholders.
 - SPKS' focus in highlighting the conditions of smallholders in Indonesia and that their productivity can still be increased and can be made sustainable.
 - Agreed that the government promotes more the issue of trade war and does not talk about environmental damage and human rights.
 - SPKS finding – if there is a condition of oversupply, the price of FFBs will fall.
 - SPKS supports development of downstream industry, but not just biofuel but also other products.
 - Biodiesel subsidies in Indonesia do not lead to stabilization of FFBs price at smallholders' level.
 - Must stop new licenses for large corporations (moratorium)
 - **Kemitraan**
 - Has not discussed biofuel intensively
 - Must discuss with academicians and come up with a white paper
 - **Kaoem Telapak**
 - Does not pay attention to biofuel issue specifically
 - Pays attention to palm oil planted in forest area (environment crime)
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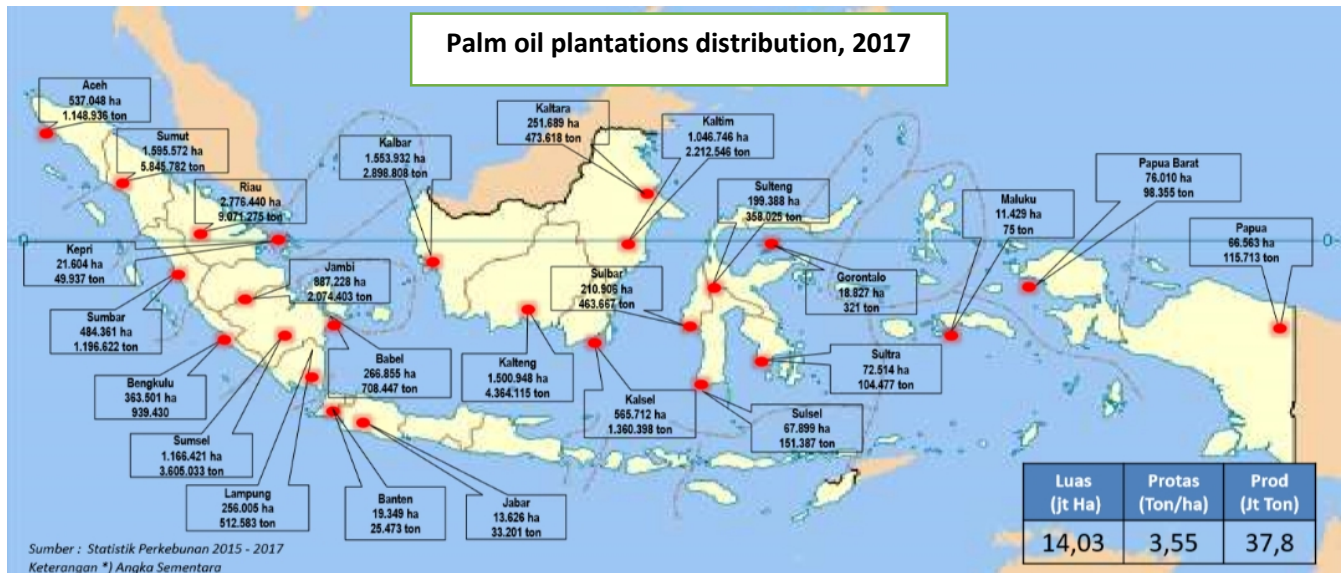
- EIA and UK-based NGOs push for the EU Commission to issue EU Action Plan on Deforestation, which is legally binding, but the EU is more likely to issue a legally weaker 'initiative' on deforestation.
- **Forest Watch Indonesia**
 - Must counter the discourses promoted by palm oil industry: the promise of welfare, green energy etc. based on conditions on the ground (environmental damage, economic injustice, etc.). Must promote lost local knowledge as alternative to palm oil, e.g. Coconut oil.
- **Elsam**
 - Want the government to come up with a single narrative to respond to EU decisions based on no deforestation, no violation of human rights etc. But these narratives have not been picked up. Is developing some papers about the EU policies, National Action Plan on Palm Oil, and workers especially from the angle of human rights.
- **Koaksi**
 - Is conducting research on the sustainability of biofuel supply chain, including looking at the environment, policies, social impacts. Need a life cycle assessment study on biofuel.
- **Madani**
 - Agrees that the probability is that with increased demand, palm oil actors will turn to forested areas to increase production rather than optimizing productivity. Must warn the government about this.
 - But the narratives that must be developed are that no expansion, palm oil governance improvement, no deforestation are the interests of Indonesia, not foreign interests. Must convince policy makers that Indonesia must make improvements regardless of external development because there are issues that have been mapped to be resolved, for example: (I) data problems, (ii) foreign domination in palm oil industry, (iii) tax evasion, (iv) illegal operations and law enforcement, etc.

Palm oil productivity performance

(Ministry of Agriculture, 2017, temporary number)

- Size of palm oil plantation = 14,030,574 hectares
 - Large private companies = 7.7 million hectares
 - People's plantation = 5.6 million hectares
 - Large state plantation = 710,169 hectares.
- Total productivity = 37.8 million tons. Potential productivity = **89.5 million tons** (optimal productivity = 8.4 tons/hectare, currently it is only 3.5 tons/hectare in average). It is interesting that the government targets the productivity to almost reach 90 million tons based on existing plantations. However, the Ministry of Agriculture's replanting area for smallholders is only 185,000 hectares.

- The largest palm oil plantation in Indonesia today is in Riau North Sumatera, Central Kalimantan, and East Kalimantan. See the map below.



Madani is in view that at this moment, to avoid alienation CSOs in Indonesia must come up with joint narratives that highlight arguments or facts already conceded to by the government, such as found in the study of KPK regarding problems in palm oil sector, rather than attacking palm oil as a sector that can be divisive and counterproductive. Narratives such as tax compliance the urgency to build the downstream industry, increased productivity, empowerment of smallholders, economic valuation of the environment, and SDGs can be an entry point to delve into issues such as deforestation, conflicts, and indigenous people in the palm oil sector. Continuous intensive discussion among CSOs on existing researches about biofuel from all aspects including its life cycle is also needed, including RFN's Driving Deforestation and For Peat's Sake reports not only to develop the capacity of the CSOs but also to give them a room to think about biofuel in a more complete manner and to contextualize it to their struggle in Indonesian political and economic setting.
