



## **DRUGS AND DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA**

**Strategies, experiences  
and project examples  
from the work of GTZ**



Drugs and Development  
Programme



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Project Manager: Christoph Berg  
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65276 Eschborn  
Germany

Text: Eva Dietz, Robert Lessmann, Joanna Kotowski-Ziss, Christoph Berg  
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## PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

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Today, many Latin American countries are facing a complex problem which, over the last twenty years and influenced by an increasingly globalising world, has become a dimension of their social and political reality in its own right: the drug problem.

This problem affects not only countries such as Colombia, Peru and Bolivia where coca and opium – the raw plant materials for manufacture of the drugs heroin and cocaine – are cultivated. It also affects countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico or Venezuela, which are not only used by the drug trade as transit countries for distribution world-wide, but have also increasingly become caught-up in drug manufacture and money laundering.

The demand for drugs generated by consumption, and without a doubt the gigantic profit margins obtained through illicit trade, are factors which boost both production and trafficking. Yet they are also structural development problems of these countries, whose fertile soil is being used to increase drug production. The impacts of the activities linked to the illicit cycles of cultivation, manufacture and trafficking weaken national economies, call into question the rule of law, jeopardise social peace, and ultimately undermine the frameworks so essential to sustainable human development.

Drug consumption too is spreading. The traditional distinction between drug demand coming from the industrialised countries of the North, and drug supply coming from the developing countries of the South, is no longer as clear as it once was. In recent years, the drug trade has increasingly been establishing distribution structures and markets in the cultivation and transit countries themselves, which has resulted in an alarming increase in drug consumption in Latin America. Whilst drug crop cultivation takes place in remote rural regions, the centres of consumption are the rapidly-expanding urban zones whose degree of anonymity, aggression and poverty continue to grow, as stable social systems lose their vital strength.

There is now not a single country in Latin America which is not affected in some way, shape or form by the symptoms of the drug problem.

It is the task and objective of drug control in the context of international development cooperation to respond to the phenomena described. The complexity and globality of the problem can only be tackled through equally global, though differentiated approaches, whose key elements are expressed in concepts such as “shared responsibility”, “development – not drugs”, and “interdiction, alternative development and prevention”. Alternative development has a special role to play in countries where cultivation is located, because it sees socio-economic structural deficits in conjunction with the prevailing logic of supply-and-demand as the main cause of the drug problem, and accords priority to integrated, multi-sectoral development within the countries themselves. Parallel to that, if reductions in cultivation are to be sustainable then drug consumption also needs to be reduced through projects and programmes of addiction and substance abuse prevention in the respective countries.

This is the context in which German development cooperation's projects seek to help promote integrated human development through their strategy of “development-oriented drug control”. Key conceptual principles of this strategy are target-group orientation, participation, help towards self-help, poverty reduction, economic efficiency and sustainability.

For German Technical Cooperation, drug control is a multi-sectoral activity area, the development-policy principles of which were defined by BMZ in its “Concept for Drug Control within the Scope of Development Cooperation”, published in 1995. Practical project experience in drug control has been accumulating since activities were launched in Asia in 1981. Following almost 10 years of development cooperation with the Andean countries discussed here, a wealth of corresponding experiences, approaches and strategies are now on hand. In making them available to a broader public, the present publication seeks to help generate constructive exchange, and foster the ongoing development and elaboration of responses to the theme of “Drugs and Development in Latin America”.

Günter Dresrüsse  
Director Country Department Latin America

Christoph Berg  
Drugs and Development Programme



*Coca farmers drying their crop (Trópico de Cochabamba, Bolivia)*

# I. THE DRUG PROBLEM IN LATIN AMERICA

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The cultivation, trafficking and consumption of illicit drugs is a global problem, the poorly transparent dynamics of which are dictated by an inherent logic. The drug trade is estimated to be worth a total of up to 500 billion US dollars, which would be equivalent to 7.6% of world trade. The European Union estimates that every year around 200 billion US dollars are “laundered” in the global finance system, i.e. profits from the illegal drug business are transformed into legalised, “clean” capital through illegal and semi-legal transactions.

In Latin America, and especially in the Andean countries where the raw plant material is produced for the global drug cocaine – and increasingly for heroin, through cultivation of the opium poppy – the persistence of drug plant cultivation is now making the development problems of these countries transparent.

As well as the appropriate climatic conditions, it is also structural problems which make it easier for these plants to be introduced and disseminated as drug crops. These problems include first of all the geographically remote locations and the poor accessibility of large sub-tropical zones, coupled with the absence of state institutions. Secondly they include uncontrolled migration, the labour supply which that produces, and poverty, which is usually caused by land scarcity, crop failures, economic crises, and internal political conflicts and violence, which also contribute towards the displacement of rural populations. Weak institutions also make it easier for criminal structures to become established within the state apparatus of a society, thus making it easier for the drug trade to take root.

The main stimulus for cultivation is the world market demand for drugs. Due to the enormous flexibility of the drug trade, and mediated by international and national drug dealing rings, changes in demand in the consumer countries impact immediately on the countries manufacturing these drugs, generating market dynamics similar to those for legal products.

Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s Mexico and Colombia supplied the North American market with marijuana, between the 1980s and mid-1990s there was a shift in demand in the USA towards cocaine and crack. This resulted in a production boom in the Andean countries of Bolivia and Peru, and finally also in Colombia.

From the mid-1990s onwards the market diversified to include not only the plant-based drugs marijuana and cocaine, but also the new designer drugs such as ecstasy, which were quickly accepted. Colombia diversified its production accordingly to include the cultivation of both coca and opium poppies, the latter being a newly-introduced drug crop. A slight drop in cocaine consumption in the USA in the mid-1990s was compensated by a rise in demand on European markets, markets which to this day remain unsaturated.

In Latin America the debate and polemics revolve primarily around the coca leaf and the cocaine obtained from it. This plant originates almost entirely from the Andean countries of Bolivia, Colombia and Peru, where it is not only a crop, but also a culture with a centuries-old tradition. Of the illegal drugs it is by far the most significant in terms of value added and employment, and helps cushion the impacts of economic crises and extreme poverty. The land under cultivation – currently estimated at a total area of around 200,000 hectares of coca – the decline or increase in which is used as an official measure of the efficiency of drug policies, has caused these countries increasing international difficulties, and exacerbated internal socio-political conflicts. The excessive cultivation of coca and the chemical manufacture of cocaine also raise issues of natural resource management and environmental protection. The trade itself is not only a legal problem, but also a source of large and rapidly-available sums of money, suitable *inter alia* for the financing of non-legal actors and their activities. This is undermining legally-constituted bodies of the state and society. Drugs used to finance weapons, drugs used to fuel wars – of a declared or undeclared nature – or drugs as an informal source of funding for manoeuvres to gain political power or influence that elude public scrutiny – all these are dimensions of the drug trade.

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<sup>1</sup> According to estimates of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP 2001), Mexico and Colombia together produce 120-160 tons of opium per annum, which is equivalent to around 12-16 tons of heroin or 3-4% of world production. In Peru too, opium poppy plantations are found sporadically.

The chain begins and ends with consumption. This is now a problem not just for the original consumer countries. Alarming, it is spreading in the producer countries themselves. Social changes within society, as well as structural changes, within the organised drug trade, are the causes.

## 1. CULTIVATION

### 1.1 Coca – an Andean Culture

The coca leaf is native to the Andean region, and according to the archaeological evidence has been known to the peoples there for around 5,000 years. In the Inca Empire it was considered a “sacred leaf”, the consumption of which was a prerogative of the ruling, priestly caste. To this day, ritual and magico-religious practices remain key features of coca consumption in Andean upland communities, mostly in Bolivia and Peru. In the Andean vision of the cosmos, coca is associated with “mother earth” (Pachamama), the female principle, fertility, and indeed all life potential. For the Andean population, this is the source of “Mama Coca’s” strong symbolic power.

The chewing of coca, i.e. the rolling around of the leaves – mixed with a catalyst such as plant ashes or limestone – inside the cheek, constitutes a communicative act of an earthly and at the same time metaphysical nature, and is practised during work or travel, or to initiate and/or reinforce social interaction. The coca leaf plays an important role in traditional healing, and is used as a medium for oracles, and for sacrifices to gods and ancestors. It is also used, in some cases to this day, as a means of payment for products and services. For the inhabitants of traditional Andean communities, working, social and cultural life is inconceivable without the use and exchange of coca.

With the discovery of the rich silver deposits by the Spanish conquerors, coca consumption by the indigenous population – and thus coca cultivation – expanded. The physiological qualities of coca as a food supplement, a stimulant and a stress reducer came to the fore:<sup>2</sup> The mildly anaesthetic effect of coca enabled the indigenous forced labourers to physically endure the tortures of mining work for longer periods. At the same time, the performance-enhancing effect of the coca leaf meant that human labour could be exploited even more intensively. This meant that millions of Andean farmers were driven to death in the silver mines. As a result of the exploitation of mines during the colonial period, coca, traditionally a highly-valued commodity, gained even greater value, albeit purely economic in nature. This use of coca remains: To this day, before beginning their shift mineworkers stuff their first bola (ball) into their cheek, which they continuously replenish with fresh leaves until their day’s work is done.



*Legal products made from coca leaves: a refreshing drink, coca tea, toothpaste, ointment and coca juice. Coca farmers see these products as a possible alternative to illicit processing*

In Bolivia and Peru, coca – in loose leaf form or packed into tea-bags – is a standard luxury that no well-stocked shop or restaurant can afford to be without. Coca tea is drunk by families of all social classes, and is used as a remedy for headache or stomach-ache. It is also used by travellers to quell altitude sickness. Numerous farmers’ organisations in both these countries have for years been calling for markets to open-up to traditional, legal products made from coca leaves.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the traditional use of coca appears to have no deleterious effects on health.

<sup>2</sup> As well as containing up to 14 alkaloids, coca leaves also contain proteins, carbohydrates, iron, calcium, phosphorus, and vitamins A1, B2 and E.





*The coca leaf has a centuries-old tradition in the Andes: A welcome ceremony with coca, recorded by the chronicler Guamán Poma de Ayala around 1600*

All users confirm on the basis of their own practical experiences that it has positive therapeutic effects. Alongside these forms of consumption which are integrated into the whole of society in Bolivia and Peru, the coca leaf has to this day retained its complex religious, economic and social function as a specific cultural feature of the Andean population. The number of traditional consumers is around 1 million (out of around 7 million inhabitants) in Bolivia, 1.7 million (out of around 24 million inhabitants) in Peru, and approximately 50,000 (out of approximately 40 million inhabitants) in Colombia. In Bolivia and Peru, traditional consumption is legal.

## 1.2 The Boom and its Consequences

The centuries-old, traditional centres of coca cultivation are located on the eastern slopes of the Andes, at altitudes of between 1,000 and 2,000 metres, where climatic conditions are subtropical: in Peru especially in the tropical lowlands of the Inca capital Cuzco (Alto Urubamba) and of Lake Titicaca (Sandia); in Bolivia in the Yungas of the capital La Paz. In these zones, coca cultivation takes place on small parcels of 0.25 to 0.5 hectares, and is adapted to local topographic and ecological conditions by means of a complex terracing system.

During the 1960s to 1980s, the crisis of traditional agriculture on the Altiplano (high plateau) and in the Andean high valleys, population growth and land scarcity, coupled with periods of drought, the collapse of mining and the impoverishment of large sections of the rural population, led to uncontrolled waves of colonisation. In search of a viable livelihood, thousands migrated to new, remote tropical zones such as the Alto Huallaga valley in Peru and the tropical regions of the department of Cochabamba (known as Chaparé for short) in Bolivia. In some cases (in Peru), sporadic coca plantations of previous colonisers or native sections of the population were already in place. In other cases (in Bolivia), the migrants took the coca plant with them for their own consumption, and in order to plant it in their new home.

The maelstrom of demand for cocaine, triggered by the industrialised countries in the 1970s and 1980s, coupled with the expansion of the drug trade, brought about a dramatic expansion in coca cultivation. The coca boom which followed at the same time nourished hopes of fast money, and drew even more migrants into the cultivation zones. At that point in time, coca cultivation was relatively insignificant in Colombia. The coca sector there had specialised in processing coca paste from Bolivia and Peru into cocaine. From the mid-1990s onwards, however, a trend similar to that in the other two countries ensued in Colombia.

At the level of the producers, three factors are key to the issue of expanding coca cultivation: the mode of organisation of smallholder production, based predominantly on a mix of subsistence farming and cash crop production involving unpaid labour by all family members; the amount of labour (made) available in the agricultural sector, and the fact that coca cultivation and in particular harvesting, are highly labour-intensive and can only be achieved through manual labour. This non-traditional coca cultivation is therefore an element of smallholder production. Around one hectare is the maximum size of holding which can be worked by one family. Only during periods of boom and high prices can employees be hired. Coca production then expands, at the expense of other products. This pushes up the prices of all goods required on a daily basis, which in turn jeopardises smallholder agriculture.

Farmers usually earn far more by selling the leaves than they do in other branches of agriculture, and this all the more so given that the colonisation zones display all the characteristics of under-development. These zones are usually poorly accessible, with a low state presence, deficient infrastructure and fragile ecological conditions: sub-tropical forest land with a species diversity amongst the richest in the world, but poor soils threatened by erosion which set limits to agricultural utilisation. To date, the colonisation of these regions has involved massive deforestation – for purposes of coca cultivation – but also to clear land for settlements and fields for subsistence agriculture with upland rice, yucca or bananas. According to one GTZ-financed study, it would take a further 15 to 18 years for the core zone of colonisation in Bolivia's Chaparé region to become completely deforested. Not infrequently, colonisation for coca cultivation and the production of pasta básica (coca paste) has involved the displacement of indigenous communities from their ancestral lands, or alternatively their integration into the coca industry at the bottom rung of the ladder.

### **Pasta Básica**

The first phase of cocaine production, the manufacture of pasta básica de cocaína, usually takes place in the cultivation zones, due to the large quantities of leaves required. From 300-500 kilograms of coca leaves of the more alkaloid-rich varieties, it is possible to obtain around 2.5 kilograms of pasta básica by tamping or pressing out with chemicals such as kerosene, various carbonates and sulphuric acid. This paste is then refined at another location into cocaine hydrochloride (HCL). Every year, hundreds of thousands of tons of chemicals are "disposed of" in the soil, and in natural waters. A contamination of the environment!

During coca production boom periods, some farmers' or migrants' hopes of making fast money have been realised, though at a high price: a life and work in insecurity, often in a grey zone between legality and illegality, the social disintegration of the family and community life. They are often subject to exploitation or coercion by criminal organisations of the drug trade, which the farmers are aware of though possibly ignore due to their relatively high income. The coca merchants, labourers in the manufacture of the pasta básica, are directly exposed to the criminal investigation activities of the authorities, and the farmers themselves are often caught up in the machinery of criminal investigation into drugs and compulsory eradication. In Peru and Colombia, terrorist and guerrilla organisations have provided coca farmers with protection, thus dragging them into the "dirty war" against the forces of the state.

### **Coca, Drug Trafficking, Guerrillas and the Army**

Although written a decade ago, the following appeal made by a priest in the Caguán region in the department of Caquetá in Colombian Amazonia can still serve as an example: "At this moment a major army campaign is under way in lower Caguán. There is no doubt that coca is being cultivated and processed there, but I would like to appeal to the government not to confine itself to sending in the army, because in this region people are afflicted by hunger. (...) The guerrillas are there because there is no government; the FARC are therefore the three powers (executive, legislature and judiciary), and the drug trade is there to fill the economic vacuum, which is also caused by the absence of the central government and the lack of economic policy. (...) They (the farmers of the region) are innocent. They planted coca in the absence of alternatives, but now no one is buying it from them and they are suffering a painful famine. I say that the farmers are like ants, always at work, and the drug dealers who led them to do it are like ravens, they fly away and the ants remain. (...) The government should do something about the hunger, but it also has a responsibility to offer the farmers an alternative to this illegal economic activity. If it confines itself to repression, it will close all the doors for more than 20,000 inhabitants who do not even live like human beings." (quoted after Jaramillo/ Mora/ Cubides: "Colonización, Coca y Guerrilla", Bogotá, 1989, 129f)

The collapse of local drug markets, the over-production of coca, and a dramatic drop in the price of leaves and pasta básica in the late 1980s and early 1990s brought the dream of "green gold" in regions such as the Huallaga and Apurímac valleys in Peru to an abrupt end; this left behind a population with no income and often without food production.

Although only a small proportion of the profits obtained from illicit drugs reaches the coca farmers, this income does constitute a major incentive in the crisis-struck Andean countries. Not least the periods of high prices during the coca boom have acted as a buffer against national economic crises, absorbed the labour made available, and gener-

ated income where poverty had prevailed and where development strategies were lacking. For most coca farmers, the dependency on a fragile and illegal export market was secondary; nevertheless, the majority of farmers would be willing to accept losses in income if their quality of life and security were to be increased through legal economic activity. Ultimately, all the farming families who have been through these experiences know that income gained from legal agricultural production is preferable, and that only an integrated development of their living and working conditions can offer a secure future.

**Table 1: Cultivation of Coca Bush in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru 1991-2000, in hectares**

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
<b>Bolivia</b>	47,900	45,500	47,200	48,100	48,600	48,100	45,800	38,000	21,800	14,000
<b>Colombia</b>	37,500	37,100	39,700	44,700	50,900	67,200	79,500	101,800	122,500	n.a.
<b>Peru</b>	120,800	129,100	108,800	108,600	115,300	94,400	68,800	51,000	38,700	34,200
<b>Total</b>	206,200	211,700	195,700	201,400	214,800	194,100	194,100	190,800	183,000	

Net figures, after eradication. Source: US Department of State – Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs: International Narcotics Control Strategy Report 1998, Washington D.C., Feb. 1999, Statistical Tables. See also UNDCP: Global Illicit Drug Trends, Vienna 2000. Other sources also give significantly higher figures and cast doubt on the success of reduction measures.

The figures demonstrate that there has been barely any change over the last 10 years in the total amount of coca cultivated; having said that, there has been a shift in the zones of cultivation away from Peru and Bolivia, and towards Colombia. This is linked to coercive eradication in Bolivia, as well as to infertility and the abandonment of crops, due inter alia to falling prices, internal violence and migratory movements in Peru. It is also linked to successful restructuring by the drug trade. Since the mid-1990s for instance, Colombia has switched to producing for itself the raw material for cocaine manufacture, the coca leaf, as opposed to purchasing it from Bolivia and Peru.



*Ruthless exploitation of tropical biotopes in the Bolivian lowlands: one result of migration, unplanned colonisation and boom syndromes for cash crops such as coca*

#### Problems and Limitations on Cultivation Data

There are few reliable figures available on the illicit production, traffic and consumption of drugs. Most are based on indirect indicators rather than direct indicators such as confiscations for trafficking, and estimations on the extend of cultivation zones. The latter are in turn partly based on on satellite images, taking into account yield per hectare by zone or concentration of active substance. These production estimates do not include harvest cycles or transport losses. Although work to refine the methods for collecting more reliable data is ongoing, contradictory figures and wide margins of error are no rarity. The figures given here should also be seen as an approximate indication of the realities.

Most of the data used here has been obtained from the US State Department and the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP). The Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs of the US State Department has the longest experience in this field, and publishes annual figures on drug production world-wide which are based on standardised methods.

**Table 2: Cultivation of drug plants and level of employment**

	Cultivation regions	Population	Dependent on coca cultivation	Of which coca farmers
Bolivia	2	500.000	350.000	61.000
Colombia	25	4.000.000	800.000	160.000
Peru	16	2.000.000	1.000.000	200.000

Source: Estimates of AIDIA-GTZ project, 1998.

### 1.3 The International Legal Context

The cultivation of “drug crops” is not simply a problem of the criminal code; it also constitutes a complex development problem to be seen in a wider economic and social context. The international legal context has taken increasing account of this fact over the years.

The *Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs*, adopted by the *United Nations in 1961*, sought first and foremost to define and control the substances in question. Cannabis, the coca leaf and opium, as well as the derivatives cocaine and heroin, were on Schedule I of the *Single Convention*. The member states of the Convention undertook *inter alia* to prohibit the cultivation, processing and consumption of these plants for non-medicinal purposes.

The Preamble to the Convention of 1988 already speaks of a collective responsibility of all states in the struggle against the international drug trade. It was considered equally important to tackle both supply and demand. Integrated rural development programmes and corresponding international support were specified as relevant measures. The eradication of drug crops called for in the Single Convention was to be carried out with due respect for human rights, taking into account issues of environmental compatibility, and acknowledging the legitimacy of traditional forms of consumption.

The Declaration of the *United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Drugs* held in 1998 in New York finally emphasises the special role of alternative development for social compatibility and the sustainability of measures to reduce drug crop cultivation. Thus whereas the cultivation of cannabis, coca and opium were to be banned everywhere pursuant to the Single Convention, this Declaration drew distinctions for Peru and Bolivia, taking account of the fact that the coca bush is rooted in the culture of the Andean peoples, and acknowledging the economic and social significance of coca cultivation.

Whilst coca cultivation is banned in Colombia, the Bolivian drug law *Ley 1008* of 1988 defines three cultivation zones: one zone of legal cultivation for traditional forms of consumption (*Yungas of La Paz and Yungas de Vandiola*); one transitional zone where the economic and social dimensions of cultivation are acknowledged, and where reduction measures are to be carried out with the agreement of farmers, with fair compensation and accompanied by alternative development projects (*Trópico de Cochabamba*, referred to as *Chaparé* for short); and finally all the remaining areas of the country where coca cultivation is illegal, and where eradication measures are to be implemented without compensation.

In Peru, coca cultivation is permitted; to date, the marketing of coca for traditional consumption within the country has been subject to oversight by the parastatal agency ENACO (Empresa Nacional de Coca). The government has officially designated the coca farmers’ organisations as *interlocutores válidos*, i.e. as *acknowledged partners in negotiation* to solve the drug problem. Coca eradication may only take place on a voluntary basis. Exceptions include crops that are located in nature reserves, or have been abandoned, or are located in close proximity to coca fermentation tanks used in the manufacture of *pasta básica*.

## 2. TRAFFICKING: A CHALLENGE TO STATES AND SOCIETIES

With the capital it mobilises and the means it employs, the illicit drug trade poses a challenge to democracy and the rule of law in the countries of Latin America. Drug capital not only leads to distortions in economic structures, but also exacerbates social inequity. An anti-democratic culture of breaking the rules and breaching the law becomes established, and corruption and violence – the *ultima ratio* of illegal activity – take hold.

Whilst Bolivia and Peru have never had any significant cartels to organise the drug trade, with trafficking remaining a rather chaotic affair left in the hands of clans, small gangs, local dealers and above all outside contacts to the intentional drug trade, Colombia has become the centre of the cocaine trade, and the paragon of the drug trade as a whole.

## 2.1 ... Colombia – a case example

During the 1960s, Colombia along with Mexico supplied the illegal markets of North America with marijuana. As those markets' demand for cocaine grew in the late 1960s, Colombian petty criminals were already familiar with the North American drug market and at the same time were able to establish connections with the coca cultivation zones of Peru and Bolivia. As a newly industrialising country, Colombia had sufficient infrastructure to handle both the further processing of pasta básica into cocaine HCL, and the financial transactions required. At the same time, the barons of the drug trade were able to build on their extensive experience of informal economic activity: tax evasion, smuggling, export of marijuana, coupled with corruption, violent conflict resolution, impunity and low legitimacy of governmental institutions.

In 1995 Colombia was still producing only 10% of the world's coca paste itself, with Bolivia and Peru producing the remaining 90%. Even then, however, almost 70% of the total was being processed into cocaine in Colombia, from where distribution to the USA and Europe was being organised with virtually no competition. Today, Colombia is the country with the largest volume of both coca cultivation, and cocaine production. The potential of domestic coca leaf production (122,500 hectares) in 1999 was estimated at 520 tons of cocaine. Colombia is thus producing 75 to 80% of the total volume of cocaine distributed world-wide. However, Colombia has lost significant market shares of cocaine distribution not least to Mexico, where 80% of cocaine destined for the North American market is being traded today.

This was caused by shifts in power within the old and new drug trade cartels, the scope and success of measures of police repression against the drug trade, and public institutions' level of susceptibility to corruption. The smashing of the Medellín and Cali cartels in the mid-1990s gave dozens of smaller organisations the opportunity to establish themselves within the structures.

### Organisation of the Drug Trade

The levers of power within the international drug trade are in the hands of relatively small numbers of hermetic criminal organisations which run the processing, smuggling and *en-gros* marketing of drugs. Here, large quantities of capital and power are concentrated in a small number of hands. Since the key form of capital for the illegal enterprise is trust, the top management is often comprised of family members. Within the wider organisation it is friendships, and networks of national, ethnic, regional or neighbourly alliances which generate and maintain personal dependencies and loyalties. The illegal enterprise is, however, also forced to maintain its own forces of coercion for conflict management purposes, both within its own organisation and *vis-à-vis* business partners and competitors on illegal markets. When dealing with the forces of government, the more discrete approach of bribery is preferred. *Plomo o plata*, lead or silver, was the offer made by the cocaine barons from Medellín to judges and public prosecutors, police officers, journalists and politicians. And they did not hesitate to resort to lead, when circumstances required. Hundreds of police officers, and dozens of judges and lawyers, journalists and politicians died in the struggle to enforce an extradition treaty with the USA.

The Colombian economist Francisco Thoumi estimates the potential profits from the drug trade in Colombia to be around US\$ 2-5 billion per annum. Estimates of the return flows of these profits back into the country range between US\$ 0.5 and 4 billion per annum.<sup>3</sup> In 1990 the economist Hernando José Gómez put the "drug capital" accumulated in the Colombian economy over the years at US\$ 14.2 billion; in 1994 Thoumi even came to an order of magnitude of more than US\$ 66 billion. Despite all the uncertainty surrounding these estimates, one thing remains clear: Comparing these figures to the other parameters of the Colombian national economy, the "drug revenues" do indeed appear alarming, for instance in relation to private investment, which Thoumi puts at an average of US\$ 2.8 billion per annum for the period from 1976 to 1986.

Data on the annual income from the drug trade for the core countries of the coca-cocaine trade during the first half of the 1990s were US\$ 900 million (Bolivia), US\$ 2,500 million (Colombia) and US\$ 1,500 million (Peru); this was equivalent to 109%/23%/35% of national export earnings respectively. Although the relative significance of these illegal monies is lower in Colombia than in Bolivia or Peru, they are concentrated in a small number of hands in Colombia, and therefore constitute a considerable power factor.

<sup>3</sup> The average street selling price for cocaine in 1997 was US\$ 66 per gram in the USA (with prices fluctuating between \$ 7 and \$ 200); US\$ 110 in Europe; US\$ 780 in Japan (in 1996).

Most economists agree that drug profits have largely negative effects on the economy in the long run. Although the quantity of money in circulation is increased, thus boosting demand, that demand is very one-sided, involving chiefly the consumption of luxury goods (which are often imported, at the expense of domestic production), the use of services or investment in real estate. By contrast, stimulating effects on domestic production are relatively minor.

In Colombia, a country where relations of land ownership are highly inequitable, drug dealers succeeded in acquiring more than 3 million hectares of land during the 1980s, most of it in areas where good land was going cheap: In areas such as the Magdalena Medio, where the guerrillas had inflicted compulsory levies on landowners (*vacuna revolucionaria*, the “revolutionary jab”). The new owners then not only began large-scale coca cultivation, but also started training and arming paramilitary groups to fight against the guerrillas, and all those considered sympathisers. Thus a new, alarming facet of Colombian *para-institucionalidad* arose, alternative apparatuses of coercion which called into question the state monopoly on coercion.

“*La economía se ensucia*” (the soiling economy) – this is the phrase which Colombian scholars use to graphically illustrate this process of ongoing degeneration of economically and socially integral values and norms. Drug capital is transferred through import-export deals, and the goods acquired with drug money are sold on the black market. Not infrequently, the merchandise in question is arms. Financial activities, including those of a legal nature, are drawn into a grey zone between legality and illegality, meaning that legitimate capital is often moved to safety outside of the country, to be replaced by “dirty” money, thus generating a vicious circle.



*Small-scale transport of cocaine: the spirit of invention knows no bounds*

Whilst Colombia and Mexico have been wrestling for market shares, the typical supplier countries Peru and Bolivia have, albeit to a lesser extent, made themselves more independent and established their own distribution channels to Europe via Brazil, Argentina and Chile. Colombian organisations usually use Ecuador and Venezuela as countries of trans-shipment for drugs, and for money-laundering.

Stronger repressive measures against the drug trade have also led to a number of changes, however. These include for instance the decentralisation and dispersal of production and distribution

structures in Bolivia, where family clans in deserted villages or densely-populated suburbs process coca paste into cocaine in small kitchens. Close aerial surveillance is also increasingly inducing drug smugglers to switch to land or river routes in the Amazon basin in Peru, Colombia and Brazil. Finally, the surplus production of paste and cocaine, and difficulties selling the final product on international markets, are also leading to an increase in domestic consumption.

Reports from Bolivia indicate that surveillance measures directed against precursor chemicals required in the production process have recently impacted negatively on the quality, i.e. the purity, of coca paste and cocaine, as a result of which foreign drug dealers have recently been tending to buy more coca paste, and manufacture the cocaine themselves. Technologically more highly-developed countries such as Brazil or Chile have greater access to the required chemical substances.

### 3. CONSUMPTION

Up until the late 1980s, data on drug consumption in developing countries were only rarely collected. This was due *inter alia* to the fact that the consumption of illegal addictive substances was viewed solely as a problem of the industrialised countries. As drug consumption is now also on the advance in the developing countries, data gathering

systems have since been improved significantly. Increasing attention is being focused on the problem of drug consumption in the drug-producing and developing countries. In late 2000, detailed statistics on global illicit drug consumption were published for the first time (ODCCP 2000).<sup>4</sup>

Until the mid-1990s, it was illicit drugs which were the focus of attention. Alcohol and tobacco remain absent from the consumption figures reported by the international drug control programmes (UNDCP 2001, ODCCP 2000). However there is an increasing awareness of the fact that licit drugs also lead to addictive behaviour and deleterious effects on health comparable to those produced by illicit drugs. WHO in particular is leading the way here with its initiatives against alcohol and tobacco consumption (Brundtland 2001). UNDCP also acknowledges that prevention measures must address critical issues concerning the consumption of legal addictive drugs. The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction states: "The line between licit and illicit drugs is blurred. ... Illicit drug-use patterns frequently also involve licit substances, notably alcohol, tobacco and tranquillisers (...). ... Prevention initiatives are generally geared to preventing the use of any drug, whether illicit or licit." (EMCDDA 1999:15).

According to estimates of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP 2001), more than 4% of the world's population currently use illicit drugs (prevalence per year). Until a few years ago, illicit drugs were consumed primarily in the "developed" countries. Today, consumption has also reached alarming proportions in the so-called developing countries. The old dichotomy of consumer and producer countries has lost its validity. More than 130 countries and regions in both developed and developing countries have drug abuse problems. In some Asian countries, drug consumption is particularly high: in Pakistan for instance there are over 3 million drug addicts, and in Thailand 1.5 million.<sup>5</sup> Compared to those figures, the consumption of illegal drugs in Latin America is relatively low. Here, alcohol and tobacco essentially remain the more widespread drugs, even though cocaine consumption is reaching alarming proportions.

A study on youth and drugs, published in early 1999 by the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, clearly demonstrates that young people in developing countries are increasingly being affected by drug abuse. Comparison of the figures at the global level reveals that it is chiefly the African and South American countries which have high prevalence rates among youth (CND 1999). This tendency was confirmed as the year 2000 drew to a close (CND 2000a).

**Cannabis** (marijuana, hashish) became the most popular drug amongst young people in the mid-1990s. The proportion of young people in Chile who have tried marijuana – 23% – is higher than in Germany or the Netherlands.

The sniffing of **solvents** is widespread. In Brazil, around 14% of 10- to -19-year-olds have inhaled fumes at least once.

**Cocaine consumption** amongst young people is still relatively low. World-wide, the prevalence rate is 1.9%. After the Bahamas (6.4%) and the USA, adolescents in Kenya have the most experience with cocaine (4.5%). Chile too has relatively high values. In Brazil, cocaine consumption amongst young people is four times as high as in the early 1990s, whilst in Mexico the figure doubled between 1993 and 1997.

**Heroin** is not very widespread amongst youth in developing countries. Having said that, an increase in heroin consumption is being observed in various countries of the South, e.g. in South Africa, Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Mexico, Hong Kong and Southwest Asia.

Ecstasy and other designer drugs are consumed chiefly by young people in industrialised countries. However, an increase in demand has already been noted amongst school students in southern Africa, in Southeast Asia and in Latin America.

**Tranquilliser** abuse is on the increase amongst young people. Figures for Uruguay indicate a lifetime prevalence of 7.2% amongst 12- to 19-year-olds, which is higher than the figures for marijuana (3.7%) and cocaine (0.8%).

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<sup>4</sup> The statistical values serve primarily to identify tendencies in the respective countries. They are not always reliable as absolute values, as the data gathering methods employed were often imprecise, or took into account only the urban population.

<sup>5</sup> Detailed information on drug abuse problems in Asia can be found in the GTZ/ADE publication "Drugs and Development in Asia", Eschborn 1998.

Alcohol and cigarette consumption by young people also remain a problem. Alongside **tobacco**, **alcohol** is the most widespread psychoactive substance. World-wide, 5% of fatalities amongst young people aged between 15 and 19 are attributed to alcohol consumption. Whilst alcohol and tobacco consumption are decreasing in many industrialised countries, an increase is being observed in the developing countries, especially amongst children and youth (Brundtland 2001, WHO 2000, 2001).

### 3.1 Drugs and their effects

<b>Marijuana</b>	Marijuana is comprised of dried flower-heads of the female hemp plant ( <i>cannabis sativa</i> ). It is usually smoked, and leads to a mild state of intoxication. Marijuana is not physically addictive, although smoking it can cause lung damage. Long-term consumption causes psychological dependency.
<b>Coca</b>	The coca leaves are mixed with a catalyst comprised of plant ashes or limestone, and chewed or rolled around in the mouth. This so-called <i>bola</i> (ball) often remains in the mouth for a long time, and is replenished repeatedly with fresh coca leaves. Coca has a mildly anaesthetic and at the same time performance-enhancing effect, but according to WHO has no negative effects on health.
<b>Cocaine</b>	The white cocaine powder is sucked in (sniffed) through the nose. It can also be taken by smoking or intravenous injection. Cocaine induces feelings of euphoria and a loss of inhibition, but can also cause depression and paranoid delusions. Frequent sniffing destroys the nasal septum, and leads to physical dependency. Heart failure and disturbances of the central nervous system may also occur following cocaine consumption.
<b>Cocaine paste</b> ( <i>pasta básica de cocaína – PBC</i> )	PBC (also known as <i>basuco</i> ) is the first intermediate product in the manufacture of cocaine. The paste is mixed with tobacco or marijuana, and smoked through the lung. PBC is highly addictive, and can lead to long-term psychological damage. As cocaine paste is significantly cheaper than pure cocaine, it is preferred by lower income groups.
<b>Crack</b>	Crack, a drug consumed chiefly in the USA, but also increasingly in Central America and the Caribbean, is produced by boiling cocaine and baking powder. Its effects are very similar to those of PBC. It is also smoked, inducing a very brief state of intoxication. Crack has a pronounced disinhibitory effect, and its consumption can therefore lead to violent behaviour.
<b>Solvents and glues</b>	Sniffing is widespread amongst children and young people. The image of street children loafing around with glue bags is typical of the reality. The state of intoxication resembles that of alcohol. Some substances may induce hallucinations. Physical and psychological dependency, memory loss, violent outbursts and cardiac arrest are some of the after-effects observed.
<b>Heroin</b>	This semi-synthetic opium derivative is a further development of the analgesic and narcotic agent morphine. The powder, discovered in the late 19 <sup>th</sup> century by BAYER, is odourless, has a bitter taste and is water-soluble. Heroin is usually injected, or sometimes smoked or sniffed, and can be extremely addictive. It rapidly induces a pronounced feeling of euphoria. After 3 to 4 hours' intoxication, addicts experience terrible withdrawal symptoms such as trembling, cramps and pains.
<b>Ecstasy</b>	The designer drug ecstasy (XTC) is a stimulant (amphetamine) that acts in a similar way to the hormone adrenaline, which is produced inside the body. The drug first appeared in the techno rave scene – where intoxicated users danced throughout the night – and is now being used increasingly by young people. Ecstasy abuse has worrying after-effects, which can lead to severe psychiatric complications, or death.
<b>Alcohol</b>	Alcohol is available in doses of up to 80% in various drinks. Alcoholic drinks are usually classed as luxury foods. Alcohol induces a sense of general well-being, an elevated mood (euphoria), and an inability in the user to reflect critically on his or her own behaviour. It acts as a stimulant, releases inhibitions and is highly inebriating. Prolonged alcohol consumption leads to physical and psychological dependency, and damages the liver, the nervous system, the gastrointestinal tract, the heart and the pancreas. It reduces mental performance capability. Other effects may include skin changes, premature ageing, depression and the destruction of brain cells.



<b>Tobacco / nicotine</b>	Nicotine is an agent contained in the tobacco plant. Tobacco is smoked, chewed or sniffed, with cigarettes being the most common form of consumption. Nicotine has at the same time both a stimulating and a tranquillising effect on the nervous system. It can temporarily dispel feelings of fatigue or weariness. Nicotine leads to psychological and physical dependency. It is conducive to cardio-vascular disease, increases the risk of cancer, damages the airways, accelerates the ageing process and constricts the blood vessels. Withdrawal can cause irritability, nervousness, stomach ache, depression, insomnia or reduced performance.
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## 3.2 Substance Abuse in Latin America

Illegal drug-consumption in Latin America involves chiefly marijuana, cocaine, cocaine paste and solvents. Crack is consumed to some extent in the Caribbean and Central America. Heroin occurs sporadically in Mexico and the Mercosur countries.

In most Latin American countries, the consumption of licit and illicit drugs has increased. Cocaine abuse in particular is sharply on the increase in many countries. The reasons for this are falling prices, over-production and new market mechanisms, which following the tightening of controls on distribution channels to the industrialised countries, made it necessary to conquer local markets.

The characteristic features of drug consumption vary considerably, depending on the social milieu concerned. Marijuana and cocaine are the drugs of the middle and upper strata, as is ecstasy. Alcohol too is consumed more frequently by more prosperous groups. By contrast, the consumption of cocaine paste and solvents is usually associated with poverty and marginalisation. The proportion of lower income groups involved in marijuana and cocaine consumption is rising. And overall, consumers are getting younger and younger.

Drugs are still consumed mainly by men, the proportion of women often being below 10%. A shift in this ratio is taking place, however: increasingly, both women and girls are resorting to drugs.

The specific characteristics of drug consumption vary between countries. The table below shows a number of countries which cooperate with GTZ-ADE, and already display high prevalence rates.<sup>6</sup>

### Proportion of persons with drug-taking experience in selected countries of Latin America, the USA and Germany: \*\*)

	Cannabis products	Cocaine	Synthetic drugs	Opiates	Alcohol
<b>Argentina</b>	2,3% (1998)	1,2% (2000)	n.a.	<b>0,03% (1995)</b>	78,5% (1994)
<b>Brazil</b>	7,7% (aa)	0,8% (a)	0,9% (a)	<b>0,1% (aa)</b>	53,2% (1999)
<b>Chile (12-69)</b>	5,7% (2000)	1,4% (2000)	1,1% (1997)	<b>0,3% (aa)</b>	67,0% (1998)
<b>Paraguay</b>	0,6% (1998)	n.a.	n.a.	<b>n.a.</b>	80,0% (1991)
<b>Bolivia (12-50)</b>	2,2% (1998)	1,7% (1998)	0,5% (1999)	<b>0,04% (aa)</b>	66,0% (1999)
<b>Peru</b>	2,1% (a)	1,5% (a)	n.a.	<b>n.a.</b>	84,6% (1995)
<b>Colombia (ab 12)</b>	5,6% (1998)	1,6% (1998)	0,5% (1995)	<b>0,3% (a)</b>	61,6% (1996)
<b>El Salvador</b>	9,2% (aa)	0,6% (aa)	n.a.	<b>0,06% (aa)</b>	82,0% (1992)
<b>Mexico</b>	1,1% (1998)	0,3% (1998)	0,3% (1997a)	<b>0,1% (1998)</b>	n.a.
<b>Dominican Republic</b>	6,9% (1997)	2,5% (1997)	n.a.	<b>0,02% (aa)</b>	n.a.
<b>USA (12 and above)</b>	12,3% (1998)	3,2% (1998)	0,7% (1998)	<b>0,5% (1998)</b>	n.a.
<b>Germany (18-59)</b>	4,1% (1997)	0,6% (1997)	0,8% XTC (1997)	<b>0,2% (1998)</b>	n.a.

\*\*) With the exception of alcohol (lifetime prevalence), these figures indicate prevalence for a given year. The figures given in parentheses indicate the year in question (a = late 1990s), or the current UNDCP estimate (aa). Unless otherwise indicated, the population surveyed comprises 15-to-64-year-olds, usually in urban zones.

Sources: ODCCP 2000, UNDCP 2001, plus national sources.

<sup>6</sup> These data are based on the following sources: SEDRONAR 1996, www.programacambio.org, CEBRID 1998/2000, CONACE 1996/1998/2000, SENAD 1997-2002, INL 1997, República de Bolivia 1998, CEDRO 1994/1998, CND 2000a, República de Colombia 1998, Plan Nacional Lucha contra Drogas 1998-2002, FUNDASALVA 1993/1999, CONADIC 1999, CECAJ 1999, CECA 1998, CICAD 1998, CIJ 1995/1998, CICAD 1997, CICAD 1998, OEA/CICAD 2001, ODCCP 2000, UNDCP 2001

## Argentina

In Argentina in the mid-1990s, there were around 340,000 regular consumers of illicit drugs, which was equivalent to about 1% of the population. One-third of consumers already have their first experience with drugs at between 10 and 14 years of age. For most people, marijuana is the first illicit drug which they try. Having said that, many begin with cocaine, especially in the greater Buenos Aires area. Since cocaine is often injected, and has a pronounced disinhibitory effect, there is a strong link between HIV/Aids and drug abuse. Other major drugs which are the first people try are alcohol and tobacco. A survey conducted in 1999 amongst 12- to 15-year-old school students in the provincial city of Córdoba revealed that 42% of the students had experience with alcohol, 38% had tried smoking and 3% had already tried illicit drugs, in most cases marijuana.

## Brazil

The household survey on drug consumption conducted for the first time in 1999 revealed that 11.6% of Brazilians possess illicit experience with drugs. After alcohol and tobacco, the most significant drugs were marijuana, cocaine, medicines and crack. There are clear indications that drug consumption is rising sharply, amongst young people in particular. Two-thirds of the sixth-form students surveyed in 1997 by CEBRID (Centro Brasileiro de Informações sobre Drogas Psicotrópicas, Universidade Federal de São Paulo) had tried alcohol, and half of them had already done so by the age of 10-12 years. A quarter of them had experimented with illicit drugs. Drug consumption by school students had increased overall. First-time consumers are getting younger and younger. Sniffed substances, cannabis, tranquillisers and amphetamines are widespread in this group. Cocaine consumption is rising. Similar to Argentina, the frequently practised intravenous consumption of cocaine is linked to the increase in HIV/Aids infections ((27% of all registered Aids cases). A certain degree of heroin consumption is reported, although in recent years there has been barely any increase in these figures.

## Chile

According to the national study on drug consumption conducted in 2000, 6.28% of 12- to 64-year-old Chileans possess recent experience with illicit drugs (prevalence per year), chiefly marijuana, cocaine and cocaine paste. Marijuana is more widespread amongst the better-off groups, whilst cocaine tends to be consumed in the middle- and lower-income groups. *Pasta base* is unequivocally the drug of the poor. Between 1994 and 1996 there was a reduction in regular consumption, which is now rising sharply again. Compared to other Latin American countries Chile, which many drug-producing countries use as a place of trans-shipment, has some very high drug consumption figures. The particularly hazardous intravenous consumption of cocaine and heroin is increasing, compared to which alcohol and tobacco consumption are evidently gradually decreasing. Also disconcerting is the rise in ecstasy consumption amongst young people in middle- and upper-income groups.

## Paraguay

There are no up-to-date reports on the scope of drug consumption in Paraguay. The last representative household survey was conducted in 1991. Nevertheless there are numerous indications that the consumption of illicit drugs is increasing. Young people in particular are affected. A lowering of the age at which young people first try illicit drugs, as well as alcohol and tobacco, has been observed, as has an increase in cocaine consumption.

## Bolivia

Drug abuse in Bolivia was threatening to become a national economic problem. According to information made available by the CELIN (Centro Latinoamericano de Investigación Científica) research centre, regular cocaine consumption increased tenfold between 1992 and 1998, and the number of drug addicts rose from 26,000 in 92 to 60,600 in 96. A total of 11% of the urban population had tried solvents, cocaine, marijuana or hallucinogens, with a very high proportion of very young drug consumers. The average age at which illicit drugs are first tried in Bolivia is 18.2 years, with the figure for sniffed substances even being 16.6 years. Since 1998 a slight reduction in consumption has been observed, no doubt also due to massive government drug control programmes.

## Peru

According to information supplied by CEDRO (Centro de Información y Educación para la Prevención del Abuso de Drogas), the number of people consuming cocaine in Peru rose by around 60% between 1995 and 1997. By the late 1990s, almost 800,000 Peruvians had tried cocaine, and over one million had tried coca paste. Cocaine consumption quintupled between 1988 and 1998, and the reported annual prevalence of 1.7% for cocaine surpassed the figures for Europe by far. Whilst coca paste and solvents are consumed mainly by poor people, the prevalence of cocaine and marijuana (and of alcohol and tobacco) is significantly higher in upper-income groups. The most widespread illicit drug is marijuana. The average age at which illicit drugs are first tried is 17, the figure for solvents and glues being 14, which is significantly lower than in Bolivia for instance.

## Colombia

According to the 1996 household survey, 1.7 million Colombians had tried illicit drugs such as marijuana, cocaine, *basuco* and heroin. Every year around a further hundred thousand join their ranks, most of them young males aged between 12 and 17. Most of them have intermediate-level educational status, and are members of the urban population. Compared to the figures obtained in the 1992 survey, marijuana consumption had almost doubled. In 1999, young people aged between 12 and 14 were consuming primarily marijuana (lifetime prevalence of 9.2%), followed by cocaine (3.6%), sedatives (2.4%) and coca paste (2.1%). The drugs most frequently consumed were still alcohol and tobacco, however. Drug consumers in Colombia are extremely young. More than half the patients of drug rehabilitation centres recorded by the CICAD (Comisión Interamericana para el Control del Abuso de Drogas) are aged between 10 and 19. Most of them have a cocaine or coca paste dependency problem.

## El Salvador

El Salvador has long been a transit country of the international drug trade. Since the early 1990s, however, a growing local drug supply has become evident. There are no country-wide epidemiological data available. The population surveyed by FUNDASALVA (Fundación Antidrogas de El Salvador) in a 1992 study included only the capital. At that point in time, 3% of respondents regularly consumed marijuana and 0.4% cocaine. According to UNDCP estimates for the late 1990s, the annual prevalence for marijuana was 9.2% – consumption having tripled since 1992 – the figure for cocaine being 0.6%. More recent surveys demonstrate that for 14% of young people, marijuana is the drug of initiation. Additional data on the scope of drug abuse are provided by the survey conducted by a drug centre on behalf of CICAS in 1997. According to that study, alcohol is the major drug of initiation, followed by marijuana. The age at which young people first try drugs is usually between 10 and 14. The proportion of cocaine consumers amongst FUNDASALVA patients rose from 30% in 1994 to 68% in 1999, whilst the proportion of alcoholics increased from 81% to 99%. Crack and sniffed substances are widespread amongst young people from lower-income groups, and especially amongst members of youth gangs (the so-called *Maras*).

## Mexico

God is far away, but the United States are close – as people are wont to say in Mexico. The country's proximity to the USA has some impacts on local drug consumption patterns. Alongside marijuana, solvents and cocaine for instance, the increase in heroin consumption is alarming. The prevalence of cocaine is higher in the northern border towns than in other regions. Generally speaking, though, Mexico is a country with relatively low drug consumption compared to other countries in Latin America. Compared to its large neighbour in the North, prevalence rates are minimal: around 35% of US Americans, and only 5.3% of Mexicans, have tried illicit drugs (ONDCP 1998). PBC consumption occurs only on a small scale in Mexico. The CIJ youth integration centres in Mexico report cocaine to be the illicit drug attracting the sharpest increase in consumers. Increasingly, it is being consumed by lower-income groups. Ecstasy consumption is also increasing, especially amongst teenagers. Youngsters first try illicit or licit drugs when aged 14 to 15.

## Caribbean

There are only few, and highly sporadic, data available on drug consumption in the Caribbean. In the early 1990s, the lifetime prevalence of Cannabis amongst young people in Jamaica and Barbados was 17%. In Trinidad and Tobago a representative survey is currently being carried out. To date, only the average age at which male drug consumers first try drugs has been established: 12 years for cocaine and 14 years for cannabis and alcohol. In St. Vincent and the Grenadines the very high annual prevalence for cannabis of 18.6% is reported. In the Dominican Republic, values are 6.9% for marijuana and 2.5% for cocaine.

The Caribbean has an important function as a transit region between the locations in South America where cocaine, and increasingly also heroin, are cultivated and manufactured, and the world's largest buyer country the USA. So-called spill-over effects supply the local market and form a permanent risk factor for young people.



*Male youths are at above-average risk of being caught up in drug consumption and violence (unemployed youths in Medellin, Colombia)*

## II. DRUG POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

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Drug policy in Latin America is geared both to the international conventions and provisions for drug control, and to the nationally-based, specific provisions governing the production, distribution and consumption of designated “controlled substances”. The main impetus for elaboration of the international guidelines came from the USA, which pursued a “drug control” approach that over the last decade has been further developed under the more emphatic slogan “War on Drugs”. These anti-drug strategies have addressed primarily the production of the raw plant material for drugs, which they have aimed absolutely to eradicate, and have incorporated elements placing the countries where cultivation occurs under pressure to take action. The implementation of these strategies and policies in the individual countries has in some cases had highly problematic effects.

### 1. THE INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

At the international level, it is the specific United Nations conventions which determine the nature and scope of drug control.

The *Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs* of 1961 categorises the substances in question, and regulates their production and trafficking by applying controls of varying degrees of strictness. The Convention aims to prevent the non-medicinal use of plants which can be used to manufacture drugs declared illicit. Coca, opium and marijuana, plus their derivatives (Schedule I of the Convention) were subject to the strictest controls. Whilst provisions relating to opium (Art. 21-25) sought primarily to strictly regulate the cultivation, processing and distribution of the agent for medicinal purposes, in the case of coca the aim was very much more directly to destroy the coca bush. The Parties to the Convention undertake “... so far as possible to enforce the uprooting of all coca bushes which grow wild. They shall destroy the coca bushes if illegally cultivated. (Art. 26/2) The Convention also seeks to abolish coca consumption. (Art. 49e).

Various of these controlled substances are produced and distributed legally under UN oversight, such as opiates for use as analgesics. To this end a special body was created, the *International Narcotics Control Board (INCB)*. The *Single Convention* was supplemented in 1971 by the Convention on Psychotropic Substances (such as LSD, amphetamines, barbiturates etc.).

This was followed by a further Convention in 1988, which was devoted primarily to measures against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, and therefore addressed themes such as money-laundering, confiscations, mutual legal assistance between states, and the extradition of major drug traffickers.

Significant developments had taken place between the Conventions of 1961 and 1988: During the 1970s, the consumption of illicit drugs has risen precipitously world-wide, and especially in the USA. The smokeable version of cocaine – crack, a highly toxic substance – was becoming widespread amongst the underprivileged sections of the population, which led to a direct increase in cocaine-related hospital emergencies and fatalities. In the public perception, crack, the drug of the poor, became associated with juvenile crime and the destruction of society. In the USA, drugs were declared a matter of national security. A majority in the US Congress gradually became convinced that the illicit drug supply was best combated by systematic measures against the cultivation of drug crops, as called for by the *Single Convention* in 1961. This was believed to be the case not least with respect to problem drug number one of the day, cocaine, whose raw material, the coca leaf, at that time was coming almost exclusively from Bolivia and Peru.

By the late 1970s, first pilot projects for coca substitution were already being inspired by the idea that this was not simply a legal issue, but also a complex socio-economic problem. The Vienna Convention of 1988 finally reflected the results of the subsequent political debate between the Latin American countries and the USA concerning the fair distribution of burdens in the fight against drug production and trafficking. The *shared responsibility (responsabilidad compartida)* for controlling not only supply, but also demand, was explicitly acknowledged, and the need to create appropriate *alternative development* for producers at the economic level was emphasised. Furthermore, traditional forms of consumption practised by the indigenous population, e.g. in Bolivia and Peru, were also recognised.

Ten years later, in June 1998 in New York, the Declaration of the *UN General Assembly Special Session on the World Drug Problem*, defined alternative development in more complex terms 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, recognizing the particular sociocultural characteristics of the target communities and groups, within the framework of a comprehensive and permanent solution to the problem of illicit drugs.”<sup>7</sup>*

This Declaration constantly sought to find the right balance of development measures, compliance with international standards and the forced destruction of drug crops. At the same time, it emphasised the special significance of alternative development based on the principle of socially appropriate and sustainable reduction:

*“7: In cases of low-income production structures among peasants, alternative development is more sustainable and socially and economically more appropriate than forced eradication.”*

This is expressed even more clearly under Point V. of the Declaration, where reference is made to the balance between development measures and law enforcement:

*“27. Even when alternative development projects are successful, some growers and processors are not likely to abandon production voluntarily simply because other opportunities already exist; they must see that there is a risk associated with staying in the illicit cultivation of drug crops.*

*28. States with problems of illicit drug crop cultivation should ensure that alternative development programmes are complemented, where necessary, by law enforcement measures...*

*29. Where there is organized criminal involvement in illicit drug crop cultivation and drug production, the measures, such as eradication, destruction of illicit drug crops and arrests, called for in the 1961 Convention and the 1988 Convention are particularly appropriate.”*

And:

*“31. In areas where alternative development programmes have not yet created viable alternative income opportunities, the application of forced eradication might endanger the success of alternative development programmes.”*

Differences of opinion remain concerning the correct balance between prohibition and repression on the one hand, and development measures to create alternative income-generating opportunities and secure livelihoods on the other. Yet never before had a declaration of the international community accorded such broad scope or such high priority to alternative development than did the New York Declaration in June 1998.

*“III./ 19. In order to ensure that alternative development is sustainable, participatory approaches that are based on dialogue and persuasion and that include the community as a whole, as well as relevant non-governmental organizations, should be applied in the identification, preparation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of alternative development. Local communities and public authorities should develop commonly agreed goals and objectives and commit themselves by community-based agreements to reducing illicit crops until they are eliminated.*

*III./ 20. Institution-building at the regional and local levels should be regarded as a factor that will contribute to improving the level of participation in activities fostered by alternative development.”*

Alternative development and sustainable reduction must go hand in hand. How this simultaneity is to be achieved, whether reduction should be a precondition for alternative development projects, or a long-term, indirect consequence of them, or whether both should and ought to occur at the same time in the same place, were and are questions which generate much controversial debate

*“24. The sustainability of illicit crop reduction is a most important assessment criterion of alternative development.”*

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<sup>7</sup> (UNGASS, A/S-20/4). Further quotations from this source are shown in italics.

The principles of alternative development were thus based on participation, dialogue, strategic development, institutional strengthening and involvement, combined with the simultaneous reduction of areas under cultivation, which should as far as possible be voluntary.

An officially-defined change in roles was therefore without a doubt a key element of the desired success: Within this conceptual framework, producers are regarded neither as delinquents nor as alms recipients, but as indispensable partners and guarantors both of alternative development, and ultimately of sustainable human development.

For the first time, UNGASS 1998 also made its own declaration on the issue of demand reduction. The reader is referred to Section 3 of the present Chapter in this regard.

## **2. NATIONAL DRUG POLICIES**

The international framework for action attempts to respond to the changing dynamics of the global drug trade. By ratifying the international drug Conventions of the UN; countries for their part undertake to incorporate those directives into their national legislation. To a large degree, the concrete drug policies of the Andean countries are a mirror image of both the rapidly changing dynamics of the drug trade, and political constellations at the national and international levels. For drug abuse prevention, most Latin American and Caribbean countries have put forward ambitious programmes, which support both drug consumption studies, and innovative activities with young people and focus groups, often in cooperation with experienced NGOs. The bodies usually responsible for implementation at the national level are the existing drug control councils, some of which have been given a broader mandate.

### **2.1 Drug Policy in Bolivia: between Consensus and Conflict**

As the erstwhile main producer of coca alongside Peru, Bolivia certainly has the longest history and broadest experience in drug control implementation strategies. That experience has ranged from pure substitution projects to alternative development activities, and has included both regional development, and today's violent eradication of remaining coca bushes. The national anti-drug strategy (Plan Dignidad), initiated in 1997 and scheduled to run until 2002, includes demand reduction, control measures, and revision of the institutional framework, as well as components to prevent addiction and substance abuse.

Due to the social and political significance of the farmers' movement and their high degree of organisation, coca producers in Bolivia pressed as it were from the outset for full participation in development and reduction strategies, as well as for the unequivocal recognition of coca and its cultivation as legal and legitimate, on the grounds of the cultural significance of the coca plant. Over the last 20 years, consensus and conflict have been closely linked to these two parameters, i.e. the success or frustration of these basic demands.

#### **The Coca Farmers' Association**

The local trade unions, known as *sindicatos*, form the core of Bolivia's farmers' and workers' movement, which has been well-organised since the revolution in 1952. As authorities in the local context, these bodies decide on issues of land distribution, and plan and implement social, productive and political activities. Farmers normally invest more trust and confidence in them than they do in governmental institutions. 967 *Sindicatos* are reported to exist in Trópico Cochabambino, which are organised into approximately 80 main offices and seven *federaciones*.

Against the background of both eradication and defence of the coca leaf, the coca farmers' *sindicatos* developed into increasingly politicised organisations. In March 1991 the *federaciones* formed a *Comité de Coordinación*, based in Cochabamba. By this point in time the coca farmers' organisation had emerged as a powerful movement, which succeeded time and again in forcing the council of ministers to negotiate directly with it, a feat which it accomplished through demonstrations, road blocks, hunger strikes and protest marches – culminating in August 1994 with a 21-day, 600-kilometre march for coca, life and dignity to the seat of government in La Paz. The Secretary-General of the coca farmers' association has for a number of years been an elected member of parliament.

The democratic tradition of the coca farmers' movement, and the transparency and publicity of their demands – even though they are of an uncomfortable and conflictual nature – have prevented the emergence in Bolivia of other obscure and more dangerous forms of protectionism in the drugs and development sector.

Shifting international political constellations generating varying degrees of external pressure to reduce coca crops in Chaparé, which the respective Bolivian governments of the day passed on to the cultivation zones, coupled with the slow pace of real, structural economic improvement in what is one of the poorest countries of Latin America –the conflict-prone coca cultivation region being amongst its poorest zones – formed the background to the permanent ups and downs experienced by the lead actors of alternative development. This was their experience as they wrestled for dialogue, compromise and consensus-building, in a climate making conflict, protest and resistance inevitable.

The state and farmers faced each other, both sides ready for conflict: efficient coca reduction versus the call for sustainable livelihoods, with or without surplus coca; fulfilment of international obligations versus national self-determination and economic survival.

In the late 1970s, the Chaparé-Yungas (PRODES) development programme marked the first attempt at coca substitution, but was overrun by political events surrounding the so-called narcocracy under General Garcia Meza (1980-81). Under the democratically-elected President Siles Zuazu, a five-year plan to control and stem the drug trade and cocaine production was finally put forward in 1983. As well as pure substitution of coca, this plan also provided for the promotion of agriculture and forestry in the coca cultivation region of Chaparé, as well as for infrastructural measures. In response to pressure from the USA, Bolivia planned to guarantee the destruction of 4,000 hectares of coca by the end of 1985. Parts of Chaparé were then declared a military zone. In this climate, the aforementioned regional development programme could barely get off the ground. In 1984/85, it was planned to substitute coca plantations in the traditional cultivation zone, the Yungas of La Paz, with the help of a UN-financed project (“Agro-Yungas”); however, strategic and social problems meant that these attempts remained unsuccessful. Attention was then turned to the problem zone proper – the tropical lowland of Cochabamba (Chaparé).

The three-year drug control plan (Plan Trienal) of 1987, initiated under the Paz Estenssoro government, resulted in the first socially and politically negotiated consensus concerning an integrated, participatory development strategy, the Programa Integral del Desarrollo y Sustitución – PIDYS (integrated programme for development and substitution). Representatives of the trade union organisations of the coca farmers, of the agricultural

labourers – CSUTCB (Confederación Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos Bolivianos), of the COB (Central Obrera Boliviana) and of the government debated the fundamentals of the new drug law and its significance for “alternative development”.



*Coca farmers are even willing to accept reductions in income if that means greater human security and a better quality of life*

Whilst the farmers were to be actively involved in the development measures at all levels – there were plans to transform the agricultural structure in Chaparé involving voluntary substitution of coca – controversy surrounding the new drug control law became more acute. The Ley de Régimen de la Coca y Sustancias Controladas (law to regulate coca and controlled substances) passed in 1988 sought to reduce and eliminate the coca bush, contrary to the farmers’ demands that in principle coca itself should not be

treated as a controlled substance, but only its chemically altered derivatives.

The “law to regulate coca and controlled substances” adopted on 19 July 1988, also known as Ley 1.008, constitutes the statutory basis which remains in force to this day. Pursuant to that law, drug control of the coca bush in Bolivia takes place within the following framework:



<b>Legal status</b>	<p>Cultivation of plants suitable for drug manufacture (coca, opium, marijuana) is prohibited, with the exception of traditional coca cultivation in defined zones.</p> <p>The production and trafficking of chemically modified derivatives of coca, as well as the consumption of cocaine, cannabis etc. are illegal.</p>
<p><b>Cultivation</b></p> <p>*Legal cultivation:</p> <p>*Tolerated cultivation, officially illegal since 1993 (Date postponed due to non-achievement of AD objectives, and risk of conflict.)</p> <p>*Illegal cultivation:</p>	<p>Dependent on the region; designated zones pursuant to “Ley 1008”.</p> <p>Traditional cultivation zones: Yungas of La Paz and Yungas of Vandiola (Cochabamba) up to a total of 12,000 hectares.</p> <p>Trópico de Cochabamba (Chaparé) and some lowland areas in the Yungas of La Paz; as non-traditional zone with “surplus production”; transition to coca-free zone.</p> <p>Existing and potential cultivation zones in all remaining parts of the country.</p>
<b>Drug control strategy</b>	<p>Combination of alternative development (coca reduction + development), interdiction (law enforcement measures to combat the production and trafficking of drugs, money-laundering) and prevention of drug abuse.</p> <p>Eradication (reduction) takes place only manually (cutting down and uprooting of coca).</p> <p>Legal basis:  Since 1988: “Ley 1008” (coca and controlled substances)  1997 onwards: “Plan Dignidad”: national strategy for drug control  Since 1998: National plan for prevention and rehabilitation 1998-2002.</p>
<b>Alternative development strategy</b>	<p>1980s: Reduction, pure substitution of coca with other products.</p> <p>*Gradual, voluntary reduction and substitution combined with structural measures for development; compensation of US\$ 2000/hectare of coca.</p> <p>*Voluntary substitution, compensation; participation by coca farmers in alternative development; forced destruction of crops in nature reserves and close to laboratories.</p> <p>1990s: Same strategy as in the 1980s, in combination with regional plans for community development.</p> <p>From 1997: Payment of compensation for coca reduction expires; forced, non-compensated eradication; measures for economic development.</p> <p>From 2001: Announcement of socio-economic structural measures in the Yungas, involving both voluntary and forced eradication of surplus coca (1,700 hectares).</p>
<b>Target groups</b>	Coca farmers and their families; producers’ associations, private sector.
<b>Institutions involved</b>	<p>Vice-Ministry for Alternative Development (Ministry of Agriculture)</p> <p>National Committee for Alternative Development (CONADAL)</p> <p>Regional and Local Committees for Alternative Development (COREDAL/COLODAL)</p> <p>National Fund for Alternative Development (FONADAL)</p>
<b>Interdiction strategy</b>	<p>Repression, surveillance measures, law enforcement, particularly severe punishment of drug production and trafficking; confiscation and expropriation of goods/assets obtained with proceeds from illicit drugs, to help finance prevention measures.</p> <p>Invalidation of the “innocent until proven guilty principle” in criminal proceedings for drug-related offences (Ley 1008).</p>

<b>Addiction prevention strategy</b>	Preventive work in schools, communities and families geared to information and life skills training; publicity work involving information and education campaigns; production of teaching aids for schools; support of centres for study and therapeutic purposes.
<b>Coca consumption</b>	Traditional forms of consumption are allowed and do not constitute abuse in the strict sense: "acullicu" (chewing), using and further processing the coca leaf into tea, syrup, toothpaste, or for medicinal or ritual purposes etc. New forms of the rapidly increasing abuse of drugs (alongside cocaine, solvents, marijuana, hallucinogens), chiefly amongst urban youths, are being sanctioned and viewed with concern.

The *Estrategia Nacional del Desarrollo Alternativo* launched in 1990 was designed to incorporate alternative development into the context of national economic policy, in order to facilitate replacement of the entire coca-cocaine complex, i.e. foreign exchange earnings, investment and employment, with legal activities. Project activities were extended beyond the coca cultivation zones, in order to prevent further migration to those zones by coca farmers, by stabilising socio-economic conditions in the farmers' areas of origin (*zonas de expulsión*).

Reforms of the state apparatus initiated since 1994, such as the law for "decentralisation and citizen participation", offered a real opportunity to introduce integrated alternative development with active participation by farmers and their local governments in the coca cultivation zone of Chaparé. This process, which had been begun with a great deal of hope and motivation and saw alternative development as a component of integrated regional development,<sup>8</sup> proved a difficult path in the case of Chaparé. The drug policy steered centrally and from the very top, combined with a decentralised municipal development policy involving active participation by coca farmers' organisations, led to politically delicate controversies: Was Chaparé for instance an extra-territorial problem zone under police control? Did the laws of the land not apply there, because coca was being cultivated and the inhabitants supposedly tended to be delinquents? Were coca farmers not citizens? Did compulsory compliance with reduction quotas invalidate national laws? For years, these questions generated a bitter struggle between the state and farmers over drug policy and the right to development.

Although years of alternative development project work had helped significantly improve communicative and social infrastructures, the crucial aspect of the economic alternative to coca production remained difficult, and little success was achieved.<sup>9</sup> This was due amongst other things to the lack of coherence between production and marketing, to unstable national and international markets for alternative products, and to a general weakening of the national economy.

A strategic imbalance between the interdiction and eradication of coca cultivation on the one hand, and alternative development on the other, remained the status quo for years. In conjunction with the poor results of projects involving income-generation measures, this led to a situation of mistrust and confrontation between the respective governments and the organised farmers.

Despite record results for annual coca eradication in 1990 and from the mid-1990s onwards, efforts to achieve a net reduction in coca cultivation in Bolivia remained almost entirely unsuccessful until 1998 (see Table 1).

In recent years, the state increasingly saw the farmers and their *sindicatos* as being responsible for this, believing that they were not really interested in alternative development, but merely wished to be paid compensation, and then continue cultivating coca. For their part, the farmers drew attention to the sacrifices they had made in terms of coca reduction, coupled with the failure of alternative development and the absence of a secure livelihood.

<sup>8</sup> For the first time, the process also included farming families without coca plantations, indigenous sections of the population and natural resource management issues.

<sup>9</sup> In alternative development projects in Chaparé, it was primarily USAID and UNDCP that were involved from the outset; the number of direct international cooperations increased during the 1990s (GTZ, European Union, Dutch Cooperation etc.).

When the new government came to power under Hugo Banzer in 1997, a change in the course of Bolivian drug policy took place. Whilst gradually doing away with the payment of compensation, the National Strategy for Alternative Development of the *Plan por la Dignidad* (Plan for Dignity) provided for complete eradication of surplus coca production by the end of 2002. A departure from the “social soundness of measures, participation and integration” – which had been provided for in Ley 1008 – and a move towards the rapid reduction of coca at any price was evident in the implementation of this plan.

Coca reduction was achieved partly through agreements with local governments, which undertook to implement eradication in return for funds, and partly through forced eradication. From March 1998 onwards, Bolivia for the first time deployed the army to destroy coca, as opposed to the special drug police force (UMOPAR) which existed for that very task.

In this way a gross figure of 11,000 hectares of coca were destroyed in 1998, and 16,000 hectares in 1999.

In late December 2000 the government declared the surplus coca of Chaparé to be no longer in existence (“coca cero”). This success exacted a high price: massive police and military intervention in the cultivation zone of Chaparé, the destruction of a basis for negotiation and trust in the state, a polarisation of the conflict resulting in a situation of civil war in October 2000, human rights violations on a daily basis and, not least, fatalities and injuries.

In the words of the government, “the dignity of the country (free from drug trafficking)” had been “restored ...”. The question remains of how the money flowing into the state budget from the coca sector (which according to government figures was until recently still 8.5% of GDP, and has now fallen to 0.74%) is to be replaced, and what the future will bring for those farmers and their families who, due to the lack of real alternatives, have become unemployed, have no income and in some cases have been made homeless.

The current flash reduction of surplus coca to almost zero, without that being accompanied by a necessary process of alternative development, may be equivalent to a political time-bomb, especially since Bolivia has been undergoing a severe economic and social crisis for years. Under these circumstances, drug control by means of repressive measures and military presence might seem diametrically opposed to the actual principles of alternative and human development. The question of means and ends in relation to drugs and development is therefore a hot potato in Bolivia today.



*Militarisation of the battle to reduce coca cultivation; a US-trained Bolivian infantryman fights the supply*

## 2.2 Drug Policy in Colombia: in Search of Peace

Today, Colombia faces the most acute drug problem in the Andean region. In recent years the country has been transformed from a minor producer into the largest producer of coca. The cultivation and export of opium and heroin have also become more significant. Around 80% of the total annual volume of cocaine produced world-wide – estimated at around 700 tons – is manufactured in Colombia.

The various components of the drug problem – cultivation, manufacture, trafficking and consumption – is closely linked to the problems from which the country currently suffers most: violence, migration and economic recession. Colombian cartels had monopolised the processing of coca paste into cocaine, and its distribution to the USA and Europe. However, when the Bolivia-Peru-Colombia coca air corridor was smashed in 1995, coca cultivation inside Colombia became more attractive. The entire manufacturing cycle could then take place inside the country, as a result of which the drug problem assumed new forms. At the same time, the consumption of illicit drugs, especially marijuana, cocaine and coca paste (*basuco*) has reached alarming proportions (roughly comparable with Spain).

### *Background to the Cultivation Problem*

The cultivation of drug crops is occurring in the context of inequitable land distribution, failed agrarian reforms, political violence, and armed conflicts between guerrilla groups, paramilitary groups and the armed forces. One-third of the total population of around 40 million live in rural areas, which are characterised by major differences in regional development status, ranging from regions of technologically sophisticated agriculture, to newly-colonised regions in Amazonia. Rural exodus, triggered by poverty and violence, is a constant factor in Colombia's demographic development. The target destinations of migratory flows are the peri-urban zones of Colombia's major cities, as well as newly-accessed zones in the catchment basins of the rivers Orinoco and Amazon.

Large sections of the rural population live in zones characterised by unstable living and working conditions. This causes their departure from such areas, i.e. involuntary migration followed by the making of a new start somewhere or other, without support or capital of their own. This is the fate of most migrants. It promotes the collapse of sustainable smallholder logic, and favours survival strategies of a short-term and extractive nature. Coca cultivation, which is climatically and strategically possible in these tropical zones, as well as the harvesting and processing of the coca leaves, both of which constitute paid labour for which there is an almost inexhaustible source of available labourers, fits precisely into this extractive production scheme: Coca is labour-intensive, demand- and market-oriented, profitable, and has a rapid growth cycle which reduces the interval between possible loss and profit to 3 to 4 months. It is therefore understandable that, in migration zones in particular, products such as coca offer people a minimum – but under the circumstances maximum possible – secure livelihood. This is by no means a case of monoproduction logic, but involves a small farmer subsistence strategy which seeks to adapt to difficult conditions.

The departments of Guaviare, Caquetá and Putumayo in particular, where around 80% of today's coca production in Colombia is concentrated, have become catchment areas for this kind of migration. Furthermore, coca cultivation is spread across dozens of zones around the country. Although there are focal centres which remain for years, smaller-scale cultivation is itself characterised by migratory movements, fluctuations in volume, destruction, and re-appearance at new locations.

### **Illicit drug crops in Colombia (in hectares)**

	1991	1993	1995	1999
<b>Coca</b>	37,500	39,700	50,900	105,250
<b>Opium</b>	1,344	20,000	6,540	8,000
<b>Cannabis</b>	2,000	5,000	4,980	6,000

Source: Dirección Nacional de Estupeficientes, Colombia

One of Colombia's basic problems is the inequitable distribution of land, and the concentration of ownership (40% of land suitable for agricultural utilisation is in the hands of 3% of landowners). This situation was exacerbated by the so-called "counter land reform": From the late 1980s onwards, the leaders of the major drug cartels invested some of their profits in the purchase of land. It is assumed that up to 4 million hectares of prime quality land is now in their possession. In some cases, coca plantations of 10-80 hectares in size have been established on these properties, and are being farmed on an agro-industrial basis.

A further dimension of the problem consists in the fact that the majority of coca growing zones are located in regions that are no longer controlled by the state, but by guerrillas. Whilst the guerrillas began by “merely” collecting from coca farmers a kind of regular tax – the so-called cupos (quotas) – on the farmers’ profits from coca cultivation, they (the guerrillas) now finance the maintenance of their troops and above all their weapons largely from the drug trade. As a result, the coca-cocaine economy today is inextricably linked to power struggles for territory, resources and income, waged by the various armed groups, including the paramilitaries involved in the conflict.



*Inadequate infrastructure in large areas of the country makes it more difficult to transport local agricultural produce; farmers often wait hours for transport to come, whilst their pineapples roast in the sun*

### **Drug Policy Today**

Due to the fact that the drug problem in Colombia initially involved the processing of coca paste into cocaine, and trafficking, emphasis was placed on these criminal aspects and corresponding law enforcement measures. In 1995 the government spent almost one billion US dollars on drug control measures.<sup>10</sup>

Colombia also tended to retain the practice of repressive measures when the country gradually became a coca producer. However, the boom in cultivation was also generated – as described – not only by demand or criminal gangs and cartels, but also by thousands of small farmers, migrants, displaced persons and settlers looking for opportunities to survive. These groups are demanding more and more vigorously of the government that the social, political and economic dimensions of the cultivation problem be acknowledged, and that the farmers not be treated as delinquents, but taken seriously as people facing a difficult situation, and enabled to participate in the implementation of appropriate solutions.

### **The framework of drug control in Colombia:**

<b>Legal context</b> Basis: drug law “Ley 30”	Cultivation, processing and trafficking are illegal, and are punished under criminal law as “drug-related offences”. Substances affected: coca, cannabis, opium.
<b>Drug control strategy</b>	Interdiction (control, law enforcement; judicial strengthening); repression of cultivation (massive chemical spraying; voluntary or forced eradication); projects for substitution and alternative development; prevention of consumption.
<b>Alternative development strategy</b>	Eradication (voluntary or forced) as a precondition for alternative development; substitution by alternative crops; tied assistance. Eradication: manual, though mainly chemical by spraying with glyphosate. Creation of national and international markets for alternative products.
<b>Target groups of alternative development</b>	Sedentary small farmers (with up to 3 hectares of land); colonists.

<sup>10</sup> 91% of this sum went to the Ministry of Defence and the police force; this was equivalent to 4.9% of the total government budget.

<b>Institutions involved</b>	PLANTE (National Plan for Alternative Development); secretariat National Directorate for Illicit Substances Presidential Programme for Coordination and Implementation of Alternative Development Plus: sectoral agencies, regional/local governments
<b>Interdiction</b>	Control/surveillance, police law enforcement; measures against money-laundering; interception of trafficking and manufacture; strengthening of judicial systems.
<b>Addiction prevention strategy</b>	Integrated prevention forms part of the national anti-drug strategy; the "rumbos" national prevention programme has eight focal areas: institutionalisation and networking, training, research and evaluation, information and education, health promotion, employment promotion, participation and community work, international cooperation; plus measures to promote rehabilitation and therapy.
<b>Coca consumption</b>	Traditional consumption – <i>mambeo</i> (chewing) – is forbidden under "Ley 30", though it remains possible in indigenous regions under provisions in the Constitution. As well as coca and coca paste ( <i>basuco</i> ), the consumption of marijuana and heroin is taking on alarming proportions.
<b>International partners in cooperation</b>	United Nations (UNDCP); IDB, Germany (GTZ); total investment since 1990: US\$ 100 million.

The two key instruments of drug control are the *Consejo Nacional de Estupefacientes* (National Council for Narcotics) of 1973 and the drug law *Ley 30* (law no. 30) of 1986.

#### **A Positive Experience with Alternative Development**

By December 1993, the ongoing projects had achieved approximately one-third of the targeted coca reduction, 95% of which was achieved in the Cauca project, which was operating with the longest time frame and with a participatory approach that was adapted to local conditions. The project activities were designed in accordance with the priorities of the concerned local governments, which had to provide significant inputs of their own during realisation of the measures. Coca reduction took place parallel to those activities, though not too soon before the results of alternative development were evident; the farmers were able to retain small plots.

Pursuant to the provisions of Ley 30, this kind of procedure was actually unlawful. The project region was entirely under the control of the FARC / ELN guerrilla organisations, and there existed a kind of agreement under which the security forces would not intervene in the project zone, and the guerrillas would withdraw discretely. In this way a "lawful zone" for alternative development in Cauca was established de facto. At the same time, coca cultivation was expanding in the lowlands; only 235 of a planned 6,600 hectares had been successfully reduced there by the end of 1993. The fact that an estimated 3,695 hectares in Cauca had since come under use for opium production coincided with a worsening of the agricultural crisis, involving harvest losses and a drop in coffee prices that had led to income losses of over 50%.

*A National Plan for Prevention, Treatment and Rehabilitation* launched in 1985 already included, amongst other things, a substitution programme for the South of the department of Cauca. Its long-term aim was to replace coca cultivation with legal agricultural products, and to promote production by small farmers. In pursuit of this aim it helped create incentives for alternative products, establish marketing cooperatives, improve infrastructure, and strengthen local public institutions.

This Plan, which was already based on a concept of integrated rural development, was further developed in 1988 with a National Plan for Crop Substitution: firstly by a regional extension of the activities to include the North of the department of Nariño, and areas of the departments of Meta, Vichada, Arauca, Guaviare, Vaupés Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta; and secondly by a further diversification of project activities in line with the concept of integrated rural development.<sup>11</sup>

This was followed in 1992 by the *National Alternative Development Programme*, and in 1995 by the drug control programme *Compromiso de Colombia Frente al Problema Mundial de la Droga* (Colombia's Compromise in the

<sup>11</sup> In 1991, five projects were operating with a total volume of financing of US\$ 25 million, of which the extended UNFDAC/ UNDCP Cauca project was the largest at US\$ 9.5 million. The major donors were the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden.

Face of the World Drug Problem), which provided for the destruction of drug crops as quickly as possible. In late 1998 the new *National Plan for Drug Control 1998-2002* was presented, whose objective is to progressively and systematically remove the causes and effects of the drug problem, integrating its activities into a wider policy for peace. It defines the following as components of drug control: alternative development, elimination of cultivation zones, interdiction and demand reduction. The key strategies specified include: decentralisation and citizen participation, harmonisation of national potentials, efficient political management, target-group-orientation, and integrated prevention. Alongside the destruction of illicit crops of coca, opium and marijuana, major importance is attached to creating alternative farming livelihoods for the farmers affected.

The 1994 *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Alternativo* (National Plan for Alternative Development) responded to the situation described in this example by operating selectively in a total of 26 defined regions, and exclusively with farmers who had less than three hectares of coca or opium. In actual fact the provisions of *Ley 30* allowed PLANTE to cooperate only after eradication is complete, which leaves many farmers facing the problem of how to get through the transitional period before the alternative development measures take effect.

Given the diversity of the cultivation zones, the particular challenge in Colombia consists in identifying appropriate solutions for the various types of conditions. The target groups comprise both firmly rooted, peasant and often indigenous sections of the population in hill regions, and new settlers in tropical zones. There exist regions where the guerrillas exercise power, regions where drug dealers are in control and regions where paramilitaries intervene.

Colombia's drug policy essentially pursues the "carrot and stick" principle, with the "stick" being the more dominant component in the view of most experts. The responsible authorities possibly have not yet accepted that drug control is not simply a technical problem that can be measured in terms of numbers of hectares, but is a socio-economic, agronomic, political and not least both a micro- and a macro-economic task. A further difficulty for Colombia alongside the issue of the number of hectares under coca and/or opium cultivation is the growing international political pressure to quickly and effectively destroy drug crops.

### Spraying

Since the late 1970s, and on a larger scale since the mid-1990s, Colombia has been carrying out spraying of illicit drug crops with weed-killers, chiefly glyphosate. In Bolivia, and since recently in Peru, this practice is banned.

This spraying takes place in tropical regions where there are considerable quantities of coca, but also in hilly stretches of land where small farmers practice mixed cropping, and relatively small quantities of coca or opium are present between other products. In guerrilla-controlled zones, spraying aircraft run the risk of coming under fire, and given the topography of these regions must fly at higher altitudes than would be appropriate for these spraying measures. The technical precision of these measures is therefore questionable. The sprayed glyphosate becomes broadly dispersed, and is often carried by the wind onto all the crops present on a relatively wide stretch of land.

Opinions differ concerning the potential damage to human health and the environment: official sources deny that glyphosate is a deleterious product, arguing that it is also used in agriculture as a herbicide. By contrast, affected farmers report eczemas, respiratory problems, sick animals, dead plants and the destruction of licit agricultural products. In recent years, spraying campaigns coupled with poverty and violent activity by guerrilla groups have led to massive exodus by the population from one region to another.

Experiments with biological agents designed to destroy drug crops, such as a specially-grown fungus (*Fusarium oxysporum*), had already been completed by the year 2000, but due to massive protests by various committed organisations in Latin America, these agents were not employed for drug crop control.

Coca crops are being destroyed primarily by spraying. This cannot, however, put an end to coca cultivation, but is more likely to displace and disperse it. The figures speak for themselves: During the period from 1985 to 1994, when approximately 1,200 hectares of coca were being sprayed per annum, the area of land under cultivation rose from 13,500 to 44,800 hectares; between 1995 and 1998, during a period of highly intensive spraying on approximately 35,800 hectares per annum, the figure grew from 50,900 to 78,350 (figure given by the Colombian drug police) or 101,800 hectares (figure supplied by the US State Department). In 1999, 42,000 ha of coca and 8,000 ha



*Coca bush with red seed capsules*

emphasises alternative development. In the year 2000 that plan was incorporated into *Plan Colombia*, the Colombian Government's plan for peace; pursuant to Plan Colombia, future drug control measures will be integrated into a comprehensive peace process.

The drug control component of Plan Colombia financed by the USA, ratified by Presidents Clinton and Pastrana in August 2000, is only very modest, however: of a budget of US\$ 1.6 billion for 5 years, US\$ 81 million are earmarked for alternative development, whilst US\$ 663.5 million are being provided to finance and equip the police and armed forces for drug control measures. The fact that the naval, land and air forces are being provided with additional equipment, training, matériel and logistics to fight drugs seems to suggest that a war on cultivation, leading to an escalation of conflicts, violence and the existing problems is rather to be feared, as opposed to integrated solutions to the structural problems underlying the drug menace.

Not even the funds for human rights, for assistance for displaced persons, for regional development, and for support of the judicial apparatus in tasks of interdiction, for which provision has been made, can take away the military aspect of this component of Plan Colombia. Neighbouring countries such as Ecuador, Venezuela, Brazil, Peru and Bolivia, which are financially involved in the strategy, are showing concern regarding the possible impacts of an escalation of the conflict in Colombia, and a further displacement of the drug problem.

Colombia is currently treading a delicate path between the desire to comply with international drug control agreements, to continue constructively with an extremely fragile peace process, and to identify a viable path of social and economic stabilisation leading to human development.

After 40 years of internal conflict, armed struggle and thousands upon thousands of deaths, the population long for nothing more than peace. This desire might also constitute the basis for a sustainable solution to the drug problem.

of opium were sprayed. This spraying destroys the ecosystems on which many farmers depend for their livelihood, exacerbates migration problems, and leads to further zones of tropical rainforest being accessed, cleared and destroyed. Spraying becomes especially problematic when it affects the work, the setting and the target groups of alternative development projects.

Furthermore, the process of processing coca leaves into cocaine, in which thousands of litres of highly toxic substances flow into rivers and soils every year, is itself a major environmental problem.

### *Outlook*

Clearly, a solution to Colombia's drug problem needs to go hand in hand with complex social and political measures. The national peace process, which has long been an aspiration of Colombia, is an important dimension, and at the economic level it will be necessary to negotiate an opening-up of markets in the North for – alternative – products made in Colombia. Having said that, drug demand reduction is an issue that needs to be addressed primarily by the consumer countries in the spirit of "shared responsibility".

The master plan for drug control presented by President Pastrana in the autumn of 1998 strongly



## 2.3 Drug Policy in Peru: a Return to Development Processes

Like Bolivia, Peru is an Andean country with traditional coca consumption which, during the coca boom of the mid-1980s, experienced an expansion of coca cultivation that extended beyond the traditional zones to include a total of 16 different regions, the figure rising from 18,000 hectares in 1969 to 120,000 hectares in 1993. This made Peru the world's largest coca producer, and also enabled it to overtake Bolivia as the most important source of coca paste supply for Colombian drug dealers.

### *Background to the Drug Problem*

The rising demand for cocaine on the world market made itself felt in Peru from the 1970s onwards. At the same time, Peru had sufficient labour and land to expand coca cultivation in remote areas: infrastructural links had been established to new agricultural zones in the Selva Central, the subtropical lowlands located east of Lima, and later the Apurímac valley near Ayacucho, attracting thousands of migrants from the impoverished uplands. Coca for the traditional market was already being cultivated there in the Huallaga valley, or to be more precise in Monzón. Coupled with the rising demand from Colombia, this situation then helped transform coca into one of the most profitable cultivated products.

Although cultivation of the coca leaf was not illegal, after 1978 coca farmers were required to register both themselves and their fields. Exclusive rights of sale of the crop for traditional consumption were assigned to the state monopoly enterprise Empresa Nacional de la Coca (ENACO), and all further expansion of cultivation was prohibited.

During the 1980s, the coca boom also descended upon Peru, and especially upon the Alto Huallaga valley. First measures of drug control initially had to take second place to a far greater problem: the fight against the Maoist-oriented “Shining Path” (*Sendero Luminoso*) movement, which began in the Ayacucho uplands, and quickly spread to Peru's Selva Central, where it became concentrated in the Huallaga valley.



*Due to the growing conditions which they offer, coca cultivation is found in regions that are topographically difficult and ecologically highly sensitive (1,000 – 2,000 m altitude). Monocropping, over-exploitation and inappropriate farming methods quickly lead to environmental degradation*

The first coca reduction measures involved the USA-supported programmes CORAH (*Control y Reducción del Cultivo de Coca en el Alto Huallaga*) and PEAH (*Proyecto Especial de Alto Huallaga*), which from 1981 onwards pursued a dual strategy of forced eradication (CORAH) and alternative development (PEAH). Alternative development was seen by farmers as the reverse side of forced eradication, which created major problems. Both programmes became targets of Shining Path, and lost staff in murderous attacks. Many project activities had to be stopped in the mid-1980s, as security collapsed in the midst of armed conflicts between *Sendero Luminoso*, the rival MRTA (*Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru*) group, drug dealers, and the army. Only a UNDCP project, launched in Huallaga in 1984, continued operations. Its activities focused on alternative, market-oriented development, cooperating with producer cooperatives for coffee and cocoa. The disputed USA programme which involved spaying coca fields with the herbicide *Spike*, was abandoned in 1988, as the manufacturers *Eli Lilly & Co.* refused to continue.

In the late 1980s the Huallaga valley was occupied by the army and declared a zone of emergency. The military strategy to combat terrorism was based on a “keep still alliance” between the army, coca farmers and drug dealers: This meant that the social and economic underpinnings of *Sendero Luminoso* could gradually be undermined. Barely any further forced eradications were carried out.

Whereas in 1992 there were still approximately 120,000 hectares of coca, shortly afterwards factors such as falling prices, drug purchases by Colombian dealers that did not materialise, fungal infestation of many coca fields, and mass outward migration from the Alto Huallaga valley in response to violent activity, led to large areas of coca fields being abandoned. In 1990, the centre of drug crop cultivation shifted to the tropical zones of Ayacucho, to the Apurímac valley. This region too experienced years of war-like conflict between the army and terrorists, who exploited the expansion in coca cultivation as a source of income, as did the drug dealers.

After the terrorist activities of Shining Path had been largely eliminated in 1993, and the drug air corridor to Colombia had been smashed in 1995, the dynamics of a coca-cocaine economy geared to international demand and internal conflicts collapsed. An over-supply of coca remained, as a result of which cocaine was produced increasingly within Peru, which then had to be sold on local markets.

In the main coca growing regions, the Alto Huallaga and Apurímac valleys, the livelihoods of large sections of the population had collapsed. As a result, farming families were more willing than ever before to participate in alternative development projects.

### *Peru's Drug Policy Today*

The 1994 *National Plan for Drug Prevention and Control* (*Plan Nacional de Prevención y Control de Drogas*) addressed this situation, and drew a clear distinction between drug dealers, and small farmers cultivating coca. The plan marked a qualitatively important step, as it sought to take account of the specific conditions in a given zone in the context of drugs and development problems and, most importantly, expressly acknowledged the coca farmers as *interlocutores válidos*, i.e. as "legitimate negotiating partners" (in solving the drug problem). Alternative development was confirmed as being the right approach to reducing cultivation, and diversified agricultural development was propagated in order to counteract dependency on coca cultivation.



*The true inhabitants of the tropical lowlands – here we see the Asháninkas in the Valle de Apurímac- Ene, Peru – were the groups hardest hit by displacement, violence and the drug boom. So far, they have usually been overlooked by alternative development projects*

However, the political will to actually make coca farmer representatives the protagonists of drug reduction and development strategies, did not satisfy the expectations generated. Alternative development activities continued to be implemented on a largely top-down basis without participation by civil society as equal partners; the target groups were assigned the role of passive objects, rather than a role of active subjects.

The *Plan Nacional de Prevención y Control de Drogas* also specifies the control of drug consumption and demand reduction as key strategies of drug control. It provides for integrated prevention in schools, use of the media

and propagation of healthy lifestyles. It includes drug addict rehabilitation programmes. Pioneers of prevention include both the non-governmental organisation CEDRO, which implements holistic prevention programmes at the community level, and the Ministry for Women and Human Development PROMUDEH, which through its youth promotion programme supports the establishment of youth networks to help prevent addiction and substance abuse.

### Indígenas – a Target Group

Many indigenous groups of the tropical lowlands have for years suffered destructive influences on their biotopes, including colonisation, the drug trade and subversive violence. In the past, alternative development projects have taken barely any notice of them, even though it is their livelihoods and vital natural resource base which have been destroyed by the social and ecological impacts of the coca-cocaine industry.

These groups include the Ashánikas of the Selva Central in Peru, who were originally hunters, gatherers and fishers. One critic in Peru has remarked: “Through their way of life, they have preserved the biological diversity of the more than three million hectares of the *Ceja de la Selva*<sup>12</sup> (the basins of the Ucayali, Tambo, Ene, Apurímac, Perené and other, smaller rivers). It is them we have to thank for our knowledge of some of the most important food, medicinal and spice plants (such as cat's claw, barbasco, sangre de grado, achiote, yuca, rubber, peanut and, surprising though it might sound, coca). This ethnic group, accustomed since time immemorial to leading a healthy, free and independent life in harmony with nature, have in the last 100 years been plagued by growing colonisation, and especially so in the last 30 years.

Curious though it may sound, none of the projects active in the zone has worked directly with the indigenous population. The reason: the indigenous population do not (“officially”) cultivate coca, and therefore cannot be the beneficiaries of alternative development projects.”<sup>13</sup>

In 1996, decree 013 marked the establishment of the **Drug Control Commission of Peru** (*Comisión de Lucha Contra el Consumo de Drogas – CONTRADROGAS*). This body is organised under the Ministry of Health, and also unites four further ministries (agriculture; women and human development; interior; president's office). Through its “technical secretariat” (Secretaría Técnica), it is designed to bring about multisectoral coordination of all drug control-related activities. The Peruvian Government attaches high priority to drug control. In November 1998 it presented to the international donor community an integrated **Programme for Alternative Development, Prevention and Rehabilitation 1999 – 2003**, which elicited pledges of financing worth a total of US\$ 227 million. The strategy aims to replace the coca economy with legal, market-oriented and sustainable farming systems, and to reduce coca cultivation by 50% in 5 years, and by 100% in 10 years, i.e. by the year 2008.

The strategy includes a differentiated approach to the various coca cultivation zones, a focusing of activities on six main problem zones, and concepts for development discussed and agreed on with the target groups. Basic thematic elements include environment, participation, gender, strengthening of the private sector, sustainability and human development. The strategy seeks to rehabilitate former zones of massive coca cultivation and drug trafficking, and to stabilise legal economic activity in traditional zones with a tendency towards surplus production.

#### The framework for drug control in Peru

<b>Legal context</b>	Coca cultivation is “not illegal”; the cultivation of opium and cannabis is illegal, as is the production and trafficking of coca derivatives; traditional cultivation is partly overseen by the state (ENACO).
<b>Drug control strategy</b>	Alternative development: substitution and structural development; forced (only manual) eradication in nature reserves and in the vicinity of coca paste manufacturing sites; integrated prevention and rehabilitation.
<b>Alternative development strategy</b>	Prioritisation of 6 cultivation zones for alternative development; substitution of an informal, illegal economic structure with legal, sustainable and profitable economic structures; (preventive) stabilisation of endangered zones; rehabilitation of damaged zones; social participation; international cooperation.
<b>Target groups of alternative development</b>	Coca farmers in particular; population in prioritised coca cultivation zones in general; private sector; small producer associations.
<b>Institution</b>	CONTRADROGAS (inter-ministerial coordination commission).

<sup>12</sup> Literally: eyebrow of the forest; tropical mountain forest zone at between 2,000 and 3,500 metres above sea level, where the hot, humid air of Amazonia condenses along the eastern slopes of the Andes.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted from an article by Octavio Zolezzi: “Comunidades Asháninkas Sembrarán Coca”, Lima, 6/5/1999.

<b>Interdiction</b>	Control and law enforcement vis-à-vis the manufacture of coca derivatives; interception; trafficking.
<b>Addiction prevention strategy</b>	Integrated prevention at the community/local level, youth promotion and establishment of youth networks, information and education work, awareness-raising, rehabilitation and therapy.
<b>Coca consumption</b>	Chaccheo (chewing) and natural coca products such as tea are legal. The illegal consumption of cocaine, which quintupled between 1988 and 1998, is becoming an increasing social, health, and economic problem, alongside the consumption of marijuana, cocaine paste and solvents.
<b>International partners in cooperation for alternative development</b>	USA (AID); United Nations (UNDCP), Canada, Germany (GTZ), UK, EU Total investment: US\$ 100 million since 1981

Although Peru did experience a significant decline in coca cultivation in the 1990s, from 129,100 hectares (1992) to 51,000 hectares (1998), that reduction was largely induced by the factors described above. A large proportion of fields were abandoned, and their partial reactivation cannot be ruled out. This nominal reduction was also accelerated by the increase in forced, manual eradication.<sup>14</sup>

After the Fujimori government was dissolved in October 2000, a transitional government took over continuation of the ongoing alternative development projects. At the same time, representatives of the coca farmers are trying to establish constructive dialogue with the government, in order to achieve true active participation and co-determination in the planned measures, and an end to forced eradication.

The challenge faced by the new government in 2001 consists in the need to consolidate the reduction already achieved, and above all to effectively implement alternative development measures. Just how important such consolidation is in terms of drug policy was demonstrated in the early months of 1999, when coca prices rose and, in the absence of alternative economic options, abandoned coca fields were reactivated.

### 3. POLICY OF PREVENTION

During the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Drugs in June 1998 in New York, the member states of the United Nations issued a joint declaration containing guiding principles for drug demand reduction. In it, they undertake to support national and international policies and programmes to prevent addiction and substance abuse, in order to reduce demand for drugs world-wide. The declaration calls for a balanced approach between demand reduction and supply reduction. Although the drug consumption problem has been addressed in various UN declarations since the 1960s, and although the need for appropriate counter-measures has been emphasised, the new resolution takes on a new significance, given the growing numbers of regular consumers world-wide. It is acknowledged that drug abuse affects all social strata, and countries with different levels of development status, i.e. also developing countries. Emphasis is placed on preventive, gender-differentiated and culturally appropriate approaches that target young people in particular.

In mid-1998, UNDCP and WHO also jointly launched the Global Initiative on Primary Prevention of Substance Abuse. This initiative takes into account not only illicit drugs, but also licit substances such as medicines, tobacco and alcohol. The initiative has drawn-up a five-year plan, and focuses on supporting community-based primary prevention activities. Latin America is not among its focal regions, however. The planned activities are focused in southern Africa, in South-east Asia, and in Central and Eastern Europe. This strengthening of preventive work in these regions is also impacting on other regions, however. In Latin America, PAHO is increasingly supporting holistic preventive activities which combine youth counselling with health promotion and community work.

In April 1998, a UNDCP-initiated youth conference on the prevention of addiction and substance abuse was held in Banff, Canada. The "Vision from Banff" formulated at the event in turn became an integral element of basic pre-

<sup>14</sup> 1998: 7,825 hectares; 1999: 13,800 hectares.

vention policy thinking amongst international organisations. The Vision considers it to be of major importance that demand reduction not be imposed on a top-down basis, but take into account the thinking and lifestyles of younger generations.

Addiction prevention activities were also one of the two key themes at the annual meeting of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) in Vienna in March 2001, along with discussion of multisectoral approaches. The following appropriate strategies were identified: early prevention amongst children, participation and peer-to-peer approaches, life skills training, involvement of parents and neighbourhoods, approaches focused on specific target groups, securing of funds for long-term financing, coordinated multisectoral approach.

However, WHO in particular emphasises that the battle against drugs must not only be confined to illicit drugs, but must also be extended to include licit substances. The World Health Organization points out in a study for instance that marijuana is less damaging than alcohol or tobacco. Unlike UNDCP, WHO places key emphasis in its prevention strategy on preventing tobacco and alcohol consumption.

In its "Concept for Drug Control within the Scope of Development Cooperation" (published in April 1995), BMZ also points out that addiction prevention should take into account both illicit and licit drugs. It calls for drug abuse prevention to be placed "in the context of holistic health and life education". It specifies young people as the main target group of these measures.

The alarming increase in the number of drug consumers, coupled with an increased vigilance on the part of international organisations, has brought about both a more resolute implementation and a reformulation of national policies and programmes to prevent addiction and substance abuse, and most particularly in developing countries. The "balance" between supply reduction and demand reduction called for is still far from being achieved – as reflected in the respective budgets being made available. Most monies are still being channelled into the destruction of illicit fields, into police surveillance of (international) distribution channels, and into cultivation substitution through alternative development. Demand reduction occupies a relatively small position in the financial plans of state budgets. The funds made available for drug abuse control are also channelled largely into therapy and rehabilitation measures – and not into primary prevention programmes designed to alleviate drug consumption before it takes hold.

In the long run, prevention is considerably more cost-saving. According to a cost-benefit analysis conducted by the American RAND Drug Policy Research Center (DPRC), US\$ 34 million invested in therapy (tertiary prevention) generate the same reduction in cocaine consumption as US\$ 265 million channelled into interdiction, or US\$ 783 million invested in alternative development strategies (Rydell/Everingham 1994). Cost-benefit analyses that took into account the long-term macro-economic benefits of primary and secondary prevention would lead to even more astonishing results. However, it is difficult to demonstrate the long-term economic impacts of prevention. The same research centre draws attention to the many attributive factors that make it more difficult to objectively demonstrate cost-effectiveness (Caulkins et al. 1999).

Although the increase in drug consumption in the developing countries is particularly alarming, the industrialised nations are also far from having their own drug abuse problems under control. The



*Risk group no.1: People also call them the "desechables" – the "disposables". Carpentry training for street children. (Bogotá, Colombia)*

Drug and Addiction Report of the Federal German Ministry for Health (BMG) for instance notes that more and more young people are trying drugs. The proportion of 12- to 25-year-olds in West Germany who had tried drugs rose in the 1990s to 22%. The figure for the late 1980s had been around 17%. The Ministry is therefore seeking new strategies, which will also be supported by other policy domains. This will include the promotion of family and social policy, an awareness of drug-related issues in other government departments, and a sensitivity to the needs of children and young people. The Report sees these elements as integral components of structural addiction prevention: "Prevention strategies need to be developed which take into account not only the lifestyles, attitudes, value systems and prospects, but also the fears and anxieties of children and young people" (BMG 2001). The strategy for primary prevention of addiction favours the approach of health promotion in general, and life skills training in particular, not least because studies in the early 1990s provided empirical proof that the prevention of drug consumption is effective, especially when protective factors are promoted.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Blum 1999.

### **III. DRUGS AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES AND PROJECTS OF GERMAN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION**

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International cooperation's drug control strategies are based first and foremost on the international guiding principles laid down by the Single Convention of 1961, the Vienna Convention of 1988 and, most recently, The United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS), held in New York in 1998. Over the course of 40 years, the basic approach to drug control has shifted away from the principle of a purely technical elimination of supply, towards complex approaches of human development, based on shared responsibility for the problems of consumption, trafficking and cultivation.

In spite of this fundamental consensus, partners in cooperation adopt various approaches and positions: The United Nations – represented by UNDCP – proceed on the assumption that the world drug problem per se can be solved or brought to an end. In line with this basic idea, alternative development projects are simultaneously both development-oriented, and tied to conditionalities, i.e. tied to the reduction of cultivation. The USA sees the drug problem as a matter of “national security”. This definition of the drug problem leads to the rapid and efficient destruction of drug crops and elimination of trafficking, and is used to justify the use of repressive means against cultivation in other countries. Alternative development projects (implemented through USAID) are based on the principle of the direct substitution of drug crops with productive alternatives and the establishment of infrastructure, in combination with eradication measures.

The basic approach pursued by German development policy seeks to reduce drug-related problems by promoting development processes. In this context, drug control is seen as an instrument of human development, and supply reduction as the result of integrated development processes.

Experience to date has shown that development-oriented measures are more sustainable, more likely to produce positive results and more readily accepted than strategies based on repression. By applying these kinds of measures for development, negative consequences – such as the exacerbation of social or political conflicts, or impoverishment of the population – can be avoided.

#### **1. BASIC POSITIONS AND STRATEGIES**

##### **1.1 Development Policy and Drug Control**

The German Government defines development policy in general as an active policy for peace. It is designed to help improve economic, ecological and political conditions in partner countries. The Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) acts in accordance with this principle, and seeks to promote “human development” in cooperation with the public and private sectors, and civil society. Its motto is “Development by the people, for the people”. General criteria for development cooperation are:

- observance of human rights;
- rule of law and guarantee of legal stability;
- participation by the people in political decision-making;
- introduction of a social market economy;
- state action geared to development.

Where these criteria are not met, development cooperation seeks to help improve the situation in this respect.

Development cooperation also embraces principles such as target-group-orientation, participation, equality for women, sustainability, economic efficiency, poverty alleviation, and the fundamental principle of help towards self-help.

Development cooperation draws a distinction between three segments of drug control: (a) the prevention of drug consumption, (b) support through law enforcement, and (c) alternative development to help reduce cultivation. It attaches top priority to alternative development.

- a) Prevention focuses on integrated measures which include life skills training, neighbourhood improvement, health promotion, and information and education, especially with young target groups.
- b) Law enforcement activities involve measures to address the illicit cultivation, manufacture and trafficking of illicit drugs, and measures to strengthen judicial systems. The implementation of such measures is sometimes highly problematic, as it is not always possible to rule out breaches of the law or human rights violations.
- c) Alternative development seeks to reduce, and prevent the expansion of drug crop cultivation by implementing measures of integrated rural and multi-sectoral development. Zones of activity include:
  - regions with (illicit) cultivation of drug crops, coca or opium;
  - regions with a tendency towards, or potential for, expansion of drug crop cultivation;
  - regions of outward migration whose populations are migrating to (potential) cultivation zones.

## 1.2 Technical Cooperation and Drug Control

Bilateral Technical Cooperation (TC) is usually based on agreements entered into by the German Government with its respective partner countries. BMZ usually commissions the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH to plan and implement TC projects and programmes. GTZ supports the German Government in achieving its development-policy objectives.

The *GTZ Drug Control Programme* was launched in 1990 as an instrument to support the implementation of projects and activities specifically related to drug control. This was renamed in *1997 as the Drugs and Development Programme (ADE)*. ADE aims to help enable institutions implement drug-related development measures more effectively and more self-reliantly.

ADE is able to deliver flexible support in domains such as alternative development, addiction prevention or the strengthening of drug control agencies. It can provide experts, commission studies, organise conferences and workshops, appraise proposals that ultimately lead to programmes, or advise institutions and other projects.

Located at the interface between development cooperation and drug control, ADE plays a key role. It incorporates the experiences and principles of development cooperation – such as target-group orientation, participation, economic efficiency and strengthening of self-help capacities – into the drug control strategy. At the same time, it seeks to incorporate and raise the profile of drug control issues within development cooperation as a whole. Fundamental elements of this overall approach are the design and ongoing development of drug control strategies in Asia and Latin America, in the respective aforementioned domains, and the exchange of experiences between the organisations and institutions of the donor and partner countries.

Measures within the above-mentioned domains are coordinated both at the national level in Germany (inter-ministerial working group for drug control, working group of the commissioners for drug-related issues of the Federation and the *Laender*, and the Committee of State Secretaries), and at the international level, for instance at the bi-annual meeting of the Dublin Group, and at the bi-annual meeting of the major donor countries of UNDCP, which include Germany.

BMZ's drug control measures are also incorporated into the respective key activity areas of its partner countries:

- Key activity areas in Bolivia are rural development, poverty alleviation, environmental protection and biodiversity, for which DM 35 million was made available for Technical Cooperation (TC), and DM 55 million for Financial Cooperation (FC) in 1999/2000.
- Key activity areas in Peru are social infrastructure, rural (and alternative) development, environmental protection and modernisation of the state, for which DM 30 million was provided for FC and TC in 1999.
- Key activity areas in Colombia are the promotion of peace efforts, human rights, environmental protection and any natural resource management, including alternative development, for which DM 29.2 million was made available for TC in 1999/2000.



### 1.3 International Cooperation and Drug Control

Cooperation with UNDCP, the United Nations International Drug Control Programme, is one more pillar of German TC in the field of drug control. Germany is one of the major donors to UNDCP. The UNDCP and its predecessor, the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC), have been supporting development-oriented drug control measures since 1971. The first crop substitution projects were carried out in Thailand, and similar projects followed in Pakistan and Myanmar starting in the mid-1970s. From 1984 on, alternative development projects designed to help reduce coca cultivation were launched in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru.

UNDCP/UNFDAC have also been supporting smaller-scale prevention measures since the start of the 1970s. Since the 1990s measures in this sector, together with measures to control trafficking and money laundering, have gained greater significance. UNDCP continues to support governments in drawing up national “master plans” for drug control, and promotes regional cooperation among drug control agencies. Among the measures currently being promoted through UNDCP by the BMZ’s Funds-in-Trust are:



*Ruthless exploitation of natural resources; one version of extractive, environmentally unsound natural resource management (Chaparé, Bolivia)*

- regional advisory services for alternative development in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru
- alternative development projects in the Apurímac Ene and Huallaga valleys of Peru

Germany is of course also involved in drug control work within the framework of the EU. In June 1999, participants at the Summit in Rio adopted an Action Plan for cooperation between the European Union and Latin America to promote alternative development and reduce narcotic crop cultivation. EU alternative development projects worth a total of € 24.1 million are currently being sup-

ported in Chaparé in Bolivia, and projects worth € 37.4 million are being prepared in the Pozuzo-Palcazu region of Peru.

Within Latin America, concepts and strategies are being further developed on the basis of existing implementation experiences. Particular emphasis is being attached to the promotion of national initiatives in which the respective governments, non-governmental organisations, communities and other institutions are supported on a broad basis in implementing their drug control programmes, mainly in the alternative development sector. To date, GTZ’s drug prevention projects have largely been located in Latin America.



*Environmentally sound natural resource management practices are an integral component of development-oriented drug policy. Here: a small-scale project to re-establish traditional crops for biological pest control; Quillabamba, Peru*

## 2. GTZ-SUPPORTED ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES

Through the funds for drug control, BMZ has over the last decade financed the implementation by GTZ of a number of alternative development projects in the Andean countries of Bolivia, Peru and Colombia. These have included both alternative development projects in coca-growing zones with surplus production, and alternative development projects with a broader, i.e. preventive or stabilising objective in potential cultivation zones, as well as regional projects that usually focus on carrying out studies, developing strategies or delivering advisory services.

Experience has shown that a number of basic preconditions need to be in place, if alternative development measures are to generate positive results. There are:

1. The state and its institutions possess the political will to pursue integrated development of the country and its regions, with the affected population participating in that process.
2. Institutional structures for the implementation of alternative development and drug control policies are in place.
3. The target (group) population possess the will to actively participate in the planning and implementation of alternative development measures.
4. A clear distinction is drawn between cultivation-related problems, i.e. problems involving small farmers, migrants, indígenas etc. as the target group of alternative development, and illicit activities involving the manufacture/trafficking of narcotics. In other words, interdiction and alternative development must be clearly divided from one another at the operational level.
5. There must be a sound basis for integrated, long-term and sustainable development within the project regions designated for alternative development. In other words, there are no violent measures taken against the target population (spraying, eradication, police or military interventions).
6. There exist within the project region at least a minimum level of security and a minimum degree of acceptance of the alternative development measures among all existing groups, also in zones prone to conflict or crisis.
7. The alternative development measures are incorporated into the local, regional and national economic structures (master plans), or the improvement thereof.
8. The projects are relevant to drug-related issues in that they are designed to prevent the expansion of cultivation, as well as migration to cultivation zones, or spill-over from the zones themselves.
9. Measures must be taken to prohibit illicit drug trafficking activities at the national and international levels. Police measures must not form part of the development activities, however.
10. The dialogue on drug-related issues between the Andean countries and the countries of the North must be intensified, in order to facilitate a broad, open debate without conditionalities concerning the political, economic and social consequences of the production, trafficking and consumption of illicit drugs.

German development cooperation's preferred strategy of alternative development targets families and groups in existing or potential drug crop cultivation regions who are "not, no longer or not yet involved in the drug economy". It aims to help revitalise, develop and strengthen legal, sustainable economic activities, building on social and institutional structures that are also being consolidated.

Designing alternative development measures solely to target families cultivating drug plants is highly problematic, both socially and strategically: whilst some are "rewarded" by these measures, others are marginalised. Consequently, the target groups of GTZ alternative development projects include the entire rural, small-farmer population in cultivation regions, as well as impoverished groups in migration zones. Women are now gaining an increasingly important role here as agents of sustainable development processes.

## 2.1 Alternative Development Projects of a Regional Nature

Projects of a “regional nature” focus on a single activity area of alternative development, such as quality assurance and the marketing of legal agricultural produce, and operate in several countries. This not only allows practitioners to review and adapt problem-solving strategies in a variety of settings, but also permits an exchange of technical and other experiences between staff at the international, i.e. regional level. This means that both generally applicable and situation-specific recommendations can be elaborated.

### *Organic Coffee – an Alternative to Coca Cultivation*

The **Promotion of Organic Coffee Cultivation and Marketing in Coca Regions** project (1994-2001; German contribution DM 5.4 million) aimed to help small coffee farmers in coca and opium poppy cultivation regions gradually to switch their coffee crops to organic coffee. It also advised them on processing and marketing the organic coffee, thus helping them sustainably increase their income, and create a stable economic alternative to coca cultivation.

The project operated in **Colombia in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and the Cauca region** (Cooperativa Nuevo Futuro in Balboa/Comité de Cafeteros del Cauca); in **Peru in the Selva Central** (Coop. CUNAVIR in Villarrica/ Cámara Peruana de Café), and in **Bolivia in the northern Yungas** (Coop. CELCCAR in Caranavi/FECAFE).

**Background:** The project regions are characterised by a tropical climate, a production structure comprising farmer-owned smallholdings (1-5 hectares), and farming systems of low productivity. The isolation of the farming villages, lack of markets, low profitability of legal crops, the lack of credits and the absence of an integrated agricultural policy are factors which lead the population to devote themselves to coca and/or opium poppy cultivation.

Although the cultivation of coffee which satisfies the defining criteria of “organic coffee” is more labour-intensive for small farmers, it is nevertheless more ecologically appropriate for the typical environmental conditions of the tropics (e.g. fragile soil substance). It is therefore more sustainable and in the long run more profitable – also in the context of a conversion of small farms to ecofarming. By applying non-capital-intensive production methods (composting, organic fertilisation, biological pest management, soil conservation, crop diversification etc.), higher prices can be obtained for produce, and in particular coffee.

**Strategy:** The *orientation phase* was designed to identify the potentials for production and marketing of organic coffee, transfer of the necessary technology, and promotion of local organic quality control and certification. During the *implementation phase* small farmers were trained and provided with extension inputs, and producer groups were formed in order to get production, certification and marketing under way. In the *consolidation phase* the organisation and marketing of the communities participating in the project were strengthened, and the technology transferred to other regions and interested coffee farmers’ organisations.



*Improving the quality of coffee cultivation and harvesting is one of the key factors for improved price options for small farmers; Yanatile valley, Peru*

**Results:** Adherence to a plan of activities at the farm level and the application of agroecological practices led not only to an increased coffee yield, but also to the protection of natural resources. Key to this was the change in attitude of the small farmers concerning ecological issues and sustainability, and the strengthening and self-reliance of the producer groups. These groups succeeded for instance not only in improving their coffee crop stands and the quality of their coffee, as well as creating a small-scale credit system based on revolving funds, but also in accessing new distribution channels and in some cases in exporting their own brands of organic coffee to the USA, Europe and Japan. The cycle of production, certification and marketing is considered consolidated. The improved utilisation of family labour coupled with the obtaining of higher prices for certified organic coffee, which also survives price crises relatively well, have improved income and thus helped prevent migration to coca growing zones.

Methodological and technological components of the project package have been transferred to other interested organisations in the South of Colombia, e.g. to the GTZ Bota Caucana and Alto Patía projects, in order to achieve a multiplier effect.

### *Agricultural Research in the Service of Alternative Development*

The **Research Orientation for Alternative Development** project (1995-2000; total value DM 3.5 million), which was implemented jointly with the Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (Instituto Interamericano de Cooperación para la Agricultura, IICA), aimed to promote sustainable agricultural in drug crop cultivation areas by conducting studies, fostering an exchange of information and advising agricultural research institutions. The direct target groups were staff of the national and local agricultural research institutions in Peru, Bolivia and Colombia, whilst the indirect target groups were the populations of these regions. The objective was to help provide the agricultural research institutions participating in the project with strategies and methods enabling them to work effectively for alternative development.

**Background:** The project approach was based on the hypothesis that successful alternative development requires preparatory research and socio-economic facilitation inputs, and that such development can only be sustainable if this process is also owned by national institutions and local research facilities. A corresponding strategy must be based on a research orientation which pursues an integrated approach, applies participatory and gender-specific methods, and is closely linked to a regional planning framework. Furthermore, agricultural research geared to farming systems, ecological sustainability and profitable marketing must identify the real alternatives to drug crop cultivation. The diversification of agricultural production, the sound management of natural resources, and the training of user groups are key elements of such an orientation.

**Strategy:** Together with the IICA regional directorate the project intensified cooperation with the respective national alternative development programmes in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru. Cooperation agreements were concluded with 17 institutions in six coca growing regions. Training measures were conducted for a total of more than 300 experts and researchers, focusing on integrated farm and household systems, participatory agricultural research methods, ecological sustainability, market information systems and gender-orientation. Particular emphasis was placed on cooperation with universities and exchange of experiences with other institutions and projects involved in alternative development.

**Results:** In the first project phase, participating agricultural research institutions and associations were familiarised with the application of integrated and participatory work procedures and methods to support alternative development. Further focal areas of activity were the networking of institutions, the establishment of an efficient information system and a continuous exchange of practical experiences in alternative development, the transfer of technology between the institutions and vis-à-vis user groups (representatives of agricultural research institutions, drug control agencies, alternative development projects, producer associations and the private sector). A number of new work results for alternative development in the Andean countries were jointly identified with the participating institutions (medicinal plants, organic production and fish farming).

The results of various workshops and specific studies and research works were documented and published, and made available to a broad professional public. Since 1998 the "Hoja Verde" (Green Newsletter) – a bulletin reporting on new developments in agricultural research and alternative development in the Andean countries – has been published every two months.



*Seizing the initiative: promoting participation and self-responsibility among target groups in development initiatives – a key element of sustainable development. Here: a small family-run nursery in Quillabamba, Peru (micro-projects involving biological pest management); and: farmers learning to produce their own radio programme, Yanatile valley, Peru (a radio communications micro-project)*

The regional directorate of IICA has since initiated its own alternative development activities, and has integrated the theme into its research and extension activities on a permanent basis.

#### ***Research and Strategic Development for Alternative Development– AIDIA***

The aim of the **Pilot Project Procedures for Alternative Development in Security Sensitive Regions (AIDIA)** (1996-1999, total costs DM 2.1 million) was to extend knowledge on the potentials and limits of alternative development in drug cultivation regions and, on that basis, to develop specific strategies for “security-sensitive regions”.

The project was based in Peru, where its work was focused and where the project institution, the inter-ministerial drug control commission CONTRADROGAS, was also located. Its target groups in Peru were the populations of various coca growing regions, and national alternative development institutions, as well as institutions, projects, organisations and target-group representatives in Bolivia and Colombia.

**Background:** In the planning and implementation of alternative development projects, too little attention is paid to conflicting objectives which arise at all levels of society as a result of measures to control the drug sector. The project was designed to compare experiences from alternative development projects and specify the characteristics of cultivation zones, in order to obtain both general strategies and recommendations, and specific approaches for appropriate and sustainable alternative development. The project focused on security-sensitive regions (Peru), which had barely been analysed at all previously in terms of the systemic dynamics of violence, the coca/cocaine economy and development processes. Strategic development for alternative development had previously been understood too little as a process, and had rarely involved active participation and co-determination by target groups.

**Strategy:** In selected, typical coca growing zones of Peru (regions with a coca boom and considerable security problems such as Apurimac, Alto Huallaga and traditional zones at risk of an expansion in coca cultivation), studies were conducted, in conjunction with which participatory problem and action analyses were carried out. In consultation with target groups, the results obtained were elaborated into strategies for specific forms of alternative development for each zone. These approaches were then tested in strategically-located, short-term micro-projects in which the key methods were applied. Both the dialogue between the actors and the strategic development process itself were facilitated by the networking of target groups both with each other, and with governmental structures for alternative development, through seminars, workshops and conferences. The practical experiences gained, which were exchanged internationally, then formed the basis for the elaboration of specific strategies and

recommendations, and for the delivery of conceptual and methodological advisory inputs to the partner organisation CONTRADROGAS.

**Results:** Participatory analyses were conducted in five different coca growing zones. These analyses were published, and served as an orienting basis for alternative development measures with future partners in cooperation. A total of 9 micro-projects were implemented – also in 5 cultivation zones – in the following domains: communications; training of women and youth; further processing of agricultural produce; cultivation of medicinal plants; biological pest control; promotion of a multi-sector development committee. The experiences gained in this project work were also documented.

As well as preparing specific socio-economic, historical and geographic studies, the project also established a database containing all the existing data and studies concerning alternative development and drug control in the Andean countries, which is now being further developed and maintained by the NGO CEPES (Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales) in Lima. Various national, regional and international conferences were held in Peru, Bolivia, Colombia and Germany to facilitate an exchange of experiences and working hypotheses. These events focused on basic methodological criteria such as active target-group participation, gender-orientation of development measures,<sup>16</sup> protection and conservation of natural resources, and the incorporation of regional differences, specific socio-cultural characteristics and structures of social organisation as elements of integrated alternative development for drug control. The Peruvian Government incorporated all these elements into its 1999-2003 programme of alternative development and prevention. Details of the AIDA project approach and its results have been published in a separate publication,<sup>17</sup> and to a certain extent form a guiding framework for the recommendations contained in the present brochure.

## 2.2 GTZ-supported Alternative Development Projects in the Specific Sense

The term alternative development projects in the “specific sense” is used here to refer to development measures directly related to the problems associated with coca or opium cultivation: They are located in corresponding cultivation zones – in which connection the significance of drug crop cultivation may range from “relatively low” to “dominant” – and pursue integrated rural development which strengthens legal economic activities, as well as social and institutional structures, and enables people to build secure livelihoods. These objectives are directly linked to – and contrast with – the existence of illegal economic structures that exist here due to drug production. These structures generate legal and social conflicts, and erode the foundations for sustainable human development. Projects therefore aim to help strengthen legal economic and social structures and make them more sustainable, thus undermining the foundations of illegal activities.

### **Bolivia:** *Concerted Regional Development*

The **Development Plan for the Tropical Region of Cochabamba** (1993-2000; total volume DM 5.9 million) sought on a participatory basis to elaborate and periodically update a concerted development plan for the tropical zone of Cochabamba department (Chaparé), in coordination with grass-roots organisations, governmental organisations and non-governmental organisations. The target group was the entire population of the region, whose dependence on coca cultivation the project aimed to help reduce through socially-sound, integrated development, thus raising the population’s quality of life.

**Background:** The Chaparé region, Bolivia’s most important coca cultivation zone, is characterised by complex socio-historic and socio-economic circumstances, fragile ecological conditions, and a close relationship between the processes of migration and colonisation, and the coca/cocaine economy. Constant switching by the government between aggressive campaigns to eradicate coca on the one hand, and concerted social policy measures for alternative development on the other, coupled with well-organised coca farmers’ associations had led to poor coordination and fragmentation of alternative development activities. The project dates back to a proposal made by the farmers’ organisations in the early 1990s.

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<sup>16</sup> An ADE publication on this theme which documents the experiences gained in the micro-projects within the wider context of the project, and addresses a number of fundamental issues, is already available (in German only): Eva Dietz: *Alternative Entwicklung und Gender – Erfahrungen aus der partizipativen Projektarbeit aus ausgewählten Kokaanbauzonen in Peru, Lima, 2000.*

<sup>17</sup> *Conceptos para un Desarrollo Alternativo Integral en Zonas Cocaleras del Perú; Actividades, Experiencias y Propuestas del Proyecto AIDIA.* Eva Dietz; Hugo Cabieses, Jutta Krause, Lima, 2000.

**Strategy:** An alliance was formed among the key actors for the planning and implementation of alternative development projects, which was incorporated into regional and national economic and development plans from 1994 onwards. A management committee comprising representatives of coca farmers, the association of local governments, the department prefecture (project institution), the project management and representatives of the private sector was appointed to adopt a socially and politically concerted development plan prepared on a participatory basis, in the implementation of which all actors were to be actively involved. The strategy pursued was a decentralised one, though integrated into a regional framework. Key activities were the identification of mechanisms for participation, the design of concerted measures and social control, the promotion of inter-institutional coordination, and the training of staff of institutions and organisations. The project also advised the responsible bodies concerning their efforts to finance development projects, and promoted the exchange of experiences with alternative development in the Trópico region, and the participatory design of future development projects.



*One of the key instruments of participatory alternative development: dialogue, the joint discussion and planning of concerted development measures. Here: representatives of the farmers' associations, local governments, the department prefecture and project staff seated around one table. Consejo Participativo of the tropical region of Cochabamba and the Plan del Trópico project, Bolivia*

**Results:** The first phase involved the preparation of a master plan (1994) and a number of sectoral studies, with active participation by the key social and institutional actors, and not least the coca farmers. In the second phase further studies were continued, a land-use plan was prepared and concrete project proposals were drawn-up. At the same time, 11 pilot micro-projects were implemented as crash measures. Based on the results of the two preceding phases, the "plan for sustainable development of the tropical region of Cochabamba" was finally completed and adopted in a third phase. The plan constitutes an orienting framework for strategies and projects designed to promote legal, sustainable economic activities, and strengthen institutions and organisations, not least local government bodies.

However, the successive deterioration in the climate for dialogue between the agencies of central government and the administration on the one hand, and local governments and grass-roots farmers' organisations on the other, meant that measures were ultimately not as concerted as had originally been desired. Key sections of the programmatic content of the plan were integrated into the Bolivian documents for the donors' conference in 1999, which helped elicit the pledge of a fund for alternative development measures in Bolivia. Various international donors are planning to implement projects on the basis of the development plan.

**Peru:** *Promoting Legal Sources of Income in Cultivation Zones*

Two projects designed to support productive alternatives were located in the tropical lowlands of Peru (Selva Central). This region is prone to drug cultivation, firstly because it attracts migrants from the uplands, and secondly because it offers few income-generating opportunities. Natural resource management in the region is usually inappropriate. One result of this is increasing clearance of the tropical forest; another is the possible expansion of coca cultivation in conjunction with drug trafficking and all the negative effects on the ecology, economy and social infrastructure which that would entail. The two following projects engaged with the two main target groups: livestock farmers and indigenous communities.

The **Programme for Livestock Farming and Sustainable Forest Management in the Pozuzo Region** (German contribution DM 0.5 million) ran from 1992-96. Its aim was to support small and medium-sized livestock farmers, thus helping promote ecologically and economically sustainable, and socially self-reliant, livestock farming in the Pozuzo and Puerto Mayo districts.

Coca cultivation in the Pozuzo region was reported by early chroniclers, although these crops were intended for traditional purposes. In the lower-altitude neighbouring regions, coca cultivation has since expanded and been developed to include illicit further processing. The project aimed to help provide livestock farmers with a healthy, legal economic basis on which to resist this development. To this end it was necessary to make production and marketing simultaneously both more profitable and more ecologically sound, as low output per unit area was leading to permanent forest clearance and the establishment of new pastureland.

**Results:** With relatively low financial inputs, the technical foundations for improvement of livestock farming were developed and tested. The results may yield important data for a planned EU project in the neighbouring Pozuzo-Palcazú region. However, methodological deficits in the selection of the project institution and target groups (no organisational analysis or gender perspective) meant that it was not possible to help the livestock farmers establish self-help organisations and help improve the economic dynamics of the small livestock farming sector, as had been intended.

The target groups of the **Promoting the Production of Niche Products in Two Coca Cultivation Regions of Peru** project were the Aguarunas and Asháninkas peoples. The aim of the project, which was launched in 1997 (German contribution DM 200,000) and implemented by GTZ-PROTRADE in cooperation with the IICA-GTZ project in Peru, was to support selected indigenous producer groups in diversifying and marketing their medicinal plant and non-timber forest products.

The aim is not merely to transform the indigenous population's extensive knowledge on (the cultivation of) medicinal plants into income-generating opportunities for their communities, but also to help counteract the marginalisation of these groups. Since they do not own any coca fields, they are usually not included in alternative development projects. These communities, who comprise around 5-10% of the population in the cultivation zones, are today more than ever subject to cultural and socio-economic pressures, and the threat of displacement by settlers is jeopardising their livelihoods.

**Strategy:** In May 1995 an inventory was conducted jointly with UNDCP concerning the potentials of herbal, medicinal and aromatic plants – such as *uña del gato* (cat's claw), musk seed or *sangre de grado*. These products met with great interest at the *Biofach 1997* trade fair in Frankfurt. Building on the indigenous groups' existing knowledge, it proved possible to both increase and assure the quality of products by providing specific extension inputs. Contacts were also established with distributors to market the exportable products. Special scientific seminars and workshops on medicinal plants, inter-institutional coordination and the promotion of this strategy as an element of alternative development were supported by the IICA-GTZ agricultural research project and by national universities.

For the indigenous population, the cultivation and marketing of native medicinal plants is an economic option which is socially and ecologically compatible, is rooted in their traditional knowledge, and at the same time permits integration into modern markets. With this target group, the sustainable management of existing natural resources is in experienced hands. In the course of the project, extension assignments were carried out on the ground, and trade fair promotion measures were implemented to help introduce the products onto the European market.

#### **Peru: New Projects for Participatory Alternative Development**

In 2001 two alternative development projects are being launched by the Peruvian project institution CONTRADROGAS in one of the top-priority coca cultivation zones, the Huallaga valley.

The **Integrated Alternative Development Plan for Tocache – Uchiza** project (Dep. San Martín) will have a budget of DM 24 million, and will be undersigned by the Peruvian ministry for economic affairs, by CONTRADROGAS and by KfW within the scope of the debt swap. Closely linked to that will be the **Strengthening Local Governments and Grass-roots Organisations for Alternative Development** project, which will receive DM 2.1 million from TC funds, and will be implemented primarily in Alto Huallaga (Tingo María, Monzón, Tocache-Uchiza) region.

Both projects go back to proposals put forward by CONTRADROGAS. In 1999, CONTRADROGAS presented specific development strategies for each of the top-priority cultivation zones within the scope of the National Programme for Alternative Development (integrated alternative development plan 1999-2003 and annual plan of operations 1999-2000).





*Women have a particular sensitivity for integrated strategies designed to secure the present and future natural resource base on which life depends. (Tambopata valley, Sandia, Peru)*

The entire Alto Huallaga valley is a coca growing zone, and from the 1980s to the mid-1990s underwent the largest coca boom in Peru. Drug trafficking, terrorism and responses by the authorities left a trail of destruction in their wake, as a result of which the region urgently requires support to help establish productive and economic structures, and strengthen social and politico-administrative institutions.

The “integrated development” project will focus in particular on activities for productive development, taking into account agro-ecological criteria, and is designed to benefit farming families. In addition, the Technical Cooperation project will work

with the target population’s organisations and local governments, to help strengthen their capacities of articulation and organisation in the planning, implementation and administration of development measures. This will promote their active participation in alternative development in their region.

#### **Colombia: *Rural Development and Natural Resource Management***

The following alternative development projects are directly related to the cultivation of drug plant crops – coca and opium. Although production of these crops involves only small farms, there is a risk of expansion or spill-over onto crops in neighbouring zones. The only way to halt this trend is to implement targeted measures of economically and ecologically sustainable development.

The farmers devote themselves largely to legal, subsistence-oriented agriculture. Although the cultivation of drug crops is designed to secure monetary income, it does not dominate local economic structures. Preconditions are therefore conducive to alternative development measures being successful in adequately improving and strengthening legal activities and sources of income. Hence the projects do not seek to completely transform the economic logic of an entire region, but to strengthen a mode of economic activity that should make the cultivation of drug crops superfluous.

#### ***Rural Development Bota Caucana***

The **Bota Caucana Integrated Development** project commenced its work following a long preparatory phase in February 1999. The project aims to help enable governmental agencies and the municipalities of Santa Rosa, San Sebastian and Piamonte in Bota Caucana to self-reliantly and professionally perform their respective tasks for the social, economic and ecological development of the region, on a participatory basis.

The present orientation phase (1999 – 2002; costs DM 4.9 million) plans to identify and test concerted solutions. The project executing agency is the *Red de Solidaridad Social*, a national programme under the direct responsibility of the President, mandated to provide swift and efficient assistance to the weakest groups within Colombian society.

**Background:** Bota Caucana is located in the South of the department of Cauca, a boot-shaped (Spanish: bota) area circumscribed by the Andean cordillera. The project region comprises land at altitudes of 2,000 to 3,500 metres, extending down to the tropical lowlands, and is part of the *Macizo Colombiano*, the headwater region of Colombia’s major rivers, such as the Patía, the Cauca, the Magdalena and the Caquetá.

Although opium crops are cultivated at altitudes of between 2,000 and 2,900 metres, and although coca fields are found at the lower altitudes, the region is not dependent on drug crop cultivation. Although such cropping has expanded quantitatively since 1993, it has not become more significant here than is the case in neighbouring

regions, examples being the municipalities of La Vega and Almaguer, and the departments of Putumayo and Caquetá (at lower altitudes). The population, which is comprised of small farmers, settlers and indígenas (*Yanacona, Inga*), live primarily from subsistence crop farming, with some livestock farming, but do not have an adequate basis on which to build sustainable livelihoods.

**Strategy:** The project has a mobilising and advisory function vis-à-vis the population, and their social and governmental organisations. Its role is to help initiate, stimulate and facilitate processes of organisational, administrative, social, economic and ecological development in dialogue with the target groups. Activities focus on strengthening local administrations (training measures for mayors and local government personnel; budgetary and investment planning; natural resource management and environmental education), and on promoting agricultural production, processing and marketing.

**Results:** First concrete steps towards strengthening local administrations have been taken, for instance: Local government revenues have been improved, and administrative and technical improvements have been made to municipal service delivery (water supply, sanitation and solid waste management). Furthermore, local information systems have been established as databases and to support decision-making processes. Strategies have been developed for the training of local government personnel, and for improved land-use systems. Citizen participation has been strengthened, and local councils have participated actively in decision-making processes affecting the region.

In the productive sector, new approaches were developed for the cultivation and processing of agricultural products. Small producers' associations were supported in sectors such as fish farming, fruit growing, product enhancement (e.g. fruit juices) and marketing. Furthermore, production methods were analysed and tested, e.g. re-introduction of Andean crops, fruit crop development, coffee and cocoa cultivation, and marketing strategies were implemented. The networking of producer groups is being promoted, as is the delivery of technical support to those groups.

### Special Aspects

**The presence of armed groups:** Both the Bota Caucana and Alto Patías project regions have long been under the influence of the guerrilla organisations the FARC and the ELN. To date, the project activities themselves have not yet been significantly affected by the guerrilla activities. However, the implementation of Plan Colombia may exacerbate the situation, as the guerrillas have declared all representatives of the state to be "accomplices" to the Plan, and therefore enemies of war. Project work therefore requires of staff that they possess and display a particularly high degree of sensitivity vis-à-vis the complex social and political situation of the region of work. The Cauca valley itself, a corridor of passage for the guerrillas, has recently been confronted with the presence of paramilitary groups who are possibly seeking open confrontation with the guerrillas to gain territorial control and a dominant position. Although there has been no major military confrontation in the project region to date, the presence of the paramilitaries poses an additional risk to projects.

### Spraying with Herbicides

In July and August 2000 the first spraying campaigns and destruction of drug crops were carried out in the project regions of Alto Patía (Arboleda, San Lorenzo, Cartago) and Bota Caucana (San Sebastian, Piamonte). According to reports, this resulted in considerable damage to licit crops and pet animals, and at least temporary health problems amongst the inhabitants of the concerned regions. Particularly severe damage was reported in the opium growing areas. Due to the mountainous terrain, the agent was sprayed from a height of 100 to 500 metres, which led to a wide distribution of the herbicide. To hit the crops accurately it would normally be necessary to spray from a height of 10 to 15 metres. Furthermore, it is feared that the massive spraying campaigns will impact on neighbouring areas. One alternative option in this context might be the "Plan Alterno" initiative propagated by the local governments in the departments of Cauca and Nariño, which proposes a manual as opposed to a chemical destruction of drug crops.

### *Poverty Alleviation and Integrated Development in Alto Patia*

The **Alto Patía Integrated Rural Development** project is as it were the neighbour of the Bota Caucana project, as the project region is also located in the South of the department of Cauca, though North of the department of Nariño, in the catchment basin of the river Patía. This is a region afflicted by poverty, as well as environmental and drug cultivation problems.

The project, which was launched in March 1999 and is scheduled to run for 10 years (German contribution DM 13 million), aims to enable the local agents of development (local governments and their associations, as well as grass-roots organisations) in Alto Patía to pursue self-reliant, environmentally-sound economic and social development in the region, and thus reduce the problems of absolute poverty and drug cultivation.

**Background:** The population, comprised of small farmers, live predominantly from the production of bananas, beans, peanuts, tobacco, cassava, fruit and pita. Small holdings, a fragile ecosystem characterised by diminishing soil fertility and increasing degradation, a lack of market access and poor access to services mean that incomes are inadequate. Despite changes in its economic fortunes, the region has for two decades been one of Colombia's known drug cultivation zones. Coca is cultivated at intermediate altitudes, whilst opium poppies are grown at remote, higher-altitude sites.

**Strategy:** The target group is the entire population of the region, together with their private and public bodies. It is planned to identify and/or help form grass-roots groups of women, youth and men for implementation of needs-oriented projects. For the purposes of participatory planning, implementation and monitoring of such projects, all actors will be trained and a regional communication system established. It is planned to discuss and agree on the approach within the framework of a regional development strategy. This will involve the targeted promotion of capacities for self-reliant problem-solving. It will also involve helping enable local development actors to initiate, implement and steer development processes. The support of self-organisation among the population at the local level will be a key element of the approach. The existing association of local governments will be promoted in this context as a regional development actor, and public and private institutions will be integrated into the promotion of target-group-oriented projects.

**First results:** The institutional structure is established. The project strategy has been discussed and agreed on with the project institution, and integrated into the regional development plan. The association of local governments is coordinating, together with (at present) 12 institutions, target-group-oriented projects in fields such as:

- \*\* Promotion of agricultural and forestry measures, with particular emphasis on environmental compatibility, as well as off-farm measures.
- \*\* Development and testing of mechanisms for participation by the population, and in particular by women.
- \*\* Enabling of local governments to improve self-help capabilities and service delivery.

Furthermore, more than 200 information and training measures have been carried out. 58 self-help projects for income generation and food security are currently being implemented, and 38 producers' groups (men's, women's and mixed groups) are being concretely promoted, primarily in the agricultural sector.



*The children of today are the producers and responsible family members of tomorrow; the training and development of children should be incorporated into all integrated development strategies*

### *New Project in Colombia: Integrated Development in Cauca*

The target groups of the **Integrated Development Cauca** project (launched in 2001, scheduled to run for 5 years; German contribution DM 1 million) are the members of 8 grass-roots groups which are being supported by the locally-based NGO “CorpoTunia” (Corporación para el Desarrollo de Tunia). The project also aims to strengthen the management capacities of the staff of CorpoTunia, which at the same time is the project institution.

The aim of the project is that the smallholder families organised within the grass-roots groups (“seeds of development”) come to utilise appropriate strategies for organisation development, and apply sustainable technologies in legal agricultural production. It is planned to support marketing strategies for the promoted agricultural products. In doing this the project aims to help solve the problems caused by the lack of alternative economic options, and reduce the impoverishment of smallholder families in the North and centre of Cauca department.

## **2.3 Alternative Development Projects in the Broader Sense**

Projects of alternative development in the “broader sense” operate in rural areas with a link to drug crop cultivation zones. This might involve neighbouring regions which due to their own development problems possess a high potential for outward migration to coca growing zones, or regions where for the same reasons there exists a risk of farmers resorting to drug crop cultivation or, where such activities already exist, expanding them. Project measures therefore focus on the structural stabilisation of these regions, i.e. on integrated rural development designed to prevent drug crop cultivation. Such measures are then only indirectly related to illicit economic activity.

### **Peru:       *Securing the Vital Natural Resource Base in Alto Mayo and Jaen-Bagua***

Two rural development projects in the North-east of Peru make an important contribution to alternative development in the sense of preventive drug control. The project regions are not coca cultivation zones, although coca plantations do occur sporadically, and opium plantations have recently been found. Due to their climatic conditions, both regions are suited to coca cultivation – the staple crops being rice, coffee, cocoa, yuca and bananas. The expansion of coca cropping is due largely to the fact that licit crops are less profitable, as a result of which farmers become impoverished. It is therefore especially important to prevent a situation in which drug cultivation is extended onto new land, and migrants are drawn to drug cultivation areas as labourers.

The key problems of the two areas, the Alto Mayo basin and the Jaen – Bagua region, are the low income of the smallholder families, coupled with relatively inappropriate forms of natural resource management, exhaustive cultivation, over-utilisation and destruction of ecosystems. A further problem is the low capacity and competence of both governmental and non-governmental institutions for rural service delivery.

In the two regions, which experience both inward and outward migration flows, work is therefore under way to help stabilise the vital natural resource base of the small farmer and indigenous populations. Activities focus on sustainable natural resource management in the face of fragile ecological conditions, extension services for small farmers, the creation of land titles to guarantee production, and the development and strengthening of self-help potentials and organisational capacities of the target groups and local institutions.

The **Regional Rural Development Jaen – San Ignacio – Bagua** project has been operating in coordination with the National Institute for Development (INADE) since 1997, and is scheduled to run until 2007 (the German contribution will amount to a total of DM 32.7 million, including a KfW partner financing input of DM 10 million). Following the orientation phase the project has now put forward appropriate conceptual strategies.

The **Alternative Development Alto Mayo** project (1997-2004), which is also operating in coordination with INADE within the scope of the Proyecto Especial Alto Mayo – PEAM, focuses specifically on developing and improving infrastructure, and on strengthening water resource user groups, small farmer families and their smallholdings, and the local governments of Aguarunas. It is planned to help enable these institutions and groups to perform water management on a self-reliant and sustainable basis in the future.

As well as the TC component of DM 7 million, a KfW credit of DM 18 million is also being provided. An agreement concerning the establishment of an environmental fund within the scope of a debt swap of DM 4 million has already been concluded.

**Bolivia:** ... *A Glance at the Dynamics of the Region*

The Food Security Programme in the provinces of Arque, Bolívar and Tapacaría – PROSANA – in the department of Cochabamba (1991-2001; German contribution DM 15.5 million), designed to help alleviate poverty and implemented as an alternative development project in the broader sense, bears a direct geographical and strategic link to the Development Plan for the Tropical Region of Cochabamba discussed at 2.1. By helping create food security, and by stabilising and improving the living conditions of farming families in the region, the project aims to reduce outward migration by farming families to the tropical region of Cochabamba, or Chaparé. The three aforementioned upland provinces are amongst the typical zones of displacement from which thousands of migrant labourers for coca cultivation originate.

By achieving significant improvements in infrastructure, health care, nutrition and education, and by strengthening the planning and administrative capacities of local governments over the course of the years, it has proved possible to bring about the structural changes needed in these rural regions to offer families prospects in their own locality and halt the tide of migration to coca growing zones.

*Alternative Development is More than Just the Substitution of Narcotic Crops ...*

Development-oriented strategies for drug control address the indirect causes of the problem, and therefore generate impacts which go beyond the immediate objectives of drug control. They help

- satisfy basic needs and reduce poverty by increasing food production, strengthening and diversifying income-generating opportunities, and improving access to education and health services.
- secure social, economic and ecological sustainability by strengthening social structures and supporting environmentally-sound economic activities.
- improve opportunities for participation by disadvantaged groups. These groups include ethnic minorities, women and youth without appropriate employment, education or opportunities for development.
- promote the self-help capacities of local governments and social groups. This can involve the strengthening of local community organisations, women's groups, farmers' organisations or youth groups.
- improve political frameworks. They can promote dialogue between governmental agencies and ethnic minorities or marginalised sections of the population, increase the efficiency and transparency of public institutions, support the establishment of the rule of law, and address sensitive political themes such as human rights violations, corruption or organised crime.

### **3. GTZ-SUPPORTED ADDICTION AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION PROJECTS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN**

Until the early 1990s, development cooperation in the drug sector was geared predominantly to reducing drug crop cultivation. Faced by the sobering results of a war on drugs that had already lasted more than a decade, it was acknowledged that supply reduction alone cannot be a solution to the comprehensive, global drug problem, which calls for new, multisectoral strategies.

In view of the growing consumption problems that are also emerging in many countries of production and transit, including those in Latin America, higher priority is now being attached to supply reduction, focusing on measures to prevent addiction and substance abuse. The key development-policy principles for this were laid down by BMZ in its "Concept for Drug Control within the Scope of Development Cooperation", published in 1995.

#### **3.1 Addiction and Substance Abuse Prevention: ADE's New Strategy**

To respond appropriately to the alarming level of drug abuse observed in many partner countries, ADE is now increasingly pursuing not only the "alternative development" and "good governance" strategies, but also "addiction and substance abuse prevention". In that context it is now supporting the development of a systemically-oriented,

regional strategy for the prevention of addiction and substance abuse. At the appropriate interfaces and on a limited scale, it also supports treatment, rehabilitation and harm reduction in the context of drug and alcohol consumption. The basis for these activities is provided by the diverse experience of the partner organisations and institutions in the drug sector with which ADE cooperates in the context of its three main strategies.

Since addiction and substance abuse are closely linked to violence, sexual risk behaviour and a high risk of HIV/AIDS infection, especially amongst the young, an integrated approach has proved appropriate. Prevention measures on the one hand are seen as a cross-cutting task, and are integrated into existing TC projects. In Paraguay for instance, ADE is supporting addiction and substance abuse prevention in measures for reproductive youth health. In Argentina, ADE is supporting a study investigating the link between cocaine inhalation and sexual risk behaviour in young people, and is cooperating with the TC project for AIDS prevention there. ADE also supports the planning and implementation of specific projects to prevent addiction and substance abuse, for instance in Peru and in El Salvador. In this context, moderation and mediation are key elements of in-process consultancy to support both new and proven forms of cooperation in the country-specific contexts of Latin America and the Caribbean.

For ADE, the open approach of systemic health promotion forms the conceptual framework for **intersectoral cooperation** between the health and education sectors (here including especially youth promotion, HIV/AIDS control, and sexual and reproductive health) and other relevant activity areas of German TC, allowing joint further development of preventive approaches.

In its measures in the various projects, ADE attaches high priority to participatory, integrating methods such as peer-to-peer work, community-based approaches and outreach work. The main target group of ADE-supported projects are young people in lower-income groups, and special risk groups. Members of economically better-off groups can also profit from addiction prevention measures, and are not excluded. Complex phenomena such as youth risk behaviour or a willingness to take risks for kicks, are best tackled in clearly-defined settings such as neighbourhoods or city districts, together with the appropriate social groups. The systemic approach aims to harness the synergies between the individual elements, thus creating an environment conducive to health.

Despite the cultural and social diversity of the region, **regional promotion approaches** in Technical Cooperation do allow similar problems in neighbouring countries to be systematised and bundled, thus helping funds to be efficiently and more effectively employed. Such approaches are conducive to the exchange of experiences, the improvement of training opportunities, networking, and the professionalisation of the participating groups.

At this moment a work proposal is currently being prepared for a project entitled “Developing a systemic youth health strategy in Latin America and the Caribbean, focusing on HIV/AIDS, drug abuse, violence and crime”. This planned project aims to bring together previously isolated prevention strategies, in order to create conditions conducive to the healthy development of young people. There are plans for regional and national organisations that address various youth health themes to jointly implement an integrated youth health strategy.

Although drug prevention in Technical Cooperation focused initially on information and education on drug-related issues and on rehabilitation measures for addicts (e.g. drug campaign in Cochabamba, Bolivia, or care of addicts in Brazil), in Latin America the strategy of **integrated prevention**, involving **intersectoral cooperation**, has become the more dominant approach (e.g. drug prevention in Lima, Peru, control of AIDS and drug consumption in the English-speaking Caribbean). Prevention approaches are designed to strengthen protective factors, nurture the development of potentials, and promote the life skills of children and young people. The range of measures includes leisure and sports promotion, work with parents and teachers, vocational training and employment promotion, and neighbourhood improvement. Information on the consequences of drug abuse is usually an additional element. The levels of intervention include the networking of activities at the urban district level, the support of community work, and the promotion of intersectoral cooperation at the national to regional level. All measures help professionalise the participating organisations, and thus promote capacity building.

Project example summaries are given below. The projects are described in more detail in the Annex.

### 3.2 Project Examples: Integrated Community Development and Health Promotion Approaches

The Programme for Institutional and Social Support of Youth (PAISAJOVEN) in Medellín, Colombia has been under implementation since 1995. Its target group comprises adolescents and young adults from the poorer, peri-urban zones of Medellín, especially drug consumers, drug offenders and young people willing to use violence. The project seeks to improve their conditions and opportunities for development. To this end, public institutions, NGOs and the private sector have formed a network whose exchange of experience, conceptual work and professional capacities are supported by the project. The implementing institution is the municipal administration of Medellín, together with the newly-formed, not-for-profit association PAISAJOVEN. Prevention is understood in a very comprehensive sense here, and in some cases is interpreted differently by the member organisations, which operate in neighbourhoods, schools and youth centres. The project incorporates the following elements: life skills training, a strengthening of protective factors, conflict management, peer group promotion, promotion of leisure and sports, strengthening of youth organisations, and employment promotion. The German inputs comprise financing and professional advisory services provided by long- and short-term advisors (total volume DM 10 million, running until 2005).

The Drug Prevention in Manzanilla II project in Lima, Peru has been under implementation by the non-governmental organisation CEDRO (Centro de Información y Educación para la Prevención del Abuso de Drogas) since 1998. ADE is providing a financial contribution, and professional advisory services. The aim of the project is to develop a long-term and sustainable programme to prevent drug abuse, based on the pilot experiences gained in the



*Education, health and leisure opportunities strengthen the life skills of children and adolescents in Manzanilla, Peru*

inner-city poor quarter of Manzanilla II. Since CEDRO is not in a position to implement on its own a broad-based prevention programme, it forms cooperation networks with governmental institutions and NGOs. The target groups are children and young people exposed to the threat of drugs in Manzanilla II, and later also in neighbouring districts of Lima. The integrated, in some cases specific prevention approach includes: neighbourhood and community development (e.g. involving refuse collection activities and greening measures), information and education on drugs, leisure and sports promotion, support of youth groups, life skills training, strengthening of social involvement, health pro-

motion, work with parents and teachers, vocational training and employment promotion. The total volume until mid-2002 amounts to DM 1.8 million, the German contribution to which is DM 1.4 million.

In El Salvador the Preventing Drug Consumption through Primary Health Services project has been under implementation since 1997. The project institutions are the Ministry of Health as responsible political agency, and the private foundation FUNDASALVA (Fundación Antidrogas de El Salvador) as implementing organisation on the ground. The project aims to positively influence young people's risk behaviour with respect to drug abuse, and integrate drug prevention measures into the work of selected primary health care units at the urban district level. Target groups are girls and boys from 10 to 19 who are at risk, in the catchment areas of selected health care units in the Zona Oriente of the capital San Salvador. Essentially, the project is involved in establishing a system of primary to tertiary prevention. The measures include information transfer and leisure activities involving young people in selected districts, care of young people at extreme risk of addiction at the health care units, violence prevention activities, treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts, and mass media campaigns (information and education amongst the general population). ADE is financing and providing advisory services to the project (total volume DM 3.5 million, running until 2002).

The **Promoting Integrated Youth Health** project in **Paraguay**, launched in late 2000, aims to integrate unspecific addiction and substance abuse prevention into youth and health promotion measures. Its target groups include young people at risk of addiction, on the one hand, and public and private actors of youth health promotion, on the other. The project agency is the Ministry for Health and Social Welfare MSPyBS, in cooperation with the non-governmental organisation TESAIRA. Here, addiction prevention takes place at various levels of intervention: Healthy lifestyles for young people are promoted. Posters, information materials and videos are used to inform young people and mediator groups about drugs and prevention. Public- and private-sector actors are trained in unspecific prevention methods. The support provided by ADE comprises a financial contribution, and professional advisory services.

### **3.3 Project Examples: Intersectoral Control of Drug Abuse and AIDS**

Since October 2000, the **AIDS and Drug Consumption Control** project has been under implementation on the islands of the **English-speaking Caribbean**, within the scope of systemic health promotion. Its target groups are youth representatives, health personnel, youth workers, teachers, reference persons in the family and the community, NGOs and governmental decision-makers. The project aims to reduce the spread of HIV infections and other sexually transmitted diseases in the CAREC member states, by reducing the risk behaviour of young people in the context of drug consumption. The project executing agency is the Caribbean Epidemiology Centre (CAREC), in cooperation with national institutions and the TC project for AIDS control. The regional project attaches top priority to primary and specific prevention. It includes: promotion of responsible sexual behaviour amongst young people, with a special focus on the link with addiction and drug abuse, training of partner institutions in methods of addiction and AIDS prevention, support for harmonisation of national and regional youth health promotion with HIV/AIDS control, and the prevention of drug and alcohol abuse. The ADE contribution to this project, a project limited at present to a term of 3 years, comprises the provision of professional advisory services, training and moderation.

The **SEX-RAR Study in Argentina** investigated the link between cocaine consumption and sexual risk behaviour, in order to obtain sound arguments in support of the national policy of prevention and harm reduction. The institutions involved in the study, implemented between 1999 and 2000, were the national AIDS programme and the LUSIDA World Bank project, in cooperation with the TC project for AIDS prevention and youth promotion. The target group comprised young people at particular risk of exposure to drug abuse and HIV infection. The project included the following preventive measures: investigation of the links between cocaine consumption and sexual risk behaviour, counselling of the interviewees on HIV prevention and harm reduction, information and education on condom use, outreach youth work at the city district level. ADE provided a financial contribution of DM 50,000 to the total costs of US\$ 113,000.

### **3.4 Project Examples: Information and Education**

From 1999 to 2000, ADE supported the **La Tinta Distinta Magazine** in Medellín, Colombia, providing a financial contribution of DM 125,000. The project executing agency is SURGIR (Corporación Colombiana para la Prevención del Alcoholismo y la Farmacodependencia), an NGO specialised in the prevention of substance abuse. The aim of producing the magazine is to inform teachers and social workers of the consequences of drug consumption, enabling them to sensitise secondary-school students accordingly. SURGIR offers selected teachers corresponding coaching and counselling. The indirect target group comprises girls and boys at 130 secondary schools in Medellín. Here, drug abuse is being tackled through targeted information transfer provided in a drug prevention magazine. Activities comprise the information and education of teachers and social workers, who have hitherto stood helpless in the face of rising drug consumption, and information and education on the drug problem for age groups at particular risk.

From 1994 to 1997, ADE promoted the **Drug Prevention Campaign** in Cochabamba, Bolivia, which was being implemented by AVE and INDICEP (Instituto de Investigación Cultural para la Educación Popular). The aim of the measure was first of all to train teachers, youth group leaders, health professionals, and selected school students and youths, in methods and instruments for drug prevention. Information and education campaigns were then conducted on a joint basis as an indirect prevention measure. The financial contributions were DM 150,000 for AVE and DM 264,000 for INDICEP. Conceptual and strategic advisory services were also provided to the two NGOs.



### **3.5 Project Example: Rehabilitation of Drug Addicts and Therapy**

The **Care of Addicts Programme** in Brasilia, **Brazil**, was supported from 1995 to 1997. Its aim was to promote cooperation between governmental agencies and independent, not-for-profit institutions for the care of addicts in Brasilia, in order to improve the quality of therapy and rehabilitation for drug addicts. Its target group comprised Brazilian professionals working in the drug rehabilitation sector. Drug addicts were the indirect target group. The implementing agency was the Programa de Trabalho Conjunto para o Desenvolvimento dos Centros de Assistência e Tratamento das Dependências Químicas do Distrito Federal (PRODAB). The implemented measures involved secondary and tertiary prevention: therapy and rehabilitation of drug addicts, care of family members, prevention of addiction amongst close associates of addicts, prevention of HIV transmission to friends and acquaintances (harm reduction). ADE financed the advisory assignments of German experts in the care of addicts.



## IV. INSIGHTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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The drug menace represents a complex development problem for the countries of Latin America. Their aim must be to achieve structural results in drug control that go beyond legislative periods or project phases. The international community has acknowledged this fact, with the UN New York Declaration in June 1998 calling for a balanced approach to drug control. Alongside law enforcement measures, this balanced approach also attaches high priority to reducing demand through prevention and therapy. With regard to reducing the demand for drug crops, the New York Declaration assigns alternative development the key function of guaranteeing social compatibility and sustainability.

German development cooperation can now look back on two decades of experience in this field. BMZ and GTZ made available their general experiences and strategies in the “Drugs and Development” brochure published in April 1998. At the same time, GTZ’s “Drugs and Development in Asia” publication presented relevant experiences in Asia within the framework of a development-oriented strategy for drug control.

In the Latin American countries presented here, demand has been successfully reduced. However, these results were not always achieved by solving the structural problems which lead to coca cultivation. The sustainability of reduced demand is dependent on the extent to which adequate alternative income-generating and life options are created for the concerned farming families, and the extent to which integrated, environmentally-sound development strategies are implemented at the local, national and regional levels.

The same principle also applies to the reduction of drug abuse, i.e. the initial positive results achieved by projects need to be secured on a sustainable basis, and frameworks conducive to the broad-based and successful application of appropriate strategies need to be created. Prevention strategies aim on the one hand to reduce drug consumption, but also embrace a wide range of intervention options such as neighbourhood development, youth promotion or the strengthening of networks and institutions. Impacts described or measured in relation to the objective “reducing drug abuse” always reflect only a part of the project work, since the prevention of addiction and substance abuse also impacts on problems such as sexual risk behaviour, HIV/AIDS, violence, criminality etc.

Both must be accompanied by measures of interdiction, measures to strengthen legal systems and governmental agencies, and measures to reduce economic and social corruption within societies.

### 1. LESSONS LEARNED

- Were it not for the consumption of cocaine, crack and heroin, which are defined as illicit drugs, there would be no profitable, illicit drug trade and no short-term sources of income involving excessive coca or opium cultivation. The problem therefore calls for an approach based on logic, and not disparagement. The aim cannot be to point the finger at guilty parties. The actors and disadvantaged groups need to be involved as active participants in a process designed to eliminate the problems in question.
- The causes of (non-traditional, non-socially-controlled) drug consumption are complex: Such consumption may be an expression of social disintegration and deep-rooted problems within society, or may simply be fashionable, a prestige symbol, a luxury to be enjoyed in an increasingly consumption-oriented world. Consumers of illicit drugs are members of these societies, and are no better or worse than the societies of which they are a part.
- Consequently, substance abuse prevention measures – involving both licit and illicit substances – should begin at the level of society, targeting a broad audience and identifying concrete solutions for those at risk or already affected by drug dependency or addiction.
- Drug trafficking can more easily take hold in situations where corruption, lawlessness, human rights violations, and other forms of social and political violence are a part of everyday life within a society and its institutions. In these settings, interdiction must embrace not only law enforcement in the strict sense, but must also be extended to cover the legal and political dimensions of good governance.
- For correspondingly motivated groups, drug trafficking represents a source of funding that escapes public scrutiny. Parallel, informal and illegal financing activities (weapons procurement; illegal financing of armed conflicts;

support of non-legal groups; money laundering) can undermine the democratic machinery of entire societies. Many factors – linked to a globalised mafia, illegal markets and prices – are beyond the influence of development cooperation and drug control.

- In structurally weak countries, introducing the proceeds of drug trafficking into general circulation can temporarily alleviate internal economic crises, by stimulating additional demand for services. In the long run, however, this neither helps increase the volume of productive investment, nor does it help solve structural economic problems.
- Wherever cycles of poverty – violence – flight – migration – quest for survival are acute, economic systems can be neither integrated nor sustainable. In this context, drug crops are often a key element of smallholder families' survival strategy. The aim here must be to break the cycles which are destructive to human development, and not to criminalise those affected.
- A nominal reduction of drug crops alone does not mean any real reduction of the cultivation problem. Often the cultivation zones are merely displaced, dispersed and/or reduced in response to temporarily lower demand. Criteria for the success of anti-drug policies should be based more on qualitative parameters.
- Repressive measures against consumers and producers reduce neither the consumption nor the cultivation of drug crops in the long term. Yet their impacts do propel further the spiral of violence, poverty and migration, and raise prices on the illegal market, which in turn makes cultivation and trafficking attractive once again – until the point of surplus production is reached.
- Drug problems are neither local nor national problems: Responses therefore need to be elaborated within the scope of regional strategies, which at the same time incorporate economic and political framework agreements (access to markets, customs tariff preferences, trade agreements etc.).
- The three Andean countries where coca cultivation takes place are highly heterogeneous in terms of the nature and size of cultivation zones, socio-cultural, ethnic and economic structures, and legal and political frameworks for drug policy. Regional differences and specific characteristics must be taken into account explicitly in alternative development strategies.
- It is not possible to achieve rapid success in the face of a complex problem. Exerting pressure on alternative development projects to deliver immediate, tangible results is socially and economically counter-productive. Alternative development can, however, be initiated by pursuing a participatory, integrated and sustainable approach, which target groups perceive as a serious undertaking, and can identify paths towards quantifiable positive legal development.

## 2. RECOMMENDATIONS AND GUIDELINES

### 2.1 Alternative Development

If alternative development projects are to succeed, certain preconditions need to be met (see Chapter III. 2). The following guiding principles are derived from the experiences and recommendations of the "AIDA" alternative development research project:

- ❖ **Development-oriented approach:** The best results with alternative development programmes have been achieved where development objectives were to the fore. In this context the more promising approach has proved to be cooperation with grass-roots organisations already in place – where such organisations exist – as opposed to the establishment of new target-group organisations.
- ❖ **Participation:** It is absolutely essential to ensure that the target population, their own organisations and local institutions actively participate in the conception, formulation, implementation and evaluation of projects and programmes. Participation also calls for different approaches for different target groups, gender-oriented action, and a non-paternalistic attitude towards the target population.
- ❖ **Collective will:** The population must possess the collective will to cooperate. This cannot be imposed from outside, but can be promoted through transparency, dialogue, confidence-building, and co-determination for all target groups on an equal footing.
- ❖ **The principle of self-help:** Farmers, their representatives and local governments must demonstrate self-initiative, i.e. the will to help themselves.

- ❖ **Utilise existing potentials:** Alternative development does not seek to turn the life and production structures of the target population completely upside down, but to identify, motivate and strengthen constructive potentials (e.g. appropriate agricultural products, cropping methods, marketing strategies, organisational forms, forms of self-help etc.), and to rectify deficits (infrastructure, inappropriate economic activity, lack of training, natural resource management etc.).
- ❖ **Strengthen local markets:** Alternative development projects have often sought successful economic alternatives to drug crops in relatively high-priced (exotic) agricultural export products. Diminishing demand, and falling prices, disease infestation of crops with which the farmers were not familiar, capital-intensive production coupled with an absence of credit systems, have often led these experiments to run out of steam, at the expense of producers. Local production should therefore be adapted and improved in order to first of all secure the food and nutrition situation of the target population, local marketing structures (which are usually already in place) should be utilised and developed, and new regional and national markets should be accessed, before any export-oriented component is added-on – which for farmers would be more difficult to control and might be more risky. Traditional small-farmer logic seeks to diversify the range of products, spread risk, and maximise control over the nature and security of annual income. Alternative development activities can engage highly constructively with this approach.
- ❖ **Seek to stabilise socio-cultural structures:** Socio-cultural and psychological factors, in conjunction with families' and young people's plans for the future, with identity and culture, and with the development of life prospects, are closely linked both to the will to pursue long-term planning, and to the stability of a region – as well as to individuals' susceptibility to "turning a fast buck". These aspects therefore merit far greater attention than they have received hitherto. Key elements in achieving that will include infrastructures for education and training in situ, the recognition of ethnically and culturally diverse life models, security and respect for human rights, citizen participation as a matter of principle, and a strengthening of identification with the region. In this context, women will play a role of outstanding importance as agents of particularly sustainable and long-term development processes.
- ❖ **Consciously promote confidence-building:** In the minds of target populations, the term "alternative development" often has negative connotations of persuasion, hard-won compromise, repression, empty promises, patronisation etc. It is therefore especially important to break down existing hostile perceptions through transparency, genuine participation and mutual recognition. Unless a relationship of trust exists between target groups, partners in cooperation and the state, there will be no solid foundation for promising cooperation.
- ❖ **Non-conditionality:** Forced measures to reduce drug crops, or conditionalities attached to alternative development projects involving (voluntary) advance eradication, have not infrequently generated resistance from the main target groups from the outset. Such conditions are unfavourable for any development project. Ideally, reduction should be voluntary or, in the second-best case, should be market-induced, i.e. a response to falling prices or a change in demand. Interdiction and prevention – operationally separate from alternative development – have a contribution to make here.



*Alternative development means human development, with tomorrow in mind*



*An Amazonian scene in Peru: the conservation of species-rich biotopes is also an integral component of alternative development*

- ❖ **Promote integration:** The various groups living in many of the coca cultivation zones find themselves not only in an economically unstable and conflict-prone situation (as production is to some extent illicit), but are also socially stigmatised. The goal of AD projects must therefore also be to integrate these regions economically into national and/or international economic structures of a licit nature, on the one hand, and to support the target population in achieving equal status within society as active citizens, on the other. Aspects that will be of great benefit in realising this objective will include not only economic, but also politico-institutional relations of exchange, joint events, dialogue and co-determination at all levels of interaction with the state.
- ❖ **Exchange experiences:** A significant contribution towards improving alternative development strategies can be made by all the target groups, organisations, institutions and cooperation partners which operate in this domain documenting, evaluating and exchanging their experiences. Given that drug control is by no means a simple issue, a self-critical approach may at times be difficult for these actors to achieve, but will be extremely conducive to the development of improved strategies.

In order to achieve its overarching objective of sustainable human development, alternative development needs to embrace an approach that is both integrated and participatory. The success of the programmes and projects in question will always be dependent on people, however, since they involve development by the people, for the people. Conducive frameworks and appropriate strategies are essential prerequisites to the achievement of this end.

## 2.2 Prevention

Experiences gained in prevention projects are a new thing, and in many cases have yet to be evaluated with regard to their long-term impacts. However, first results tend to suggest that preventive projects are successful if and when they are non-specific, target-group-oriented, and address the drug abuse problem on an integrated basis. The following elements should be borne in mind in project implementation.

- ❖ **Develop existing potentials:** Substance abuse prevention projects always address existing problems such as drug consumption, violence, increased HIV/AIDS risk etc.. They are more successful when they build on and promote existing potentials, e.g. active youth and grass-roots initiatives, committed health personnel, concerned parents, existing NGO networks. Children and adolescents are not only a problem group, but are also at the same time the key resource in prevention.

- ❖ **Work with children:** Preventive education should begin early – in kindergartens, primary schools and children’s groups – and should be continued during the years of adolescence. Successful approaches are those in which adolescents serve as role models for the children, and take responsibility for the children’s leisure activities.
- ❖ **Peer to peer approaches and participation:** Children and youth are more likely to accept preventive messages when they themselves or their peers have been involved in formulating them. Young people do not want to be taught a lesson, but they do want to be accepted by their own peers. Prevention strategies should therefore take seriously the lifestyles, attitudes, value systems and perspectives of children and young people, as well as their anxieties and fears for the future. This can more easily be guaranteed when children and young people are involved in project planning and implementation on a continuous basis. At the same time, youngsters are also the best promoters when it comes to transferring preventive, health-promoting or life-affirming messages to their peers.
- ❖ **Life skills training:** Life skills are those capabilities which enable an individual to master his or her day-to-day life on a future-oriented and conflict-free basis. They nurture adaptability and a positive attitude to life. Life skills include: self-confidence, empathy, communicative ability, interpersonal skills, decision-making ability, problem-solving skills, creative thinking, and an ability to manage affective states and stress. Experiences from various projects demonstrate that life skills training for children and youth correlates very positively with substance abuse reduction.
- ❖ **Work with parents:** Substance abuse prevention projects are less successful when they do not involve parents in the project work. The situation within the home, which may include problems such as interpersonal violence, stress, alcohol or a lack of understanding, is often the cause of drug problems amongst young people.
- ❖ **Community and neighbourhood work:** Drug abuse prevention measures should be linked to the worlds in which children and youth live. Girls and boys who grow up in situations of poverty often cannot identify with their neighbourhood, and have accepted social marginalisation as their lot. Recreational and sports promotion activities enhance the status of a neighbourhood, and help raise the self-esteem of its inhabitants. Involving neighbourhoods and local grass-roots or health initiatives also supports preventive work.
- ❖ **Prevention work in schools:** Children and young people spend a great deal of their time at school. Preventive activities in schools can involve information transfer, awareness-raising and life skills training. Schools can support communication between school students and parents. School-based measures require special training for teaching staff.
- ❖ **Target-group differentiation:** Children and youth are not a homogeneous group, but are comprised of a large number of sub-groups which may be highly heterogeneous. It is essential to differentiate these sub-groups by age, gender, cultural preferences, social or religious affiliation, risk behaviour etc.. Preventive approaches should target specific sub-groups which already possess potentials for generating multiplier effects.
- ❖ **Work with specific target groups:** Primary prevention should not mean that secondary and tertiary prevention are forgotten. In developing countries in particular, there are a whole range of groups in risky life situations who are especially susceptible to drugs, and must be included in substance abuse prevention measures. These groups include children and youth who live or work on the streets, who have been displaced from their home region, who are in conflict with the legal system, who are willing to use violence or who are members of youth gangs, who have been abused, girls and boys who are HIV-positive, orphans, child and adolescent soldiers, and not least drug consumers and addicts themselves. Substance abuse prevention must respond to the particular needs of these groups with specific rehabilitation- and therapy-oriented approaches, e.g. offering one-on-one counselling and treatment inputs.
- ❖ **Train social workers:** In most developing countries there is a major shortage of qualified experts in youth and community work. Often there are no training courses available, and the social sector is covered by psychologists, sociologists, teachers or the medical profession. Consequently there is a large demand for training in preventive social work in general, and in social work for substance abuse prevention in particular.
- ❖ **Multisectoral approach and policy promotion:** Substance abuse prevention affects various sectors, especially health, education, youth and community work, employment promotion, as well as the work of the police and security forces. Only through a coordinated approach can the integrity of prevention activities be maintained and contrary actions by the public sectors be avoided. It is also important that political institutions and powerful decision-makers understand the social and economic necessity of prevention, and make available correspondingly larger appropriations for prevention and health-promotion measures.

- ❖ **Networking and exchange of experiences:** In Latin America, non-governmental organisations often operate mutually independently. Key experiences are not transferred, and mistakes are repeated. At the same time, mistrust of governmental institutions can lead to situations where lessons learned on the ground do not achieve sufficient impact on political decision-making processes. The effectivity of preventive measures is improved through coordination and cooperation between the participating actors, however.
- ❖ **Long-term monitoring:** Prevention requires patience. In this context, positive results are not immediately evident, and often take effect only years later. Consequently, M&E systems in substance abuse prevention projects should include not only continuous monitoring of project impacts, but should also incorporate provision for long-term monitoring.



## V. ABBREVIATIONS

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ACAT	Associação dos Centros de Assistência e Tratamento das Dependências Químicas do Distrito Federal, Brazil
AD	Alternative Development
ADE	GTZ Drugs and Development Programme
AIDIA	Proyecto Piloto de Asesoría e Investigación para el Desarrollo Integral Andino-Amazonico (Pilot Project Research for Integrated Development in the Andean-Amazonian Region)
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AVE	Audiovisuales Educativos, Bolivia
BMZ	Federal German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CEBRID	Centro Brasileiro de Informações sobre Drogas Psicotrópicas, Universidade Federal de São Paulo
CEDRO	Centro de Información y Educación para la Prevención del Abuso de Drogas (Centre for Information and Education to Prevent Drug Abuse, Peru)
CEPES	Centro Peruano de Estudios Sociales, Peru
CICAD	Comisión Interamericana para el Control del Abuso de Drogas (Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission)
CIJ	Centros de Integración Juvenil, Mexico
CINEP	Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (Centre for Public Research and Education, Colombia)
CND	United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs
CONACE	Consejo Nacional para el Control de Estupefacientes, Chile
CONADIC	Consejo Nacional contra las Adicciones, Mexico
CONALTID	Consejo Nacional contra el Tráfico Ilícito de Drogas, Bolivia
CONAPRE	Consejo Nacional de Prevención Integral del Uso Indebido de Drogas, Bolivia
CONFEN	Conselho Federal de Entorpecentes, Brazil
CONTRA-DROGAS	Comisión de Lucha Contra el Consumo de Drogas (Drug Control Commission of Peru)
COPRE	Consejo Departamental de Prevención Integral del Uso Indebido de Drogas, Bolivia
CORAH	Control y Reducción del Cultivo de Coca en el Alto Huallaga (US-Peruvian Programme to Control and Reduce Coca Cultivation in the Alto Huallaga Valley, Perú)
CORDEP	Proyecto de Desarrollo Regional de Cochabamba, project institution since 1995, Bolivia
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
DNE	Dirección Nacional de Estupefacientes, Colombia
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ELN	Ejército de la Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Army, Colombian guerrilla organisation)
ENACO	Empresa Nacional de la Coca (state coca monopoly, Peru)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)
FC	Financial Cooperation

FUNDASALVA	Fundación Antidrogas de El Salvador
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH
HCL	(Cocaine) hydrochloride
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IICA	Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INCSR	International Narcotics Control Strategy Report
INDICEP	Instituto de Investigación Cultural para la Educación Popular, Bolivia
KFW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
MRTA	Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (Peru)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAS	Organisation of American States
ODCCP	Office for International Drug Control and Crime Prevention
ONDCP	Office for National Drug Control
PAISA-JOVEN	Programa de Apoyo Institucional a los Jóvenes de Medellín, Colombia
PBC	Pasta Básica de Cocaína (first intermediate product in the manufacture of cocaine)
PLANTE	Programa Nacional de Desarrollo Alternativo (National Alternative Development Programme in Colombia)
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRODAB	Programa de Trabalho Conjunto para o Desenvolvimento dos Centros de Assistência e Tratamento das Dependências Químicas do Distrito Federal, Brazil
PRODES	Programa de Desarrollo/ Chapare – Yungas (Development Programme Chaparé – Yungas, Bolivia)
PROMUDEH	Ministerio de Promoción de la Mujer y del Desarrollo Humano, Peru
PROSANA	Programa de Seguridad Alimentaria Nutricional en las Provincias Arque, Bolívar, Tapaquarí, (Bolivia)
SEDRONAR	Secretaría de Programación para la Prevención de la Drogadicción y la Lucha contra el Narcotráfico, Argentina
SENAD	Secretaría Nacional Antidroga, Paraguay
SIDUC	Sistema Interamericano de Datos Uniformes sobre Consumo de Drogas (of the CICAD)
SURGIR	Corporación Colombiana para la Prevención del Alcoholismo y la Farmacodependencia
TC	Technical Cooperation
UNDCP	United Nations International Drug Control Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFDAC	United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (predecessor of UNDCP)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

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## VII. ANNEX: PROJECTS FOR ADDICTION AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE PREVENTION

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### **PAISAJOVEN – Medellín, Colombia**

#### **Project Data:**

Title:	Programme for Institutional and Social Support of Youth in Medellín (PAISAJOVEN)
Purpose:	To network public institutions, NGOs and the private sector in Medellín, thus creating conditions more conducive to integrated development, and improving opportunities for youth.
Target groups:	Youth and young adults of both sexes in the poor, peri-urban zones of Medellín, especially drug consumers and offenders.
Project institutions:	Municipal administration of Medellín, together with the not-for-profit organisation PAISAJOVEN
Duration:	1995 – 2005
BMZ contribution:	DM 10 million

#### **Background:**

Medellín is considered the most violent city on earth. In 1993 the murder rate there was 12 times higher than that in New York. In 1996, almost 4,700 people lost their lives as a result of murder, suicide or road traffic accidents – 2,500 of them as a result of murder alone. Although the number of violent deaths has since decreased, too many people are still dying from the consequences of violence. Almost half of them are under 25.

Violence in Medellín is closely linked to drug-related crime. This is where Pablo Escobar established the first major drug cartel in the 1970s and 1980s. He maintained a private army of hired assassins and murderers, the so-called *sicarios*. Since the drug mafia was smashed, violence has diminished, but only slowly. Thefts, assaults, kidnappings, rapes and murders are still daily occurrences in the city. Often violent youth gangs are involved, many of them former *sicarios*. This situation has been described as a “culture of violence” which is taking hold, on unemployed youth in particular. The youth unemployment rate is 23%. Around 45% of Medellín’s inhabitants are considered poor.

In the face of violence, unemployment and uncertain prospects, many young people give in to drugs. Between 1992 and 1996 the consumption of illicit drugs doubled, especially in the 12-to-17-year-old age group. Alcohol remains the drug most frequently consumed, however.

In 1990, as the drug war reached its peak and as particularly large numbers of young people were becoming both perpetrators and victims, governmental and non-governmental organisations began to formulate a massive response to the crisis. Initiative groups and hundreds of projects emerged, whose declared aim it was to restore peace in Medellín. Yet this major commitment also led to uncoordinated actionism and inefficiency. This is another reason why PAISAJOVEN, an institutionalised network of various social groups, was launched in 1994.

#### **Objectives:**

PAISAJOVEN comprises representatives of youth organisations, NGOs, neighbourhood and grass-roots groups, members of the municipal administration, the municipal council, the school authorities, vocational training institutions, universities, churches, and employers’ associations. They share the common objective of strengthening the development potentials and improving the life conditions of young people in Medellín in the various spheres of the family, school, the neighbourhood and the workplace. To this end an integrated approach has been developed based on active participation by the youth of the city, and incorporating measures to prevent addiction and substance abuse.

## **Key results:**

Many participants first had to become acquainted with the newly-introduced culture of participatory teamwork. Yet the first years of the project clearly demonstrated that coordinated youth work is absolutely essential to the long-term success of the measures. Vocational training and employment promotion components were jointly developed by the key actors of the municipality and the private sector. Several institutions have joined forces to support innovative addiction and substance abuse prevention projects both within schools and outside of them.

At the urban district or neighbourhood level, youth projects have been promoted in cooperation with representatives of the population that are designed to help involve young people more actively in the development of their own neighbourhood. Young people have been encouraged to appraise critically the facilities available in youth centres, develop proposals, and plan their activities themselves. Their experiences were summarised and made available to the youth organisations of Medellín as a proposal for (self-) evaluation of social processes. In Barrio Antioquia, an integrated neighbourhood development approach linking prevention with social and vocational integration, as well as leisure, sports and cultural activities, has been under implementation for some time. There, the annual number of deaths for instance has fallen from 180 to 30.

The not-for-profit association PAISAJOVEN has helped professionalise youth work. The member organisations receive support in connection with organisation development, management and M&E.

## **The prevention approach:**

In this project, prevention is understood very comprehensively, and to some extent is interpreted differently by the various member organisations. An overall aim is to strengthen young people's life skills within the family, the neighbourhood, at school and at work. When girls and boys have learned to manage conflicts every day, and to assume responsibility for themselves and others, then they are less likely to become dependent on others or resort to violence. Emphasis is placed on peer groups as key agents of positive socialisation. Leisure and sports activities are offered to young people as appealing incentives to keep fit for life. Strengthening youth organisations also helps young people gain self-confidence and integrate. There are also plans to selectively promote the development of protective factors in schools.

## ***La Tinta Distinta Magazine – Medellín, Colombia***

### **Project Data:**

Title:	Publishing a Magazine on the Prevention of Addiction and Substance Abuse in Medellín
Purpose:	Teachers and social workers are kept up-to-date on the effects of drug consumption, and enabled to sensitise secondary-school students accordingly
Target groups:	Girls and boys at 130 secondary schools in Medellín (indirect target group). The project is aimed in the first instance at teachers (direct target group), who are in close contact with young people, and especially with the risk group of 12- to 17-years-olds. Other target groups include youth group leaders, whom the project plans to train as multipliers.
Project institution:	SURGIR (Corporación Colombiana para la Prevención del Alcoholismo y la Farmacodependencia)
Duration:	1999 – 2000
Promotion:	DM 125,000 (financial contribution provided by ADE)

### **Background:**

In 1998, around 5.6% Colombians had tried cannabis, and 1.6% consumed cocaine. By the end of the century, the estimated figure of around 117,500 new consumers of illicit drugs in 1996 had doubled. Rates of consumption are highest in the urban agglomerations, including Medellín. Young women are particularly at risk.

The age at which individuals are most at risk of first trying drugs is 12 to 17. School curricula, however, make no provision for addressing the drug problem. As a result, teachers and social workers find few opportunities to keep themselves up-to-date on the scale of drug consumption and on strategies to prevent addiction and substance abuse. SURGIR has identified this gap, and has developed teaching aids for secondary-school teachers, supported by GTZ.

#### **Objectives:**

The project seeks to elaborate a communication strategy to prevent drug abuse amongst secondary-school students, and train teachers from 130 schools in Medellín. To these ends it publishes a magazine – *La Tinta Distinta* –, and conducts teacher training activities on addiction and substance abuse prevention. Through teaching aids, teachers are supplied with strategies, experiences and methods to prevent substance abuse which they then transfer to school students.

#### **Key results:**

The magazine *La Tinta Distinta*, which appears every two months, makes available information on instruments and methods to prevent addiction and substance abuse. Secondary-school teachers and selected teachers receive the magazine regularly. They also participate in training measures on the drug problem, and on addiction and substance abuse prevention, where they are able to exchange and build on their experiences. In this context, great importance is attached to incorporating the needs and interests of secondary-school students into the methods of addiction and substance abuse prevention.

#### **The prevention approach:**

Prevention here is understood in a specific sense as information transfer. The project aims to raise awareness of the drug problem amongst age groups at particularly high risk – many of them already occasional drug consumers. It aims to prevent regular drug abuse. To achieve this end it targets in the first instance teachers and social workers, who so far have been helpless in the face of rising drug consumption.

### ***Drug Abuse Prevention in Manzanilla II – Lima, Peru***

#### **Project data:**

Title:	Drug Abuse Prevention in Manzanilla II, Lima, Peru
Purpose:	The non-governmental organisation CEDRO will develop a long-term drug abuse prevention programme, based on the pilot experiences gained in the poor district of Manzanilla II.
Target groups:	Children and youth in Manzanilla II, and later also in other neighbouring districts of Lima
Project institution:	CEDRO (Centro de Información y Educación para la Prevención del Abuso de Drogas)
Duration:	1998 – 2001
BMZ contribution:	DM 1.4 million

#### **Background:**

Drug consumption is on the advance in Peru. At the same time, little experience is available in practical substance abuse prevention. Of the various strategies to prevent addiction and substance abuse, the neighbourhood-based, integrated approach is one of the most innovative. It is being tested in Manzanilla II.

Manzanilla II is a relatively centrally-located quarter of Lima, which grew up in the 1950s as a result of illegal land occupation. Thanks to their outstanding organisational and political capabilities, the inhabitants fought for and succeeded in obtaining legal status. They also implemented infrastructural measures, and erected permanent housing in accordance with new plans. The district's struggle for survival led them to neglect social problems, however.

Since the late 1980s, social issues have moved higher up the agenda. Children and youth are being seen as the main target group, since the future of the district is their future. Their physical proximity to the drug-dealing scene at the large vegetable market, and to the notorious Tacora black market, is a risk factor. Additional factors are social insecurity, unemployment, poor health care, and poor education and training, which affect children and youth most especially.

### **Objectives:**

Together with the inhabitants of Manzanilla II, and with GTZ support, CEDRO is developing a new, neighbourhood-based strategy for addiction and substance abuse prevention, which it plans to transfer to other districts of the city at a later date. Information and education activities on drugs are being combined with measures of health care, vocational training, out-of-school promotion, as well as sports and leisure activities, at the urban district level. High priority is attached to participation by youth, the organisation of youth groups, and the involvement of other organisations and institutions in the project work. The long-term aim is to reduce the number of drug consumers in and around Manzanilla II, in order to preserve the pleasant character of the neighbourhood. Manzanilla II does not wish to become a focus of social problems. The pilot experiences gained in Manzanilla II constitute an important basis for the inter-institutional programme of substance abuse prevention.

### **Key results:**

Although many preparations and activities had been ongoing since the mid-1990s, the project was not officially launched until February 1998. Many of its diverse activities now reach more than 2,500 children and youth in the district, i.e. around 18% of inhabitants. Staff of CEDRO and representatives of the district organisation are supporting the establishment of youth groups, the staging of sports and leisure events, and the placement of young people in appropriate vocational training centres. Improvement of the immediate neighbourhood also plays an important role. Together with young people, green zones and playgrounds are being created and responsible individuals are being appointed who must then ensure appropriate upkeep and maintenance of those facilities. With the support of residents' committees, a soccer field has been created where matches are played against youth groups from neighbouring districts. The project has initiated social change in Manzanilla II. More than 100 youth are now members of the newly-created youth network. Increasingly, they are implementing on their own initiative activities in the fields of culture, sports, health care and neighbourhood improvement. In this context, a conscious awareness of the drug consumption problem is a recurring and important theme.

The schools centre located close by is being integrated into the activities. Teachers receive training in drug abuse control. Communication between teachers and parents is being fostered. And parents too are being educated about the social causes of drug abuse and its effects on health.

The work of CEDRO is recognised and acknowledged by other institutions and organisations, and its lessons learned are in demand. An inter-institutional network on drug abuse and violence prevention, co-initiated by CEDRO and including amongst its members the municipality of Lima, the Ministry for Women and Human Development (PROMUDEH) which is responsible for youth, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education and various NGOs, is in the process of consolidating. Preparations are under way to transfer the approach to other city districts.

### **The prevention approach:**

Manzanilla II is an exemplary instance of the integrated approach to prevention. Although the project does include an information and education component, significantly higher priority is attached to youth promotion, life skills training, social awareness-raising and neighbourhood improvement.

## **Preventing Drug Consumption – El Salvador**

### **Project data:**

Title:	Preventing Drug Consumption in El Salvador
Purpose:	During the first phase, drug prevention measures were integrated into the work of selected primary health care units. The second phase plans to improve the risk behaviour of young people with respect to drug abuse.
Target groups:	The second phase of the project will focus on young people of both sexes aged between 10 and 19 years, in the catchment area of selected health care units in the Zona Oriente of San Salvador. Other individuals and groups reached by the health services are also planned to benefit from the measures.
Project institutions:	Ministry of Health MSPAS, with the implementing organisation FUNDASALVA (Fundación Antidrogas de El Salvador)
Duration:	1997 – 2002
BMZ contribution:	DM 3.5 million

### **Background:**

In El Salvador, the severe negative impacts of the civil war on the social, economic, political and cultural system of the country are perceptible to this day. It is estimated that half the population are under-employed or unemployed. Around 48% are living below the poverty threshold. Acts of violence are being committed at a very high rate. El Salvador's annual average of 90 violent deaths per 100,000 inhabitants is the highest in the world – higher even than in Colombia.

El Salvador has for years been a transit country for the international drug trade. Increasingly, however, an expanding local drug supply is being reported. Often, wholesale and street dealing is organised and carried out by young people, most of whom are drug consumers themselves, and are often involved with violent youth gangs (*maras*).

The young population, and especially male youths, are at extremely high risk of consuming drugs and perpetrating acts of violence. To date, however, there has been no broad-based prevention strategy.

### **Objectives:**

The project first of all established drug prevention measures (primary to tertiary prevention) in primary health care units, and implemented them in selected districts. The existing network of health care units was utilised, in order to establish an education and counselling system. There, prevention is linked to the therapy and rehabilitation of drug addicts. Parallel to that a country-wide media campaign against drug consumption was conducted. The project is now concentrating more on influencing youth risk behaviour, its overall goal being to help improve the health situation of young people in El Salvador.

### **Key results:**

The prevention programme is being implemented gradually, involving cooperation between FUNDASALVA and the Ministry of Health. The point of departure is training on addiction and substance abuse prevention for staff at the Ministry and in the health care units. Together with the municipality and with assistance from FUNDASALVA, youth-relevant studies have been conducted and, based on the results, specific projects have been planned and implemented in selected districts of the city. Young multipliers are being trained in the prevention of addiction and substance abuse, and in related themes such as violence prevention and sexual health, so they can train their peers in turn. At the same time, leisure and training events are being held to arouse young people's interest, and increase their participation in project activities.

Primary and secondary prevention is one key activity area of the project, therapy and rehabilitation another. In order to build a functioning system of care for drug addicts, surveys of existing facilities were conducted, cooperation agreements concluded, and a network of counselling and treatment centres established.

### **The prevention approach:**

The project is establishing a system of primary to tertiary prevention. In selected areas, young people are being provided with information, and their interest aroused through leisure activities. The health care units involved are also targeting children and young people who have already come into contact with drugs. Yet the real problem is their readiness to use violence. Drug and violence prevention are therefore inseparably linked. A further component is the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts. Finally, campaigns in the mass media complement prevention work by adding an information and education component targeting the general public.

### ***Drug Prevention Campaign – Cochabamba, Bolivia***

#### **Project data:**

Title:	Drug Prevention Campaign in the Department of Cochabamba, Bolivia
Purpose:	To train health service professionals, teachers, youth group leaders, and selected school students and youth in methods and instruments to prevent addiction and substance abuse; to implement information and education campaigns
Target groups:	The direct target group were the participants of the training measures (health services, teachers, youth group leaders, selected school students and youth). Through them, the project aimed to reach children and youth at risk from drugs.
Project institutions:	AVE (Audiovisuales Educativos) and INDICEP (Instituto de Investigación Cultural para la Educación Popular)
Duration:	1994 – 1997
Inputs:	DM 150,000 (AVE) and DM 264,000 (INDICEP) (financial contributions of ADE)

#### **Background:**

The department of Cochabamba is located in the centre of Bolivia, and has over 1.1 million inhabitants. It is one of the poorest departments. The region includes the coca-growing zone of Chaparé, where cultivation of the coca plant, manufacture of coca paste and cocaine, as well as drug trafficking and consumption, form a dense network of cause-and-effect. The capital of the same name – Cochabamba – is inhabited by 450,000 people.

During the early 1990s, drug consumption in Cochabamba increased sharply. Around one-fifth of 12-to-19-year-old school students had already tried drugs. 1% regularly consumed illicit drugs. Within the scope of the regional drug prevention programme, in place since 1991, it was therefore planned to support various drug abuse prevention initiatives, especially those targeting children and young people aged 10 to 25. However, in most cases the funds required were not available.

#### **Objectives:**

It was planned to provide health service professionals, teachers and youth group leaders with appropriate training, enabling them to respond to the consumption of licit and illicit drugs with the right measures. In addition, school students and youth who had already demonstrated their leadership qualities in other fields were to be trained in methods and instruments to prevent addiction and substance abuse. It was intended that they should network with peers at a later age, and thus help directly prevent drug abuse themselves. Information and education campaigns were also planned to sensitise the general public to the drug problem.

#### **Key results:**

INDICEP held training seminars for health professionals from various institutions. In a number of hospitals and health care units, the training materials have since become standard. The materials are also being used in schools or at village assemblies to address the theme of drug consumption – which in these cases usually means alcohol or coca paste abuse – and to discuss possible means of prevention.

AVE trained teachers at 25 schools. Their training covered information on drug consumption and the consequences of drug abuse, and practical measures to prevent addiction and substance abuse. The teachers also appointed school students who appeared particularly suitable to also participate in the training, and act as multipliers of the addiction and substance abuse prevention strategy. INDICEP also works with young people with leadership skills. The selected school students and young people are now acting as multipliers of the drug prevention idea amongst their peers.

The campaign to prevent addiction and substance abuse was considered a resounding success. Stickers were attached to 20,000 buses in the city of Cochabamba calling on people to join the fight against drugs. Small leaflets on the drug problem and INDICEP were attached to the tickets purchased by a total of 3.6 million passengers. INDICEP's public profile shot up, and the drug hotline offering information on prevention and rehabilitation was sometimes ringing non-stop.

#### **The prevention approach:**

The project saw training and information as the core elements of prevention. Through information and education on the impacts of drug consumption, it aimed to prevent the spread of drug abuse, and the damage to the national economy which that would entail.

### **Care of Addicts Programme – Brasilia, Brazil**

#### **Project Data:**

Title:	Promoting the Care of Addicts in Brasilia
Objective:	To promote cooperation between governmental agencies and independent, not-for-profit institutions for the care of addicts in Brasilia, and to improve the quality of therapy and rehabilitation for drug addicts
Target groups:	The direct target group were Brazilian professionals working in the drug rehabilitation sector; the indirect target group were drug addicts.
Project institution:	PRODAB (Programa de Trabalho Conjunto para o Desenvolvimento dos Centros de Assistência e Tratamento das Dependências Químicas do Distrito Federal)
Duration:	1995 – 1997
Inputs:	DM 100,000 contributed by ADE

#### **Background:**

The illicit drug trade in Brazil has gained a significant position within the economy and society. In some areas, organised drug dealers form a kind of parastatal apparatus that guarantees apparently stable social conditions. The price to be paid is oppression, accommodation and violence.

The capital Brasilia, together with its satellites in the Distrito Federal, is home to around 1.7 million people. Many of them live in extremely cramped conditions, and below the poverty level, in the *favelas* located in the peri-urban belts. Alcohol, marijuana, coca paste and sniffed substances are a part of everyday life.

When the project was planned there were no precise figures available on drug abuse and the number of addicts. Experts estimated that around 16% of the inhabitants of Brasilia were alcoholic, 17% regularly smoked marijuana, and 3% injected cocaine (diluted with alcohol). Around a quarter of primary school children regularly sniffed solvents. Provision for the care of addicts, i.e. counselling, therapy and rehabilitation, was limited, however. Care facilities were struggling with scarce resources, which was often compensated by a higher degree of personal commitment on the part of staff, but left little time for them to participate in further training and to professionalise their skills.

**Objectives:**

The project aimed to intensify exchange between German and Brazilian experts in the care of addicts, to improve the rehabilitation and reintegration of drug addicts in Brasilia, and to guarantee further training for professionals. A further aim was to promote cooperation on the ground between governmental agencies, and independent, not-for-profit institutions for the care of addicts. A significant knock-on effect anticipated was the further strategic development of a regional system for the care of addicts.

**Key results:**

PRODAB promoted a total of 9 different projects, as well as the establishment of a government commission to improve the care of addicts in the Distrito Federal.

The association for the care of addicts in Brasilia's Distrito Federal (ACAT) for instance set-up a telephone hotline for drug addicts. Professional staff received further training, enabling them to better respond to the problems experienced by the drug addicts and members of their families. Studies were conducted on drug consumption in Brasilia.

In cooperation with the Foundation for Social Development and ACAT, the social secretariat improved the registration system for drug addicts. The Institute for Psychology of the University of Brasilia was supported in the establishment of a detoxification ward for alcoholics and drug addicts at the university clinic. Fazenda Senhor Jesus de Brasilia therapeutic community improved the provision of supervised accommodation for former addicts. At the Clinica do Renascer, female addicts and their children were given places on therapeutic schemes. The Comunidade Terapeutica Reviver accepted female and male drug addicts who were HIV positive.

The project also supported new approaches to the rehabilitation of drug-addicted street children. In a former circus arena, the homeless children and youth received day care which included psychological and medical inputs. The facility was attended by around a hundred children every day. Girls in particular were then offered overnight accommodation, so that they need not resort to prostitution. The children and youth, most of whom were addicted to sniffed substances, were also offered therapy.

**The prevention approach:**

The care of addicts programme pursued an approach based on secondary and tertiary prevention. This involves the therapy and rehabilitation of drug addicts, the promotion of family bonds, and support and counselling for family members. A further dimension involved harm reduction – preventing HIV positive patients from transmitting the virus to friends and acquaintances (by encouraging the use of clean needles and safer sex). In this sense the project also included an AIDS prevention component.



## **Control of AIDS and Drug Consumption through Systemic Health Promotion – English-speaking Caribbean**

### **Cooperation data:**

Title:	Advisory Inputs to a TC Project for AIDS Control in the English-speaking Caribbean (focusing on Trinidad and Tobago; a total of 19 island states, as well as Guyana and Suriname)
Purpose:	To reduce the spread of HIV infections and other STDs in CAREC (Caribbean Epidemiology Centre) member states by reducing sexual risk behaviour amongst young people in the context of drug consumption
Target groups:	Youth representatives, health professionals, youth workers, teachers, reference individuals within the family and the community, NGOs, governmental decision-makers in ministries for health, education and youth promotion, international development organisations
Partner institutions:	CAREC, TC project AIDS Control in the English-speaking Caribbean, Family Planning Association, National AIDS Programme (NAP), National Alcohol and Drug Abuse Prevention Programme (NADAP), and the Tobago House of Assembly (THA)
Duration:	October 2000 to May 2003
Inputs:	Advisory services, training and moderation

### **Background:**

After sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean countries are the region second-worst-hit in the world by the AIDS pandemic (HIV seroprevalence amongst the adult population approx. 2.3% in 2000; 160 registered AIDS cases per 100,000 inhabitants in 1982-1997). Infection usually occurs during adolescence.

General economic conditions such as high unemployment, poverty, lack of prospects, migration, tourism and socio-cultural factors such as crack-cocaine consumption, unstable family structures, conflicting gender roles and behavioural norms (*machismo*) are conducive not only to the spread of HIV/AIDS, but also to increasing violence, addiction and risk behaviour in general amongst young people.

Since late 1995, German Technical Cooperation has been supporting the Caribbean Epidemiology Centre (CAREC) of the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), which operates in 19 English-speaking and 2 Dutch-speaking Caribbean states, countries with a total of 6.5 million inhabitants. CAREC is mandated to advise and support member states in the planning, implementation and steering of their national programmes to prevent and control sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), including HIV/AIDS.

GTZ's Drugs and Development Programme (ADE) is supporting the TC programme through advisory inputs to the management teams, through moderation of communication, decision-making and cooperation processes at the national and later at the regional level, and through training of project personnel and partner institutions.

### **Objectives:**

ADE is thus helping reduce the spread of HIV infections and other STDs in CAREC member states by reducing sexual risk behaviour amongst young people in the context of drug consumption. In the long term, the project also aims to support the development and preparation of a regional programmatic approach for integrated youth health in the Caribbean region.

### **Key results envisaged:**

The active involvement of young people in the participatory planning and implementation of an integrated youth health project in Tobago is designed to promote more responsible and aware sexual behaviour, especially in the context of addiction and drug abuse amongst young risk groups.

Changes in behavioural norms and gender roles can only be brought about in the long term and by trained reference persons acting consciously to that end. Capacity building and training of partner organisations, project personnel and multipliers focus on: experience-oriented, community-based youth work involving peer-to-peer and outreach approaches, and health promotion in settings such as healthy schools, youth centres etc..

Despite the geographical, economic and cultural diversity of the region, only an integrated, regional youth health policy can offer alternatives to the explosive mix of problems faced by sustainable human development, such as youth violence, addiction and drug abuse, sexual risk behaviour amongst the young, and high risk of HIV/AIDS infection. This is why the project seeks to help harmonise national and regional youth health promotion with HIV/AIDS control measures, as well as drug and alcohol control programmes, within a multisectoral network involving other actors of international and regional development cooperation in the Caribbean (UNAIDS, UNDCP, PAHO, CAREC), as well as local non-governmental organisations and self-help initiatives.

#### **The prevention approach:**

As well as raising general public awareness on drug-related issues, the non-substance-based prevention approach aims to strengthen the potentials of young risk groups (an ability to face conflict, a sense of purposefulness and an ability to build relationships). Based on the systemic approach to health promotion, the project aims to improve micro-frameworks for health in schools, the community and the family. At the macro-level, inter-sectoral strategies are being developed and alliances organised, with a view to integrating addiction and substance abuse prevention into a general health promotion policy oriented towards the needs of youth.

### ***Promoting Integrated Youth Health, Paraguay***

#### **Project data:**

Title:	Advisory Services to a TC Project Promoting Integrated Youth Health
Purpose:	To integrate addiction and substance abuse prevention into health promotion measures involving young people
Target groups:	Young people at risk of addiction, and public and private actors involved in promoting young people's health
Project institutions:	Ministerio de Salud Pública y Bienestar Social (MSPyBS) in cooperation with the non-governmental organisation TESAIRA
Duration:	October 2000 onwards
Inputs:	Financing of materials and continuous provision of advisory services

#### **Background:**

In Paraguay around 22 % of the population (almost one million) are aged between 10 and 19. The situation of most of these young people is characterised by poor educational opportunities, lack of access to formal employment, a housing shortage, urban migration and the disintegration of traditional family and social structures. There is a lack of proper information concerning sexuality, contraception and the prevention of infections, as well as lack of access to appropriate services delivered by the health and social sectors. To date, the public health services have not treated young people as a target group in their own right, with specific needs. The consequences of this include a high incidence of unwanted pregnancies and illegal abortions. Fatalities resulting from illegal terminations represent 28% of maternal mortality. Sexual risk behaviour and violence are closely linked to drug and alcohol consumption. Young people in particular are increasingly falling prey to drug abuse.

#### **Objectives:**

The cooperation with TESAIRA accords top priority to promoting healthy lifestyles for young people as alternatives to (sexual) risk behaviour. In this connection, the TC project and its partners are being supported in integrating unspecific addiction prevention at all levels of intervention.

### Key results envisaged:

ADE is promoting a diversification of policy responses to the national drug problem and its impacts in the region. To establish a balance in favour of development-oriented and preventive approaches, TESAIRA – with support from ADE – has produced a poster, information materials and videos for use as an introduction to the theme when working with young people, and a presentation on the focal areas of prevention and substance abuse in German TC.

A further aim of the project is to ensure that, by providing process-oriented and continuous professional advisory services, addiction and substance abuse is then given due emphasis in TESAIRA's measures to promote healthy lifestyles in practical youth work.

### The prevention approach:

Underlying the prevention of addiction and substance abuse amongst young people is a basic understanding of (substance-based) addiction and dependency as a constraint to development, in response to which a broader range of measures are required to tackle not only illicit drugs, but also alcohol, synthetic drugs and tobacco. The life skills approach helps equip young people to deal more responsibly with health risks.

## **SEX-RAR Study – Argentina**

### Project data:

Title:	Promotion of a Qualitative Study on Cocaine Inhalation and Sexual Risk Behaviour in Argentina, and Corresponding Public Health Interventions
Purpose:	The SEX-RAR study makes a contribution towards implementation of a realistic and pragmatic AIDS and drug policy in Argentina that is geared to the principles of prevention and harm reduction.
Target groups:	Young people of both sexes at particular risk of drug abuse and HIV infection
Partner institutions:	National AIDS Programme, LUSIDA project (World Bank, and Ministry of Health of the Argentine Republic), PAHO and UNAIDS offices Argentina, NGO Intercambios and TC project AIDS control
Duration:	1999 – 2001
Inputs:	DM 50,000 funded by ADE (total costs amounting to US\$ 113,000)

### Background:

AIDS and the drug problem are closely linked in Argentina. The estimated prevalence of HIV here is 150,000, the cumulative number of AIDS patients being approximately 20,000. Whilst 40% of AIDS cases are attributable to drug consumption (shared needles and syringes), 47% are ascribed to sexual transmission, with a rising number of heterosexual transmissions, and thus an increasing proportion of women amongst AIDS patients. Since 1985, the ratio of men to women has fallen from 18:1 to 2.7:1. Parallel to the HIV problem, drug consumption amongst young people of both sexes is on the increase. The drugs consumed include cocaine, amphetamines, marijuana, ecstasy and alcohol, even though the consumption of illicit drugs is a criminal offence in Argentina. Cocaine, which is relatively easily available, is considered more significant in this context, as it is assumed that cocaine (unlike heroin) leads to increased sexual activity, and an increase in unprotected sexual intercourse.

The SEX-RAR study is being conducted in accordance with a method developed by WHO and UNAIDS. Based on contacts maintained in city districts by the NGO *Intercambios*, a snowball system is used here in which 100 regular (female and male) cocaine consumers are identified, and interviewed on an anonymous basis concerning their drug and sexual behaviour. Also interviewed are 100 sexual partners of consumers. Work continues with selected consumers in focus groups, and in-depth one-on-one interviews. Public health interventions are a component of the project.

In cooperation with the participating national and international institutions, and on behalf of the UNAIDS thematic group, of which GTZ is a member, a protocol was prepared for a study of the link between cocaine inhalation and sexual risk behaviour in Greater Buenos Aires. The protocol is based on the *Rapid Assessment and Response Guide on Substance Use and Sexual Risk Behaviour (SEX-RAR)* published in 1998 by the WHO (WHO/PSA) and UNAIDS drug programme, which contains both a qualitative analysis of community-based interventions (prevention of drug consumption and risk behaviour, and harm reduction), and instruments for monitoring and impact analysis.

All activities of the study are being conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Council for International Organizations of Medical Sciences (CIOMS) and, following written approval of the protocol, monitored by the ethics committee of UNAIDS Geneva.

#### **Objectives:**

The aim of the study is to investigate the relationship between cocaine inhalation (nasal inhalation being the most widespread form of application), and sexual risk behaviour (unprotected anal, vaginal and/or oral sex).

#### **Key results anticipated:**

All participants receive counselling on safer sex and harm reduction, an offer of free HIV, hepatitis B and hepatitis C testing, plus post-test counselling concerning further preventive and therapeutic offerings.

In the second part of the study, launched at the same time, safer sex and harm reduction activities are being strengthened by streetworkers (*operadores barriales*). Key emphasis is placed on the use of condoms, and themes of vulnerability, gender, alcohol etc. are addressed.

The study is being supported by in-process monitoring, i.e. monitoring of process, output and impact. Its results will be presented and discussed at the city district, working and political levels, and finally published.

#### **The prevention approach:**

Strengthening of the safer sex and harm reduction approaches, especially through streetwork with young people at the city district level.







## CONTACT

### Drugs and Development Programme (ADE)

Project Coordinator: Christoph Berg  
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH  
Division 4500, Rural Development  
Division 4300, Health, Education, Nutrition and Emergency Aid

Dag-Hammarskjöld-Weg 1-5  
Postfach 5180  
D-65726 Eschborn  
Germany

Tel.: +49 (6196) 79-1461  
E-Mail: [christoph.berg@gtz.de](mailto:christoph.berg@gtz.de)  
Homepage: <http://www.gtz.de/drogen>