



The Role of Alternative Development in Drug Control and Development Cooperation

International Conference 07 - 12 January 2002
Feldafing (Munich) / Germany



Dear Readers,

**this is the download-version of the documentation of
the International Conference on the Role of
Alternative Development in Drug Control
and Development Cooperation
7 - 12 January 2002 in Feldafing/Munich.**

**For the printed version, please contact the editors
(addresses see Page 34).**

Preface

The international conference on Alternative Development (AD) which was held at a lovely place at the DSE-Centre for Food, Rural Development and the Environment (ZEL) in Feldafing at Lake Starnberg in Upper Bavaria was a very worthwhile investment. We would like to express our appreciation to every organisation and individual expert who attended the conference and contributed actively. We enjoyed excellent cooperation with the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP). We consider the exchange of experiences among ex-

perts from the South, from Asia and Latin America, as very valuable since it was a unique opportunity. Fruitful discussions and well focussed teamwork in relevant subjects laid the foundation for updating the existing concept of Alternative Development and for forming strategic alliances. Objectives of the conference were also reached by utilising conference results for the drafting of the resolution on Alternative Development which was submitted to the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs by Germany together with Columbia, Bolivia, Peru and Denmark and approved on 15 March 2002. Results of the Feldafing conference were also utilised by the regional conference

on AD for Southeast Asia (organised by UNDCP in February in Laos). The regional conference planned for the Andean countries for September 2002 in Lima is modelled on the Feldafing conference.

Recent history after September 11, 2001 has clearly shown that illicit drug production has strong connections to political instability and to poverty. The conference concluded that developing alternatives to illicit

drug economies could only be done in a sustainable manner by approaching drug-related problems through development cooperation. This major challenge can only be mastered by sharing the respective efforts among the international community.

We sincerely hope that the outcome of this conference will have constructive long-term effects.

Erich Stather
Permanent Secretary, BMZ

Ulrich Popp
Director General, DSE

Wolfgang Schmitt
Director General, GTZ

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The Feldafing Declaration: Background

Negative effects caused by the misuse, trafficking and production of illicit drugs have become a growing concern of both governments and civil society, and triggered drug policies that may have led to harmful effects. Drug trafficking has led to the corruption of state and civil society institutions.

The considerable revenues generated by the illicit drugs industry have led to the concentration of power, wealth and income, distorted macro-economic indicators and constrained productive investment. Increasing levels of drug misuse have led to a loss in human capital and imposed a particular burden on women who have typically had to meet the social and economic costs of addiction within the family. Illicit drug crops have tended to be cultivated in remote areas, exacerbating levels of socio-economic, environmental and military conflict. Moreover, illicit drug crop cultivators typically have poor access to health, education and are particularly vulnerable to the threat of violence and intimidation.

Over the last thirty years there have been a number of development interventions aimed at reducing illicit drug crop cultivation. Initial efforts sought to replace opium poppy and coca with other crops that were equally profitable. This approach proved too narrow, providing limited support for infrastructure, marketing and other activities required for the development of viable alternatives. Later initiatives adopted a more integrated approach providing support for both physical and social infrastructure, strengthening local institutions and promoting alternative cropping systems and income generation activities where appropriate.



ate. This approach became known as Alternative Development and has been the preferred model for the reduction of illicit drug crop cultivation.

The Action Plan on International Cooperation on the Eradication of Illicit Drug Crops and on Alternative Development, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly's Twentieth Special Session in 1998 stipulates Alternative Development:

"as a process to prevent and eliminate the illicit cultivation of plants containing narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances through specifically designed rural development measures in the context of sustained national economic growth and sustainable development efforts in countries taking action against drugs, recognising the particular socio-cultural characteristics of the target communities and groups, within the framework of a comprehensive and permanent solution to the problem of illicit drugs."

Alternative Development is now an internationally accepted component of supply-side policy although there is consensus that the production of drugs cannot be addressed by Alternative Development alone. Experience has shown that Alternative Development has often succeeded in eliminating illicit drug crops whilst at the same time improving the living conditions within the project area. The chances of success are particularly high where specific political and economic framework conditions are fulfilled and law enforcement measures are considered as a complementary element whose implementation is made dependent on clearly defined conditions closely coordinated with the results of Alternative Development.

However, there is recognition that the results of Alternative Development could be improved. Concerns over the impact of Alternative Development on the lives and livelihoods of the most vulnerable, including women, has led to the call for strengthening the pro-poor approach of these interventions.

Moreover, despite the clear improvements in living standards experienced by the majority of primary stakeholders within the target area, the priority Alternative Development interventions have measured success in terms of reductions in illicit drug crop cultivation and drug abuse rather than human development indicators, and have resulted in a failure to develop a clear understanding of "what works."

In order to discuss the experience gained so far and to define the determinant factors for success or failure a group of about 80 experts met at the German Foundation for International Development in Feldafing, Germany on 8-12 January 2002. At the end of their deliberations the participants of the meeting wanted to address policy decision makers and senior administrators in developing as well as in developed countries and in international agencies and the public at large with the following declaration (*see next page*). ●●➔



The Feldafing Declaration: Complete Text

(1)

We, a group of experts from national and international organisations with many years of experience in Alternative Development, want to draw attention to the necessary role of Alternative Development in achieving the aim of reducing illicit drug production and improving the living conditions of those hitherto dependent on drug crop cultivation, many of them small farmers, ethnic minorities and other marginalized groups.

(2)

We call on all governments who have committed themselves to the UNGASS Plan of Action on Alternative Development to take all steps necessary to implement the actions that are part of this plan vigorously and without delay. We are looking forward to seeing declarations followed by actions.

(3)

We call on all actors involved, i.e. national governments, drug control agencies and development agencies, to deepen the debate on drug policies with the aim of clearly defining their respective roles.

(4)

We notice with concern that there are cases in which law enforcement measures are not coordinated with Alternative Development programmes. Being aware of the necessity of law enforcement measures we urge all who are responsible for their planning and implementation to respect the delicate balance between law enforcement measures and Alternative Development and to give particular emphasis to the point in time when such measures – if necessary – are implemented so as not to interfere with Alternative Development. Alternative Development should neither be made conditional on a prior elimination of drug crop cultivation nor should a reduction be enforced until licit components of livelihood strategies have been sufficiently strengthened.

(5)

While acknowledging the broad definition of Alternative Development in the UNGASS Plan of Action – which makes it possible for the first time to use an officially recognized definition – we feel that more conceptual refinement is required particularly on the following points: conflict prevention/resolution, poverty alleviation, social and environmental implications. There is a clear need for a greater emphasis on monitoring the impact of Alternative Development on the lives and livelihoods of primary stakeholders. In relationships with funding agencies and with countries in which Alternative Development programmes are implemented it is essential to have a clear mutual understanding of what measures are part of Alternative Development and what objectives will have to

be pursued. We are aware of the importance of demand side policies: in the long run success cannot be sustainable if demand is not reduced on a global level.

(6)

We express our concern that the principles of self-determination, participation and empowerment of groups who have at present no power and no voice in the political debate are stressed in official documents but not always found in reality. We urge governments as well as implementing agencies to take these concepts seriously. Alternative Development programmes can only be successful in terms of supply reduction, improving social and economic conditions and conflict management if they are perceived as a process leading towards the realisation of human rights. Client individuals and communities should be respected and recognised as bearers of such rights.

(7)

We call on national governments in countries in which drug crops are grown – and in most cases drugs are also consumed – to develop and implement a national drug policy. Drug control should be a cross-cutting issue of all components of national policy. We consider it essential that social and economic development plans include Alternative Development as a major element. Regional development policy and agricultural policy, in particular policies on land tenure, infrastructure, markets and prices for agricultural commodities, rural institutions including credit, etc., should be designed and implemented in a way that gives particular emphasis to their role in Alternative Development.

(8)

Being convinced that the potentials of Alternative Development have only partially been exploited, we call on the international community to allocate more funds to Alternative Development. This is in particular a challenge for developed countries in which the abuse of drugs is a major problem. Sustainable Alternative Development requires long-term measures. Therefore it is strongly urged that long-term funding commitment should be ensured. The principle of shared responsibility includes a co-responsibility of such countries for supply-side measures, by which part of the actions and related costs to combat drug abuse are shifted to the source countries. The international community and national governments should consider new and innovative funding mechanisms (debt-swap, active role of WB, IDB, ADB, etc.).

(9)

Convinced that Alternative Development can make a major contribution to generally acknowledged development objectives such as poverty reduction

or conflict prevention/resolution, and taking particularly into account that target groups often belong to the weaker parts of society such as ethnic minorities, people living in remote areas, small farmers and other underprivileged groups, we call on agencies of development cooperation to place Alternative Development high on their agenda. Alternative Development can bring about similar results in improving the living conditions of these target groups and shifts toward sustainable development as other measures implemented for these purposes with no or only small additional costs. In order to get a better understanding of costs and benefits related to Alternative Development more research should be carried out.

(10)

The multilateral, bilateral and national agencies that have made considerable efforts in promoting Alternative Development should continue and increase these efforts. For this purpose, the required technical capacity – including qualified staff at all levels – has to be guaranteed.

(11)

We are dissatisfied by our observation that in the international arena and at the national level collaboration between agencies responsible for development cooperation and those responsible for activities to control the abuse of drugs is weak. We want to encourage these institutions to establish stronger links for their mutual benefit and for the benefit of the overarching objective of a world with fewer problems resulting from the abuse of drugs and closer to the goal of sustainable development.

(12)

We regard the Feldafing Conference as a laudable effort to bring together worldwide experience in Alternative Development in order to learn from experience made in different regions and countries with a wide range of social and economic conditions, to come to a better understanding of factors determinant for success or failure and to refine our concepts accordingly. In particular, this unique opportunity to exchange lessons learned in Asia and Latin America was found to be extremely valuable. We see this as an essential step in an ongoing process and strongly recommend follow-up actions in the same vein in order to make an exchange of experience, a sharpening of our instruments and their adaptation to changing social and economic conditions a regular part of our work. Moreover we call on international agencies to consider this document as an expression of concern of those who work in the field of Alternative Development and to take action to overcome shortcomings and to make Alternative Development more powerful in achieving our common goals.



Next Steps: Strategies and Joint Actions

The end of the Feldafing Conference was a new beginning: before the official closing, participants initiated a wide-spread dialogue about future steps to improve the approach of AD and to disseminate its advantages. The proposals

documented on these two pages were collected at the pinboard-forum in the lobby. The responsible contact persons listed are looking forward to receiving support from professional partners from all parts of the world.

!!! To share the outcome of the Feldafing Conference with others, including government representatives, project staff and the target communities

Who?

National governments, ODCCP Field Offices, NGOs, other development agencies, project staff and the illicit crop growing communities

When? Ongoing until the end of 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

All participants of the Feldafing Conference, including country delegations, international organisations, development agencies, NGOs and experts

!!! To disseminate positive results of Alternative Development in order to promote political support for Alternative Development and, specifically, to raise the place of Alternative Development on the EU agenda through presentation of the Feldafing Declaration and Recommendations

Who?

National governments, NGOs and other interested agencies

When? Ongoing

Leading agency/Contact person:

ENCOD, Mr. Oomen, Encod@glo.be



!!! To set up and facilitate the exchange of information on Alternative Development through an internet platform

Who?

Any interested agency/participant of the Feldafing Conference.



When? From now to end 2003

Leading agency/Contact person:

DSE, Mr. Gruendler, v.gruendler@dse.de

!!! To set up and coordinate an e-mail discussion on a key (technical) issue in Alternative Development

Who?

Interested AD experts who participated in the Feldafing Conference, as well as UNDCP Field and HQ staff involved in AD

When? Fourth quarter 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

ODCCP, Ms. Korenblik, Anja.Korenblik@undcp.org

!!! To assess the existing Alternative Development monitoring and evaluation systems and to develop an improved participatory impact monitoring system

Who?

National governments, GTZ, NGOs and other interested agencies.

When?

Development of monitoring system ongoing until the end of 2002 followed by widespread application

Leading agency/Contact person:

BMZ/GTZ, Mr. Berg, Christoph.Berg@gtz.de

!!! To enhance the discussion and improve the evaluation process of the progress made towards achieving the goals of the UNGASS Action Plan.

Who?

NGOs, including local civil society organisations in illicit drug producing countries



When? 2002-2003

Leading agency/Contact person:

TNI, Mr. Jelsma, mjelsma@tni.org

!!! To introduce success stories from Latin America and Asia to promote political backing for Alternative Development

Who?

National policy makers

When?

Second quarter 2003

Leading agency/Contact person:

DSE/ZEL, Mr. Salau, k.salau@dse.de
BMZ, Mr. Zoll, Zollc@bmz.bund.de



!!! To continue to refine the concept of Alternative Development and, on this basis, to develop technical guidelines for implementation

Who?

BMZ and GTZ staff. International AD experts will be invited to contribute to the discussions

When? Ongoing until the end of 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

BMZ/GTZ, Mr. Berg, Christoph.Berg@gtz.de

!!! To improve collaboration between donor agencies involved in Alternative Development in Laos through joined efforts in database development, planning, training, monitoring and reporting

Who?

Relevant governmental and non-government agencies at national provincial and local levels

When? 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

Lao Commission for Drug Control, Mr. Kou Chansina; gtzldcp@laotel.com



!!! To offer training courses to improve efficiency and ownership of training and workshops

Who?

Staff and counterparts of international and national agencies

When? 2002-2003

Leading agency/Contact person:

DSE/ZEL, Mr. Klennert, k.klennert@dse.de



!!! To strengthen Andean regional cooperation and implementation of the Andean Plan of Cooperation against Drug Related Crimes.

Who?

Andean regional organisations, international organisations and development agencies

When? 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

CADA, Mr. Chavez, Jchavez@iicacrea.org.pe; CICAD, Mr. Rios, Jrios@oas.org

!!! To continue and improve monitoring and exchange of Alternative Development experiences in the countries of Southeast Asia

Who?

Governments in Southeast Asia taking part in subregional co-operation networks on drug control (MOU, Accord Action Plan).

When? Ongoing in 2002-2003

Leading agency/Contact person:

ODCCP Regional Centre Bangkok, Mr. Chinnanon, Sanong.chinnanon@undcp.un.or.th

!!! To refine the technical advisory note on Alternative Development based on the results of the Feldafing Conference and the Debate on Alternative Development at the 2002 Session of the Commission of Narcotic Drugs

Who? UNDCP

When? Ongoing until the end of 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

ODCCP, Ms. Korenblik, Anja.Korenblik@undcp.org



!!! To organize a workshop on key issues in Alternative Development in Peru

Who?

Regional participants from the government, NGOs, research institutions and the private sector, including farmers

When? October 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

Government of Peru, Mr. Balbuena, jbalbuena@contradrogas.gob.pe; GTZ, Mr. Berg, Christoph.Berg@gtz.de



!!! To strengthen EU engagement in Alternative Development in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru

Who?

Members of the Horizontal Group of the EU

When? 2002

Leading agency/Contact person:

EC, Mr. Gumz, praedac@pino.cbb.entelnet.bo

“One of the Major Challenges”

With this conference, we are confronting one of the major challenges of our times: the problem of drugs. In doing so, we are also facing an almost insoluble task: determining the possibilities open to us in our endeavour to reduce and control illegal production all over the world. Both, the industrialised and the developing countries are equally affected by drug problems.




A sensible policy against drugs must control both the demand and supply sides. It is clear that it is just as impossible to solve the drug problem alone, at the national level. It is important, however, for each of us to do our own homework.

Development-based measures will not suffice on their own to solve the drug problem worldwide. However, development cooperation can indeed make a contribution towards reducing the drug problem and promoting development processes.

Unfortunately, globalisation has long since become a reality in the drug business. We need a comprehensive, international cooperation effort in many of the areas of drug control, for example, in:

- controlling international trade,
- police cooperation in the fight against drug smuggling,
- the coordination of development policy measures in the cultivating, producing and transit countries,
- devising global strategies to control chemicals which can be misused for the production of narcotic drugs, and
- in developing and setting up addict-support systems.

Alternative Development represents a means of offering men and women new perspectives for their lives. As a result, it is likely to be more lasting in its effects and more promising than strategies which rely solely on repression. Alternative Development is a complex and long-term process. Success depends on numerous external factors such as trends in demand and the effective control of the drug trade.

Nevertheless, the potential of Alternative Development is far from being exhausted. The task before us must now be to improve our strategies and expand our commitment. And we must do so to such a degree that the forced eradication of those areas under drug cultivation which belong to small farmers becomes superfluous. 

“Exchange for Learning”

This International Conference in Feldafing is the continuation of an event organised in Berlin in 1993 by the DSE on the initiative of our Ministry and the UNDCP. It shows the great importance the German Government continues to attach to the drug issue. Drug cultivation, trade and abuse and the social implications are seen as a complex obstacle to development affecting the nerve centre of developing as well as industrialised countries.

The exchange of political and specialised experience is in my view the foremost source of learning and development. And this is particularly true in the case of a development issue for which sustainable solutions can only be reached if it is embedded in the overall development and not created as an isolated problem. Therefore, regarding the drug problem, not only a strong global community sharing the responsibilities and thus the dialogue between developing and industrialised countries is required, but also well-functioning development partnerships at a national level are necessary.


At this Conference more than 80 experts of international renown from 18 countries are assembled,



Ulrich Popp,
Director General,
German Founda-
tion for Interna-
tional Develop-
ment (DSE)

representatives from international and governmental organisations as well as non-governmental organisations

- for political stock-taking,
- to evaluate and draw conclusions for future action,
- to mobilise and bundle forces at all levels with binding character, setting *new* milestones in the context of global structure and peace policy.

Given the well-balanced representation of different organisations and participants at this International Conference, I am confident that at this Feldafing meeting we will again reach a mutual agreement on useful and future-oriented solutions. 

“A Cross-Cutting Issue”




Sumru Noyan,
Director, United
Nations Office for
Drug Control and
Crime Prevention
(UN-ODCCP)

This conference was originally planned for September 2001. Since then, our world has become a different place. The last months have removed any possible doubt that drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism are linked. UN Security Council resolution 1373 also underlines the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money laundering and illegal arms trafficking.

In Afghanistan, the role of the UN is, among others, to cooperate with the Interim Authority to combat international terrorism and the cultivation and trafficking of illicit drugs and to provide Afghan farmers with financial, material and technical resources for alternative crop production. As the drug problem is a cross-cutting issue, UNDCP's contribution will be part of the combined UN effort.

The objective of Alternative Development is the removal of the economic necessity for small farmers to produce an illegal crop. It enables people to live within the law. In the great majority of countries around the world, there is no problem in applying the laws against illicit crop cultivation. In a few countries, however, there are special problems surrounding the cultivation of opium poppy or coca bush. These problems are significant as we operate mostly in remote areas, which are not integrated into the national economy and where the government has limited control. Such conditions increase the risk of “displacement of illicit cultivation.”

There is now enough experience to conclude that Alternative Development, adapted to local conditions and carried out with the participation of the population, can remove the economic reliance on an illegal crop. Alternative Development will only be successful and sustainable if it is part of a comprehensive development effort. That is why we emphasize so much the need for mainstreaming the drug control component into the planning and implementation of development programmes.

I would like to stress the need for a participatory approach at all levels. Full government commitment is a must. The full involvement of the local population in the decision-making processes is another must. And the involvement of the international community is yet another requirement. Drug control must always be a dynamic process, where experience is constantly analyzed and where approaches change on the basis of what is learned. 

“Closely Related Problems”

The German Government attaches high importance to drug control measures as a specific field of our development cooperation. Development cooperation these days is also a field of global structural policies. It contributes to and affects global change and with this it also influences our common future and substantially contributes to its sustainability.

Drug abuse badly reduces physical and mental development for the individual consumer, but it also badly affects whole communities, sometimes even entire regions or nations. Let me mention a few examples only.

- Formerly intact mountain villages in northern Thailand or in Laos are almost completely destroyed, because via drug cultivation drug consumption became a very serious problem to many villagers in those production centers, thus increasing poverty, violence and crime at the same time.

- Afghanistan with its former Taliban regime was almost entirely dependent on revenues from heroin trafficking.

- In a widely read and highly esteemed newspaper there was a report on the guerilla war in Columbia the other day with the clear statement that this war will continue as long as there is demand for cocaine.

- And as a last but by no means least important example: children as soldiers – whom we saw so many times in our TV news from Africa – would not be able to commit their horrible crimes without the intoxication from drugs.

All these very convincing demonstrations underline why development cooperation needs to accept responsibility in the field of drug-abuse-control measures aiming at the same time for more peace and conflict prevention.

Drug abuse and other drug-related problems are in most instances closely related to development problems, such as hunger, malnutrition and weak health and education services.

Drug cultivation very often is induced by poverty, exclusion from political and social developments and generally poor frame conditions. Poverty also leads to drug consumption in those regions where coca and poppy are cultivated. Similarly social inequality and lacking perspectives are additional reasons leading to drug consumption in our partner countries.



Drug control and development cooperation are no longer two separate issues. Both contribute not only to

sustainable development, but also to security and stability. Thus we need to ensure that the drug problem is taken into consideration in the planning and implementation of all our development measures.

“No Quick Solutions”

**Wolfgang Schmitt, Director
General, Deutsche
Gesellschaft für Technische
Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)**



Why should “drug-control people” be concerned with “soft issues” like sustainable development, participation, gender, etc.; and why should “development people” tackle such a dangerous and difficult goal as reducing drug crop cultivation? The answer is simple: Neither side can hope for success without the other. Let me quote a Colombian priest from the lower Caguán to make my point:

“Without doubt,” he says, “there is coca planted in this area, but then people are suffering from hunger. There are guerrilla fighters because there is no government. The FARC is the executive and legislative and judicial combined. There is commerce in drugs because the central government is absent and economic policy is absent. The farmers are innocent. If the government just resorts to repressive measures, it closes the door on more than 20,000 people who are not even living like human beings as it is.”

This quote shows *why* we should use a development approach and also indicates *how* we can do so. Let me take up three aspects:

- The mention of the fact that “people are suffering from hunger” clearly demonstrates the close connection between poverty and drug cultivation. Alternative Development must be clearly poverty oriented and create both on-farm and off-farm income that will improve the farmers’ general circumstances. But it must also improve people’s living standards in the broader and more poverty-eliminating sense of including such services as basic health care and education.

- The statement that “there are guerrilla fighters because there is no government” hints at what is probably the biggest problem: the political, institutional and economic marginalisation of drug-producing areas. Alternative Development projects should therefore step up the integration of coca-producing areas. This requires support and advisory services for a decentralised policy, the strengthening of local and regional institutions, the decentralisation of services such as education, health, rural marketing and credit systems, etc., and the creation of opportunities for people to participate in political decision-making processes.

- The last sentence of the quote, about repressive measures, underlines the futility of repression. Repressive measures and fumigation are too simplistic a response for so complex a socio-economic and political problem as drug production.

What are some of the lessons we have learned?

- Participation is one of the most important principles in drug control. Participation is the key to sustainability and should guide the design, formulation, implementation and evaluation of drug control strategies. We cannot solve drug cultivation problems without farmers and farm workers. We need their common commitment to exchanging an illegal way of life for a legal one.

- Alternative Development programs have been realised best where the development goal was at the fore. A nominal reduction of drug cultivation is not a real reduction of the cultivation problem. Often it is just a question of displacement and dispersion and/or cyclical reduction. Criteria for success should be based on qualitative parameters. And we must face the fact that it is impossible to come up with quick solutions to complex problems.

**For the full version of the opening speeches see:
<http://www.alternative-development.net>**

A Successful Combination of Conference and Workshop

The “International Conference on The Role of Alternative Development in Drug Control and Development Cooperation” from 08 to 12 January 2002 in Feldafing (Munich), Germany was hosted by the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). Organisers were the

German Foundation for International Development (DSE), the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), and the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention, (UN-ODCCP). (Additional background-information can be found on page 31.)

Participants came from governmental organisations in drug producer countries in the Andean region (Bolivia, Colombia, Peru) and in Asia (Afghanistan, Laos, Myanmar, Pakistan, Thailand and Vietnam). Senior technical experts working on Alternative Development in multilateral organisations, including the World Bank and United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP), Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO), Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission of the Organisation of American States (OAS-CICAD), and the European Commission, were represented.

Participants also included representatives of development institutions in some donor countries such as Germany (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development/BMZ and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit/GTZ), the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Agency for International Development/USAID). Furthermore members of selected non-governmental organisations, for instance the European NGO Council on Drug and Development (ENCOD) of the Transnational Institute (TNI) and Caritas International, took part in the conference.

The event bore the title “international conference” in recognition of the wide range of participating countries and institutions. However, the working approach was akin to a workshop,



comprising in-depth collaborative working processes for both the analysis of Alternative Development and the elaboration of strategic visions.

The major analytical part of the conference was scheduled for 9 and 10 January 2002 with keynote addresses and four parallel working groups discussing a wide range of aspects of Alternative Development. The working groups discussed *inter alia* the balance between law enforcement (LE) measures and alternative development (AD), the need for infrastructure and services and linkages with conflict prevention/resolution and poverty alleviation. Discussions also covered the principles of self-determination, human rights, indigenous knowledge, participation and empowerment of communities.


More working groups drew conceptual conclusions and submitted recommendations for political decision-makers on Friday, 11 January 2002. These then formed the basis on which strategic alliances for a wide-scale implementation of Alternative Development projects can be established.

Discussion on 12 January 2002, the last day of the conference, focused on the Final Declaration, which is associated with both the technical and the political dimensions of Alternative Development.

Regional Workshops

Prior to the conference, two separate Regional Workshops for Asia and Latin America (Andean Region) took place on 7 January (full day) and 8 January 2002 (morning). Based on the experiences accumulated so far, the workshop participants analysed the situation in the different drug-producing countries, identified factors for success and constraints of Alternative Development programmes and developed elements for an updated concept of AD.

Information Market

In the beginning of the International Conference an Information Market, AD FAIR, was held. Its objective was to display the various experiences with Alternative Development in a visual form. All participating organisations, institutions and individual experts were invited to display their work. The AD FAIR, presenting posters, books and brochures, was open to all guests invited to the opening of the International Conference. 



Persuasive Arguments for Alternative Development

The name of the International Feldafing Conference was its programme: “We want to define the future role of Alternative Development within the framework of drug control and development cooperation,” said Anja Korenblik and Christoph Berg, representatives of United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention (UN-ODCCP) and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). The conference output was a variety of elements for updating the AD concept – and first steps to some joint actions.

The concept of Alternative Development was defined at the international workshop held in Berlin in 1994 and subsequently reviewed in 1996 at the CICAD conference in Lima, Peru. It was officially recognised and endorsed in June 1998 by the UN General Assembly at its twentieth special session on international drug control (UNGASS). The Feldafing Conference aimed to renew this concept on the basis of experience gained since its inception at the beginning of the 1990s. One of the most important objectives: Drug control programmes shall be geared more closely to development policy goals, because drug and development problems are closely interrelated.

There are four million people who depend on income derived from the cultivation of coca bush and opium poppy, Anja Korenblik explained. Alternative Development can offer viable alternatives for the coca and poppy growers. The approach promises to create an economic and social environment in which households can attain an acceptable standard of living, without resorting to drug drops. Korenblik: “It is a long-term perspective for sustainable economic development and equitable growth.”

Developments following 11 September 2001 have made it obvious that drug control is a precondition for peace, poverty reduction and sus-



Christoph Berg (GTZ) and Anja Korenblik (UN-ODCCP)

tainable development, not only in Afghanistan but everywhere. Thus Alternative Development is facing even more strongly the dual challenge of simultaneously reducing drug production and promoting sustainable development. But funding, reported Christoph Berg, “has been low during the past several years, with a downward tendency.” He pointed out a central problem: “Often we still must struggle to convince people in donor countries of the advantages of the concept and to clearly explain the disadvantages.”

Berg also didn’t hesitate to confess that “we often do not know how to combine the different and unconnected development processes within a given region and influence the decisions of both individuals and projects.” He requested support from the conference and its



The Conference Achievements in Brief


The International Feldafing Conference

- identified the factors that facilitate or inhibit the successful implementation of Alternative Development programmes
- analysed the current and potential roles of Alternative Development in drug control in order to convince decision-makers in drug control organisations to accord higher priority to alternative development as a drug-control strategy
- analysed the current and potential roles of Alternative Development in development cooperation in order to convince decision-makers in development cooperation organisations to accord greater priority to Alternative Development as a strategy for sustainable human development
- created conditions for the formation of strategic alliances between multi-lateral and national development cooperation institutions and also specialised drug control organisations with the aim of promoting broadscale implementation of Alternative Development programmes.

participants: “We need to know what you know about solving difficult and acute problems. We need persuasive arguments to convince donors to spend money on Alternative Development and prevent further escalation of criminal activities.”

Alternative Development, Berg said, “has good potentials,” But AD programmes “can never be more than models for demonstrating solutions.” And AD always is “a process that is closely linked to institutional and economic environments.”

To gain a stronger role in development issues, it “would be important to create a network of Alternative Development experts,” Anja Korenblik suggested. This network is to bundle Alternative Development expertise and to join forces to further Alternative Development.

The conference illustrated the value of exchanging experiences and ideas among experts. The expectation of the organisers: “We hope that the outcome of the meeting will be a step towards real action and change,” said Korenblik. 

The UNDCP Action Plan: A Summary of Consensus Views

Meeting point, common ground, communication tool: some of the expressions used by Doris Buddenberg to describe the role of the UNGASS Action Plan on Alternative Development. The Action Plan on International Cooperation on the Eradication of Illicit Drug Crops and on Alternative Development is the actual base of International Drug Control Policy. Buddenberg, from the UNDCP Office in Viet Nam, recalled its history, threw a glance at the present status of its implementation and discussed the lessons learned. Also part of her keynote: the relation between Alternative Development and law enforcement.

The Action Plan on Alternative Development is one part of the different resolutions, declarations and action plans of the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) 1998. In November 1996 the UN General Assembly had decided to convene this Special Session to adopt the 1988 UN Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

Precursor of the concept of Alternative Development was the crop substitution approach. Doris Buddenberg: “The Alternative Development approach is wider in scope, and applies methods and instruments with a view towards increased sustainability.”

Most UNDCP donor countries participated in the drafting of an Action Plan on Alternative Development. Recipient countries from Asia (Southwest and Southeast) held back, while Central and South American countries participated actively and vociferously. African countries did not participate. Conflicts, contradictions and hidden agendas accompany not only the work in drug control, but were also present in the drafting of its textual legitimization. Buddenberg: “United Nations provided a meeting point, a common ground ultimately expressed in the agreed-upon text.”

As consequence, the Action Plan is on the one hand the result of a communication process and on the other hand a tool for future communication. Buddenberg suggested “that it should be judged by one criterion: if the communication continues, the Action Plan has served its purpose.”



Doris Buddenberg

It is, admitted Buddenberg, difficult to summarize the Action Plan, “because it is already a summary of consensus views at a high level of generality.” The preamble contains among other things the definition of Alternative Development as agreed upon the General Assembly. Six headings highlight the most important objectives in

summarizing recommendations, statements and need descriptions.

For example, the Action Plan’s call for strengthening international cooperation for Alternative Development also includes the need for a long-term political and financial commitment by both donors and recipients. The chapter “Improved and

Definition

Alternative Development as agreed upon by the General Assembly

“A process to prevent and eliminate the illicit cultivation of plants containing narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances through specifically designed rural development measures in the context of sustained national economic growth and sustainable development efforts in countries taking action against drugs, recognizing the particular socio-cultural characteristics of the target communities and groups, within the framework of a comprehensive and permanent solution to the problem of illicit drugs.”

innovative approaches to Alternative Development” identifies the need to incorporate the latest development thinking, in particular focussing on the eradication of poverty. Other sections deal with the enhancement of monitoring, evaluation and information-sharing and an adequate follow-up.

The “balanced approach”

But foremost, the Action Plan expresses the need for a balanced approach to confront high levels of illicit cultivation. Buddenberg: “The balanced approach, originally a term developed to denote a balance between supply and demand reduction measures, is used here to denote a balance between repressive law enforcement approaches and more liberal development-oriented approaches.”

In addition, there is a separate section about the need for law enforcement in controlling illicit crops. Law enforcement is suggested

- if organised crime is involved in illicit cultivation,
- if value-added activities, such as laboratory processing, take place,
- after Alternative Development measures have been successful (definition of successful: the establishment of legitimate viable income).

Law enforcement is further recommended as a factor to influence the profitability of illicit crops and, if applied, only environmentally safe methods of eradication should be used. Doris Buddenberg: “The actual situation shows that all governments apply eradication methods whenever politically opportune and/or endorsed by the current regime.”

The present status of the implementation of the Action Plan is difficult to assess. At which level, asked Buddenberg, “should we be concerned with implementation: at country level or at the level of UNDCP?” Another inherent difficulty is the very nature of the Action Plan as “a collection of recommendations arrived at by consensus among many different actors and therefore representing a variety of choices.”



The backbone of the monitoring is the reporting system, based on a biennial questionnaire. It was developed by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) and UNDCP specifically for the member states to report on their progress. Part IV of the questionnaire deals with the Action Plan on Alternative Development.

What has the Action Plan actually achieved? With this document, Doris Buddenberg stated, Alternative Development appeared for the first time as a concept in UN language and UN agreements: “The legitimate base has been created from which advocacy and implementation of Alternative Development activities have been confirmed and can continue.”

The Action Plan, in the view of Buddenberg, set standards, as the document specifying internationally agreed principles for procedure. It had to be flexible to allow adaptation to changing local circumstances and national requirements. As a reference point and communication tool, the Action

Plan succeeded in becoming the guideline to be refined, changed, applied, criticized but as the generally accepted basis for discussion. It has succeeded in furthering communication, “an example of which is this conference itself.”

For UNDCP, Buddenberg clarified, the Action Plan has confirmed

- its role as an opinion leader and standard setting agency in the field of drug control and Alternative Development,
- its mediating role, successfully brokering conflicting interests,
- its operational work in Alternative Development as an advisory body, determined on the one hand by donor funding and its conditions, and on the other hand by the policy of the recipient country.

Doris Buddenberg’s final assessment: “If the Action Plan is the lowest common denominator currently possible in the so-called

What about Cannabis?

The issue of Alternative Development for cannabis cultivation remains one of the contradictions of international drug control policies. According to the international conventions, cannabis cultivation is as illicit a form of drug plant cultivation as that of opium poppy or coca.

However, many donor nations are themselves significant cultivators of cannabis and are apparently unwilling to deal with the issue in their own countries through either law enforcement or Alternative Development as stringently as requested for other drug plants in other countries.

realpolitik of a very varied world, let us say a communication tool for further communication, then so be it.”

Two Separate Entities, but a Common Goal

The Do’s

- Interdiction measures by the government to affect drug prices at the local level
- Regional cooperation on drug control
- Peasants considered valid interlocutors with the state
- Community-based agreements
- Pact with farmers and local governments, not with project executors
- Balanced approach and continuity of funding from the international community
- Respect for law
- Flexible timeframe for activities
- Gradual reduction of illicit cultivation
- Adequate timing and allocation of resources have an impact
- Promote community (voluntary) eradication prior to police and government eradication (if possible)
- Differentiate between small growers and industrialized drug crop cultivation with respect to application of law enforcement measures
- Ensure environmentally safe methods for eradication

The Don’t’s

- Prosecute small growers and let the traffickers go
- Treat small growers like big narcotics
- Eradicate whilst there are no viable alternatives
- International cooperation should not reduce support when initial success is achieved

They came, reported one participant, “to the heart of our discussions”: One working group in Feldafing analysed intensively the disputed balanced approach of Alternative Development (AD) and Law Enforcement (LE). The group presented the following results:

Recommendations: Concept

- Law enforcement is much more than just eradication
- Consensus building, social tranquillity and public safety policy
- Complete assessment of policy environment including: Adherence to UN conventions, Extend Government write, Political will and long - term commitment of donors, government and community

Recommendations: Policy

- Agreed action plan for law enforcement to complement Alternative Development but as a separate entity
- Decentralized planning and decision making subject to accountability and transparency
- Foster process of voluntary abandonment of illicit cultivation
- Drug reduction strategies should not hinder AD programmes, but rather illicit crop eradication should be carried out in a concerted, voluntary and gradual way
- Supply reduction, AD and forced eradication policies should be periodically evaluated to assess their socio-economic, political and environmental impacts

Recommendations: Alliances

- Definition of regional policies to avoid the balloon effect and the mercury effect as consequences of national drug reduction strategies and the illicit market forces

A Determinant Factor for Success and Failure of AD Projects: The Political Framework

The political framework is a “determinant factor for success and failure of Alternative Development.” For Alexander Seger this framework “could be described through human rights and democratic governance.” In his keynote-address the political scientist also underlined the rationale and the overall goals of drug control.

Drug control, explained Seger, is not just about controlling substances, but about contributing to the overall goals of human rights, peace and sustainable human development. “An ultimate goal of drug control is to enable people to exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms.” Therefore Alternative Development plays a “privileged role” in the field of drug control. And conversely, drug control strategies that violate human rights and cause development problems defeat the purpose of drug control. A clear stance is needed on this issue, considering that drug production often takes place in areas where human rights violations are prevalent.

The political framework for Alternative Development “could be described through human rights and democratic governance.” In this sense a determinant factor for success and failure of Alternative Development is the extent to which human rights are protected and democratic governance is exercised.

But human rights means more: their realisation is an overall goal of humanity. Seger: “In a way, the link between drug control and human rights is similar to the one between human development and human rights. Human development is essential for realising human rights, and human rights are essential for full human development.”

To define his idea of democratic governance Seger quoted UNDCP’s 1996 declaration on Governance for Sustainable Human Development: “(...) It comprises the complex mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights and obligations, and mediate their differences. Sound governance describes governance that is, inter alia, participatory, transparent, accountable, effective, equitable and that promotes the rule of law.”

A question with practical implications

Seger stressed that the question of human rights and democratic governance “is not an abstract one,” but has practical implications for Alternative Development programmes. He named three striking points:

- If people are discriminated because of sex, gender, religion, race or ethnicity they cannot participate in Alternative Development activities.
- AD programmes are more likely to be successful if the people involved are able to exercise their rights and potentials.
- If human rights are violated, the international community is unlikely to provide funding for AD programmes.

Need for rule of law

Procurement crime, trafficking, organised crime, terrorism: these are only some keywords for the huge impact of violence on drug problems. A promising implementation of Alternative Development programmes requires more than “a minimum of security.” As the most important components for the rule of law, Alexander Seger named:

- action by government and administrations that is based on law,
- fair administration of justice, independence of the judiciary,
- safeguards to protect people’s basic rights,
- effective remedy for violations of fundamental rights,
- sanctions to be proportionate, dissuasive and effective.



Alexander Seger

The rule of law “also means that drug control must be put on a clear legal basis,” Seger said. Especially related to Alternative Development his experience is: the most frequently emerging legal problems are the result of differing views of property rights, land-use rights, rights and duties of local administrations, conflict-settlement, and resettlement issues.

Other important factors for success or failure of Alternative Development are, according to Seger, the (non-)existence of:

- participation, equity, democracy: these are indispensable to develop a civic culture that rejects the illicit cultivation of crops,

- effectiveness and efficiency: success and sustainability of AD measures depend to a large extent on the capacity of those institutions responsible for delivering services,

- transparency and accountability: actions by governments and public administrations must be transparent, and they must be held accountable.

Pre-requisite or inter-related process?

Are the above-described framework conditions pre-requisite for designing Alternative Development strategies or are they the product within an inter-related process starting with the implementation of AD programmes? Alexander Seger: “We are encountering a dilemma.”

On the one hand drugs are primarily produced in areas where these conditions are not met. On the other hand: the more these conditions are met, the less illicit drugs are cultivated. “This means that if we make AD programmes dependent on the political framework conditions (‘pre-conditions’) being fully in place, Alternative Development as a strategy will not be of much relevance.”

But if basic conditions are not in place, Seger regards Alternative Development “not as a suitable tool.” In these cases other possibilities should be explored, and other entry points identified. As examples Seger mentioned small-scale interventions using NGOs, direct cooperation with communities, and support to alternative interlocutors. His warning: “Drug control in general and especially Alternative Development should not be used to legitimise repressive regimes or human rights violations.”

Therefore, Alternative Development, in Seger’s view, should be considered a tool to improve political framework conditions. And as political framework conditions improve, drug problems will decrease. Alternative Development and the improvement of human rights and democratic governance are thus part of an interrelated process.

“AD activities are embedded”

In his conclusion Alexander Seger pointed out that Alternative Development activities “can not be seen as isolated mechanical or technical interventions but are embedded in the overall drug control, development and political context.”

This creates a “requirement for an organic approach.” Seger recognised the need for law enforcement to complement alternative development – on a clear legal basis and under the rule of law. He claimed that the specific strategy-policy pursued should be clearly stated by government. And: “AD programmes need to clearly state their drug control objectives.”



Project Success Needs Political Will at all Levels

The discussion was long, strong and “very diverse” – consequence of the complexity of the topic as well as of its broad effects.

So the working group “Good Governance” decided to do it step by step. Before pointing out the Do’s and Don’t’s they used some preparatory questions to clarify positions.

What are the most essential factors influencing Alternative Development?

- System of government: policies on sustainable development and drug control, political commitment to Alternative Development, transparency and accountability
- Situation concerning the rule of law, human rights, ethnic and geographical diversity, level of education and socialisation
- Institutions: effectiveness and efficiency, decentralization, ethical attitude, participation
- International context and macro-economic framework

What factors/questions are observed as crucial for success or failure of AD projects?

- A more open governmental system helps
- Coherence with sound economic and social policies, international and national: Is there a rural development plan, and do policies aim at including rural population in development processes?
- How do market forces of illegal drugs develop?
- How are funds allocated?
- Is it possible to implement existing structures or should new ones be created (capacity building)?

What preconditions are essential for the establishment of AD projects?

- Existence of institutions in the area: state and/or other recognized counterparts
- Political commitment to AD
- Counterpart contribution
- Reliability of counterpart institutions
- Minimum level of physical security
- Access to project area and population
- Anti-corruption clauses
- Infrastructure

The Do’s at International Level

- Formulate AD within a framework of sound economic and social policies
- Provide funding
- Adhesion to international conventions (on drug control, organized crime, human rights, Agenda 21):
 - Allow space for discussing conventions
 - Ratification and implementation
- Improve international negotiations: IMF, WTO, environmental treaties
- International assistance or partnerships
- Establish (sub-)regional alliances
- Establish independent international monitoring mechanisms (what does independent mean?)
- Provide access to information on monitoring and evaluation
- Prioritise development indicators when evaluating the impact of AD (are they present enough in project design?)

The Do’s at National Level

- Help to formulate national strategies
- Integration in rural development plans
- Coordination of drug policies
- De-link AD from law enforcement
- Urge governmental organisations to make commitments
- Improve credibility of state institutions
- Establish participation of population in design and implementation
- Provide funding for AD projects
- Transparency in project financing
- Use existing structures
- Generate solid institutional framework only if necessary
- Strengthen existing strategies to establish alternative income sources
- Strengthen capacities and equitable alliances to ensure mutual benefits

The Do’s at AD Project Level

- Monitoring framework conditions
- Strengthen human rights, rule of law, etc.
- Ensure planning, implementation and execution with participation of peasants and local governments
- Feasibility of alternative production systems
- Realistic market strategy
- Enhancing the counterpart institution
- If conventions are an obstacle to implementation of AD projects, question these conventions
- Decentralization of the project management to the places where they are executed
- Reduce paternalism

The Don’t’s

- Accept external conditionality
- Measure the success of AD by the reduction of hectares

A New Theme: AD and Conflict Management

The relationship between Alternative Development and conflict management is a new theme. Only little experience has been documented so far. In Feldafing, Wolfgang Heinz introduced different conflict types and explored the relationship between conflict and illicit drug production, looking especially at Colombia. The political scientist also offered an assessment of the potential of Alternative Development to contribute to conflict resolution and peace building.

In the context of Alternative Development, Wolfgang Heinz saw five general types of conflict:

- Conflict around AD programs as a consequence of differences of opinion on its implementation, on certain activities (state repression, distribution of program benefits, etc.)
- Selective violence by social movements in the context of social vindication
- Violence in the context of organised crime and crime, including “social cleansing”
- Armed conflict with the objective to bring down the government and/or to control territory
- The threat to use violence to sustain an elected, but simultaneous authoritarian government.

Economic factors play an increasing role

Conflict types emphasise political goals, the scientist explained. “But there is an increasing recognition that economic factors play a significant role in the emergence, development and termination of violent conflicts.” Heinz quoted the World Bank’s key researcher Paul Collier. He argues that it is greed rather than grievance which propels violent actors’ attitude in civil war. His findings are that among factors which do not carry a conflict risk are inequality (whether of incomes or assets) and lack of democratic rights. Collier suggests that rebel organisations can be viewed as rational economic agents.

Wolfgang Heinz: “Main grievances such as inequality, political repression, and ethnic and religious divisions do not provide any explanatory power in predicting rebellions. These objective grievances and hatreds simply cannot usually be the cause of violent conflicts. They may well generate intensive political conflict, but such conflict does not usually escalate to violent conflict. By contrast, Collier argues that economic characteristics are all significant and powerful predictors of civil war.”

In a recent study, Collier and his colleague Hoeffler focused on inter-group hatred, political exclusion and vengeance as objective grievances. Heinz: “They find that greed considerably outperforms grievance.”

Conflict and illicit drug production

Heinz’ analysis of relationships between conflict and illicit drug production suggests that “weak social structures favour production, trafficking and use of drugs. Drug production is considered as cause and consequence of increased drug consumption, including social fragmentation and further weakening of political institutions.”

A GTZ study on Asia points out that law enforcement is often associated with repressive measures. Heinz, thus, advocates a clearer target on drug law enforcement when aiming to improve governance. Important objectives should be strengthening the rule of law and human rights, improving transparency and accountability, economic and political reforms, as well as the control of organised crime and money laundering.



Wolfgang Heinz

Particular to Latin America is the involvement of the military in drug interdiction. For Wolfgang Heinz, the consequences are alarming: “They risked undermining the clear separation between internal security and external defence tasks established by the majority of new democracies in the 80s.” His recommendation: “To take up initiatives under the title of security sector reform.”

The Colombian experience

In the vocabulary of the United States Colombia is a “state of concern” – formerly an electoral democracy, it is riddled with severe human rights violations, armed conflicts, paramilitary groups, increasing organised crime. Wolfgang Heinz: “With the growing exodus of elite elements there is growing concern that more and more drug dealers and guerrilla groups might wield political power in the country independently of who officially represents the government.”

Definitions

Conflict Management

Attempt to exert influence on the way a conflict is acted out, so as to regulate it, prevent violence and put an end to any existing violence. Conflict management aims to achieve constructive solutions, which benefit all participants.

Crisis Prevention

Early, planned, systematic and coherent action at various levels of government and society to prevent violent conflicts. Crisis prevention measures aim to reduce the potential for a violent conflict and to encourage the establishment of institutions to resolve conflicts peacefully, before, during and after violent conflict.

Human Rights

Legal norms for the protection of the individual on the basis of international treaties, national constitution and other domestic law.

His conclusion from the Colombian experience: “Potential for AD programs as a contribution to conflict resolution and peace building seems to depend on whether there are one or more counter-narcotics strategies, to what degree these are socially accepted or rejected, and how the intervening role of international actors are perceived within society.” The situation in Colombia seems to suggest that there should be one anti-narcotics approach or two, which must, however, be compatible.

Heinz regards the following questions as the most important related factors:

- Which state security institution should be responsible for drug issues?
- What is the role of foreign advisors?
- What is the relative weight of Alternative Development programs and direct repressive measures?

Chances to contribute to conflict management

How to design Alternative Development programs to maximise their contribution to conflict management? As a first general lesson Wolfgang Heinz gave the recommendation to always start a new project with an Conflict Impact Assessment (CIAS). “This will permit better understanding of intended and unintended impacts.” He formulated three central criteria: ● ● ➔

- From the start projects are not to intensify existing local conflict constellations (ex-ante check of conflict constellations).
- Participation of target groups in the planning process has to be secured, and project goals and mechanisms have to reflect their interests.
- During project implementation, measures should support stabilisation of the project environment and help defuse conflict constellations encountered locally, so that the project does not risk unintentional stabilisation of pro-violence actors and their civilian supporters.

Heinz' second recommendation: "For conflict management, both judicial and extra-judicial mecha-

nisms (alternative dispute resolution) are helpful." And as a further key element for successful AD programs he pointed to effective local participation in order to foster capacities for autonomous problem solving and self organisation of the population. Heinz recommended linking AD programs to serious decentralisation processes, leading to a real devolution of tasks, reallocation of resources and capacity building for the new local actors.

To be able to realise possible contributions to conflict management, technical development cooperation should differentiate its role, Heinz proposed. He saw the following spectrum:

- Direct support for state institutions, NGOs and communities active in the peace process

- A fund for NGO activities supporting short-term peace activities
- Support for refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs) and victims of violence, as well as reintegration of members of violent groups (guerrilla, etc).

As projects of technical cooperation, also AD programs "can only function in regions which are not of primary concern for military actors," Wolfgang Heinz said in his final conclusion. Because military actors follow a rationale very different from traditional development concerns. But: "In areas of secondary importance, those projects might be able to survive for quite some time."



Effective Participation Contributes to Human Rights

Introduction: some key points

- Important: communities appreciate presence of projects in a sense of protection
- Difficult: conflict between clans within the same cultural community
- Project planning: should include criteria for exit, certain level of violent conflict, security of project personal/beneficiaries, others?
- Necessary: developing a conflict monitoring system for reactive and preventive action
- Problem: forced relocation –and how international cooperation should react

The Do's: AD should

- Play the role of an honest broker
- Provide protective shields for communities
- Rely and support communities' know-how
- Facilitate community based land use planning/mutual understanding on land allocation
- Help facilitate understanding of law enforcement
- Contribute towards reversing social disintegration caused by drug addiction
- Emphasize more human and social development; this contributes to human rights
- Consider exit strategy (criteria)
- Train staff in conflict mediation
- Give psychological support to AD teams and families
- Help facilitate discussion on human rights and conflict management

The Don't's : AD should not

- oversimplify
- ever believe in safety
- underestimate the knowledge, skills and resources of people
- discriminate against certain groups or persons
- be conditional on decreased coca cultivation (complex point)

Like expected by the organisers, and as a participant reported, "we were very controversial." Nevertheless the working group "Human Rights and Conflict Management" came up with a clear idea of how Alternative Development programs can contribute to improve peoples' situation in conflict regions.

Recommendations: Concept

- Integrate AD project into existing joint strategies (country assessment strategies) involving government, civil society and international cooperation agencies
- Include UN-defined human rights agreements
- Effective participation, consensus- and network building, equality, etc. will contribute indirectly to human rights
- Presence of projects helps to open discussion on many issues

Recommendations: Policy

- Avoid forced eradication because it limits the success of AD and implies risks to the human rights situation and contributes to the creation of conflict
- If AD policies are designed with the participation of the stakeholders there is less risk of human rights violations and conditions improve for the management and solution of conflicts
- Participatory and transparent monitoring, planning and assessment of AD programs and the protection of human rights are conditions of sustainability

Recommendations: Alliances

- AD projects and policies should incorporate active participation of civil society organisations and promote networking at local/regional and national level
- Build long-term alliances between international agencies, national organisations and civil society groups
- International organisations and those involved in AD projects should cooperate with human rights and conflict management organisations

Profitable Alternatives are Needed to Stop and Prevent Illegal Behaviour

“There is no question that Alternative Development has had some success”, was his first concluding sentence. Then Francisco Thoumi continued less harmlessly: “It is also clear that it has been a means by which peasants who have been forgotten and abandoned for decades finally get their governments’ and the international community’s attention and receive assistance from them. This is the main achievement of Alternative Development. It is only a shame that peasants could not be helped unless they grew illegal crops.”

The keynote address of the economic scientist dealt with the profitability of illicit crops and the chances of Alternative Development from the Latin American point of view. The relationship between poverty and inequality and illegal crops, Thoumi argued, is difficult to determine. His examples: “It is true that all laborers and most farmers in the coca and poppy fields are quite poor. But many poor farm workers do not participate in illegal crop cultivation. It is also true that coca grows in poor countries. But most such countries do not grow illegal crops.” For Thoumi, further difficulty arises because illegal drug activity does not vary through time with poverty lev-

els and inequality. To him this means: Poverty and inequality are likely to contribute to the growth of the illegal industry, but they are not *per se* determining factors. There is no doubt that poverty and crises create incentives for illegal behavior, “but there is no one-to-one relation.” Also the relationship between illegal drugs and corruption Thoumi found difficult to determine.

His position:

- There is no agreement about the definition of corruption and behaviors considered as corrupt in some environments are normal in others.



Francisco Thoumi

- Corruption and drug trafficking are difficult to measure and their size, scope and importance are difficult to establish.
- Corruption is a multidimensional phenomenon and different types of corruption can have different effects on the drug industry.
- The relationship between illegal drugs and corruption is circular, that is, corruption may attract the illegal industry, but illegal drugs are a main source of corruption.

Land Tenure Issues are a Central Point

The most important problems AD faces with respect to land tenure

- Illegal land taking
- Invasion of ecologically restricted area
- Land titles are difficult to obtain in ecological sensitive and protected areas, even with licit products after AD
- Land title for forestry must be distinguished
- In some countries, existing indigenous farming systems, such as shifting cultivation, are considered unsustainable by the government
- Can projects change governments’ position on land classification?
- Lack of suitable agricultural land in drug areas
- Land conflicts due to migration processes
- Forced displacement of land title holders (Colombia)
- Legal insecurity due to no land titles. Consequences: no investments, no access to formal credit (however, land title is not enough to obtain formal credits/Peru)
- Bolivia: Control over land by coca growers’ union, which is opposed to land titles
- Individual land rights versus communal: individual property might be sold
- Landlords have a preference for sharecroppers to grow opium (Afghanistan, land reform is politically very sensitive)
- Governments unwilling to provide land titles to scattered communities
- Unbalanced gender situation with respect to land tenure

Can and should AD projects deal with land tenure problems? They have to, the participants of the working group agreed. Because having (no) access to land is a big part of the drug cropping problem as well as of any solution. Difficulties arise from the political sensitivity of land tenure problems.

The Do’s

- “Secure land use rights” is a broader and often more appropriate concept than “private property”
- Community-based land-use planning is a must for AD and should begin in an early stage of AD
- Land use classification by governments has become more flexible; results are binding for community, not necessarily for gov. after AD
- Sense of property is more important than land titles and can be improved through promotion of farmers’ investment (not in Chapare)
- Increased understanding of the need for non-agricultural income, despite only poor results so far
- Forestry products have potential for alternative income
- Training for non-agricultural professions
- Especially in the Andean region: Distinguish between land title holders and those without

The Don’t’s

- AD should not develop inappropriate land and open roads in protected areas

Recommendations: Concept

- Community-based land-use planning is an essential component of AD, from the beginning and parallel to other activities
- Promote communal forestry user rights for non-timber forestry and timber products
- Intensively promote non-farming opportunities
- Build on traditional systems: individual or communal land rights?
- In officially recognised, settled regions, land titles are a must (Bolivia)
- Donor and national executing agencies must be aware that land tenure/use issues require long-term process and long-term political and financial commitment

Recommendations: Policy

- Dialogue on political level should address illegal situation in restricted and degraded areas with forestry potential
- AD projects are to be implemented in order to mainstream drug area problems within national development plans
- Link land user rights to the agricultural or forestry potential of the land and to people qualifying for it
- Promote voluntary resettlement from protected and unsuitable areas

Recommendations: Alliances

- Seek strategic alliances and promote development interventions in areas where permanent or seasonal migrants have originated, in order to lessen the pressure on unsuitable/restricted areas

● Corruption and drug trafficking are generally symptomatic of deeper social problems.

Profit does not explain geographical distribution

Regarding the economic geography of illicit drugs, Francisco Thoumi explained that legal economic activities and the illegal drugs industry are similar in their search for profit, “but the illegality of coca and poppy makes for significant differences with other goods and services.” The difference: Virtually every country that can produce licit agriculture products does so - although the availability of natural resources determines production. In contrast virtually all countries can grow illicit crops but most do not. Thoumi: “From a purely economic perspective, the narrow geographical distribution of illegal crops is quite remarkable since their uncommonly high profits lead to the expectation of a pattern of more disperse production than that of legal goods.”

For Thoumi profitability combined with natural resource availability is a necessary condition for production of both types of crops. But: “In the case of licit crops it is also a sufficient condition, while it is not for illicit ones.” In other words, high profit levels do not determine why some countries have illicit crops and others do not.

Thoumi pointed to some better explanations. For example, illicit crops are found in countries where the central state does not have control over its territory. They are found where there are organized minority groups whose main loyalty is not to the country but rather to their tribe, religion, race or political party. They are found in countries where the central state is weak or collapsed, or in countries with open civil conflict. “This highlights the difficulties of any Alternative Development project as a means to lower illicit crop acreage. It also implies that any successful anti-drug policy should be based on a thorough understanding of the institutions and social structure of the country where it is applied.” That is, policies should be country specific and not the result of generalized prescriptions.

Many obstacles for AD in the Andes

Alternative Development programs in the Andean region faced – and face – many obstacles. Francisco Thoumi gave a short overview from his perspective:

● It has been very difficult to identify crops or other rural activities that would generate the same income level of illicit drugs.

● Illegal crops have a ready and secure market at the farm gate. Marketing of legal crops tends to be difficult to organize and market prices are frequently subject to large fluctuations. Many coca and poppy growing areas are distant from the main possible markets and transportation costs are high. Some possible alternative products require refrigeration and other special handling.

● If a crop is found that yields the same income as illegal crops, traffickers can increase the illegal crop price several fold and continue making very large profits.

● If eradication and crop substitution succeed, illegal coca and opium prices would go up and generate incentives to expand illegal crops elsewhere (“balloon effect”).

AD programs included the search for other crops, technical assistance programs to process and market those crops, exploitation of the natural forest without destroying it, infrastructure development including highways, electricity, schools, hospitals and water supply systems to improve family quality of life and promote stable community organizations. The need to prevent migration to illicit crop regions led to the incorporation of employment-generating initiatives in areas that are a migrant source for illegal crop producing areas.

“This policy combination sends a very strong message to the peasantry: if you want to get the attention of the government and the international community you have to plant coca or poppy.” For this, the consensus among analysts is “that alternative development programs do not contribute to lower drug production but that they are necessary to appease peasants and are politically useful.”

Reality and Myth of Drug Cultivation in Afghanistan

“In Afghanistan, the economic superiority of opium poppy is both a reality and a myth”: one summary of David Mansfield’s keynote-address. The consultant unpacked the different motivations and factors that influence opium poppy cultivation in Afghanistan. He explained the multi-functional role of opium poppy in the livelihood strategies of resource-poor households. And he insisted that development interventions aimed at creating licit livelihood opportunities need to be more poor-oriented.

The unrivalled profitability of opium poppy and coca is a popular explanation for drug crop cultivation which David Mansfield contested. His example was Afghanistan. There the proportion of household land dedicated to opium poppy rarely exceeds 70% and opium poppy is rarely monocropped. During the 1998/99 season, when cultivation was at its height, opium poppy occupied 2,6% of the total cultivated land, Mansfield reported. “Even villages where opium poppy is intensively cultivated, there are households that do not grow the crop at all.”

“A means of survival”

In Mansfield’s view, the sheer diversity across Afghanistan tends to suggest that opium poppy cultivation is highly dependent on local factors. Social and religious norms, as well as perceptions of morality,

But how to decrease illicit crop cultivation? With economic means, replied the economic scientist: “Economics teaches that the best way to get rid of any economic activity is to make it unprofitable.”

Alternative Development works in an indirect way, lowering the profitability level of illicit crops relative to other rural and urban activities. But it does not necessarily produce illicit crop elimination: when there are several profitable activities, rational investors diversify their portfolio. And: “Peasants do not eliminate the less profitable activities, but produce various crops in order to minimize risk.”

Two strong difficulties to overcome

Francisco Thoumi considered perspectives for AD in the Andean region with care. His position: “Alternative development programs are supposed to substitute a new economic base for illegal crops and must counteract strong market forces, which requires investments in regions where entrepreneurs would normally not invest. These two obstacles are very difficult to overcome.”

inform households in their decision to plant opium poppy. Access to land, water and in particular unremunerated and low-paid labour are important determinants. The role of opium as a source of financial credit is also an important motivation. Mansfield: “In practice, there are crops that can generate higher net returns. However, for the majority of households in Afghanistan opium poppy is a means of survival.”

In the current environment in Afghanistan Mansfield considered opium poppy cultivation “clearly as an appealing option.” Because as a non-perishable, low weight, high value product, it is ideally suited to the war-damaged physical infrastructure. Moreover, as an annual crop, with a relatively guaran-



David Mansfield

teed market, opium provides a degree of security that many crops, such as fruit and vegetables, cannot offer. Embedded within the socio-economic and political fabric of a particular area, opium poppy has become a medium of exchange between the resource rich and the resource poor. Mansfield highlighted this symbiotic relationship.

His basic finding: “Opium represents a commodity to be exchanged.”

Exchanging commodity

Wherever opium is produced, it has become the primary medium for obtaining credit – not only in Afghanistan, but also in Southeast Asia and in Pa-

kistan. In Afghanistan, credit is usually obtained as an advance payment on a fixed amount of opium. Poorer households generally use the advance crop to purchase basic necessities including food, clothes and medicine, as well as to purchase agricultural inputs and repay existing loans.

Mansfield: “Whilst offering a lifeline to the poor, this system does so at a punitive rate, often locking households into a patron-client relationship with local traders that may take years to overcome.” So households are not free to decide which crops to cultivate; many are already committed to opium poppy, due to their outstanding debts. In some areas of Afghanistan, Mansfield noticed, “the cultivation of opium poppy has become a pre-requisite for agricultural production.”

To ensure a minimum level of food security, those households without land, or with insufficient land to meet their basic needs, seek to obtain access to land through either tenancy or sharecropping arrangements. As opium poppy cultivation became more entrenched within local agricultural systems, both these arrangements have been altered to favour opium production.

Importance of cheap family labour

Opium poppy cultivation is highly time-consuming. Estimates suggest that one hectare of opium requires as much as 350 person-days of work compared with only 41 days for wheat. David Mansfield: “To minimise the cost of labour, households have adopted a myriad of strategies, including staggered planting, the cultivation of a combination of both short and long maturing varieties of opium poppy, and maximising the use of family and reciprocal labour.”

The primary strategy of resource poor households in all source areas has been to cultivate a level of opium poppy that is commensurate with the family labour supply which does not have to be paid. Both staggered planting and the cultivation of different varieties of opium poppy serve to increase the amount of land that can be cultivated using family labour.

Family labour – this means in the first place: women and children working. In Turkey, India, Laos and Burma, Mansfield explained, women and children constitute at least half of the work force harvesting opium poppy. Also in Afghanistan women play a significant role in opium poppy cultivation. Mansfield: “As opium poppy tends to be cultivated on irrigated land in Afghanistan that is situated nearer the household, it is in fact easier for women to combine their productive and reproductive responsibilities with its cultivation, than it is for rainfed crops, such as wheat, which may be located some distance from the home.”

Mansfield also found children to play an active role: “It is a common sight to see boys as young as ten working in the opium poppy fields from February until May. Girls are also drafted into working in the fields at an early age.”

Build on Livelihood Strategies, Seek Alliances with Local Leaders

Farmers and their families are the main addressees of Alternative Development programmes. A working group in Feldafig emphasized the importance to knowing about the livelihood strategies of drug crop cultivators before designing projects. These are the results of the discussion:

The Do's

- ▶▶ Build on existing livelihood strategies
- ▶▶ Recognise that opium/coca have multi-functional role in livelihood strategy. Address the different functions
- ▶▶ Monitor impact on livelihood strategy
- ▶▶ Differentiate by socio-economic and gender groups
- ▶▶ Use farmers' knowledge
- ▶▶ Undertake process-orientated and fully participatory approach
- ▶▶ Ownership: It is the farmers' strategy
- ▶▶ Seek alliance with locally recognized, traditional/informal leaders
- ▶▶ Look for alliances so that problems can be solved
- ▶▶ Understanding the needs before design!
- ▶▶ Recognise that households seek to minimize risk not maximise profit
- ▶▶ Promote the development of human capital
- ▶▶ Diversification of existing cropping systems and off-farm opportunities
- ▶▶ Focus next steps on most urgent needs

The Don't's

- ▶▶ Restrict improvement of livelihood strategy to economic and income considerations
- ▶▶ Limit alternatives to only agriculture and on-farm activities
- ▶▶ Divorce intervention at the micro-level from the context at the macro-level
- ▶▶ Impose preconceived solutions, “packages,” decisions, ideas etc.
- ▶▶ Overlook environmental concerns
- ▶▶ Ignore farm families' risk tolerance
- ▶▶ Sacrifice long-term sustainability to short-term needs/demands

An Asian Special:

- ▶▶ Overlook opium addiction of farmers themselves

Recommendations: Concept

- ▶▶ Enable people to improve licit livelihood strategies as an integral part of Alternative Development
- ▶▶ Design of AD programmes should be based on better understanding of the role of drugs in livelihood strategies
- ▶▶ Build on existing livelihood strategies and knowledge by using process-oriented and fully participatory approaches
- ▶▶ AD should reduce the risks associated with licit livelihood strategies through supporting a strategy of diversification of on-farm activities and enabling access to off-farm opportunities
- ▶▶ Seek to maximize peoples' ownership of programme strategy and priorities
- ▶▶ Programme design needs to reflect needs of different socio-economic and gender groups

Recommendations: Policy

- ▶▶ Policy level should recognize livelihood strategies
- ▶▶ Projects should be given more latitude to respond to changing needs through framework conditions
- ▶▶ Promote national/regional economic and social policy that strengthens licit livelihood strategies
- ▶▶ Monitor impact on livelihood strategies emphasizing changes at household level (socio-economic/gender criteria)
- ▶▶ Don't overlook environmental and sustainability concerns
- ▶▶ In those cases where addiction could be an impediment to the AD interventions, prevention, detoxication and rehabilitation should be included

Recommendations: Alliances

- ▶▶ In order to address all needs, establish alliances and seek operational synergies with other agencies and organizations
- ▶▶ Seek alliances with and between local leaders/facilitators

Reciprocal labour arrangements allow households to balance periods of peak demand for their own family labour with periods of underemployment amongst the family members of their friends and relatives. As reciprocal labour earns only food and no other payment in either cash or kind, it is cheaper than hiring labour.

Opium plays a multi-functional role

Experience has shown that there are crops that are more profitable than opium poppy, Mansfield said: “Even in Afghanistan, there are a range of crops that can generate higher returns.” But opium plays a multi-functional role in the livelihood strategies of the poor, providing access to land, credit and an important source of off-farm in-

come. “Even the by-products of opium poppy are of some use. For the resource poor, the income that households accrue for their work on opium poppy is only one motivation for its cultivation,” he summarized. For the resource rich opium poppy can generate a relatively high income. Mansfield described their advantages. Access to cheap labour through the inequitable land tenure system ensures that landowners can accrue a disproportionate share of the final opium crop.

Those with sufficient financial assets increase their profit margins by purchasing opium as a ‘distress sale’, through the provision of advance payments on the crop prior to its harvest. By retaining their opium crop and selling it some months later when prices have risen, those households that are least

dependent on opium poppy as their sole source of income are most able to benefit. In short: “The income that the resource rich derive from opium poppy is at the cost of the resource poor. It is the poor that provide the low-paid labour. It is the poor that are compelled to sell their opium at low prices prior to the harvest. And it is the poor that are most dependent on opium poppy due to limited on-farm, off farm and non-farm income opportunities.”

Pleading for a pro-poor approach

For David Mansfield therefore “a more pro-poor approach to alternative development is needed if both conventional development objectives and drug control objectives are to be achieved.”

The Role of Infrastructure and Public Services: A Double-Edged Subject

The most essential factors influencing AD

► A minimum of infrastructure & services (I&S) is a pre-condition for AD projects. Therefore infrastructure development is often the first step of AD projects, but it also raises expectations among partners and may attract immigrants

► AD projects often work in areas where government presence is lacking (Asia), therefore they sometimes replace governmental tasks and/or are used as vehicle for comprehensive infrastructure measures

► We differentiate between physical and social I&S, e.g.: roads, electricity, water supply incl. irrigation, communication systems (radio, telephone, etc.); health & education, rural finance systems, agricultural extension and research

► International cooperation should help to obtain better international financial conditions for infrastructure activities

► I&S refer to hardware and software components; the latter relates specifically to AD projects

► Financial Cooperation deals with physical infrastructure (hardware), Technical Cooperation deals with AD (software); The two components require effective coordination

► Local decentralized organizations (municipalities) must solve the local problems; here the AD project acts as catalyst for institutional development (Columbia)

Infrastructure and services – no development without them. But the subject is double-edged. How much infrastructure and how many services have to exist to get things running in AD programs? And if they are developed – don’t they also improve conditions for marketing drugs or at least attract immigrants? The Feldafing working group scrutinized the complex relations.

We discussed three ways how to integrate I&S in the design and implementation of AD projects:

► AD integrates infrastructure elements and services as its direct responsibility

► AD formally cooperates with existing institutions involved in the provision of I&S

► AD coordinates with relevant governmental and private sector organizations, incl. other projects involved in I&S activities

What conditions should be taken into consideration?

► Minimum physical and social infrastructure requirements are a pre-condition for AD projects in combination with a clear political commitment

► Projects have to be designed in the national context.

Two examples:

► Whether to use grants or soft loans for infrastructure development

► Building standards should respond to national needs and not necessarily to international standards

The Do’s

► AD design must use a holistic approach

► Assure long-term government commitment

► Assure infrastructure to guarantee market access for AD products

► Assure maintenance & continuing operation (should people contribute for I&S in cash or kind?)

► Planning & implementation of infrastructure only with full participation of all stakeholders

► Strengthen social services to suit local demand in the context of AD; example: assistance in health & education should relate to prevention of drug abuse

► Conduct environmental impact assessments, if appropriate; particularly important in ecological-fragile areas

► Plan and/or assist in the planning of time-bound and well-defined specific I&S projects and/or project components

The Don’t’s

► Don’t take short-term perspectives in designing AD projects

► Don’t forget sustainability aspects

Recommendations: Concept

► The design of AD projects has to be embedded in national/regional socio-economic plans

► While physical infrastructure development should be delegated to relevant partners, institution building and human resource development should be the prime responsibility of AD projects

Recommendations: Policy

► Agreements should comply with long-term state policy, rather than governmental policy

► Involvement of local population and authorities in maintenance is mandatory

► Establishment of standards for environmental impact assessments (EIAs) should be the rule for all physical infrastructure development activities

► “Marketing is not a wild flower that blooms when there is no state!” i.e., provide public infrastructure to enhance access to markets

Recommendations: Alliances

► When designing and planning AD projects, all relevant stakeholders for the provision of I&S need to be consulted with regard to their potential involvement

► Take into account past experience, lessons learnt and present expertise from I&S providers

► In designing/planning the implementation of I&S coordinate among donors and technical assistance organizations, and coordinate between I&S providers and recipients

► Advocate and support the division of labor between I&S providers

Meaningful Dialogue with People Requires Acceptance as Partners

“If AD projects continue to be implemented as islands in oceans of unfavourable framework conditions, whether social, economic or political, they will achieve neither the goal of empowering communities, nor of reducing illicit crop cultivation.” This is Rita Gebert’s impression of the relationship between community empowerment and Alternative Development. The consultant referred to experiences in traditional opium poppy cultivating areas in Southeast Asia. Kanok Rerkasem from Chiang Mai University complemented her keynote address with a description of people networks in Northern Thailand.



Rita Gebert

Community empowerment in Alternative Development – prerequisite for success or mutually exclusive concepts? For Rita Gebert both the failures and successes of alternative development highlight the need for community participation and empowerment. But “they also highlight the need for reforms in the State itself to allow meaningful dialogue and partnerships between the State and civil society.”

For socially responsible highlanders in Southeast Asia, Gebert stated, there is little need to reject the opium poppy as it has become an integral part of their social and economic lives. So, “if we want Al-

ternative Development to be part of an empowering process we have to look at it as integrated, or holistic, development.”

And: “We should not expect that indigenous organizations will necessarily represent *our* ideal of how an organisation *should* function.” The main weakness of institutions at community level in Southeast Asia is that they are *not* in keeping with local people’s ways of organizing themselves, Gebert pointed out. Community institutions are “rather a means by which the State tries to enable its own agencies to work more effectively to implement centrally de-

vised State policy at the grassroots level.” But a weak community will not easily produce strong and equitable institutions, Gebert said.

According to Gebert, the best way for community or grassroots organisations to be strengthened is through internal mechanisms such as community leadership, particularly through a coalition of leaders who represent different interests in the commu-

Local Knowledge is an Important Resource

“Who is to be considered ‘indigenous?’” The question remained unanswered. Nevertheless, the knowledge of indigenous (or more general: local) people is a remark-

able resource for Alternative Development to rely on. Programmatic title of the working group: “Building on own Resources.”

Note: “Governments and others also produce a highly addictive crop: bureaucracy!”

Introduction

► More ethical and effective AD based on local/indigenous knowledge

► Indigenous/local knowledge (IK) includes all aspects, not only drug-related ones (e.g. skills, culture, resources in all areas)

► AD and IK relation is based on human rights and ethics, as determined by the local/indigenous people

► Must formulate definitions of Indigenous People (IP), Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and Human Rights (HR) in collaboration with representatives of indigenous/local people

► AD is based on IK.

a. in order to benefit IP

b. to benefit AD project’s success

► It is recognised that only a minority of IP produce “illicit” drugs; most do this because they have no other viable options

Recommendations: Concepts

► AD projects should be preceded by a common identification of the problems, with consideration of the existing resources (e.g. IK)

► Projects need to take time to enable and provide opportunities to indigenous/local people and other stakeholders to use IK in the AD process, and create new resources and strategies in response to new and changing situations

► Projects should be based as much as possible on IK systems, which include food and income production, livelihood management, culture, communication, education, health and land management, supplemented by new technologies and external systems as far as necessary and appropriate

► These concepts are not just rhetoric. They need to be reviewed, adapted and operationalised prior to and during implementation

Recommendations: Policies

► To see the indigenous/local communities as an opportunity, instead of making them responsible for problems that they cannot address

► To recognise the importance of the territory of indigenous/local communities as a way to obtain food and economic security as well as social and spiritual wellbeing

► Communities as well as individuals must be recognised and respected as bearers of human rights, which include their territorial rights, ownership of the benefits obtained from their natural resources and knowledge

► IK must be recognised, classified and protected and its benefits (for medicine, industry etc.) should return to the local communities

► Land rights, especially of indigenous communities, have to be respected, as well as their culture and identity

► The use of coca-leaf in the Andean countries and poppies in Asian countries, as a part of their traditional culture and as beneficial plants, in order to produce and commercialise different legal products (like medicines, alimentation etc.), including export of these products, should be allowed.

Recommendations: Alliances

► Support networking between indigenous and local communities in the Andean-Amazonian area to exchange and preserve IK

► Support international networking concerning Alternative Development and indigenous interests and rights


► International cooperation has to foster interactions between different cultures but should respect and help to maintain cultural diversity and to ensure participation in political decision-making processes.

nity. The second best way is through external facilitation which is not directive, “and most certainly not driven by outsiders who think they know better than the local people, or who have their own vision and agenda which they wish to impart.” Further means of support would include encouraging open forums at village and inter-village levels where issues of importance to local people may be discussed, “and where, if government staff are in attendance, they are treated as equals not superiors.”

The importance of participation in decision making at the community level is crucial, said Gebert – “particularly if it involves decisions which affect the well-being of the community as a whole.” But such decisions, she warned, cannot be reached within one or two village meetings.

Especially for those who are truly marginalized and vulnerable, e.g., for the poor, for women, participation does not come automatically. Gebert: “They may not even be welcomed by those who have more decision-making power within the community.” So their inclusion will take awareness, time and a concerted effort: “It is also a question of changing attitudes of the rest of the community.”

Important in the view of Gebert: “If the reduction of drug crop cultivation is to be associated with community empowerment, the first task at hand is to move from negative motivation to positive motivation.” Economic development which is coupled with the threat of enforcement (“carrot and stick”) to reduce illicit crop cultivation is not a mechanism to build social capital and support the strengthening of civil society. And when this takes place without decentralization or good governance, “community empowerment must remain a far-off dream.”

Rita Gebert defined the basis for good relationship. If empowerment is to be on the Alternative Development agenda, then no one external to the community should decide for the community what “Alternative Development” is. Alternative Development must be as diverse as the communities themselves. And if Alternative Development is to include the concept of empowerment, then it has to forego the obvious incompatibility between inclusion and goals, timeframes and service packages which have been fixed in advance by distant donors and State representatives. 

“Empowerment is a slippery concept: It continues to carry with it many meanings depending on who is using it and in what context. Perhaps the best description of the term has come from J. Rappaport: *Empowerment is like obscenity, you don't know how to define it but you know it when you see it.*”

Community Empowerment Covers all Social Groups

Discussion reflected the extensive field experience of the participants: the working group “Community Participation and Alliances” developed a detailed idea of how AD and community empowerment can benefit from each other. The group translated the Do’s and Don’t’s directly into recommendations.

The most important topics

► The form of community participation in AD is directly linked to the stage of governmental decentralization policy/situation in each country

► In countries and/or areas where decentralizations has not fully been implemented and/or where different political structures prevail, AD can face problems when it exclusively addresses formally elected leaders and does not consider informal leadership structures, such as spiritual leaders and the elderly, who may play important roles in some Asian societies. Local leaders need to be considered

► Regarding ethnic minorities (Myanmar) and/or native communities (Peru), traditional representatives and organizational structures need to be respected in AD work

► In the absence of local governmental bodies with the capacity to implement AD activities, AD has also been working with interested farmers’ organizations (Peru, Ecuador)

► Consider the role of NGOs and volunteer organizations

Other aspects raised

► Need to build local capacities

► Relation of community participation versus community empowerment

► How to have the community participate, if access to community means a four-day walk? Importance of access roads to the community

Recommendations: Concept

► The policies of AD programmes must be discussed and agreed with the community. This implies confidence-building as a first step

► Keep informed and involve all community members/groups in order to avoid conflicts

► Do not only consider formally elected leaders, but also informal ones

► Apply participatory methods during all stages of the project, including design, implementation and monitoring. That implies:

► Use also non-traditional tools in training activities in AD which reach community members who only speak native languages and those who cannot read or write

► An example for participatory approaches that have been applied is Laos with its PRAs and village development plans

► Design the project really with the community, use participatory approaches and ensure the equal participation of all groups in the community, i.e. *inter alia*

► Community participation in AD projects should ideally lead to community empowerment. “Blind” participation in the project does not lead to empowerment. The full consequences of empowerment must be realized by all involved

► don’t leave marginalized groups out

► Understanding of and respect for cultural and language diversity, gender roles and needs as well as for different literacy levels is fundamental to ensure community participation. Understanding also implies proper knowledge and baseline data on the community

► Regarding the role of organisations in the community and in AD programmes, it is necessary to first assess the existing organisations, their roles and interests; based on this analysis, select the suitable organisation(s) and build alliances and networks with other interested organisations. It is important at an early stage of the project to offer participation to diverse organisations in order to avoid conflicts

► Participation of the community should not be linked to the creation of a new organisation

► However, should new organisations emerge as a response to AD activities, these can and should be supported by AD

► Importance of community-based saving and credit schemes in AD programmes with a view to securing sustainability after project end

Recommendations: Policy

► In cases, in which existing power structures do not allow for full community participation, it is necessary to assess the feasibility of community participation and adjust the AD approach accordingly

► Likewise in situation of prevailing violence, where community participation could entail risks for the physical health of the community itself and/or the staff, the approach of/ to community participation needs to be revised

► In regions/areas where communities have no road access, lobby for and ensure infrastructure measures in a concerted way with the AD programme

Recommendations: Alliances

► Seek partnerships with NGOs and volunteer organisations

► Establish and/or strengthen community-based coordination mechanisms for development /alternative development in the area

Critical Assessment of Alternative Development, but Hopes for an Honest Debate

Non-conditionality for the concept, harm reduction for the production side, and open mindedness for an honest debate are, in the view of Martin Jelsma, necessary steps to “prevent Alternative Development as the Sacred Heart in the global drugs policy from being blown apart by the roaring helicopters on the horizon”. The “Drugs and

Democracy” coordinator of the Transnational Institute (TNI) and chairman of the European NGO Council on Drug and Development (ENCOD) gave his critical assessment of Alternative Development (AD) at the International Conference in Feldafing. In an interview he pointed out the most important aspects.

Mr. Jelsma, in Feldafing you strongly demanded that “some of the dead wood” be cut away in order to develop better drug policy options. How is the balance of drug policies in your view?

Clearly spoken: It is quite dark. Everybody knows that 25 years of attempts to reduce supply have had no measurable impact at the global level. Overall figures of illicit cultivation of opium poppy and coca are relatively stable, measured in hectares. Due to higher yield results per hectare production, estimates in metric tons for opium/heroin and coca/cocaine have shown a clear upward trend over the past decade.

“Everybody knows that 25 years of attempts to reduce supply have had no measurable impact at the global level.”

The only exception is the special case of Afghanistan, which does have global impact, but last year’s sharp decline does not look sustainable. In the principal consumption markets, wholesale and retail prices show a consistent downward trend while purity levels are rising, revealing that there is no shortage on the market.

Your critical view encompasses the Alternative Development approach. What are the main reference points for your critical assessment?

Firstly, the consequences of a persisting, unrealistic “zero option” mentality and the absurd

trumpeting of success stories used to shout down the wide recognition of the overall failure and impotence of the current policy to influence in any serious way the supply-side of the global illicit drugs market.

Secondly, serious preoccupation about an increasing acceptance of the alleged need to integrate AD concepts into a so-called comprehensive “three-pronged strategy of eradication, interdiction and alternative development.” This is especially worrying when the ongoing intensification of the use of force in this “carrot and stick” approach is considered.

Thirdly, the pressing need to prevent these developments from blowing apart the “Sacred Heart” that alternative development represents within the global drugs policy debate. And hence the need to identify its best practices and to de-link these from the current repressive anti-drug policies that “cause more harm than drugs themselves,” as the invitation to the Feldafing Conference confirmed.

In short: The current picture for Alternative Development looks very grim. The concept is in crisis. The holy marriage between eradication and AD sealed at UNGASS, its endorsement of deadline thinking, the propagandistic trumpet-



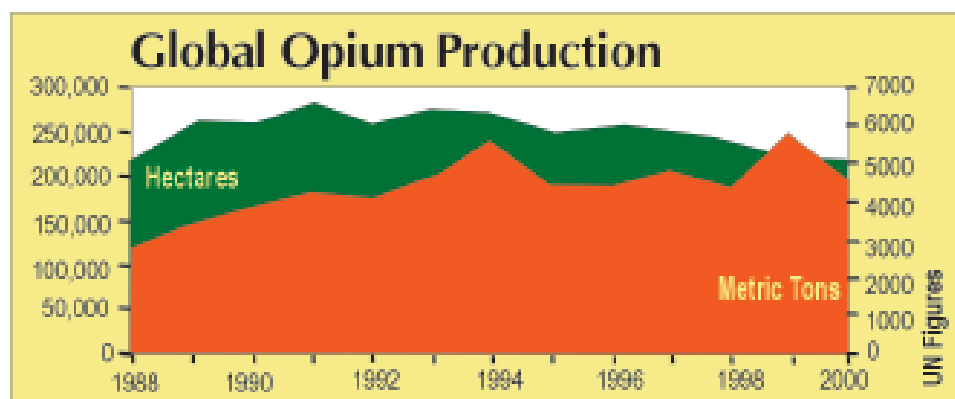
Martin Jelsma

ing of so-called success stories and the acquiescence to and even applause for violent eradication measures, all have contributed to legitimise the escalation. The results nowadays are an almost complete breach of confidence with communities in illicit crop areas, a seriously compromised UNDCP, blurred distinctions between development and repression, and the sacrifice of most other AD goals for the sake of hopeless hectare counting.

Does this mean that from your point of view there is no future for Alternative Development?

I dearly hope there is. There are reasons to believe that there is still a baby in the bath water.

Even if there are successful case studies in some countries, where illicit drug production was decreasing, in accordance with official UN figures the overall drug production is quite stable, or is even increasing.



Apart from its contribution to rural development in general, AD still plays a more political role as a counterweight to indiscriminate repressive approaches to illicit cultivation. It offers communities at least another option to use in their negotiations with authorities. Moreover, Alternative Development could play an important role – like GTZ has put it – as a “precursor in the drugs debate” in a transition of the current global anti-drug framework towards something better.

What do you propose for safeguarding the “baby”?

If we can recognise the narrowness of the margins for policy intervention in terms of global supply reduction and accept the fact that the phenomenon of drug-linked crop cultivation is here to stay as long as demand exists, countries and AD donors could be relieved of the pressure to comply with reduction targets and deadlines. More realistic time frames allowing for gradual reduction over a period of several years and greater compatibility with local rural development plans are essential. A “participatory approach” means more than just consulting communities about their wishes. It requires serious dialogue in which these communities are allowed to have substantial leeway for negotiation.

Mutual trust should be constructed upon the basis that, if development in the target period cannot guarantee conditions for life in dignity, the continued presence of an established maximum of illicit crops per family for subsistence purposes will be allowed. This means, in fact, de-linking Alternative Development from the conditionality embedded into the “balanced approach.”

This means turning the burden of proof around. Communities would no longer have to



“I dearly hope there is a future for Alternative Development - it could play an important role as a ‘precursor’ in the drugs debate.”

“prove their willingness to substitute,” but the government and the international community would have to “prove the viability of alternatives” before they could demand that peasant and indigenous communities place at risk the fragile foundations of their survival economy.

You also plead for the introduction of harm-reduction measures for the production side. With what perspectives?

On the demand side harm reduction has become an effective instrument not only for reducing harm, but also to challenge “zero option” discourse.

Introducing this philosophy to the supply side might encompass the following:

- ▶ Shift focus from hectare counting to a primary goal of reducing the harm associated with the existence of illicit cultivation.
- ▶ Open up spaces for dialogue with involved communities free of deadline and “zero option” thinking about their problems with drug-linked crops.
- ▶ Explore the viability of gradual reduction that might reduce the harm of mono-dependence or problems related to local abuse.

▶ Define small growers more in terms of economic victims that have become “addicted” to illicit crops for survival. Like the harm reduction approach to drug addicts, attempt to provide conditions that allow them to come out of it, but if that doesn’t work they should not be sprayed, incarcerated or killed, but helped to continue in a way that reduces the harm to themselves and to society as a whole.

▶ Undertake programmes to reduce the harm done to the environment resulting from illicit crops and drug processing.

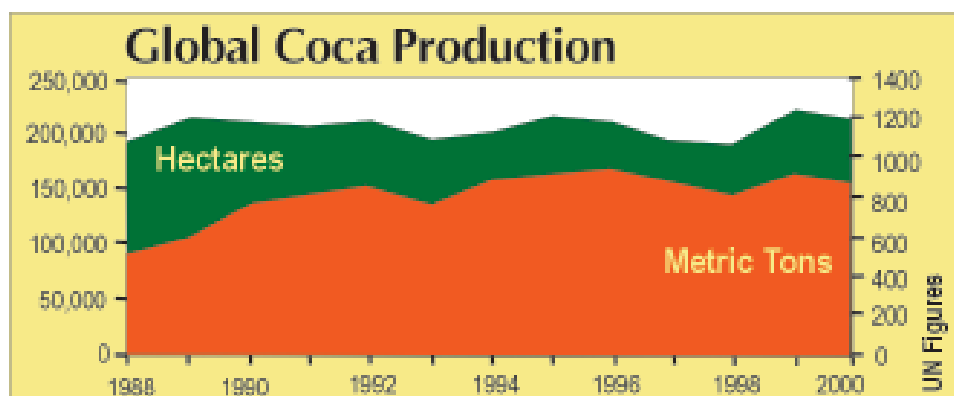
▶ Explore the option to decriminalise small illicit cultivation similar to the decriminalisation of individual consumption or the possession of quantities for personal use.

▶ Explore options of direct linkages between harm reduction on the supply and demand sides. Why not use, for example, raw materials from an indigenous community in Thailand or Colombia to supply the heroin maintenance programmes in Switzerland and the Netherlands.

▶ De-demonise certain aspects of illicit drugs, differentiating more between specific substances on the basis of scientific studies, their possible harm and benefits. For example allow exports of coca products to international markets.

Doesn’t this require strong leadership?

Reviving the idea of installing an independent, international commission to evaluate the costs and benefits of the current drug policy framework might be a crucial step in this direction. Furthermore, the issue of a reform of UNDCP has to be addressed. To re-establish its credibility, changes in management style and internal culture are necessary to enable the agency to play a stimulating and guiding role in this debate. Finally, what we urgently need is to create political space to conduct an open and honest debate.



It was a spontaneous expression of satisfaction with their own work: The participants of the International Conference got up to applaud.

A broad consensus dominated after the presentation of the results of the three future-orientated workshops. These results built a strong founda-

tion for the Drafting Committee to use in formulating the Final Declaration and the parallel 45 Conclusions and Recommendations.

Conceptual Conclusions for AD Strategies

Recommendations

➤ Alternative Development has to contribute to consensus building, social tranquillity and public safety policy.

➤ AD should place more emphasis on human and social development, contributing to human rights.

Note: AD should help facilitate discussion on human rights and conflict management.

➤ AD intervention should be based on building alliances and networks with the suitable organisations.

➤ Alternative development requires complete assessment of policy environment as a fundamental of project design.

➤ Adherence to UN conventions (esp. Agenda 21) is basic.

➤ Extend Government writ.

➤ AD projects should define strategies and elements that determine possible interruptions and exit.

➤ AD projects require long-term vision and corresponding political and financial commitment in order to conduct processes like resolving land-tenure/use, incorporating indigenous knowledge and encouraging active participation of stake-holders.

➤ Design AD projects within existing development strategies, involving government, civil societies and donors.

➤ AD must be based on mutual understanding and respect between communities and other stake-holders with regard to culture, knowledge and diversity.

➤ Based on a better understanding of the role of coca-leaf and opium-poppy in livelihood strategies, AD must enable people to strengthen diversity and lower the risks associated with the licit elements of those strategies.

➤ Community-based land-use planning is an essential component of AD, considering existing systems (individual or communal land rights) and based on mutual understanding on land allocation.

Note: This includes the promotion of land-use rights and social/community forestry (“land is life”).

➤ AD should seek to maximise the peoples’ ownership by designing the project with the community, using participatory approaches to reflect the needs of different socio-economic and gender groups.

Note: The policies and objectives of AD programmes must be discussed and agreed with the community.

➤ Participatory methods should be applied during all stages of the project, fully taking into considerations indigenous and local knowledge.


Note:

- Indigenous and local knowledge systems include traditional food and income production, livelihood strategies, culture, communication, education, health and management.

- Community participation in AD projects should ideally lead to community empowerment.

What’s still needed ...

➤ Clear statement of what the new formula of AD means to policymakers and donors, e.g., time frames, bureaucratic flexibility, disempowerment.

➤ Market strategy – how to sell the package to those with money (donors). (What do they get from it? Improved cost effectiveness and cost-benefit-relationship!) 

Forming Strategic Alliances Among Actors in Development Cooperation

Preamble

➤ International cooperation has to foster interactions between different cultures but should respect and help to maintain cultural diversity and to ensure participation in political decision-making processes.

➤ It is important to build long-term alliances between international agencies, national organisations, civil society groups, including the private sector, with the objective of converting Alternative Development into an important component of sustainable development at the national, regional and international level.

➤ It is an indispensable condition for all countries to accept their common responsibility to foster sustainable development. Therefore they should address the issue of assuring financial resources to accomplish the objectives of national and international plans derived from strategic alliances.

Cooperation and participation

➤ National governments should establish or strengthen sub-regional alliances to share information, to identify and to address shared concerns arising from their national drug-control and AD strategies (e.g. balloon effect, markets, security). Where appropriate establish sub-regional action plans to address and mobilise resources for these action plans.

➤ National strategies to combat adverse impacts from drugs (including AD, law enforcement and demand reduction) should – as far as possible – reflect broad-based consensus grounded in dialogue with civil society.

➤ Identify agencies/actors that could establish strategic alliances to enhance participation and establish community based coordination for design and implementation of AD projects.


➤ Design, implementation and evaluation of AD strategies and projects should make maximum use of existing institutional structures

(including local governments and social organisations which are recognised by and enjoy credibility with the local population).

➤ Lessons learnt by all relevant stakeholders from AD should be the basis for a consensus on drug-related issues in international fora, including donor meetings. Seek for strategic alliances and promote international and national development interventions in areas where permanent or seasonal migrants have originated, in order to lessen the pressure on unsuitable/restricted areas.

➤ International organisations and those involved in AD projects should cooperate with human-rights and conflict-management organisations.

Infrastructure and services

➤ In order to address all needs (outside the reach of AD projects) it is necessary to establish alliances at national and international levels and seek operational synergies with other agencies and organisations. 

Recommendations for Political Decision-Makers

Overall considerations:

AD should

► be perceived as a process leading towards the realisation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Client individuals and communities should be recognised and respected as bearers of these human rights.

► recognise the significance of client livelihood strategies based on indigenous knowledge and other resources of all kinds.

► be flexible enough to respond to changes in needs and framework conditions and have time-frames sufficient to make initial successes sustainable.

Balanced approach between AD and law enforcement

► It should be recognised that there are traditional uses of coca leaves and opium poppy in some countries.

► Alternative Development should foster processes to reduce or eliminate illicit cultivation in a concerted, voluntary and sustainable way. Forced eradication should be avoided whenever possible until licit components of livelihood strategies have been sufficiently strengthened.

► Governments should not criminalise small farmers. They should rather strengthen interdiction strategies against processing and trafficking.

► An action plan for law enforcement to complement AD must be agreed upon, as a separate entity.

► If addiction is an impediment to AD interventions, prevention, detoxification and rehabilitation should be included.

Community participation

► View local communities as an opportunity, instead of holding them responsible for problems that they cannot address, involve them in the whole process and respect them as valid interlocutors.

► National and regional economic and social policy that strengthens livelihood strategies without illicit components should be promoted.

► AD policies should be designed with the participation of the stakeholders to reduce the risk of violation of human rights and to improve conditions for the management and solution of conflicts. Communities and staff participating in AD projects should not be placed at risk.

► To optimise the design and implementation of Alternative Development projects, all relevant stakeholders, those that provide infrastructure and services and the population demanding it, should be involved and consulted with respect to potentials, taking into account past experiences, lessons learnt and present expertise.

► It is necessary to advocate and support the division of labour between the providers of infrastructure and services and those requesting it, by taking into consideration allocation of resources, timing and effective coordination.

Indigenous knowledge

► Initiatives of indigenous and local communities to exchange and preserve their indigenous knowledge through networking and to discuss issues concerning AD and their rights are to be supported.

► Alternative Development projects should offer themselves as alliance partners. 

Reasons for political decision makers to engage in AD

► Alternative Development can contribute to general development targets including a reduction in illicit drug supply, abuse and related criminal activities.

► It is therefore strongly recommended that national and international providers of development cooperation give high priority and importance to AD, backed by funding.

Infrastructure and services

► Provide infrastructure and services to facilitate market access opportunities for AD products in local communities.

► Standards for environmental impact assessments (EIA) for all physical infrastructure should be established.

Transparency and monitoring

► Be aware that participatory and transparent planning, monitoring and assessment of AD programmes and the protection of human rights is one condition of sustainability, and that decentralised planning and decision-making has to be subject to accountability and transparency.

It is recommended that:

► Supply reduction, AD and forced eradication policies should be periodically evaluated to assess their socio-economic, political and environmental impacts.


► More specifically it is also advisable to monitor impacts on livelihood

strategies, emphasising changes at the household level (socio-economic and gender criteria).

Land tenure and land rights

► Secure land-use rights and access to renewable natural resources are essential for sustainable development. We therefore recommend that adequate legal arrangements be made to guarantee such rights to those who use the lands. This includes the recognition of land-use rights of indigenous communities as well as titling of land in officially recognised settled areas.

► Land-use rights should be linked to the agricultural and forestry potential and to people qualifying for it.

► For implementation of AD projects it is essential to enter into dialogue on the political level to address the illegal situation in restricted and degraded areas with forestry potential and search for solutions. Voluntary resettlement from protected and unsuitable areas should be promoted. 



Regional Workshop Asia: Summary and Conclusions

Approach

Development in a drugs environment

- ▶▶ Must be founded on mutual respect & trust, which demands building of participation from day one – this is sustainability
- ▶▶ Integrated into national, regional and local development strategies/plans
- ▶▶ Success measured in terms of livelihood, as well as drug-control achievements
- ▶▶ Must build on, not replace, local/indigenous knowledge
- ▶▶ Must be flexible in project planning & implementation, e.g., objectives, time frame, budgets, methods

Turn Rhetoric into Reality

- ▶▶ Learn and implement the lessons from rural development projects, including the cross-cutting issues of equity, gender and social & environmental sustainability
- ▶▶ Apply analytical tools & processes which are considered “best practices”
- ▶▶ Address the multi-functional role of opium, not just the economic aspect
- ▶▶ Integrate impact monitoring & feedback, as a basis for continuing dialogue and learning

Governance

AD should be based on a complete assessment of policy environment, e.g.,

- ▶▶ adherence to UN conventions
- ▶▶ extend government writ
- ▶▶ political will & long-term commitment of donors, government and communities
- ▶▶ agreed action plan for law enforcement (LE) to complement AD as a separate entity
- ▶▶ honest & dedicated implementation of AD and LE
- ▶▶ decentralize planning decision-making
- ▶▶ inter-agency collaboration
- ▶▶ strengthen civil society organizations
- ▶▶ accountability and transparency
- ▶▶ AD reduces the risk of licit livelihood, and law enforcement increases the risk of illicit livelihood
- ▶▶ Conditionalties should be exceptions, rather than the rule, however they should be time-bound and enforceable
- ▶▶ Beyond AD: national and local crime prevention requires effective control of external factors, e.g., mafia, drug trafficking, price manipulation of illicit drugs

Regional Cooperation

1. Preconditions:

- ▶▶ Mandates
- ▶▶ Ownership by all

2. Why cooperate?

- ▶▶ Share experiences
- ▶▶ Expand markets

Successes:

- ▶▶ MOU, Accord Plus
- ▶▶ National drug control institutions established

Constraints:

- ▶▶ Existing mandates do not include all stakeholders
- ▶▶ Different national capacities
- ▶▶ Difficult to adapt new experiences to local context

3. Future directions

- ▶▶ Extend cooperation mechanisms
- ▶▶ Establish AD networks
- ▶▶ Establish data bases, web page
- ▶▶ Become client-oriented
- ▶▶ Facilitate impact assessment

Advantage:

- ▶▶ Alertness to risks & successes

Risks

- ▶▶ May not be used well
- ▶▶ Project cycle does not encourage impact assessment

Addiction Issues

(Example from Lao PDR)

1. Prevention

- ▶▶ Include drug prevention in education curriculum
- ▶▶ Increase family & community awareness of dangers of drugs
- ▶▶ Conduct sports activities, mass media

2. Solutions

- ▶▶ Government investment
- ▶▶ Addict participation
- ▶▶ Regional cooperation
- ▶▶ External donor assistance

Asean Regional Situation

- ▶▶ Opium production down, with national plans for eradication in all countries
- ▶▶ In Southeast Asia, increase in ATS production, trafficking & consumption
- ▶▶ Many years of AD experience in some countries, but not always effectively used in new projects
- ▶▶ Expressed need for AD to reduce illicit crops
- ▶▶ Difficulties in directing project benefits to poorest farmers
- ▶▶ Lack of rigorous analysis of results of AD on livelihoods of different socio-economic groups
- ▶▶ Key considerations in Alternative Development: participation, project design and sustainability




Networking Is an Important Issue for AD



Winfried von Urff, Chairman of the International Feldafing Conference reminded the audience: “This is an opportunity to coordinate activities in Alternative Development.”

The participants used this opportunity. International discussion groups promoted exchange of experience, as well as the discussion of possible starting points for common actions.

The basis was the outcome of two Regional Workshops that took place prior to the conference. There, participants analysed their AD experiences, identified factors for success and constraints, and developed elements for an updated concept of Alternative Development.

Summaries and conclusions of both workshops were presented and discussed at the beginning of the conference. One of the main themes: experiences in networking. In particular, the importance of regional networks was emphasized. 

Top Producer: Afghanistan

During the 1990s, and up until 2000, Afghanistan established itself as the main source of the illicit opium and heroin produced, trafficked and consumed in the world.

More specifically, Afghanistan had become the source of:

- 70% of global illicit opium production in 2000 (global production: 4,691 mt; Afghan production: 3,276 mt)
- almost 100% of the opiates consumed in the neighbouring countries (notably Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan). The number of opiate users in the area can be roughly estimated at 2.5 to 3 million (including 0.8 to 1.2 million in Iran and about 1.5 million in Pakistan)
- 70% to 90% of the heroin found in the European markets (both western and eastern Europe).

Record Harvest in 1999

High point on Afghanistan's way to the world's largest producer of opium was the record harvest of 4,600 mt in 1999 (79% of global illicit production that year). Cultivation of opium

poppy covered more than 90,000 ha that year. In September 1999, the Taliban issued a decree ordering all poppy farmers to reduce their cultivation area by one-third. The decline in the area under cultivation amounted only to 10%, but a severe drought brought production in 2000 down by 28% (to 3,300 mt, still 70% of the global illicit production).

Total ban in 2000

In July 2000 the Taliban issued another decree imposing a total ban on opium poppy cultivation. Therefore, the total area under cultivation of opium poppy in Afghanistan fell by 91% from 82,172 ha in 2000 to 7,606 ha in 2001. However, with a production of 185 mt, Afghanistan was still in second place after Myanmar (1,100 mt) and ahead of Laos (134 mt).

The implementation of the ban resulted in a strong reduction of opium poppy cultivation in regions controlled by the Taliban. Illicit cultivation continued – and increased in some areas – in the northern region which is under the influence of the “Northern Alliance.”

Some examples:

- Helmand, the highest cultivation province in 2000 (42,853 ha poppy cultivation), recorded no poppy cultivation in the 2001 season.

- Nangarhar, the second highest cultivation province in 2000 (19,747 ha), was reported to have 218 ha poppy cultivation in 2001.
- In Badakhshan, there has been an increase in poppy cultivation from 2,458 ha in 2000 to 6,342 ha in 2001.
- In Samangan, there has been an increase from 54 ha in 2000 to 614 ha in 2001.

(Helmand and Nangarhar are provinces in the south of Afghanistan, Badakhshan and Samangan are located in the north.)

The shift of cultivation was associated with a decline in yields: output in irrigated poppy cultivation like in Helmand or Nangarhar is much higher (up to 31kg/ha) than in rain-fed cultivation like in Badakhshan and Samangan (about 18 kg/ha).

In parallel with the decline of production, prices for fresh and dry opium increased greatly. The average farm-gate price for fresh opium in 2000 was about US\$30/kg. In 2001 this price rose up to US\$301/kg. Nevertheless the existence of remarkable stocks of dry opium has so far minimized the impact on global trafficking and abuse.

Resumption of large scale production?

Reports indicate that an increasing number of farmers started to replant poppy.

Andean Regional Workshop: Summary and Conclusions

Country Situation: COLOMBIA

Illicit crop cultivation

1985: 13,5000 ha of coca

1989: 42,400 ha of coca

1997: 79,400 ha of coca

2000: 136,200 ha of coca (US) / 163,289 ha of coca (UNDCP/COL)

The illicit crops cycle supports war through the financing of different armed groups.

- ▶ Balance between AD programmes and law enforcement
- ▶ Indiscriminate aerial spraying of crops negatively effects AD work areas
- ▶ Eradication agreements concluded with farmers but pressure of aerial spraying causing difficulty in compliance
- ▶ Aerial spraying has had negative environmental impacts due to both the displacement of illicit crops to new areas and contamination from the spraying itself
- ▶ Assessment of AD experiences
- ▶ AD activities are undertaken in a complicated social and political environment characterised by armed conflict, forced displacement and criminalisation of small farmers

Country Situation: ECUADOR

Illicit crop cultivation

1995: 100 ha of coca

2000: 300 ha of coca

- ▶ Balance between AD programmes and law enforcement
- ▶ The need to implement preventative AD programmes
- ▶ Assessment of AD experiences
- ▶ Currently there are no AD programmes to analyse results

Country Situation: BOLIVIA

Illicit crop cultivation (up to 12,000 ha are legal)

1989: 52,900 ha of coca

1997: 48,100 ha of coca

2000: 4,450 ha of coca

- ▶ Balance between AD programmes and law enforcement
- ▶ Eradication is both voluntary and forced in coca growing areas and complimentary to AD programmes
- ▶ Assessment of AD experiences
- ▶ AD created the basic conditions for licit production chains
- ▶ Lack of farmer participation in decision-making
- ▶ International cooperation expected to assist in overcoming obstacles to markets for AD products

Country Situation: PERU

Illicit crop cultivation (12,000 ha of coca for traditional use)

1989: 120,400 ha of coca

1997: 68,800 ha of coca

2000: 60,000 ha of coca

- ▶ Balance between AD programmes and law enforcement
- ▶ Mutually agreed-upon eradication
- ▶ Limited application of drug control laws uncoordinated with national AD strategy
- ▶ Assessment of AD experiences
- ▶ Technically sound projects but with limited economic benefits due to a lack of infrastructure and erroneous macroeconomic policies
- ▶ Good pilot projects but outside of regional development strategies
- ▶ There is currently a forum for dialogue between the government and local authorities and community leaders



Recommendations for Updating and Improving AD Concepts

Determining factors:

AD focus – macro-level

► Alternative Development must be compatible with the concept of sustainability as defined in Agenda 21 (Rio 92) based on the following four pillars:

- Conservation of renewable natural resources
- Poverty alleviation
- Elimination of drug trafficking
- Maintaining social tranquility

►► Develop, at the national level, education programmes that include ecological, natural resource, environmental and sustainable production themes.

►► When market conditions are favorable, AD projects should go beyond only agricultural and livestock interventions to include income-generating activities in forestry, tourism, agro-industry, handicraft production and the service sector.

►► AD interventions should also cover expulsion zones with a priority on activities that require significant labour inputs.

Determining factors:

AD focus – micro-level

►► The planning and implementation of AD projects should take advantage of existing social and productive arrangements, like local governments, community organizations, producer associations, etc. and facilitate their involvement in defining their roles, expectations and contributions to AD.

►► Promote and strengthen efficient commercial linkages with the full participation of peasant organizations and private investment.

►► In order to gain the confidence of local communities, there should be a clear distinction between AD and eradication activities, with an effort to avoid conditionality of project interventions.

Relation between AD and law enforcement

PREMISE:

Avoidance of displacement and dispersion of illicit crops as a consequence of eradication

- Define mutually reinforcing policies for the Andean region.
- Drug reduction strategies should not hinder AD programmes, but rather illicit crop eradication should be carried out in a concerted, voluntary and gradual way.
- Consensus building, social tranquillity and public safety should be the basis for AD policy.
- Supply reduction, AD and forced eradication policies should be periodically evaluated to assess their socio-economic, political and environmental impacts.

Regional coordination and the role of local, national and international actors

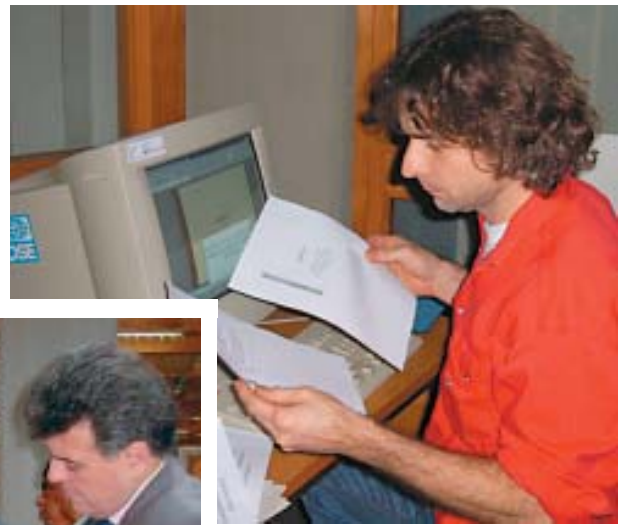
- In view of the transnational nature of the drug problem, a regional AD focus needs to be strengthened through institutional mechanisms like CADA (OAS).
- Strengthen the exchange of information on and experiences with AD at the regional level.
- Formulate a regional strategy with respect to international cooperation in AD.
- Strengthen the role of civil society, the private sector and local authorities in the formulation and implementation of AD programmes and projects in order to better assure their sustainability.



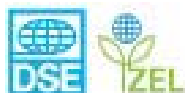


Impressions of the Conference: Snapshots of Participants at Work





The Organizers



The German Foundation for International Development (DSE) provides a forum for development policy dialogue and offers initial and advanced training of specialists and executive personnel from developing and transitional countries.

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The United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) was established in 1991, in consequence to General Assembly Resolution 45/179 of 21 December 1990. The UNDCP is responsible for coordinated international action against illicit drug production, trafficking and consumption. The UNDCP works together with the Centre for International Crime Prevention (CICP) to form the Office of Drug Control and Crime Prevention (ODCCP), enabling the Organization to focus and enhance its capacity to address the interrelated issues of drug control, crime prevention and international terrorism in all its forms.

The overall goal for the UNDCP is to advance and facilitate drug control cooperation among countries in the region to achieve a sustained reduction in the production, trafficking and abuse of drugs. It is responsible for advising governments in the region on drug control matters and for assisting them in developing and implementing national drug control policies and programmes. The UNDCP Headquarters is based in Vienna with field offices in 22 countries.

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Ken Kampe: (p.32,33), Alexander Seger/GTZ: (p. 1, 4a, 11b, 15, 27, 28r, 31b,m)

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International Conference on
**The Role of
 Alternative Development
 in Drug Control
 and Development Cooperation**

Venue: Feldafing (near Munich), Germany



**Organized
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