Alternative Development:

The market solution to the global supply of illicit drugs in Colombia



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127,392 Characters

**Abstract**

This paper looks at how Alternative Development has become the main policy approach in reducing the supply of global illicit drugs. This is the process by which coca farmers are encouraged to switch alternative and licit crops such as coffee and cacao. The paper moves on, to analyse how effective these projects are reducing the supply of licit drugs and improving the lives of the farmers and their communities. This is done by looking at how much drug production has been reduced and how resistant these projects can be in the long term, taking what is known as the balloon effect into consideration. It goes further by examining other local initiatives which have the potential to also reduce poverty and dependency on the cultivation of illicit drugs. It goes on to see how the initiatives such as food sovereignty can be integrated into the export driven economy of Colombia. It considers the impact of the ongoing peace talks, which may include land reform and rural development. It concludes that a hybrid model of development based on encourages adding value to produce is the most sustainable livelihood option for rural farmers in Colombia.

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# Abbreviations List

AD Alternative Development

CND Commission for Narcotic Drugs

CTPA United States-Colombia Free Trade Agreement

DEA Drug Enforcement Agency

DTO Drug Trafficking Organisation

EURAD Europe Against Drugs

FARC-EP Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army)

FNC National Federation of Coffee Growers of Colombia

FWP Forest-Warden Families Programme

GIZ Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German federal enterprise for international cooperation)

ICA International Coffee Agreement

IDP Internally Displaced Person

INCB International Narcotics Control Board

ONDCP Office of Nation Drug Control Policy

PCIM Plan de Consolidación Integral de la Macarena

PNCRT Unidad Administrativa de Consolidación Territorial (National Plan on Territorial Consolidation)

PNDA Plan Nacional de Desarrollo Alternativo (National Plan of Alternative Development)

PPP Productive Projects Programme (Programa Proyectos Productivos)

UACT Unidad Administrativa para consolidacion territorial (Administrative Unit for Territorial Consolidation)

UNDCP United Nations Drug Control Programmes

UNGASS United Nations General Assembly Special Session

UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

# Introduction

It has become very clear in recent years that the “War on Drugs” strategy has failed in Colombia and elsewhere in the world. The military lead strategy in Colombia and in other parts of the world has caused thousands of deaths, human rights abuses and cost billions of dollars. Despite this the supply of drugs into the US and other major illicit drug consuming countries has not significantly decreased. It has taken a long time, but finally some other options are now being implemented. In regards to the supply and production of plant based illicit drugs such as Cocaine and Heroin, a policy approach known as Alternative Development is being applied. This approach is aimed at focusing on creating an infrastructure in which *campesinos,* peasant farmers, have the opportunity to participate in the licit economy on an economically sustainable basis.

Alternative Development has existed within the drug policy field for a number of years; however, it is only in recent times that it has been employed on wide scale. This is largely because it takes many years in order for projects to be able to become sustainable which takes a considerable amount of political will and financial commitment which has not been present until recently. Even in situations where it has been successful, drug production has merely been shifted into other regions and countries and the global supply remains the same, this process is known as the balloon effect.

Alternative Development is promoted largely by the international community as the solution to the supply of illicit drugs and the approach is employed through the UNODC. It has been put forward as a major issue at recent international discussions on drug policy and it will be one of the main areas to be agreed upon at the UNGASS 2016 meeting on illicit drugs. The past successes are very much based on linking farmers to international markets and as such ignoring more localised options. There is a focus on integrating farming communities into more levels of the value chain in order to achieve economic sustainability. However, the global price of Colombian staple products such as Bananas and Coffee has historically been volatile causing farmers to return to the drug cultivation. To address this, farmers are encouraged to market and sell goods through the Fair-trade movement to keep prices up. However, the evidence for the effectiveness of fair-trade is questionable. Additionally a large amount of land is now being used to produce biofuels, particularly palm oil, for export. This puts pressure on existing agricultural production and the availability of land.

There is, therefore, an opportunity for grassroots movements to play a bigger role in the removal of the illicit drug trade as well as to create a more sustainable food system and eco-system based more on the principles of food sovereignty and autonomy. This is an important point for countries such as Colombia where approximately 12.6 % of the population is reportedly undernourished (food security portal, 2011-2012). This is a potential solution which puts the Campesinos at the centre of the solution to the drug problem in Colombia rather than the problem. In this sense Campesinos in Colombia have been put at the centre of the problem in the “War on Communism”, “The War on Drugs” and the “War on Terror”. All of which, has perpetuated a state violence, instability and poverty which means that the need for a new strategy is particularly pertinent in Colombia. As a result, they have now been put at the centre of the “War on Poverty”. This appears to be a continuation of the construct, by countries with a high level of illicit drug consumption, that the “Drug problem” is an existential threat that needs to be confronted in drug producing countries.

The *campesinos* have often been caught in the centre of the violence and the drug trade which has forced them to live isolated and impoverished lives. They are left with little choice but to cultivate illicit drugs despite the fact that they make very little money from the trade and are exposed to violence and intimidation from DTOs and armed insurgent groups. This situation has also led to Colombia having one of the highest numbers of IDPs in the world with over 6 million people affected (UNHCR, 2015). Added to this, Colombia has one of the highest levels of unequal land distribution with 52 % of rural poverty owned by just 1.5% of the population (Rampietti, 2012). These are the most key issues for full scale alternative development to be successful and for the peaceful resolution to one of the longest running civil wars in the world.

This paper looks to address the issue of Alternative Development in Colombia by first looking at its role within the international drug control regime and how effective it has been and can be as a method to reduce the supply of illicit drugs. This is done by analysing the construct of the “War on Drugs” and how the focus of global drug policy is still on reducing supply rather than demand. The paper then goes further to critique the top-down development approach used and the focus on exports for international markets. It looks at the potential alternatives such as food sovereignty and food autonomy. It then goes onto look at the role of the ongoing peace talks on the future of drug policy and development in Colombia. It finishes by considering how a hybrid of the food sovereignty principles and international trade can be found and a realistic agreement can be made.

# Problem Formulation

It is very apparent that a change in policy from the international drug control regime is required and a more agrarian based approach on the supply side is clearly an important element. This is particularly the case in Colombia which has suffered from the “War on Drugs” more than anyone else. A more nuanced and integrated approach is now being implemented in comparison to the basic and unsubstantial crop substitution that was part of Plan Colombia. This involves engaging farmers higher up the value chain to increase revenues and developing rural infrastructure. From this perspective a more than appropriate problem formulation is:

**Alternative Development has become the main policy tool for reducing the supply for illicit drugs in Colombia. In its current manifestation, is it the most effective solution?**

This can then be broken down into a number of research questions from which the problem can be analysed in more depth.

1. How has the framing of global drug policy changed to become more development focused?
2. What has been the impact of Alternative Development on the supply of illicit drugs?
3. To what extent are more localised initiatives involved?
4. How has the conflict impacted and continuing to impact on the success of Alternative development in Colombia?

These issues are linked together by taking into account the wider considerations of the solutions and problems of the supply of illicit drugs to the globalised economy.

# Literature Review

This chapter is a discussion of the existing literature related to Alternative Development and international drugs policy that can impact my research. It is intended to provide a brief overview of the prevailing academic debates on international drug policy as well as to show the gaps in the existing literature.

With regards to global drug policy most literature is focused on critiquing the “War on Drugs” as a failure as due to the overly harsh measures used, the human rights abuses and the increasing consumption of illicit drugs. The main literature on the subject of Alternative development in Colombia is very outdated and focuses on critiquing the approach undertaken in Plan Colombia and crop substitution. Alternative Development strategies have developed since then and there is a need to update the academic discussion on the issue. This is particularly important as Alternative Development is set to become a one of the main topics at the UNGASS 2016, where the future of global drug policy will be set forth.

There is also an alarming lack of input from the international development field as a whole, with the exception of GIZ who played an active role in the removal of opium production in Thailand. Other agencies, institutions and NGOs have shied away from the debate (Buxton 2015). This perhaps because the international development community has to face a great many challenges and drug policy can never be a priority. As is discussed later, there may be some confusion about what is meant by alternative development. However this is beginning to change as development professionals on drug policy can cut across a number of issues which they face regularly including corruption, conflict, human rights and poverty (telephone conversation with Daniel Brombacher of GIZ, 21/04/2015).

Additionally there appears to now be an agreed general consensus on how Alternative Development projects should be carried out with the focus being on developing the “value chain” and relying on sales to international markets. There appears to be less focus and success on developing local initiatives and local supply of food and resources with core grassroots or bottom-up involvement. This is important for communities because of inconsistencies in the international market. It is also particularly important for this area to be reviewed as more localised agricultural systems are being proposed by the FARC as part of the peace process and as much may become a reality. There is, therefore, a gap in the existing literature on drug policy and Alternative Development which this paper aims to fill by looking further at what other options *campesinos* have to growing coca.

# Methodology

## Ontology and epistemology considerations

The thesis departs from an interpretivist and relativist considerations to create constructivist paradigm for analysis. Where it is assumed that reality is constructed intersubjectively through the meanings and understandings developed socially (Cohen, Crabtree, 2006). This is aimed to understand the social processes of Colombia in more depth than could be found in a more quantitative way. This is because it allows for greater consideration of the complex contextual factors that surround the issue of drug cultivation in Colombia. It further allows deeper analysis and interpretation of motives and values of the social actors involved. To this end more in-depth interviews with social actors have been examined and can be seen in the appendix.

According to the constructivist and Interpretivist point of view social phenomena are socially constructed and as this paper is limited to Colombia it should be noted the conclusions of this paper may not be completely applicable elsewhere.

## Choice of Subject

The subject area was chosen based on previous research and work experience I carried out as an intern at EURAD (Europe Against Drugs). I produced a policy paper for them on the subject which was the basis for a presentation on the subject at the recent UN CND Meeting. This provided the basis of my knowledge on AD and Global drug policy. This initial research led me to believing that the topic needed to be explored further with particular focus on the neoliberal approach based on international markets and the effects on local communities.

## Case Selection

Colombia has been chosen as the case for this paper as it has been at the epicentre of the “War on Drugs”. For a long time Colombia was the largest producer of coca and cocaine and the main part of US counterinsurgency efforts. This provides fertile ground for analysis at different levels, from the international level of global drug policy through the national level of the approach by the Colombian government and to the local by looking at the realities faced by farmers and rural communities.

Furthermore, it has had one of the longest running civil wars’ which has highlighted the inequality and social tensions in a society. This makes Colombia an ideal case to highlight the problem of illicit drug supply in the context of social divisions in society as well as the resistance to global market forces.

It is now at the forefront of a more peaceful de-securitisation process through the peace talks and a shift in approach to dealing with drugs. This process is worthy of analysis within the aforementioned context. This is because an intensive examination of the Colombian case can be provided where a lot of data is collected and analysed from a strong theoretical base.

## Sources

As previously mentioned in the literature review, plenty has been written about the failed “War on Drugs” and Plan Colombia. There was also a great deal of literature I could access on Alternative Development projects from the UNODC and from independent bodies and consultants. I was able to gather a very objective view on the how these projects were planned and how successful they have been. Furthermore, there was a great deal of literature on food sovereignty and its implications that was available and was highly useful.

The data collection I carried out was through sending out e-mails with open ended questions for stakeholders involved in Alternative Development projects. I was able to obtain a list of farming cooperatives involved in projects from the UNODC office in Colombia and set about contacting them first. I used Open ended questions as it is the method that is most appropriate within the Interpretivist approach that was available to me. It was also optimal for me in order to collect people’s perspectives and experiences so I could analyse and explain the relationships and variations. I was able to obtain a lot of valuable data this way and the leaders of the farming cooperatives who responded to me provided some highly insightful information.

There were, however, some drawbacks to this approach as not all people responded. This included members of the UNODC, some of the cooperatives and some social movements involved in food sovereignty campaigning. It became apparent that a number of the farming cooperative’s, I had tried to contact, were no longer in existence and could not be contacted. This was disappointing as I believe that the answers that they would have provided would have been highly use as understanding why they were no longer working or had possibly failed would have been very useful.

I was also fortunate in being able to contact the FARC-EP peace delegation and gain some insight into how they wished to implement food sovereignty in peace talks. To avoid bias I was able to get a response from some of members of the government bodies involved in Alternative Development and this provided a more balanced perspective of the process.

To analyse the securitisation and de-securitisation of drug policy I searched for second-hand data speeches interviews and comments from World Leaders on the issue. I looked at how the language used had changed from the beginning of the “War on Drugs” up until now and how or if Alternative Development had become a larger part of that. With the recent CND talks and the upcoming UNGASS process on drug policy coming up in 2016 there have been a lot of talks on the subject and meant that were was a lot to analyse. I was fortunate in that Juan Manuel Santos has been a high profile speaker on the subject and was very useful and interesting to analyse.

For official statistics the UNODC data was the most reliable accessible particularly in relation to coca cultivation. Statistics were also taken from a number of other UN agencies as they appeared to be the most accessible and reliable sources. A lot of information was also taken from mainstream media. This was necessary as the peace talks are an ongoing process and changes have happened throughout the course of this paper being written. I, of course, recognized that in comparison to academic texts these sources are far less objective. However, they do convey a lot of contemporary data and views on the subject matter. I tried to use as Colombian news media outlets in order to gain as much insight from the country as possible. Newspapers, magazines and non-academic books are intended for general sale and for this reason they often make slightly sensationalist claims and have a biased agenda in order to gain attention and boost sales. This is opposed to academic journals which are peer reviewed and they often contain original research.

When finding sources for the chapter on theory I thought it was appropriate to focus on a few key authors to provide a clear understanding of the theoretical framework. When it came to defining the key concepts and theories this proved very useful in clarifying my interpretation and how they would be used in the analysis.

## Choice of theory

Constructivism was chosen as the basis for the theoretical framework as it allowed me to critically analyse both the ideas and thought processes behind the policies and discourse of the “War on Drugs”. It was particularly useful in enabling me to deconstruct the way that the US and other major drug consumer states have used the construct of the “War on Drugs” to externalise the issue and place the problem in the supplier states.

It is important to emphasise that constructivism is used a framework for the project and not a complete theory. This is because there is no causal explanation in constructivism and this stops it from being a complete theory. This is explained in more detail in the theory chapter. The use of it as a framework provides enough flexibility to then incorporate other concepts such as regimes, securitisation and development. Alexander Wendt was chosen for his definition of constructivism as he is considered to be the “father of constructivism” and as such provided me with the clearest and most accurate definition for my theoretical framework.

Within the framework of constructivism I focused first on the construction of international regimes and used Stephen Krasner for this and specifically Krasner’s book, *International regimes*, from 1983. This was because it allowed me to analyse the construction of the international drug control regime and the corporate food regime. I was further able to look at how the regimes interacted in the context of the effects they have had on farmers in Colombia.

I followed this up by looking at issues of securitisation and de-securitisation provided by the Copenhagen School. *Security: A Framework for Analysis*, the seminal work by Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap De Wilde was the basis for my definition of securitisation and de-securitisation. The concept of securitisation allowed me to critically assess the way that the issue of illicit drugs being described as vulnerability was through a security act and turned into an existential threat. I was, therefore, able to then look the de-securitisation of drug policy discourse and the ways in whether it was followed up with action.

I then moved onto the second part of my theoretical discussion on postdevelopment. This was linked to constructivism as it starts from the same interpretivist ontological and epistemological starting point. Post Development was used to deconstruct the traditional view of development and provided a valuable way to critique the economic and materialistic focus of development. In this context I was able to critique the focus on international trade, the value chain approach and the fair trade model. Moreover, I was able to look at the alternatives to development and analyse potential solutions such as food sovereignty and autonomy and how they are promoted by grass roots social movements. I focused on the work of Arturo Escobar as is he one of the most prominent post-development thinkers. He is also from Colombia and a number of his writings are based on his personal experiences there and therefore appear to be very appropriate for this paper.

## Method of analysis

Before the main section of the analysis begins a chapter on history and context is provided. This section puts into analysis of the paper into context in terms of the history of Colombia, the history of drug policy and alternative development. This is an important and necessary chapter as it provides a lot of descriptive information that could not be included in the analysis. It provides the reader with a very clear picture as to the background to which the paper is written and distinctly “sets the scene” for the analysis.

The main analysis is carried out through a thematic methodology which is the most commonly used method in a qualitative paper. It allows for themes to emerge across data that are important to the research question. In the first section of the chapter this was done by looking at the emergence of the de-securitisation discourse of drug policy through the speeches and comments of world leaders on the subject. This was method was further used in the section on alternative development in Colombia by looking at the comments that were made by the farming cooperatives I had contacted to see that themes had emerged. This was continued by looking at the themes that had emerged in the peace talks.

## Limitations

In order to create a concise argumentation the paper required a number of limitations. This mainly involved the limits to time and space as well as a specific area of drug policy. It also involved limitations with regards to the theoretical framework and the data collection.

The theoretical framework of social constructivism allows for a very broad scope so limitations needed to be created within the framework. This involved selecting a few core theories to create a succinct paradigm through which the subject could be effectively analysed. The data collection had a number of limitations such as having fewer but more in depth interviews from which to draw conclusions. This was because from the interpretivist thematic perspective this is more effective to understand social processes and to see the emergence of themes.

The geographic limitation means that the focus of this paper is purely on Colombia. This is because of, as previously mentioned, Colombia’s unique history within the “War on Drugs” as well its military and social conflict over inequality and land rights. In terms of purely analysing supply side drug policy and alternative development the whole of the Andes region could have been utilised and particularly when looking at the effects of the balloon effect. However, the focus of this project needs to very narrow and analysing Colombia was the most appropriate choice. This was also an appropriate limitation as gathering data from other countries would have been highly time-consuming and the conclusions may not have been as clear.

As is outlined in the history and context chapter the issues of drug supply goes back a long way in Colombia. Therefore I had to limit the time span for which to analyse. As the peace talks and the current debate on drug policy is key to the paper, the limit of this paper is from the beginning of the Santos regime in 2010. This is because in my view it represents the beginning the shift in approach from securitisation to de-securitisation. Not long after Santos assumed the presidency the peace talks began and there was more focus on development as a more effective solution to coca cultivation.

Drug policy, as is discussed throughout the paper, covers a wide range of issues including corruption, money laundering and consumption. This paper purely covers alternative development which is just one element of supply side policy. This is because it is becoming the most focused on approach due to failures of militarised tactics.

# Theoretical Framework

## Social Constructivist approach

Social Constructivism is not necessarily a theory in its self as it does not have a set of principles that is created to explain a set of facts and is used to predict the behaviour of states in international relations. This allows Social Constructivism to be used as a general framework through which the international system is understood. It provides the tools in order to understand how actors have interacted to construct the “War on Drugs”.

Social Constructivism is, according to Alexander Wendt, a tool for analysis which can be used to deconstruct ideas and social norms to see how the international relations system can be changed (Wendt, 1992 p104). He states that the anarchy of the international system is created by the state themselves. He views the international system as a social construct which contests the positivist epistemology of traditional IR approaches.

Constructivism challenges the materialism of the positivist approach by theorising that structures are cultural and not material. This is expressed through constructed identities and interests. Identities are central to social constructivism as they inform international actors and affect their interactions. These identities can be used to form regimes based on common characteristics such as in appearance, behavioral traits, attitudes, values, skills (e.g. language), knowledge, opinions, experience, historical commonalities (Wendt, 1999 p.225). Wendt further recognises that identities and interests of state actors can be transformed under the influence of international regimes. This is through the convergence of interests based on some or all common characteristics and expressed through the regime.

### Construction of regimes

Stephen Krasner describes a regime as a set of explicit or implicit “set of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making and procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations” (Krasner, 1982, p185. This can be through formal institutions, through informal groups and agreements or a combination of both. The international drug control regime is a key example of this as it is based on an implicit set of prohibitionist norms which has been agreed upon globally (Tokatlian, 2010).

Krasner identifies that international regimes are formed in order to create to stability in the international system and the norms and often based on moral values (Krasner, 1982). In this case, it is that drug use and the drug trade are morally reprehensible and needs to be tackled through international cooperation. The regimes are normally created by a hegemon, in this case, the US in order to maximise gains (Krasner, 1976) but regimes do not necessarily decline or weaken at the same rate. The International drug control regime may be restored through the emergence of new hegemonic powers such as China.

International Regime Theory can be analysed through the constructivist paradigm by looking at how the international drug control regime has been constructed. It can clearly be seen that the regime expresses the interests of a common group of actors in the international system. These interests have for a long time been expressed through the global securitisation of drug policy for the benefit of those actors. Colombia has been subordinate in this process and is the reason why it has been the space where the securitisation has been most prevalent.

### Securitisation and de-securitisation

The concept of securitisation created by the Copenhagen school of security studies describes the process by which an issue is politicised and transformed into a matter of security or “the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics” (Buzan Waever De Wilde, 1998 p23). In order for an issue to become securitised three components are necessary; a securitising actor, an audience and a threat (Buzan Waever De Wilde, 1998). The securitising actor is normally a government or head of state who declares that an issue is a threat or a vulnerability to a state and uses that to validate extreme measures to counter the threat. The audience, normally the general public, needs to accept and recognise the threat in order for the actions of the actor to be legitimised. The threat then needs to be something very visible to the audience in order for them to accept it as a securitised issue such “...Tanks, Helicopters and Hostile Sentiments” (Buzan Waever De Wilde, 1998 p33).

Once the audience has accepted the issue as one of security “the suspension of normal politics and the use of emergency measures in responding to the perceived crisis” (Williams, 2013 p33). Buzan states that threats more often come from an external nature whereas vulnerabilities are more internal and can be dealt with by “building up countervailing forces to deal with specific threats” (Buzan, 1991 p331).

It can be seen that the drug problem has been framed as both a threat and vulnerability. This is because of the internal damage caused to society caused by drug consumption and the external threat from DTOs and insurgent groups. The vulnerabilities are shown through comments from President Nixon “It comes quietly into homes and destroys children” (Nixon, 1971) when referring to drug consumption. The language used is very clearly making the issue of drugs visible to the audience and is framing it as a vulnerability by making it a direct threat to familes. Moreover it exposes the threat to society as it looks to penetrate the family nucleus. By referring to groups such as the FARC as narco-terrorists drugs are also framed as an external threat linked also to another securitised sphere in the ”War on Terror”.

The Copenhagen School also highlights that society can be threatened which goes beyond just the physical security of the state. Ole Waever in particular looks at societal security and how creating an existential threat can maintain in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. This is essential to how the international drug control regime is set out as the US and its allies, which are mostly the wealthier drug consuming states, want to frame drugs as an existential threat in order to maintain societal security.

Waever goes on to discuss how an issue can be de-securitised. Waever is very doubtful as to whether complete de-securitisation of an issue is possible. This is because in past, in cases when the de-securitisation process supposedly did occur, re-securitisation has occurred so quickly. Weaver cites the example of NATO de-securitising at the end of the Cold War but then re-arming around the turn of the millennium. This brings into question as to what degree is an issue de-securitised by simply a change in discourse or further by changes in policies and actions. For example, in a conflict zone there can peace talks and agreements without a ceasefire.

Global drug policy, however, has the potential to become what Waever calls “asecurity” where there is no chance of securitisation occurring again (Fako, 2012). A change in logic will occur in order to formulate evidence based policies rather than based on the logic of appropriateness (Tokatlian, 2010). The current logic is based on outdated, vaguely defined moral values which are biased towards social norms. The evidence based approach points to a human rights, public health and development policy formulation (Tokatlian, 2010).

The concepts of securitisation and de-securitisation are linked to the constructivist framework as it they look at how security threats are constructed based on identities and interests. As Anthony Lott puts it ‘constructivists ask how threats are recognised, how enemies are labelled, and how groups come to imagine danger’ (Lott, 2004 p27) which is very similar to how the Copenhagen school describes securitisation as “essentially an intersubjective process. The senses of threat, vulnerability, and (in)security are socially constructed rather than objectively present or absent) (Buzan Wæver De Wilde 1998; 208). In this sense the global drug control regime and the securitisation that comes with it are an interconnected social construct.

### Constructivism and Postdevelopment

The theories of constructivism and postdevelopment are two very closely connected theoretical viewpoints. They both have a similar interpretivist and relativist starting point and critique the positivist and empiricist epistemologies that dominate sources of knowledge (Loper, 2011). Both have been influenced by postmodern thought and particularly Foucault. This is as mentioned they start from an interpretivist method of investigation based on how power and knowledge are constructed (Loper 2011; Behravesh 2011).

## Postdevelopment

Postdevelopment theory focuses on the underlying premises and motives of development (Pieterse, 2000 p176). It looks at what “for whom and for what purpose is development knowledge produced and how does this knowledge put in place particular power relations” (Power, 2004 p85). This means that it looks to deconstruct the agenda behind development practices and what interests are at play.

Post development thinkers generally agree that the aim and core assumptions of western development programmes which is based on economic growth and materialistic values. It can further be described as focusing “on the underlying premises and motives of development” (Pieterse 2000, p. 176). It looks at hidden agenda of development and the assertion that the western method of development is the most successful and the assumption that the rest of the world wishes to follow that model. It goes on to asserts that ”Development is seen as a particular vision, a set of knowledge, interventions and world views or as discourses which are related to the power to intervene, to transform and rule over ’others’ ” (Power, 2003). Arturo Escobar traces beginning of development back to beginning of the post-world war order and the Truman Doctrine (Escobar, 1995 p3). In 1949 Truman stated “What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing...Greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge” (Escobar, 1995 p3). Truman was attempting to appeal to the US and the world to solve the problems of “underdeveloped areas”. Gustavo Esteva states that from this point people all around the world suddenly became underdeveloped and the idea of what was developed and underdeveloped was constructed. ”Underdevelopment' began, then, on January 20, 1949. On that day, two billion people became underdeveloped. In a real sense, from that time on, they ceased being what they were, in all of their diversity, and were transmogrified into an invented mirror of others' reality” (Estava in Sachs, 1992 p7). The critique goes on to say that development is another form of control and a continuation from colonialism (Escobar 1995). It is emphasised that forms of knowledge produced by those who are supposed to be the object of development should be given worth (Escobar 1995).

Post development thinkers emphasise the importance of traditional communities and their value in politics, economics and knowledge creation. The other key element is how communities provide resistance to the state and globalisation (Ziai, 2007 p. 145). Escobar states that this resistance is fostered through local grassroots movements which embody the struggle (Ziai, 2007 p. 146).

### Critique to development

Development is further criticised for concentrating on encouraging market integration and economic growth rather than improving people’s living standards (Rapley, 2004 p. 352). Escobar states "development planning was not only a problem to the extent that it failed; it was a problem even when it succeeded, because it so strongly set the terms for how people in poor countries could live” (Reid-Henry, 2012). He argues that the development discourse has created a “regime of truth” about an accepted way of speaking about and acting towards developing countries (Pieterse, 2000 180). In this sense the development based solutions for the drug problem are based on market integration and the assumption that an export based model for selling alternative crops is the only option.

### Alternatives to development

As a solution to the problem of global poverty post development thinkers do not look at attempting to reform development practices or to create an alternative development model. They look at complete alternatives to the development framework. This is quite vaguely described as coming from below through local and traditional knowledge and expressed through social movements. Escobar also proclaims that due to the globalised nature of the world the social movements providing resistance can connect as part of a transnational civil society. Transnational civil society also provides the space for alternative options based on the principles of democracy and emancipator politics rather than the nation state (Fisher, 2013 p53). Groups such as Via Campesina have gained recognition for this, as they have been able to connect grassroots social movements from all over the world together. They have acted as an instigator for new voices and ideas from previously marginalised groups to be shared on a global level.

Despite the strong rhetoric against development, Escobar and other postdevelopment theorists accept that there is room for what they call hybrid models. This hybridness would be between technical knowledge and from “local cultures “. For example, Farmers learn to learn new methods of efficiency as well why some crops die and from what pests. They, however retain many of the traditional farming methods (Escobar 1995: p51). This would some advice from development experts could be taken on board by farmers and integrated into their traditional approach. This is not enforced development but a balance between difference sources of knowledge.

### Social movements

As mentioned above social movements form a large part of the basis for the postdevelopment alternatives approach. These groups represent the resistance to global market forces and the domination of certain sources of knowledge. Resistance can generally be defined in this sense as “any action, imbued with intent, that attempts to challenge, change or retain particular societal relations, processes and/or institutions” (Power, 2002 194). This resistance can be manifested in struggles for access to resources, or land rights and other societal conflicts (Power 2002). Resistance in this sense and in particular relation to the rise of transnational civil society can be seen as source of power. It is thus effective in diffusing power throughout a society so “society has no centre” (Power, 2002 p 194).

It is through social movements that subaltern groups are represented and groups such as Via Campesina take their cause from the local to the global level. This can be done through something known as the boomerang effect. This is where difficulties that domestic civil society groups face can be brought to a transnational level (ODI, 2006). Global civil society organisations can provide international exposure whilst at the same time provide technical assistance in findings funds and to navigate international processes and institutions. There has been some success of this in the past where for example global civil society groups have helped local groups against multinational companies who have been causing environmental damage in their community (ODI, 2006). It also has the added effect of potentially by passing corrupt officials and judicial systems. The boomerang effect has a further long term gain where the local CSO gains credibility locally after it has successfully negotiated external processes and they have a an opportunity to grow and have greater influence in the future.

An example of the successful use of the boomerang effect was in southern Peru where the Southern Peru Copper Corporation was found to be causing environmental damage and the case was eventually brought to the Second International Water Tribunal in Amsterdam in 1992. The corporation and the Peruvian government were forced to adopt stricter protocols which reduced water and air pollution. Labor, an NGO, were able to assist local civil society in the city of Ilo to go to the international level and bypass the corrupt local institutions (ODI, 2006).

### Food Sovereignty

One area that social movements around the world can connect and campaign is about control and access to food. Via Campesina campaign on this point in resistance to the “corporate food regime” and for peasant farmers to have more control over food production and consumption. Via Campesina, came up with the concept of food sovereignty as a way of producing and distributing food in a more localised way. Food sovereignty asserts that the global food system should follow the principle that the people who produce, distribute and consume food should control the food production and distribution rather than large scale corporations and market institutions (Via Campesina, 2007). ”Food Sovereignty is the right of peoples to define their own food and agriculture; to protect and regulate domestic agricultural production and trade in order to achieve sustainable development objectives” (Via Campesina 2003). This means allowing farmers to determine the extent to which they are self-reliant. It further includes their own rules of production and not, for example, having to use seeds bought from external companies. It is based on communities supplying food for each other and not being forced to sell goods on the international market with prices dictated to them (Via Campesina, 2003). It should be made clear that the aim of food sovereignty is not anti-trade but is based on formulating trade policies which serves the rights of people to access food and produce in a sustainable way (Via Campesina, 2003).

It is a worthy concept to consider within postdevelopment as it has been developed from the south based a lot on the ways of living and producing from traditional communities. In a sense, it is about going back to how people all across the world produced food prior to globalisation but still allowing for modern agricultural techniques. The concept came about as a result of fatigue from the food security policy approach (McMichael, 2009). Food security has been a key element of modern development thinking and is based upon providing adequate nutrition which can be provided from domestic production or imported. It does not look where the food comes from and how it is produced (McMichael, 2009). Via Campesina argue that food security, as part of the corporate food regime, has served to promote large scale industrialised farming which has led to land concentration, trade liberalisation and widespread dispossession of land from small scale producers (McMichael, 2009 p151). There is a clear argument to make about the failure of food security as global food production has increased at a faster rate than the global population yet global hunger has also increased (Parvathamma, 2015 p4). This means that measures for greater food accessibility are necessary based on a more efficient trading system. At least a degree of food sovereignty should be necessary for this as it addresses the serious problem that those who produce food are those who have the least access (Colombia Reports, 2011). This would create a system of more localised production and consumption with less dependence on global trade. Food sovereignty has been enshrined in the constitutions of Bolivia, Venezuela, Nepal and Senegal (Provost, 2013). This proves the empirical, as well as theoretical, relevance of discussing food sovereignty as it is proven that it can be implemented as a policy at national level. In Venezuela and Bolivia it is part of the principle of Buen Vivir (good living) or in as some indigenous groups call it Sumak Kawsay. This is about reforming the way people live to consume less a redevelop a sense of the collective (Balch, 2013). It is described by Eduardo Gudynea as a way of doing things that is “community-centric, ecologically-balanced and culturally-sensitive” and is opposed to the commoditisation of the earth’s resources (Balch, 2013). Food sovereignty and food autonomy are seen as being a key part of the concept. As previously mentioned the idea is not about going back to the past as “indigenous and peasant communities can embrace technological change which can improve their living standards” but that depends on it not coming “at the expense of their autonomy, their territories and their ways of living”. This can be seen as a hybrid model between embracing technological and efficiency changes whilst accepting and acknowledging the rights and traditions of communities. James Ferguson “the uses of neo liberalism” can also be integrated into the hybrid approach as he describe the very nature of the system being very open to all ideas,

## Theoretical reflections

Constructivism and post development are not without their limitations. Although useful for their critiques of the international system they do not provide many answers. This is why constructivism for example, is used as framework to describe the paradigm to clarify the disposition. Postdevelopment has some limitations in that it represents development as monolithic enterprise and the critique misses some of the positive changes that have been made to the practice (Ziai, 2007 p226). It also generally characterises the subjects of development as either passively accepting development and being repressed it or being in active resistance in attempts at cultural domination (Ziai, 2007 p227). In the case of those in resistance they tend to over-romanticise these struggles and the ways of living of traditional communities (Ziai, 2007 p227). However some of these limitations have been qualified by focusing on the notion of hybrid models of development which have been recognised by Escobar as he write “Many traditional cultures survive through their transformative engagement with modernity”(Escobar, 1995 p 218).

As mentioned before it is important to recognise the link between constructivism and postdevelopment to understand the clear association between the two theoretical perspectives. The roots of their ideas can both be traced back to Foucault and postmodern thought. A number of postdevelopment thinkers use foucaults phrases such as “knowledge as power”, “autonomous production of truth” and “insurrection of subordinated knowedges” (Ziai, 2007 p112). Constructivism is intrinsically linked to Foucault as it looks at how knowledge and power and constructed. They differ from Foucault and postmodern thought however by focusing on empirical analysis. In this they are more valuable tools in order to deconstruct the identities and interests at play amongst international actors and how they have come to dominate knowledge and truth. This is also particularly relevant in relation to Jacques Derrida, another postmodernist, who developed the notion of deconstruction for critical analysis. His work, *The Rhetoric of Drugs,* concludes that “the concept of drug of drug is a non-scientific concept, that it is instituted on the basis of moral or political evaluations’” (Derrida, 1990 p229). He goes on to point out the link between drug rhetoric and the West ideology (Derrida, 1990 p248) and argues that the enlightenment was in itself a declaration of the war on drug (Derrida, 1990 p250).

# History and context

## History of global drug policy

The international drug control regime has been in place for over 100 years and is one of the few examples of true global collaboration where there has been consensus on the prohibition of illicit substances and the coercive measures of prevention (Buxton, 2008). International protocols for the control of illicit substances can be traced back to 1909 Shanghai conference and the international Opium convention of The Hague 1912 (UNODC, 2008). It was arranged at the behest of the US and was the first agreement on the global control of substances such as opium and marijuana. This went against a near 2,000 year tradition of consuming those substances both for medical and recreational use (Buxton, 2008).

The 1948 UN protocol along with the creation of the CND under the Economic and Social Council formed a more formal basis for prohibitive measures as it determined that controlled substances could only be used for medical purposes and scientific research (FES, 2013). This led to the full ban of experimental, ritual or recreational use. This was despite the fact that the coca plant has been used ritually in the Andean region for generations (FES, 2013). The 1961 single convention on narcotic drugs consolidated all precious agreements on drug control and reaffirmed the ban on the use and the production of controlled substances and so began the securitisation of drug policy. This also saw the creation of the INCB who oversaw the strict implementation of drug laws.

The term “War on Drugs” was first used in 1968 by President Nixon and signified a proactive approach to countering the challenges posed by drugs. This was in response to the social problems caused by drug use and criminality in the US (Plume, 2012). This led to harsher penalties for the trading and for the consumption of illicit substances and the creation of the DEA (Buxton, 2008). The idea being that a strong law enforcement approach would keep prices high and disincentivise the purchase of illicit drugs (Keefer, 2008).

The “War on Drugs” was reaffirmed by President Reagan in 1982 in response to the alarming growth in the drug trade and the huge profits made largely by Latin American drug cartels (Plume 2012). This put more focus on attempting to reduce supply into the US by funding a military strategy in a number of Latin American states and particularly Colombia. This was reinforced in 1986 with the introduction of the certification system where countries would have foreign aid withdrawn if they did not fully cooperate with US anti-narcotics efforts (Jelsma, 2011).

It was not until 1991 that the UNDCP (changed to UNODC in 2002) was created to address all areas of drug policy that Alternative Development was discussed as a serious policy option. No serious funding however was given to this until later in the decade when the EU and EU member states began investing in Alternative Development programmes. These programmes were superseded by the introduction of Plan Colombia in 1999 where the governments of the US and Colombian agreed an all out militarised strategy to combat the supply of drugs as well as the FARC-EP and the DTOs. This resulted in a scaling up of the conflict in Colombia and enabled the Colombian state to regain some semblance of control. However, the FARC-EP was not defeated and result the was the destabilisation of the countryside, mass human rights violations and the continuation of the coca trade (Stokes, 2005)

Due to the lack of success from militarised strategies such as Plan Colombia a less securitised approach has gained more focus.There has been acceptance that supply side policies will struggle based on the fact that addictive substances such as illicit drugs are price inelastic and demand will change very little price (Felbab-Brown et al, 2010). Supply side policies also struggle due to the fact that there is a large amount of land available for illicit drugs to be grown on. So when an armed eradication of drugs occurs in one area production simply shifts elsewhere and this is known as the balloon effect (Whittington 2013). Plants such as poppy and coca are particularly are particularly durable and can grow almost anywhere which further adds to the challenge. Alternative development strategies have therefore become the main supply side policy in drug producing countries. This is because contemporary Alternative Development strategies create an environment which allows farmers to grow and sell licit crops. The outcome is that the farmer’s no longer need to produce illicit drugs the balloon effect is reduced.

A full scale shift in drug policy focusing more on human rights, public health and poverty alleviation is anticipated in the coming years. The UNGASS process in 2016 is expected to be a watershed moment in the change of approach of the international drug control regime. This is in stark contrast to the last UNGASS meeting on drugs in 1998 which ended calling for the total elimination of illicit drugs or a “Drug Free World”.

## The Economics of the Drug Trade

As briefly mentioned, the logic of drug prohibition is based on the strict enforcement of the law towards both drug users and those involved in the trade. This includes a range of measures; military intervention, aerial spraying, alternative livelihoods (AD), border enforcement and criminalisation of consumption. The intention of this is to deter people from being involved in the trade and to keep prices high to deter consumption. Although this approach has kept the price high and it has not deterred people from partaking in the drug or consuming drugs. With the prices high it has meant greater profits for DTOs and has encouraged more people into the trade.

This can be explained through something known as price elasticity of demand. This measures how much the demand for a product responds to changes in price. For example, a product with many substitutes, such as rice, will be very price elastic meaning the demand will change significantly. Whereas addictive substances, such as recreational drugs are price inelastic and demand is insensitive to price changes.

This is further explained by the fact that the price elasticity of supply for illicit drugs, particularly cocaine, is highly elastic. The cost to produce cocaine is very low as precursor chemicals are easily accessible and coca is a highly resilient and durable plant, which does not need a lot of water or any fertiliser and pesticides. Production is not particularly labour intensive and currently there is a lot of land available for cultivation. Coca farmers therefore have a credit line and access to seeds from traffickers (Mansfield, 2012). The farm-gate price, which the farmers receive, is less than 3% of the final retail price. This amounts to approximately $956 per kg of coca paste. This is taking into account that the farmers often turn the coca leaves into paste in order to add value to the product before selling it to traffickers.

The cost of cocaine comes mainly from the transportation as strong law enforcement increases the risk as well as violence between rival DTOs. The increased cost comes from needing fast light aircrafts and boats for trafficking or on corrupting the necessary officials. The final retail price of cocaine for consumers is approximately $45,000 per kg and is a huge increase on the farm gate price.

As is discussed throughout the paper the consequences of the drug prohibition model implemented by the international drug control regime have had devastating effects on developing countries and particularly Colombia. This includes the high level of violence and corruption that involves people at all levels of society. Moreover, it reiterates the necessity of a development model that supports of the farmers at the bottom of the trade whose labour is exploited.

## From Crop Substitution to Alternative Development

The majority of Alternative development strategies today involve a multifaceted strategy which involves community engagement, infrastructure investment, access to arable land, access to credit and market integration. These strategies up until now have been implemented on quite a small scale due to lack of funding, long term political will and the focus being on security rather than drug policy (Mansfield, 2012).

However, this has not always been the case and many early initiatives did not do enough to address the structural factors that forced farmers to grow illicit crops. Early efforts were known just as crop substitution where governments would pay farmers a nominal sum to stop cultivating illicit crops within a limited time period, normally around 12 months. It should be acknowledged that these initiatives recognised the time it can take for farmers to make the transition to licit crops. The sum given to farmers was barely enough for a family to survive for 12 months and it did not take into account issues such as the lack of arable land, lack of roads to distribute produce and the lack of a guaranteed market place for sale (Stokes, 2005). It should also be considered that early efforts may have been undermined by structural adjustment programmes implemented by IMF and the World Bank (Mansfield, 2012).

In reality many farmers earn very little from the production of illicit drugs and only partake in the trade due to the isolated and unstable conditions that they inhabit. The farm gate price of coca is generally very low due to the large amount land and labour available for production (Chawla, 2010). Coca cultivation also attracts violence, intimidation and abuse from DTOs, insurgent groups and paramilitaries. It is due to these conditions that if given the opportunity, the majority of farmers involved in Coca cultivation would switch to licit crops.

In more recent years Alternative Development project have become more nuanced where there is investment to address the structural factors that are impeding farmers from being able to grow and sell licit crops in a sustainable way. There is a general recognition that farmers grow illicit crops out of necessity due to the isolated and impoverished lives that they are forced to live. The blueprint for success of Alternative Development comes from projects carried out by the Mae Fah Luang foundation in Thailand which virtually removed opium production from the country. The success lies largely with the fact that there was a long term political will to succeed and that development was prioritised over security. The project took over 30 years to become sustainable and the farmers and their families involved in the projects now have per capita income of $1500 now compared to $88 in 1988 (Watson, 2014). The key concept that made the project sustainable and self-sufficient was that farmers and the whole community were encouraged to be engaged in all levels of the value chain and had to option for non-agricultural livelihoods. This meant that, for example, coffee growers would then be involved in the harvesting, processing, grinding and packaging. They were then involved in selling the finished product to international markets for a far higher price than they would have previously received (Watson, 2014). A large number of Alternative Development projects encourage the production of a wide range of crops. This is in order to counteract the effects of changes in prices of goods, adverse weather conditions or infected crops. Additionally it is contended by development professionals involved in these projects that local markets are currently too weak to be relied on and therefore selling to international markets is the only way to ensure farmers receive sufficient income (as per telephone conversation with Daniel Brombacher of GIZ, 21/04/2015).

A Latin American example of the successful implementation of an Alternative Development strategy can be seen in Peru with the San Martin integrated development model. This model was based on many of the same principles as the Thailand model which included improving basic services to communities such as infrastructure, healthcare and education in order to reduce poverty. This gave them a platform to produce licit goods in a sustainable manner and give them access to local and international markets. From 1996 to 2010 coca production was cut from 22,000 hectares in 1996 to 1,725 hectares in 2010 and poverty was cut from 70% to 31%. (USAID/ Peru, 2012). The success of the project can be highlighted by the fact when coca production began to return to Peru in the mid-2000s, the San Martin region was only marginally affected (Schultze-Kraft; Befani, 2014). This is a key point which has been highlighted by the UNODC to show that when Alternative Development projects have been carried out effectively it creates resistance to the drug trade and the balloon effect.

The value chain approach has slowly been implemented in other drug producing countries and often through fair-trade organisations who can assist in facilitating sales in larger consumer markets. An example of this occurred recently where a fair-trade chocolate maker from Austria agreed to have a large amount of their cocoa produced from an Alternative Development project in Colombia (UNODC, 2014). This is still a rare case in Latin America and very few farmers have been able to develop to the extent where they can market and sell finish products to international markets.

Alternative development, for a long time, has largely been carried out independently by the UNODC and some member state governments whilst traditional development groups and multilateral financial institutions have been conspicuous by their absence. This schism is also beginning to decrease as Alternative Development programmes are beginning to be integrated in wider rural development programmes which are for the benefit of farming communities whether or not they are engaged in the drug trade (Appendix E). The Colombian government through a long trial and error period has developed its own model for integrated rural development which culminated in the creation of the PNRCT (Kamminga 2014).

Expand...

## Colombia and the conflict

Colombia has been central to these efforts and approximately 20% of the budget for Plan Colombia was designated for crop substitution (Stokes 2005). The crop substitution programmes were further negated by the military strategy and the use of aerial fumigation. The fumigation often damaged the licit crops of farmers more than the coca plants (Mansfield, 2012). This only encouraged farmers to grow more coca and further exacerbated the conflict. Additionally Colombia was suffering from high levels of corruption where local institutions such as the police, judiciary and politicians were paralyzed by the influence of the DTOs, paramilitaries and the FARC-EP (Stokes 2005). The *campesinos* had little or no faith in the Colombian state and therefore turned to the other groups for protection which came with the condition that they grew coca. This effectively meant that large areas of land or “ungoverned spaces” were out of reach for the Colombian state and were in the hands of DTOs or armed insurgencies (Felbab-brown, 2006).

These ungoverned spaces have existed in Colombia for some time and are legacy of the colonial era (Stokes 2005). Poorer farmers have been continually pushed onto new agricultural frontiers out of the hands of the state. This has led to “self rule” in some regions usually by the wealthier land owners (Stokes, 2005). A further consequence of this is the concentration of land ownership under a few families. In the past they have recruited militia groups to protect and police their land and interests. These militias led to the formation of the paramilitary groups after the Colombian government passed a law allowing for self-defence groups in the country side (Stokes, 2005).

Price fluctuations in international markets have also perpetuated the conflict. For example, the suspension of the ICA in 1989 led to the price of coffee halving in two months. This had a dramatic effect on Colombia where, at the time, coffee represented 60% of exports (Fridell, 2007). Another example, around the same time, is the effects of the banana trade wars, on Colombia, between the US and the EU. The EU implemented a preferential system where no duties on banana imports were given to former colonies in the Caribbean and Africa. Considering that the EU is largest consumer market for Bananas, this had a dramatic effect on the exports of Latin American countries including Colombia. This led to a number of *campesinos* having to turn to coca cultivation. The conflict and coca growing in Colombia both escalated as a result of these fluctuations in international markets. Farmers could not rely on the sales of licit goods internationally and had to turn to coca cultivation in order to survive (Fridell, 2007).

One of the key factors in the beginning of the conflict and now possibly the most important factor in the peace talks is the issue of land. Land distribution in Colombia is one of the most unequal in the world with 52% of land owned by just 1.15% of landowners (Rampietti, 2012). As a result of the violent conflict approximately just 22% of potential arable land is being used for licit farming (Economist, 2012). The FARC or paramilitary groups have forcibly removed people from large areas of land either for coca cultivation or in order for large businesses to take over. A further result of the conflict and the struggle for land has led to Colombia having one of the highest totals of IDPs in the world. Approximately 6 million people have been displaced from their homes and are now either in refugee camps or living in urban areas under very difficult circumstances (UNHCR, 2015).

Santos has initiated an ambitious land restitution programme with IDP reclaimants already applying for roughly 2 million hectares (Economist, 2012). This has been problematic as a large amount of the land claimed has since been taken over by large agribusiness producing bio fuels (Fox, 2012). A further obstacle that has emerged in recent years has come into form of the anti-restitution army which is made up of former paramilitary members and represents large owners opposed to land restitution (Fox, 2012). This goes to show the level of complexity of the situation and the challenges for the Colombian government despite the gains that have been made.

The ongoing peace talks between the Colombian government and the FARC-EP appear to be very constructive with some elements of development and land reform being some of the key issues that have already been agreed upon, with special rural peasant reserve zones. Both sides currently agree on improving market access and increasing market access for small farmers along with a system of subsidies. However the government still wishes the focus of agriculture to be export led with incentives for bio fuel production. Whilst the FARC have maintained a position of wanting expropriate large landholdings, particularly from foreign owners, and focus on food sovereignty and supply for the local market rather than international (Economist, 2012). This is particularly important considering a report by the Colombian Agricultural Minister claiming that malnutrition was most prevalent in rural areas where paradoxically the farmers grow the majority of food (Colombia Reports, 2011).

Since the beginning of the Santos regime in 2010 there has been a greater focus on sustainable rural development within Colombia with initiatives such as the FWP, the PNCRT and the PNDA. These programmes focus on largely on reintegrating farmers and their families back into Colombian society as well as trying to undo some of the environmental harm caused by drug production. This point’s to a far more de-securitised approach than the previous regime and it can be argued that the recent drop in coca production in Colombia is a result of this. According to UNODC figures, Colombia currently accounts for 35.9% of global coca production which 48,000 hectares out of 133,700 hectares (UNODC, 2014). This is quite a contrast when compared to cultivation levels in 2007 which was close 100,000 hectares (UNODC, 2014). From Figure.1 you can see the regions of Colombia with the highest levels of coca cultivation.

# Analysis

## Alternative Development within the international drug control regime

### De-securitisation of the Western Hemisphere

As the securitised element of the drug control regime is coming to an end new and more progressive approaches are becoming more prominent. On the demand side there is discussion of legalisation or decriminalisation of possession and consumption and on the supply side alternative development is the most discussed and implemented solution. This is particularly true in Colombia where use the use of the military and of aerial fumigation has come at a huge cost to human rights. Causing mass displacement of people whilst not having a significant impact enough impact on coca production in the region. The President of Colombia has recently ordered to suspension of aerial fumigation after reports from the WHO and the Colombian health ministry found the fumigation contents to be very harmful to the environment and the people it came into contact with (Forero, 2015). This along with the ongoing peace talks are key points in highlighting the paradigm shift away from securitisation. As part of the peace talks the FARC have agreed to cooperate with the government in removing landmines which can allow access to more coca growing areas. This will, in turn, allow for more development assistance to farmers in those areas.

Santos has in many ways been leading the way in the discussions on the progress of drug policy. As in a recent article he wrote “The world needs to discuss new approaches …that should try and take away the violent profit that comes with drug trafficking” (Santos in the Guardian, 2011). He says that he wants to be a leader on the issue as Colombia have “learned the hard way” and he has a moral authority of the issue (Santos in the Guardian, 2011). He wants there to be a more of a shared responsibility between consumer and producer countries and cooperation on a global scale is needed. He points to the fact that in the past “it has been easy for politicians to blame drug-producing nations like Colombia for poisoning their lovely kids” which is a construct which has created a “stigma” around Colombia which he wishes to change (Santos, 2012). The previous administration of Uribe took a very different approach and a very hard line to the War on Drugs and the FARC and recently has been critical of the peace talks. The re-election of Santos in 2014 based largely on a platform of bringing peace to Colombia is a clear democratic endorsement of the de-securitised approach.

The process of de-securitisation of drug policy is reflected by comments in the wider international community. The Obama administration has come in support of the Peace talks and has recently sent delegates to engage in the process. “I want to congratulate President Santos on his extraordinary efforts to bring about an end to a conflict that has plagued Colombia for too long,”(Wolfgang,2015) The Obama administration has further reiterated his commitment to a far more progressive approach to drug policy by refusing to acknowledge the term ”War on Drugs” and refers to it as an ”unproductive approach” (Wolfgang,2015) . He talks about ”shifting the paradigm, shifting the model” (Csete et al, 2010) which shows a distinct commitment to adopting a different approach drug policy. In this context, He acknowledges that the issue of drugs needs to be looked at as part of the larger issue of poverty.

”I think that it's important for us not to think that if somehow we look at the drug issue in isolation, in the absence of dealing with some of these other challenges -- institutional challenges and barriers to growth and opportunity and the capacity for people to climb their way out of poverty, that we're going to be able to solve this problem.” (Obama, 2012)

These kinds of comments are in complete contrast to those of the Bush administration who were responsible for increasing funding for the militarised approach to drugs and contributed a total of $7.3 billion military aid over 6 years (Chomsky, 2000). Bush attached the Colombian situation with the “War on Terror” by labelling the FARC as “narcoterrorists” and legitimised the expansion of the military aid to Colombia (Bush 2004).

Comments made by the former head of the ONDCP, Gil Kerkowski, show that Alternative Development is a key part of this:

”Institutional Support for Alternative Development is critical. On a number of trips I had the opportunity to meet with many people who have been engaged, whether it is in fish farming or working in other alternative crops. The Success has been amazing. In not only reduces the amount of drugs coming out of Latin America but enshores the farmers who make their living from illicit crop production have a viable alternative to support their families” (Kerlikowske, 2012)

This reiterates the commitment of the commitment of the Obama regime in shifting the paradigm away from securitisation and towards a human rights and development based model. This is further reflected in the recent appointment of a recovered user, Michael Botticelli, as the new head of the ONDCP or Drug Czar as the position is sometimes referred to. This is again in stark contrast to the “Drug Warriors” who were appointed to run drug policy under the Bush administration (Chomsky, 2000).

The calls for a paradigm shift have come from many in the international arena including the Global commission on drugs policy. This groups is made of a number of high profile international delegates perhaps most notably Kofi Annan, Cesar Gaviria a former president of Colombia and Ernesto Zedillo a former president of Mexico(GCDP, 2011 p.2). They have produced a number of reports highlighting the changes they believe need to be made to international protocols on drug control. They believe that “repressive measures should target violent organized crime instead of consumers, retail drug dealers or the peasants who cultivate currently banned substances” (GCDP, 2011 p.2). This means focusing the resources of criminal justice on the career criminals involved in the drug trade and not targeting the peasants or other vulnerable groups. There is a large body of evidence which suggests that the most cost-effective way of countering the drug trade from a law enforcement point of view is by focusing resources on those involved at higher levels of trafficking and trading. For example, resources in Colombia should be focused on those producing cocaine in factories and those trying to ship large quantities.

This commission has built on the work done by the Latin American commission on Drugs and Democracy which made a number of similar recommendations. One of their key recommendations is to reframe the strategies towards drug cultivation away from repressive measures and to provide socio-economic opportunities that are adapted to the local realities (LACDD, 2011). This not only involves providing viable economic alternatives but engaging with communities and allowing people to have active democratic participation. The Global commission went further to say that there needs to be a change in discourse and provide “a voice to representatives of farmers, users, families and other communities affected by drug use” (GCDP, 2011 p52). This will can help with public awareness and dispell many of the understandings about drug cultivation and use.

In light of these reports the a number of Latin American presdients, including Santos, issued a statment at the UN General Assembly in 2012 stating the need to ”review the approach” of present drug policies (Haase; Youngers, 2013). The statement called on the UN to “exercise its leadership… and conduct a profound reflection to analyze all available options, including regulatory market measures, in order to establish a new paradigm that prevents the flow of resources to groups involved in organized crime” (Haase; Youngers, 2013). This discussion has been carried out to some extent at the annual UN CND meetings but the real change in direction may come at the UNGASS 2016 drug policy talks. The last UNGASS on drug policy was 1998 and called for a “drug free world”. It has become apparent that since then it is a completely unrealistic aim and that a new target based on the realities of the world needs to be created (Drucker, Vanda Felbab-Brown et al. 2014)

UNODC has been the institution through which the international drug control regime has been expressed. For a long time it has promoted a zero tolerance policy to recreational drugs in all forms and looks to maintain the UN Drug Conventions to the letter of the law (Drucker, Vanda Felbab-Brown et al. 2014). This has included for a long time trying to ban the use of the coca leaf despite it having a ritual and medical use amongst indigenous populations in the Andes. Despite the change in paradigm elsewhere the UNODC appears to not have changed its stance. This is reflected in comments by the high profile former head of the UNODC, Antonio Maria Costa, who states “drug policy must be brought into the mainstream of efforts to promote security” (Costa, 2010). In this sense, he talks about joint operations with UN peacekeeping forces to combat drugs and crime in conflict zones rather than in a de-securitised paradigm where cooperation with the WHO or the UNDP would be preferable (Costa 2010). The UNODC have also been highly critical of countries such as Portugal and the Netherlands who have tried diffferent approaches to drug consumption laws (GCDP, 2011). At the same time they have been less critical of countries which still have the death penalty for drug offenses (GCDP, 2011).

This stance is in contrast is in contrast to a number of other UN agencies who are openly critical of the international drug control regime. The UNDP in its formal statement to the UNGASS process:

” these efforts have had harmful collateral consequences: creating a criminal black market; fuelling corruption, violence, and instability; threatening public health and safety; generating large-scale human rights abuses, including abusive and inhumane punishments; and discrimination and marginalization of people who use drugs, indigenous peoples, women, and youth" (UNDP, 2015 p2)

The UNDP has not has any significant involvement in Alternative Development programmes mainly due to the US involvement and the lack of recognition of the wider socioeconomic impacts of drug policy (UNDP, 2015 p3). It recommends that in the post-UNGASS 2016 drug control regime that all UN agencies should cooperate to integrate drug policy into the broader development paradigm.

It can be clearly be seen that global cooperation is an essential element of a progressive drugs policy and it is being demanded from a number of international actors. The form of cooperation now talked about is a genuine partnership between states. It is not about certain group of international actors with similar interests dictating policies based on morale values. In order to have a constructive drug policy which can counter the balloon effect, there needs to be a, as santos puts it, ” a shared responsibility between consumer and producer countries”.

### The Balloon Effect

The Balloon effect is an analogy which is used to describe the way that drug production can be moved across regions and borders in response to strong drug eradication and interdiction efforts (Whittington, 2013). “Squeezing one end of the balloon forces the air to the other side” (Whittington, 2013), so where a government heavily clamps down on drug producing in one area it simply pushes it elsewhere. This works in a cyclical process as production may end up back in its original area. This represents the greatest challenge of supply side policy as despite short term successes the overall flow of illicit drugs has not been reduced. Moreover, due to the large availability of land for drug cultivation and the ease at which it can be moved it has kept the price of drugs very low. This has undermined one of the key principles and objectives of supply side policy which is, if it can’t stop supply altogether, to make production and trafficking as high as possible to push the price up and therefore deter demand for illicit drugs. As previously mentioned due to their addictive nature, illicit drugs are price inelastic and demand will therefore not change significantly with price (Reuter, 2008). This requires a development strategy that reduces the amount of land available for drug cultivation as was evident in the case of San Martin (Schultze-Kraft; Befani, 2014). In order to fully counter the effects of the balloon effect the strategy will need to be implemented on a regional and international level.

The Success from the San Martin model has not been replicated elsewhere and in 2012 Peru became took over from Colombia as the largest producer of Coca (Kamminga, 2014). This can partly be attributed to work of the Colombian government in the de-securitising process and changing consumer demands in consumer nations. For example demand for cocaine in the US has marginally decreased whereas demand in Brazil, Argentina and Europe has increased (Kamminga, 2014). This had led to a change in the traditional trafficking routes and has meant production in Peru is more efficient than in Colombia. This leads to questions over whether coca cultivation will return to Colombia on a large scale again in the future and with an increase in cultivation being shown for 2014 it is a real possibility. Whilst coca cultivation is still at some of its lowest levels in Colombia there is an opportunity to create rural environment that can be resistant to coca cultivation through de-securitising the countryside through peace talks and to generate an agricultural sector that satisfies farmers.

On a global scale the concern should be much greater as Coca is a very durable plant and can grow almost anywhere with a high altitude (Mejia, 2015). So coca cultivation has not yet moved to new territories as there has not been a need to as yet. This may be changing with the ascendency of Mexican Drug Cartels and the recent discovery of a coca plantation in Mexico (Charles, 2014) .

## What has been the impact of Alternative Development in Colombia?

Since the election of Santos in 2010 alternative development has become a much more important element of the Colombian drug strategy. According to the UNODC world drug reports Colombia has a comparatively low level of drug consumption so supply reduction makes up for the majority of the planning and budget (Chawla, 2010).

One of the key challenges to make AD successful was to first establish a state presence in “ungoverned spaces” where a large amount of the coca is grown and the DTOs, paramilitaries and the FARC operate (Felbab-Brown 2006). The rural, usually farming, population often have no contact with the state and are unable to access basic services such as healthcare and education. Santos has implemented a wide ranging programme through the UACT to establish a state presence in rural areas that have been previously inaccessible due to the conflict and lack of infrastructure (Kamminga 2014). They have been active in supporting farmers in post-conflict areas move from coca production to complete licit production. They have assisted farmers find suppliers in international markets for their products and are assisting in supporting the value chain approach (Appendix A). This is also done by formalising land rights for farmers which gives them access to credit (Calvani, 2004). Formalising land rights also has the added benefit of being a disincentive to coca production as famers do not want to risk losing their land titles (as per telephone conversation with Daniel Brombacher of GIZ, 21/04/2015).

Land titles and land restitution are vitally important so farmers have arable land available along with infrastructure in place (Kamminga, 2014). Very little arable land is used for coca cultivation due to farmers being pushed off their land and into areas where only very durable plants such as coca can be grown (Manfield, 2006). Many farmers have forced from farmlands in highland areas where many crops can be grown and forced in areas more tropical areas. The farmers turn to coca because in many cases they do not know how to grow anything else in tropical climates (as per telephone conversation with Daniel Brombacher of GIZ, 21/04/2015). As previously mentioned land restitution has been one of the priorities of the Santos regime but progress has been slow due to the sheer number of land reclaimants, the existence of the anti-restitution army and administrative problems (Fox, 2012) .

Though the state has been able to re-establish a presence in remote areas of the country it has not been able to effectively implement its development programme on a wide scale. This is despite large amounts of funds that were promised. A report by the Brookings institute found that in the cases that alternative development projects had been implemented they had been effective (Mejia, 2015). This was particularly the case with the PCIM (Plan de Consolidación Integral de la Macarena) which established a state presence into a coca growing region and provided a number of health and educational programmes (Mejia, 2015). Not only did reduce coca cultivation rates it improved economic indicators, school enrollment rates and health outcomes (Mejia, 2015). There were, however, at that point not enough cases to deem it to be successful. This may explain why so many of the farming cooperatives I had attempted to contact were no longer in existence. The report did go on to explain that a development based strategy allowing farmers to participate in the licit economy was the only option for coca eradication to be successful in the long term.

Another study, by the Transnational Institute, which looked at the implementation of the Colombian strategy around the city of Tumaco, Narino, had similar findings. They found that the military had been successful in pacifying the region of insurgent groups and paving the way for civilian support. There was, however, no evidence of this support arriving (Vargas, 2009). Tumaco is one of the poorest areas of Colombia and has a high rate of coca cultivation which would make one imagine that it would be a priority for the Colombian government (Vargas, 2009). This meant that, even with military presence established, farmers had no choice but to return to coca cultivation.

There have also been studies carried out which have found a number of incompetency’s with certain attempted projects (Witness for peace, 2013). For example, a project in Totoro by the the European Regional Development Fund to provide blackberries as an alternative crop failed. This was because it had no community participation and blackberries were not appropriate for the warm climate of Totoro (Witness for peace, 2013). The community recommended a fruit native to the area such as peaches but this was ignored. The result was a low yield of blueberries and a there were not enough market opportunities. The project was based on success elsewhere and was implemented in the region based on a model or template (Witness for peace, 2013). With even a basic level of community participation the project may have been more successful.

### Impact on Coca Cultivation

Colombia has had a very gradual de-securitising process since Santos has been elected. The decline in coca cultivation in the country can be partly attributed to this. In 2007 Plan Colombia came to an end which also marked the point at which coca cultivation declined at a serious rate. As previously mentioned, it fell from 100,000 hectares in 2007 to 48,000 hectares in 2012 (UNODC, 2014). This points’ to the success of scaling down the militarised approach.

There have been reports of a recent increase to the amount of land under coca cultivation (Gruenwald, 2015). This may have a number of factors. It does not necessarily mean that more coca is planted as it could be cultivated more sparsely in order to avoid detection. The timing of the report should also be considered along with whom released the report. It was released very shortly after the Colombian government stated it was considering stopping aerial fumigation. It should be further noted that the figures come from the office of national drug control policy in the United States and not from the UNODC or the Colombian government. This could point to the figures possibly being released as kind of scare tactic in order for aerial fumigation to continue. Fumigation may have also lost some effectiveness as there are reports of a new strain of coca leaf, known as Boliviana Negra, has been selectively bred to be resistant to glyphosate (Gruenwald, 2015).

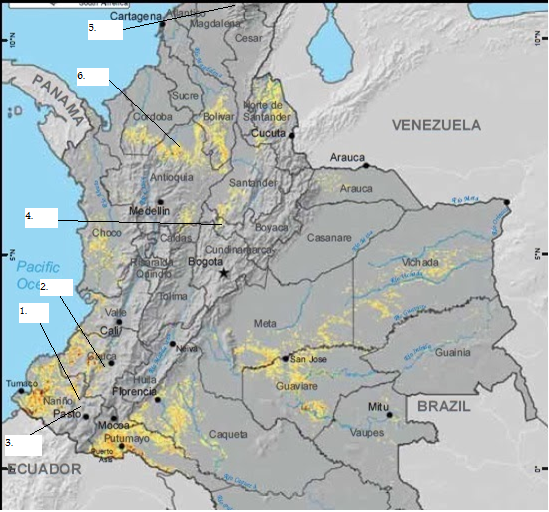
The increase in coca cultivation could also potentially be attributed to farmers beginning to suffer the consequences of the CTPA. The free trade agreement recently implemented between Colombia and the US has led to large protests from farmers who cannot compete with heavily subsidised products from the US (Cohen, 2013). They say that the fertilisers, seeds and pesticides required to maximise yields are too expensive. In some cases farmers may have turned to coca cultivation in order for to survive. As has been mentioned Coca is a much easier crop to cultivate and has a much more consistent market.

It has recently been reported that Colombia’s infrastructure is one of Latin Americas worst, particularly in rural areas (Sales, 2013). This is one of the major barriers to the success of rural development. In most cases farmers from remote areas cannot physically transport goods to the market. There are too few road links between rural areas and cities(Sales, 2013). Juan Manuel Santos has promised to make the problem a priority of his administration and has promised $23 billion over the next six years for improved roads(Sales, 2013). This investment is projected to improve Colombia’s GDP growth per year by 1% (Sales, 2013). Even licit farmers in rural areas have a significant transportation cost which makes them susceptible to turning to coca production. Due to the presence of various armed groups in rural and remote areas Colombia has struggled to implement infrastructure works due to insecurity (Sales, 2013). This is another reason why the success of the peace talks is so crucial to allow for rural areas to be connected with the rest of Colombia.

### Sustainable projects

Despite the lack of success and coordinated planning for a number of projects there have been a number of projects that have been implemented successfully. As you will see from the data in the Appendix there are a number of projects in place that have been running for some time. They have assisted by a number of institutions and almost all of them produce for export. On the Map below you can see the location of the projects in relation to the coca cultivating areas

Figure.1



1. Appendix A, Coffee
2. Appendix B, Chocolate
3. Appendix C handicrafts
4. Appendix D Chocolate
5. Appendix G Coffee
6. Appendix H Chocolate

The respondents are the representatives of the farming cooperatives and each cooperative represent a large number of farming families. They have been involved in producing a variety of products including coffee, cacao and honey. Some of the cooperatives have been able to reach a level where they can be involved higher up the value chain and sell finished products. One project, from the Antioquia region, even use the fact that they are part of an alternative to illicit drugs project as part of their marketing and advertising as can be seen from the picture below.



The label says “Productos del Desarrollo Alternativo” and mentions the product has support from the UNODC. The farmers in the cooperative all have a share of the chocolate factory used for production in their community.

Another example of this is from a cooperative in the Alban municipality of the Narino Department and is a coffee growing cooperative. The cooperative representative claimed that there was no more coca cultivation in the region (Appendix A). They have created their own coffee processing plant and a coffee brand known as Cafe Albanita (Appendix A) which they are looking to sell to international markets. This project also engages in some non-farm based activities such as tourism which boots alternative employment opportunities for their community (CafeAlban, 2015). This points to the projects and the communities being able to determine their ways of living and livelihoods where they have reached a point where they are less reliant on outside help and can have greater knowledge and bargaining power in the market.

These appear to be the model projects which alternative development is based on in Colombia and elsewhere. However these projects are few and far between. It is not clear whether any other projects in Colombia have reached the value added stage up to this point. The value added problem perhaps represents a wider problem within the global economy. Where developing countries such as Colombia have always produced the raw goods which are produced and sold at a higher value in developed countries where the value and profits stay.

For those who are not yet reached the value added stage it appears that the aim is to reach that point. For example, one of the projects was for beekeeping and honey production in La Cruz, Narino. The cooperative wishes to engage higher up the value chain to control the marketing and to gain greater dividends for the same amount of work (Appendix B). There also appears to be a contradiction between the data received for this project and the study carried out by the Transnational Institute. That study found little evidence of development projects in the region where as two cooperatives responded to this project both representing at least 300 farmers. According to the UNODC in Colombia there are another 2 projects that exist in the department (Informe Alimentec, 2014).

There were also mixed results with regards to opinions on the importance of Fairtrade most did not see it as important as it is part of a bureaucratic system that modifies social dynamics within communities and can cause internal conflicts (Appendix G). The premiums for fair trade “get lost along the way before it reaches the producer” (Appendix G)

### International markets

It is very clear that from the data and from discussions with people involved in development projects that the focus is on selling to international markets. This is partly down local markets being weak due to conflict, instability and lack of infrastructure( as per telephone conversation with Daniel Brombacher of GIZ, 21/04/2015) . As mentioned before, international markets can too be weak due to price fluctuations which in turn cause increased coca cultivation.

It appears that there needs to be a balance between domestic and international markets in order for farmers to have the opportunity to produce and consume on a sustainable basis. Daniel Brombacher, head of rural development in Latin America for GIZ, recommends that farmers within a cooperative produce more than one product in order to reduce dependence (as per telephone conversation with Daniel Brombacher of GIZ, 21/04/2015). Supported by crop diversification, if one crop fails or prices fluctuate farmers have other products to support them. If projects were developed in this way, it appears to be opportunity for a greater degree of food autonomy within communities. It would allow for greater food accessibility within a rural area and lessen reliance on trade and international prices. There is no clear evidence of any alternative development projects in Colombia adopting this approach up to now.

The main focus of the governments rural development plan is focused international sales and according to the peace negotiations “turning farmers into business partners of the big companies and make them part of their marketing chain “(Appendix F). This is linked to the issue of land restitution where the Government has allowed displaced people back onto their lands to work with the large firms that now operate there. The government has stated that the land restitution law is not a standalone piece of legislation but part of a wider reform to “Modernise” rural Colombia (Tenthoff, Eventon, 2013). This involves greater involvement of large agribusiness for palm oil or extractive industries such as mining. Alejandro Reyes, Director of Colombia’s Rural Land Institute says that the aim is to ”reduce the risks that had been spooking investors”. This can be further linked to the FTA agreement with the US and other countries which is about increasing foreign direct investment and maximising use of land for export and for economic growth.

Foreign governments see this as an opportunity to both generate economc growth and to eradicate coca cultivation. The EU has attempted to address issues such as trade imbalances with Latin American drug producing countries through something called Drugs GSP (generalised system of trading) or GSP + (AFET/ EUROLAT, 2012). This has been in place since 2005 and has boosted exports from Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. “Barring some exceptions, 90 % of agricultural products from the countries in question have had access to the European market under preferential conditions, thanks to the Drugs GSP” (AFET/ EUROLAT, 2012 p17). This further demonstrates the focus on economic growth and exports being the main solution to solving the problem of coca cultivation on a wider scale.

The focus on international markets is understandable to a certain extent as Colombian produce has strong global reputation, particularly for Coffee and Cacao. Coffee, in particular, as it is the third largest producer in the world and the largest producer of the higher quality Arabica coffee (World Bank Publications, 2004). Globally, coffee is the second most consumed commodity behind petroleum and global demand is rising (World Bank Publications, 2004). Colombia exports approximately 80% of the Arabica coffee it produces (Moldovan 2014) whilst 90% of coffee consumed in Colombia is the lower quality Robusta which is imported from Peru and Ecuador (The Economist 2013). Starbucks have recently entered the Colombian market and have promised to only sell locally produced coffee which may have an impact on domestic sales of coffee (The Economist 2013). This also points to higher demand for coffee domestically and potentially sourced locally.

Colombia has become the 4th largest producer of palm oil in the world and is the fastest growing producer (Balve, 2009). This industry in particular has been linked to displacement of small farmers where paramilitary groups have cleared large areas of land for large palm oil companies to takeover (Balve,2009). Funding for Alternative development from USAID and other organisations has gone towards palm oil production with the aim of partnering small scale farmers with large business(Balve). There is evidence that palm oil has become a popular crop which farmers have in some cases asked for assistance to grow. This is because it is not so labour intensive, has shorter lead times, higher income and higher yields (UNODC, 2005). In some cases it has been reported that farmers receive approximately $650 per hectare (UNODC, 2005). Fig.2 The map of Colombia below shows the geographical link between the conflict in Colombia and the areas of large scale palm oil production. This also coincides with a number of the coca growing areas of Colombia.

Fig.2



It does not appear that the globalised free market approach endorsed by the Colombian government is not going to change soon.

### Value chain

The value chain is the supply chain of products consisting of producing, processing, distributing and selling. A value chain approach to development intends to involve the producers in more levels of the supply chain to add value to their products and be able to generate added value. For example coffee producers in Colombia currently receive $300 per 275 pound load (125kg) or $1.06 per single pound (454g) (Index Mundi, 2015). Compare this to the price of a bag of fair-trade Colombian coffee in a western supermarket, such as Tesco’s, comes to £1.32 per 100g (0.2 pounds for $2) (Tesco Online store, 2015). This shows the significant price difference between selling raw products for export compared to finished products. The aim for most Alternative Development projects is to move their production into more levels of the value chain as it provides a higher income, increases economic sustainability and allows them more control over their livelihoods.

Part of this is also about creating finished products that are high in quality. The argument is that consumers may buy fair-trade products out of sympathy once or twice but will buy high quality produce on a regular basis creating sustainable income (Watson, 2014). This high-quality value added approach is very difficult to achieve and took over 20 years in Doi Tung (Watson, 2014). In a conflict environment such as Colombia this is even more difficult.

Giving more bargaining power to farmers and for this reason could potentially be part of a hybrid model between development and community rights. As it gives farmers more bargaining power in market place and do not necessarily need to have terms dictated to them and maintain their way of living.

This can begin with an education and knowledge sharing platform. Where outside technical knowledge can be integrated with farmers knowledge of the land and what grows best. Farmers can be taught that for example, the traditional Slash and burn techniques used by subsistence farmers can also cause damage to land if carried out on a large scale (Mansfield, 2006). The slash and burn technique has been used by indigenous nomadic subsistence farmers for a long time. The farmers burn plants and trees to create space for farmland and then once the land becomes less fertile they replant trees and move to another area. (Mansfield, 2006) On a small scale this has worked well within the ecosystem, however it is not sustainable on an intensive level with higher population densities. This is because the re-growing, fallowing period, is shorter and the soil becomes very nutrient poor(Mansfield, 2006). This reduces the area of arable land available for licit farming and increases the need for rural farmers to have access to arable in land in more accessible areas. Farmers and communities can then be consulted about what grows best and what the exact needs for the community are. This goes back to the example of the European Regional Development Fund wanting to grow blackberries instead of peaches, not listening to the advice of the community.

### Fair trade movement

The Fair trade movement is being used as another method to counter the fluctuations in international prices. The goods that the farmers produce are given a label for marketing purposes (Fairtrade, 2011). They gain this by producing in a sustainable way and they also receive a fairer price for their goods. Famers have to meet certain environmental, labour and developmental standards to obtain the fair trade label. These include farming cooperatives having democratic decision making processes, pest management procedures, waste management procedures, biodiversity and green house gas emission checks (Fairtrade, 2011). The cooperative then have to pay a premium to the fair trade labelling organisation which goes primarily to marketing. They receive minimum price guarantee and are expected to receive a higher income in return.

The reality is that in some cases non-fair trade cooperatives in similar areas can often receive higher incomes. In some cases this is because the higher income received for fair trade goods is lost in bureaucracy before it reaches the cooperative (Appendix G). In other cases, it is because the costs of having to implement all of the fair trade requirements negate the higher income. It is also argued that the standards imposed by the fair trade system are not always in the best interests of the farming communities. As one of the cooperative representatives states that demands can change “the social dynamics and cultures of these communities”(Appendix G).

Other fair trade organisations such as the rain forest alliance and UTZ, which have been used by USAID for some alternative development projects, do have a have minimum price guarantee (Kamminga, 2014). They have minimum housing and sanitary requirements and only request that workers are paid the local minimum wage. Only 30% of final product has to be sourced from a rainforest alliance producer to have label (Kamminga, 2014).

It has further been criticised for relying on existing market structures rather than opposing them. It therefore, exposes farmers and indigenous farmers to an imposed economic system where everything is valued as a commodity and their culture and way of living is disregarded (appendix G). This model also does not promote the farmers being able to engage higher up the value chain. The corporate gives farmers very little bargaining power as the premiums guaranteed do not match the costs to maintain sustainable production.

This however does not mean that model of fairer trade cannot be integrated into a hybrid model of alternative development. Some of the aspects that the movement promote such as not using genetically modified crops and promoting biodiversity correspond well with what communities need and the principles of food soveriegnty. A long with the other projects their needs to be a consultation on what works and what does not. Rules and regulations cannot be imposed onto communities which try to adjust their cultures and ways of living. The movement can additionally work more to encourage communities into more areas of the value chain. This provides more off farm work opportunities and increases the bargaining power of communities.

The fair trade model offers a number of opportunities to rural communities such as being part of a growing international network and providing a safety net which means they do not need to turn to coca cultivation. The fair trade movement represent farming communities on the global stage in a boomerang effect whilst also providing a safety net against changes in global prices. Further to this the global Fair Trade market was valued at £4.4bn ($ 7.1bn) and in the UK alone is worth is worth £1.8bn ($2.9bn) after 15% growth in 2013 (Smithers, 2013). Supermarkets such as the Co-op, M&S and Waitrose are switching a large number of their goods to being completely fair trade, in order to differentiate from competition, without passing on the premiums to consumers.

The Colombian coffee industry is potentially an example to follow. Colombia has had a strong coffee growing and selling infrastructure for a long time which may well be equally beneficial to fair trade. The FNC have a well developed system guaranteeing a basic price to coffee growers. Expocafe is the export agency of FNC and are responsible for just under 50% of exports (IADB, 2005). They have worked to provide farmers with the infrastructure to reach international markets; they have a minimum price guarantee, help with technical advice to avoid low yields or coffee rust (IADB, 2005). Perhaps the most important endeavour has been to run a strong global marketing campaign to maintain the reputation of Colombian coffee (IADB, 2005). This does not interfere with the traditional ways of life for communities or impose unnecessary restrictions. The FNC could, however, work to help farmers integrate into more levels of the value chain. This provides farmers with the necessary income and bargaining power in order to survive culturally without resorting to illicit coca cultivation. On the other hand, they have not provided assistance with gaining formal land titles. This is demonstrated by the fact that 36% of coffee growers do not have formal land titles (IADB, 2005). Therefore, they have difficulty getting to access to credit which could help add value to their production.

## Alternative local initiatives

### The Coca plant

An area that can be discussed is the legalisation or decriminalisation of the coca plant. As mentioned before this is something that Santos has mentioned as being an exploratory area. The plant has always had a traditional use amongst communities in the Andes (Keefer, 2010). It has been used ritually and as a way to stave off hunger and to treat altitude sickness (Keefer, 2010). It is for this reason that the aim of 0% percent coca cultivation is unattainable.

The plant banned was banned at the 1961 single convention on narcotic drugs based on very suspect research and evidence. However, due to the work of Evo Morales coca declassified as a narcotic in 2013 at the CND (Drucker, Vanda Felbab-Brown et al. 2014). This was based on the recognition of its traditional use and there is no reason it cannot be implemented the rest of the region. This approach also allows law enforcement to focus all of its resources on the DTOs in a more efficient way. The success of this can be seen in that Bolivia has the lowest production of Coca in the Andes (UNODC, 2014). Demilitarised, decriminalised and regulated approach has led to 26% reduction in illicit production of coca in Bolivia since 2010 (UNODC, 2014).

The Election of Morales in Bolivia in 2005 was the culmination of a successful social movement for the recognition of the indigenous rights movement to cultivate and consume coca legally (Farthing; Kohl, 2014). The legal market has also led Bolivia to become a producer of other coca products such as Coca tea which is very similar to green tea (UNODC, 2014). This is points to a potentially very simple implementation of Alternative Development towards licit production. The production of Coca tea and other products could be looked into as an option for adding value. As has been discussed the global perception of drugs is changing and this could be part of the eventual shift in policy.

### Rural social movements groups

Grass roots movements in Colombia have long been suppressed. Indigenous groups and trade unionists and anyone else suspected to have leftist tendencies have been the target of paramilitary groups (Stokes, 2005). The paramilitaries often represent land owners who want to remove opposition and claim the land for large agribusiness or for drug cultivation purposes (Stokes, 2005). These movements have long been trying to resist the exploitation from large business, free trade and to being displaced. This was seen in the huge agricultural protests in 2013 (Cohen, 2013). Farmers were protesting largely against the free trade agreement with the US. This has led to a numbers of farmers unable to compete against subsidised produce. The free trade agreement has also allegedly led to an 83% increase in displacements of rural populations (Anyadike, 2013). This is purportedly linked to paramilitary activity on behalf of extractive industries. This reveals to which the Colombian economy is export orientated at the expense of its rural economy.

FENSUAGRO are the leading agricultural union in Colombia and are members of Via Campesina. They having been leading the resistance by the rural population but a number of their leaders of been kidnapped or killed over the years by paramilitaries or the Colombian military(Tenthoff, Eventon, 2013). The peace talks and an end to violence are clearly important for organisations such as FENSUAGRO to operate freely and represent rural communities. As they represent more of the rural community in Colombia it is perhaps appropriate that they be part of the peace talks. This is because they have more of a mandate to negotiate rural reform and the future of Colombia. The peace talks represent the wider future of Colombia as there is a larger social conflict in society that needs to be resolved. Colombia has one of the highest levels of inequality in the world particularly between the rural and urban areas. As Alejandro Reyes, an adviser to the government on land issues says "When we get to a post-conflict stage there will be an enormous social conflict to deal with,” (Brodzinsky 2013). If more groups were invited to the peace talks the whole future of Colombia could be resolved at once.

FENSUAGRO have created their own list of proposals to solve the issue of illicit drug cultivation in Colombia. They support the widespread implementation of Alternative Development projects as well as the licit production of coca (Montes, 2013). They further argue for formal land titles and more righteous land restitution and distribution. They demand more effective local justice and cooperation with local and regional governments. They further ask for grants or unconditional cash transfers to be given to farmers whilst they wait for new crops to yield(Montes, 2013). All of these proposals are community based and food sovereignty and community justice are key elements. Community justice has also proven to be effective as communities can bypass corrupt officials and institutions. This works by community members electing their own local leaders who can represent the community more accountably and with more awareness of the issues that are most important. In a community with a diversity of crops produced, there can be a reliable supply of food at all times. This can be possible in a post-conflict situation where farmers can act as a collective with the violence and intimidation.

### Via campesina

Via Campesina has been able to take the cause of food sovereignty to a global level and is now being discussed in several forums, such as the World Economic Forum, as a serious option for agricultural development (Via campesina, 2003). This is because in many areas of the world it is farming communities that have the greatest struggle to feed themselves. The system needs to be adjusted to account for the growing food needs of urban areas against the rights of rural areas.

Via Campesina is an International peasant union uniting farmers, rural women, indigenous groups and landless peoples (Provost, 2013). It Campaigns on food sovereignty, agrarian reform, credit and external debt, technology, women’s participation and rural development. (Provost, 2013) It mostly targets international institutions and seeks to build international coalitions acts as the part of the boomerang effect for local peasant groups.

Food sovereignty is the key principle which was created by Via Campesina and due to their efforts it is being considered as potential policy worldwide (Provost, 2013). It has been enshrined in the constitutions of Venezuela and Bolivia which shows that in the region it is a key concept. It should be recognised that full food sovereignty does have its limits which can be seen in Venezuela, where there have been food shortages and huge inflation of food prices (Brodzynsky, 2015).

What is clear is that within rural communities a level of localised food systems can be created in which their food needs are met first. This can be achieved within the global economic system by adopting a hybrid model empowering communities through ownership of land and control of resources.

### Integrating Food Sovereignty

There are nearly five million Colombians suffering from malnutrition or are starving, according to the United Nations (UN) (Refshauge, 2012) and the vast majority come from rural areas. As previously mentioned this is an alarming problem as the parts of the country where most food is produced there is the most hunger. This is because the focus of the food regime is to supply overpopulated cities and international markets. The aim of a food sovereignty approach is to readdress the balance and ensure that those who produce food have more control over the production. This ensures that they have more than enough food within their community for themselves before anything is exported.

Food sovereignty is a priority of the FARC in the peace talks and it appears that the peasant reserve zones that have been agreed upon are a good vehicle to launch a system that priorities the food needs of producers over demand from wealthy consumers.

## The conflict and the peace talks

Peace talks have now been ongoing for nearly 3 years now and some key points have been agreed to, particularly with land reform and reparations for the victims. The details of the agreements will not be released until the conclusion of the peace talks. But it is understood that as part of the agreement there will be an expansion rural peasant reserve zones which are specified areas of land designed to stabilize the peasant economy, prevent the expansion of the agricultural frontier and neutralize the concentration of ownership” according to the ministry of agriculture and rural development(Sales, 2013). These areas guarantee land holdings up to a certain size and stop land grabs from wealthier land owners. The FARC have demanded that these zones also have a political, administrative and judicial autonomy and it remains to be seen as to whether this is will be included in the agreement. The zones are aimed to allow peasants to contribute to the wider economy of Colombia whilst guaranteeing their food sovereignty (Sales 2013). As the FARC have said “we would like to see a community-based economy based on food sovereignty” (Appendix  F). The agreements speaks of a "peasant, family and communitarian economy" (Appendix F) which sounds promising but considering the track record of the Colombian government on rural development for peasant farmers this may not be what it seems.

The FARC make it clear that they are not necessarily against international trade; “Generally speaking, we as insurgency are not against foreign investment at all. We do think it is important that the Colombian farmers on the countryside should benefit from it and that they should be given priority above multinational companies” (Appendix F). This shows that a hybrid model within the global economic system is possible and likely within Colombia as both sides are more open to compromise on the future of rural Colombia.

The peace talks are currently delicately balanced as the conflict is continuing alongside it. This puts into question the true extent as to if Colombia is being de-securitised in the truest sense. In the past when The Colombian government and the FARC have reached ceasefires and had peace talks it has been used as an excuse to re-group and re-arm. It shows the lack of trust between the two sides and means that the peace talks could potentially collapse at any time. The Colombian government has in the past shown it is capable of agreeing deals for disarmament such as with some of the paramilitary groups in 2004 (Stokes, 2005). However this led to the formation of new groups involved in drug trafficking, kidnapping and extortion from members of those groups did not wish to disarm. This may be the case with the current peace talks where certain members of the FARC may break away to form a new group after peace has been agreed. Another example of this was in Northern Ireland where after the peace agreement was signed a group called the Real IRA broke away(Vulliamy, 2015).

The Colombian government seems to be anxious for peace as it is predicted that peace would increase economic growth by at least 1.5 % annually (Economist, 2013). It would also allow it to the Government to continue with its agricultural development and the “Colombian Agricultural Frontier” (Sales, 2013). This is because access to coca growing areas will be less problematic after landmines are removed and there is no threat of attack to infrastructure projects.

As mentioned before it would be beneficial to work towards an agreement that is for the whole of Colombia’s future. As a leading member of the other leftist armed group, the ELN, said “the Colombian conflict is not only an armed conflict; it's a social conflict too. So we say let's solve the social conflict and the armed one at once”. This would mean brining in other groups such as FENSUAGRO and victims groups to have a wider mandate for the agreement. It could also mean involving some groups which represent business interests, such as the Colombian Agriculture Society, to have a more balanced discussion.

## Global Considerations

### The New Front

As discussed earlier there appears to be a paradigm shift in the approach towards global drug policy coming from the western hemisphere, particularly Latin America, the US and Europe. Elsewhere in the World the opposite trend appears to occurring. China, for example, still encouraging harsher regulations on drugs particularly Ketamine (Economist, 2015). Russia is pushing for aerial fumigation in Afghanistan and Indonesia uses the death penalty for minor drug offences (Economist, 2015). This points to a scaling up of securitisation in other parts of the world. These trends are worrying considering the upcoming UNGASS process where progress may be blocked by these countries.

### Alternative Development: A Misnomer

It is very apparent that Alternative Development may not be the most apt name for the policy approach of substituting coca cultivation with licit crops. Although a well-known term within drug policy circles, it can be misleading for those who are from a development background. This is because ‘alternative’ points to an altered model of development rather than just standard development practice in a drugs environment. To have a broader appeal particularly from the development community it is a clear that a better policy title is needed.

A number of other terms have been used including crop substitution, alternative economic livelihoods or sustainable rural development. None of the above is entirely accurate in describing the policy approach. Crop substitution is perhaps the most accurate, but it has very negative connotations attached to it due to past failures. Alternative economic livelihoods are very similar to alternative development and still not entirely accurate but is still not specific enough to drug cultivation and this is the same problem with sustainable rural development. However the link to rural and sustainable is important to emphasise. As David Mansfield points out these projects are not always boundaried but look at supporting entire communities whether members cultivate illicit substances or not (Appendix E). Particularly in a country like Colombia which requires widespread reform for its rural areas a wider sustainable rural development policy approach may be appropriate especially as there is a great focus on market integration.

From a more general drug policy perspective the development aspect of it can be widened to whole area in which drugs intersect with poverty. The rural aspect can still focus on finding licit alternatives to drug cultivation but there can be an urbanised version which provides an economic alternative to drug trading. Finding alternative livelihoods for those in urban areas can reduce the impact of drug violence in cities as people do not need to join a gang to earn money. At this moment it not a topic that is discussed much within the drug policy field. This is perhaps because it has been difficult enough to move rural development to the top of the agenda. In the long term it is perhaps best to consider ways to effectively disincentivise people from the trade at all stages, particularly those who partake out of poverty and necessity. This is a way of distinguishing career criminals from the poor and has been proven to be a more effective way to interdict and tackle the drug trade. The report by the Brookings institute found that the most cost effective way of stopping drugs was by focusing resources on the trafficking stage was the most cost effective way of countering the drug trade. This is because it is the stage where there the greatest value-added is produced.

### Mexico

The Colombian Government, with the help of the US, has been very successful in dismantling large DTOs. There are reports however that the Mexican DTOs or Cartels are moving operations into Colombia and taking over the whole production chain (Charles, 2014). This signals a worrying trend and has the potential to cause increase violence. Mexico is also a global concern as coca plantations have recently been found there and there is increasing production of opium (Charles, 2014). There does currently not appear to be any alternative development or crop substitution programmes in place to deal with this trend.

# Conclusion

In Colombia, rural farmers have been victim of the “War on Drugs” for a long time. As the approach is beginning to de-militarise their fortunes may begin to change. This is not necessarily a positive phenomenon, as the paradigm is shifting away from of securitisation towards de-securitised development within the same international regime. Although not yet fully implemented it appears that alternative development and a broader rural development approach is the future for tackling the issue of cultivation of illicit drugs. This will involve being integrated into Colombia’s very liberal economy and trying to compete in global markets. It would appear that the best way to do this is to develop a hybrid model between protecting communities with guaranteed land rights and exporting products for international sales. The process for farmers to be able to shift towards value added products will be very difficult to achieve and may take a long time. That is why the long term political will is so important. The Thai alternative Development project the will through royal decree. It is evident that the value chain approach is very challenging to implement as it has been an issue in international development for some time. As developing nations such as Colombia produce the raw materials and the value added products are made in the west where a greater percentage of the wealth is kept.

As James Ferguson points out “Very nature of neo-liberalism allows for a whole range of opportunities”. This means that with formal land titles and access to credit farming communities can develop in a way that suits them. Of course the issue of land has not got any simpler and it is perhaps the greatest challenge for Colombia to find a balanced land deal that meets the needs of everyone in Colombian Society. This can be brought about in a post-conflict environment but whether that will truly occur in Colombia remains to be seen. The anti-restitution army is made up of former paramilitary members and a number of the DTOs.

With regards to alternative development and the balloon effect there needs to be a global concerted effort to otherwise production will shift around very easily. Although there is potential for a legal coca market, the illegal market attracts armed groups and DTOs bring violence, intimidation and instability to the lives of rural farmers. This why creating a model that empowers rural farmers and communities are essential in order not to attract armed groups and allow for a sustainable form of living.

The future of rural development in Colombia depends very much on the peace talks and solving the wider social conflicts within Colombia. Otherwise new armed groups will emerge and coca cultivation will continue, the drug trade will continue and the violence that comes with it. This is why the Colombian government’s model for rural development and alternative development will not be effective in its current form. This also needs to accompanied with the necessary actions to de-securitise Colombia and the drug trade.

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## Presentations

Lawrence Watson, Member of the Advisory Board, Mae Fah Luang Foundation and the Doi Tung Development Project, 2014

# Appendix

## Appendix A

Thursday, March 26, 2015 12:16 AM

Dear Jack Grounds, good day. Today I can finally sit down and respond to your message, I´m sorry that I haven’t responded to your email.

When it comes to your first question: Alternative development is substitution of crops implementing productive projects with licit crops. In our case we are a social organisation born out of a government programme called Programa Familia Guardabosques (PFGB), that came to the municipality of Albán, department of Narina, Colombia, when these crops started. It is a programme that came as a prevention of the rise in crops that were grown in adjacent terrains to the coffee crops. Today in Albán we have 0 ilicit crops.

To the second question, yes, we are part of these projects, we are 512 members of the Agropecuria del Municipio de Alban (Association AAA).

In this moment a government institution named called Unidad Administrativa para consolidacion terretorial (UACT) is looking for international support in order to help these organisations in providing them with solutions to the economic situations of the farmer families. Today we have a coffee processing plant and the brand we have is "Café Albanita". A high quality coffee. We are fighting to search for a market for this kind f coffee.

There exist various global organisations that have collaborated with us in productive projects which are: CAM from Madrid, USAID from the US with their programmes ARD-ADAM; ACDI/VOCA; UNODC which has been a strategic ally if UACT. Other Columbian institutions have also supported us such as: Fundación EMSSANAR, COORPONARINO, the Ministry of Law and Justice, Federacion de cafeteros de Colombia (federation of columbian coffee-growers) and others.

The projects are aimed at the value chain, from which we as farmers, including me, hope for a better quality of life; because we have been forgotten by the state. I send you pictures.

If you have any doubts, write me, please.

Regards. Edgar Ivan Pasaje, legal representative of the AAA

## Appendix B

Wednesday, March 25, 2015 3:18 AM

Dear Jack, good evening, Im sorry for not responding before to your email, but as we say here better late than never.

When it comes to your questions I will respond to them one by one:

to which degree....?

from our perspective we believe that the reason to be in the Asociaciones campesinos is primarily based on the added value that we gice to what is produced, because it is in this slogan, and in the slogan of marketing in which the productive chains offer most to the work that wears you down and the ones who work most get better dividends. For this reason we clearly wish to engage higher up in the value chains for in beekeeping products and its derivatives.

how much support...?

up to this moment we have not received any support from international NGOs or the UNODC

to which degree are the needs and...?

This is precisely the point that we always highlight and demand from both the state, from organizations or individuals who want to support us, that we it is us ourselves who decide to what we want to do with the support, all according to the needs that we ourselves feel, because only then we will appropriate of these projects.

do you take into account...?

in our case, if we are supported in the production of food for local consumption rather than for export, since Honey is a food that here in Colombia is consumed more than it is produced, then theres a lot of import and so the idea is to produce more for domestic markets.

I hope these brief reflections can help you in your thesis and we are ready to continue colaborating with you in whatever you may find appropiate.

take care

Oscar Molano

## Appendix C

Wednesday, March 18, 2015 7:06 PM

Greetings

when it comes to your mail we have the following to tell you:

I am the legal representative of the Asociación Victoriana de Cacaoteros which is made up by 335 members whose properties are between 0,5 and 12 hectares, situated in the east of Caldas, an area that was formerly affected by social problems (guerillas and paramilitary) and where coca and marihuana production was established in earlier years.

with the support programs from the national government (Proyecto Alianzas Productivas, 377 million, Familias Guardabosques) and the UN (MOU for a value of 389 dollars, marketing for 55 million, infrastructure for 300 million) the producers changed the ilicit crops for other crops as recommended by the financers of the projects who bring a readymade implementation plan for the area in agreement with consultants that supposively know the area. In some projects they take into account the concept of community leaders

These projects encompass both productive projects such as marketing and the producers intend to give added value to their products, such as making good agricultural practices and good processes of harvesting and processing to ensure the quality of our cocoa, cataloged as very fine in flavor and aroma, the sale of chocolate produced for domestic consumption and for export.

 I am very attentive towards your comments and I will colaborate further with pleasure

Gloria Ines Cardona

Legal Representative

ASOVICA

## Appenix D

Wednesday, March 18, 2015 1:36 PM

Good day, Jack

How important it is that people like you from so far away are interested in the problems of our country and that you make investigations that allow us to measure the results of the actions we make in order for Colombia to advance towards peace and reconciliation. We cannot deny the great tragedy that have happened to us and our responsibility and we are always thankful for the international support we receive in this conflict which occurs when society marginalizes one sector of the population that inhabits the rural areas, which is one of the main causes of the conflict. This population live in poverty and backwardness and are always the most vulnerable groups in every case and to this we can add the illicit cultivation of coca which at some point becomes the only alternative for the survival of these communities, but they generate more violence and illegality.

During the last 10 years the colombian society as become aware of the importance of the farmers in the reconstruction of the country and with the partnership of the international community have generated programs that offer opportunities to the rural population in the way of knowledge transfer, financial support to their activities and the opening of markets for their production.

Among these programs of alternative development I would like to mention some of them.

In Colombia rural development was planned from the desks in the big cities by some "wisemen" who did not know our productive culture, our potential and especially our ancestral experience.

The program of alternative development created an incentive for the farmer in the processes of the planning of their own development and the capacity to work together, it supports us in creating farmer associations in which we can express ourselves that today can discuss and make suggestions for our development with roots in our potential and our culture.

Alternative development has taught us about and showed us productive processes based on legality, thanks to this we can now say that we have eradicated the totality of illegal crops from our territory and especially from our hearts, today we can say to the world that our population will never again permit the cultivation of coca and that we are committed to legality and sustainable development.

In the same vein, this program has permitted us to discover the innate capabilities we have as farmers in generating community business processes that today are succesful and to discover leaders that put their entire souls into giving the population more opportunities, it has made us reconcile among ourselves. In our region there existed communities that were enemies, today thanks to this program we share our dreams regarding cocoa and we plan our development as a region.

When you ask where we as farmers want to go when it comes to the value chain I share with you that our dream is that our processed cocoa arrives to the best markets in the world. We know it is not easy, but it is not impossible, we are working on this. We require knowledge on the topic, technology, but we know about the commitment of our farmers and thanks to this we will succeed. Today our children are no longer collectors of coca leaves and they share our dreams about cocoa and they go to the university to prepare for it to one day become a reality.

When it comes to the participation of international NGOs and the UNODC I would like to say that without their support and partnership this would not have been possible. The international community has taught the colombian government how wrong they were when they created repressive policies in order to solve the problem of illicit crops and the conflict in the country. Today, thanks to the international partnerships the rural communities in colombia have understood our role in the development of the country. we are assertive communities in what we suggest, we have created hope for many families around a dream that we can develop from our farms. Thus our appreciation and thanks to all international organizations that have aided in the recovery of the Colombian society.

As farmers we are convinced that for us to succeed depends on the participation of everyone. In Colombia since very recently being a farmer was synonymous with ignorance. Today we show that that is not true and that we as farmers have much to offer in the reconstruction of the country and the government has understood this and generated policies that permit community participation and within the alternative development program participation is the foundation of development.

Among all the productive projects that have been created in the field of alternative development there exist some components that are compulsory. Food security is one of them and our farmers are being taught about its importance and about the advantage we have in producing our own food, financial advantages, nutritional and in our quality of life. Another main component is the care of the environment. Naturally cocoa is one of the crops that are most friendly to the environment which has allowed us to recover lands that were infertile, to protect the water sources, to eliminate ancestral practices like fires that were harmful to the environment, we recover the variety of plants and animals, we empower families when it comes to waste disposal. All these themes we are certain will lead us to the social sustainability of our region.

All this does not mean that all our problems have been solved, but it shows that we are on the right path and with the support of the international community we will achieve peace among colombians and to make colombia a model for development for the world.

As farmers from the west of Boyaca we thank you for your interest in wanting to know about our process and we wish you success in your research. We are available for you for whatever you may need. GOD BLESS YOU.

## Appendix E

Wednesday, February 18, 2015 4:29 PM

Hi Jack

Thanks for the email. You need to step away from the kind of project and boundaried type intervention that you are talking about in your email and are discussed by many of the writers you are reading are referring to. Those who often write about drug production have often spent little time with those that cultivate drug crops and have very little empirical data with drug crop producing households to draw upon apart from the ubiquitous statistics from UNODC (which have limited merit). These writers also rarely have a 'development' background or have worked as practitioners in the field. There are notable exceptions but typically writers on drug production are economists or political scientists and tend to take a rather teleological view or the world. They often verge on drugs fetishism thinking that the only thing that those farmers who grow drug crops do is grow drug crops, and the only interventions that occur in the areas where drug crops are grown are drug control projects. Unfortunately the world is so much more complex than this! I attach a recent report - one of many that I have done that looks the socio-economic, political and environmental processes that shape farmers transition both in and out of poppy cultivation in Afghanistan.

This report does not look at the impact that a so called 'Alternative Development' project had on opium poppy cultivation in isolation - which would be all but impossible - but examines its effects in what is, in many parts of Nangarhar, a highly congested development environment and a rapidly evolving political space. The report shows the highly differentiated nature of project impact with regard to both development and CN outcomes. It shows  how development interventions have supported livelihood resilience and mitigated against civil unrest to the poppy ban in some parts of Nangarhar, while proven insufficient for the scale of the development task in others, and in some places subsequently supported an expansion of both the licit and illicit economies in parallel amidst a backdrop of rapidly deteriorating security.   
  
The methodology  - combining both imagery and household data - provides detailed examples of the what the transition from opium poppy (and in some cases the transition back again) looks like for farmers and rural communities on the ground, rather than from the perspective of elite groups and secondary stakeholders which tends to dominate much of the evaluative material in Afghanistan at the moment. The combination of high resolution remote sensing imagery and well focused fieldwork in some of the most insecure rural areas, provides detailed analysis of a range of different development outcomes and tests the assumptions that underpin them. There are more detailed annexes offering a full inventory of the imagery but these are rather large files. I am happy to send these if they are of use.

There is other work that I have done with the World Bank and others that steps beyond the project and critiques alternative development and the paradigm that sees both development and drug control outcomes as a function of boundaried project interventions. These also use detailed empirical work in poppy growing areas and imagery. I can also send these if they would be of use.

Best Regards

David

## Appendix F

Friday, May 01, 2015 8:56 PM

Hello Jack,  
  
During the first point of the Agenda (Agrarian Development Policies) there has been a lot of discussion about all these topics. The underlying and more general difference in point of view of the government and the insurgency lies (of course) in the fact that we would like to see a community-based economy based on food sovereignty.   
The translation of documents to English has only started after the first point, so the only document available in English about it is this one [http://farc-epeace.org/index.php/communiques/communiques-peace-delegation/item/505-joint-communique-16.html](https://mail.aau.dk/owa/redir.aspx?C=BJutWk_TykKUj_e5rMVW4ciIBOfeWdIIBXO-_ASWdM7M4UNcYEuTHwQ22iEwmVyFveSlZECTZaw.&URL=http%3a%2f%2ffarc-epeace.org%2findex.php%2fcommuniques%2fcommuniques-peace-delegation%2fitem%2f505-joint-communique-16.html). If you read Spanish, you could read this one <http://pazfarc-ep.org/index.php/acuerdos/tierras/1306-primer-informe-conjunto-de-la-mesa-de-conversaciones-entre-el-gobierno-de-la-republica-de-colombia-y-las-fuerzas-armadas-revolucionarias-de-colombia-ejercito-del-pueblo-farc-ep>.  I think that in this document, the majority of your questions is answered. Let me know if you read Spanish, if not, I will try to help you with some translation.   
As you see, the agreements speaks of a "peasant, family and communitarian economy". There is a plan to encourage a rural economy based on solidarity and cooperation, which should also strenghten the capacity of rural communities to sell their products, have acces to goods and services and better their living conditions.   
Generally speaking, we as insurgency are not against foreign investment at all. We do think it is important that the Colombian farmers on the countryside should benefit from it and that they should be given priority above multinational companies.   
There has also been discussion on food security and food sovereignty; the government didn't want to employ the term sovereignty, that is why we put it in one of the "pending points": points that still will have to be discussed in the future. Neoliberal policies is also one of those pending points, and land concentration.   
We discussed a lot about the concept of the farmer businessman, which is a popular idea among the government delegates. They want to change the farmers into business partners of the big companies and make them part of their marketing chain. We don't agree, because we think that the farmers don't have a fair opportunity to compete with big companies, which is virtually what we see when we take a closer look at the FTA.   
I hope my answers will help you some further,  
  
Best wishes,  
Alexandra Nariño  
Peace Delegation FARC-EP

## Appendix G

Monday, April 27, 2015 6:17 PM

In Colombia the alternative development is orientated towards productive projects that facilitate the substitution of illicit crops. For some decades, the Colombian government has worked towards this through an institutional programme that finances these types of activities, and it is these government resources that finance the majority of community projects. In the 90´s, the Interamericano Bank of Development (BID) lent 90 million dollars of credit to Colombia for sustainable development. This was managed by the presidential program PLANTE (National Plan of Alternative Development). While this programme worked for the substitution of illicit crops, the US government was financing Plan Colombia, which included the eradication of the same crops through prohibition enforced by the armed forces, by means of Glyphosate aspersion.

Currently, the name of the programme of illicit crop substitution is the Program Against Illicit Crops (PCI). It forms part of the strategy of the Administrative Unit for Territorial Consolidation (UACT), which itself is in the department of Social Prosperity (DPS), which is part of the Presidency of the Republic.

As you can see, the alternative development in reality is financed by the Colombian state, as far as I know and with regards to the projects I manage.

For example, what the UN does is administrate the Colombian resources to offer greater transparency and efficiency in the investment of government money.

For each question you have sent I will give you an answer:

Your First Question

For 21 Years, I have worked in sustainable development, especially for indigenous communities. I have worked in Cauca, the Amazons, Huila and, for the last 8 years, in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Additionally, for the last 5 years I have worked as consultant for the Kogui and Arhuaco communities in productive projects that are managed traditionally. These projects aim to give added value to these communities, and it allows them to access the marketplace without losing their ancestral knowledge of production. In fact, they work to demonstrate that this knowledge offers additional value and should be recognised and valued.

QUESTION 2

My personal conviction since my involvement is that these communities and their products should be given more value, and there are some entities which do promote them like that. The real radical problem is not in this conviction, for the officials/civil servants of the entities share this. However, on many occasions, what they do comes from a purely theoretical position and not from an understanding of the social dynamic. The culture of these communities is what permits them to understand their ancestral relationship with the territory, it is what gives them guidelines to implement different projects that could be successful in the future. After all, it is the communities themselves that should operate and administrate them.

QUESTION 4

For the Coffee Program in the Kogui community, the support of the UACT has been fundamental, as they have found a way to offer support which respects the way of life and needs of the Kogui. They have financed part of the infrastructure and teams that process the coffee and sell it nationally and internationally at a higher value…The UNODC administrates the funds of the UACT.

Question 5

Very rarely do they respect or consider the needs of the communities. Very often, these needs are interpreted by officials/civil servants or professional consultants who approach it from their own experience. This does not always coincide with the vision of the community because they do not understand the socio-cultural dynamic of the community.

Question 6

Based on my experience, the production of traditional foods according to the traditional systems of each community is fundamental. Nevertheless, in the majority of cases the project is focused on generating income. Once again, this is because the professional consultants or officials/civil servants are ignorant of the culture and systems of food production of these communities. Normally, they are articulated in terms of generated products, surpluses and incomes.

Question 7

Truthfully, for me the certifications of Fair Trade offer no extra value because they have become part of the bureaucratic system. With the tax rebate/bonuses that they receive they should pay for the entire process of certification by the certifiers, which make demands of the producers and organisations that are modifying the social dynamics and cultures of these communities. In many cases, and especially with the indigenous, they generate internal conflicts. In the end, the Fair Trade price that the consumer pays gets lost along the way before it reaches the producer.

Yours sincerely,

## Appendix H

Friday, March 13, 2015 4:08 PM

Mr. - JACK GROUNDS

 best regards.

My name is FELIX ROJAS, I am the legal representative of the association-asomucan, we grow cacao. I will answer your questions and anything else.

I inform you that we are of the inch in Colombia, we have transformation of cocoa beans into cocoa liquor, chocolate table, chocolates, sent you a portfolio of products before you to help us with advertising or publicity, and you know we can send samples from here, for your knowledge and dissemination.

The Office of the United Nations if and helped us a lot, since we are the first project, alternative production in Colombia, and now in my province or department, there are 30 municipalities and replacing cocoa planting crops ilícitos.La UNODC. It has helped us to obtain the first certification or seal of approval in clean production and fair trade, Fairtrade mark, FLO-CERT of Germany

I inform you that most of the projects if they agreed with the communities, some are imposed, but most are subsidized.

WATCH YOUR CONCERNS REMAIN

FELIX A.ROJAS - CHOCOLATES Anorí-Antioquia COLOMBIA

May 7, 2015

JACK friend

I responding to their concerns informed him that the Fair Trade label is important for those who have it, as it represents more income, both at the national level. And internationally, this label nationwide, is not known and the government, as the market does not give it the importance that should be given to this effort by producers to make things right, of domestic consumers, only 3 % of the domestic consumer, you know, what is Fair Trade; but those do not know or do not care.

We are coordinating with Latin American Fair Trade, CLACC, working with local governments, in each country, to try to influence public policies in Latin American countries.

If it is possible that all Latin American countries, especially COLOMBIA, have food sovereignty and autonomy required in each municipality or district. It is necessary resolutely combat corruption in government, from the lowest to the highest levels, the issue of coca crops.

Some are aware of the importance of organic farming and clean production of chemicals, such as food innocuous, but this awareness must be generalized in all producers in the world, Colombia has land suitable for food production, of every kind and variety plus clean water, but we know what we have, and what we value, as it should be, it is the efforts of communities like us, you must be combined with other widespread awareness about food sovereignty.

I would like to know from your perspective, the vision of European countries, on the subject of food sovereignty and especially the conservation of water.

Cordially

ROJAS FELIX A. Barrientos

MUNICIPAL ASSOCIATION OF ANORI- cocoa producers ANTIOCH COLOMBIA