

The Empty Shell of Shared Responsibility in Drug Control: A Case Study of Afghanistan and Colombia



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LINKSCH CONFERENCE

**Grasping the Links in the Chain: Understanding the Unintended
Consequence of International Counter-Narcotics Measures for the EU
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Research

International regime theory

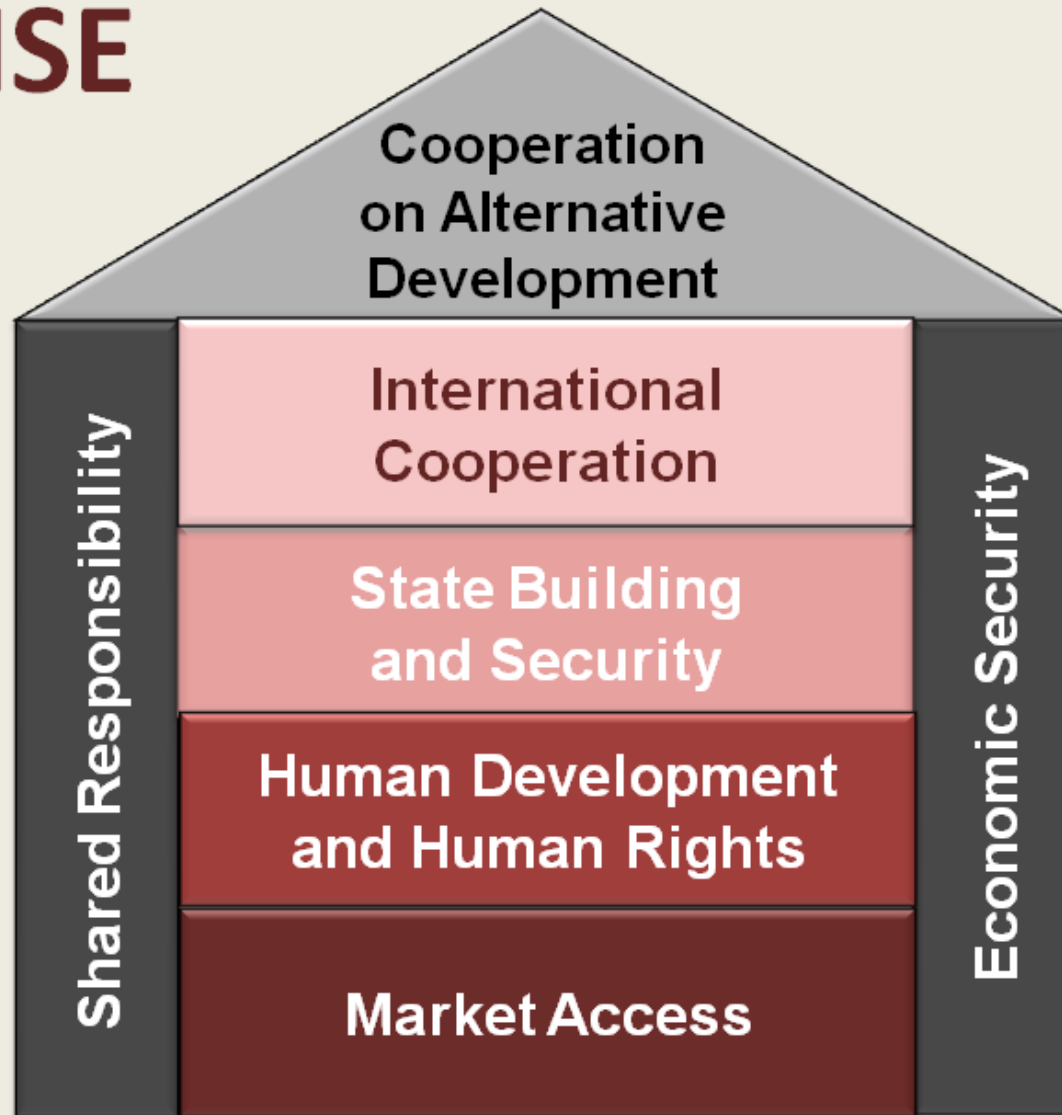
Krasner, Stephen D. (ed.), International Regimes (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995).

Securitisation theory (Copenhagen School)

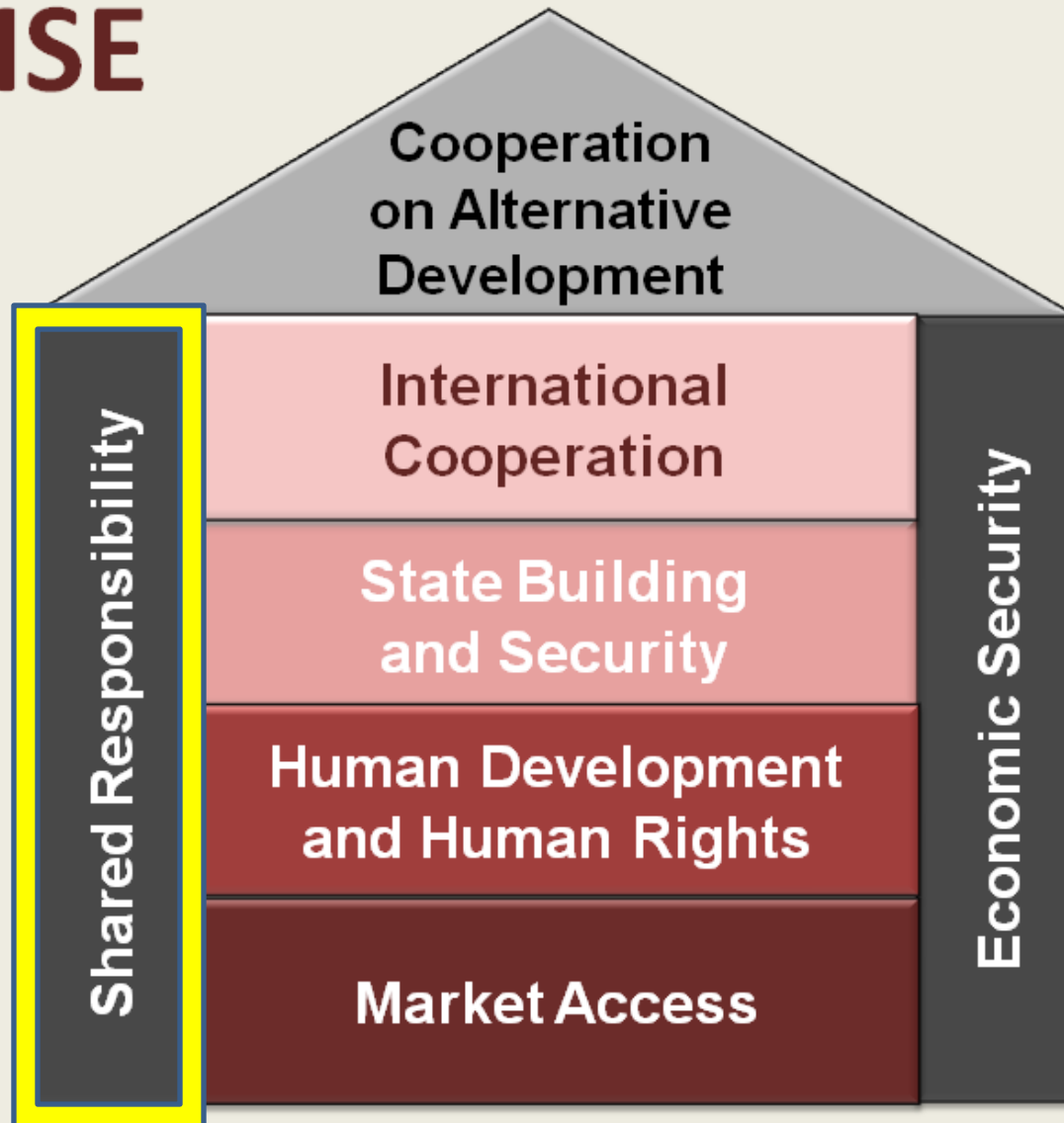
Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde, Security: A New Framework for Analysis (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).

- Creation of an International Economic Security Regime (RISE) that could help to strengthen and deepen international cooperation on Alternative Development (AD)

RISE



RISE



1. Why study Shared Responsibility?

- Commission on Narcotics Drugs (CND)



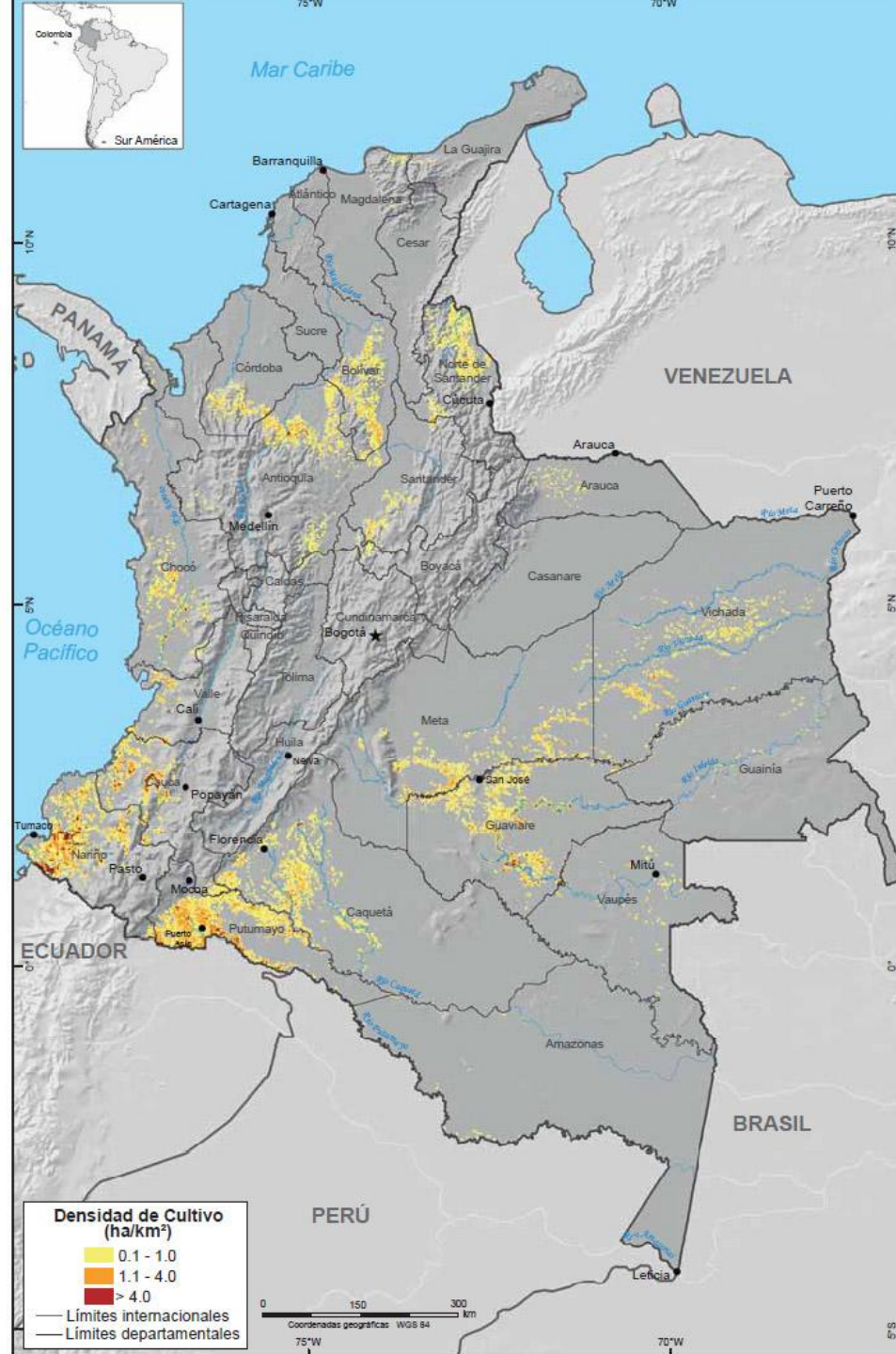
A short history of Shared Responsibility (I)

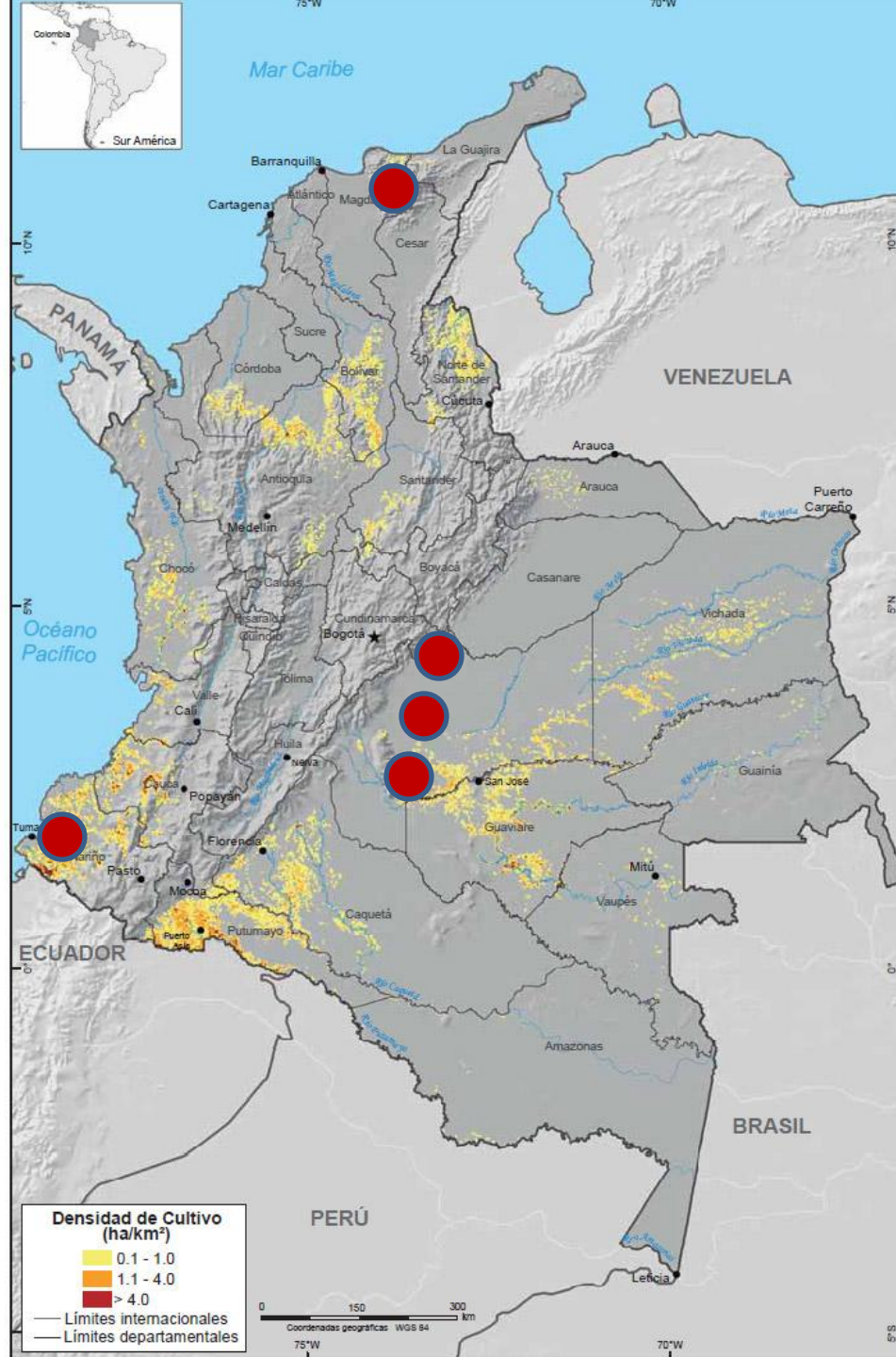
- 1984: UN General Assembly underlines collective responsibility of states on issue of drugs.
- 1990: 17th UNGASS adopts political declaration based on principle of shared responsibility
- 1998: 20th UNGASS of 1998 firmly establishes “Balanced Approach” and “common and shared responsibility”
- 2009 Political Declaration and Action Plan
- CND sessions of 2011 and 2012.

1. Why study Shared Responsibility?

- Commission on Narcotics Drugs (CND)
- **Key question:** Does it go beyond political rhetoric?
- **Key challenge:** How to measure it?
 - A. International support
 - B. International market access
- Delimitations of my case study:
 - Alternative Development (AD)
 - Colombia (1998 – 2012)
 - Regions of Tumaco, Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and Meta







.2. The case of Colombia



2. The case of Colombia

- Since 1998 support mainly from US and EU.
- EU: Focus especially on development, peace building, civil society and strengthening of local institutions?
- US: Focus especially on drugs and conflict?
- Some (other) bilateral support (mainly Belgium, Canada, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and UK.

A short history of International cooperation (I)

➤ United States:

- From Andean Strategy to Plan Colombia.
- Concrete support through USAID.
 - Range of local programmes/operators: ADAM, MIDAS, ACDI-VOCA, Chemonics, FUPAD.
- Andean Trade Preference Act (ATPA).
- Andean Trade Promotion and Drug Eradication Act (ATPDEA).

A short history of international cooperation (II)

➤ European Union:

- From Specialized Dialogue on Drugs with the four countries of CAN (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru) to EU-Latin America and Caribbean Coordination and Cooperation Mechanism on Drugs to COPOLAD.
- Concrete support through EU Peace Laboratories.
- EU: Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) and GSP Plus.

General outcomes

La Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta

- **International Support:** Mostly limited to USAID, with some additional bilateral support (e.g. Italy). Other international support is mainly provided through multilateral channels such as the IADB (e.g. Japan).
- **Products/projects supported internationally:** Especially coffee and cocoa (agro-forestry), fishing, some honey production and eco-tourism, and timber through sustainable (reforestation) projects.
- **International market access:** organic coffee and indirectly for cocoa.
- **Shared Responsibility:** In terms of bilateral cooperation mainly limited to the United States through USAID. Other countries such as Italy have also supported AD in the region.

General outcomes

The Department of Meta:

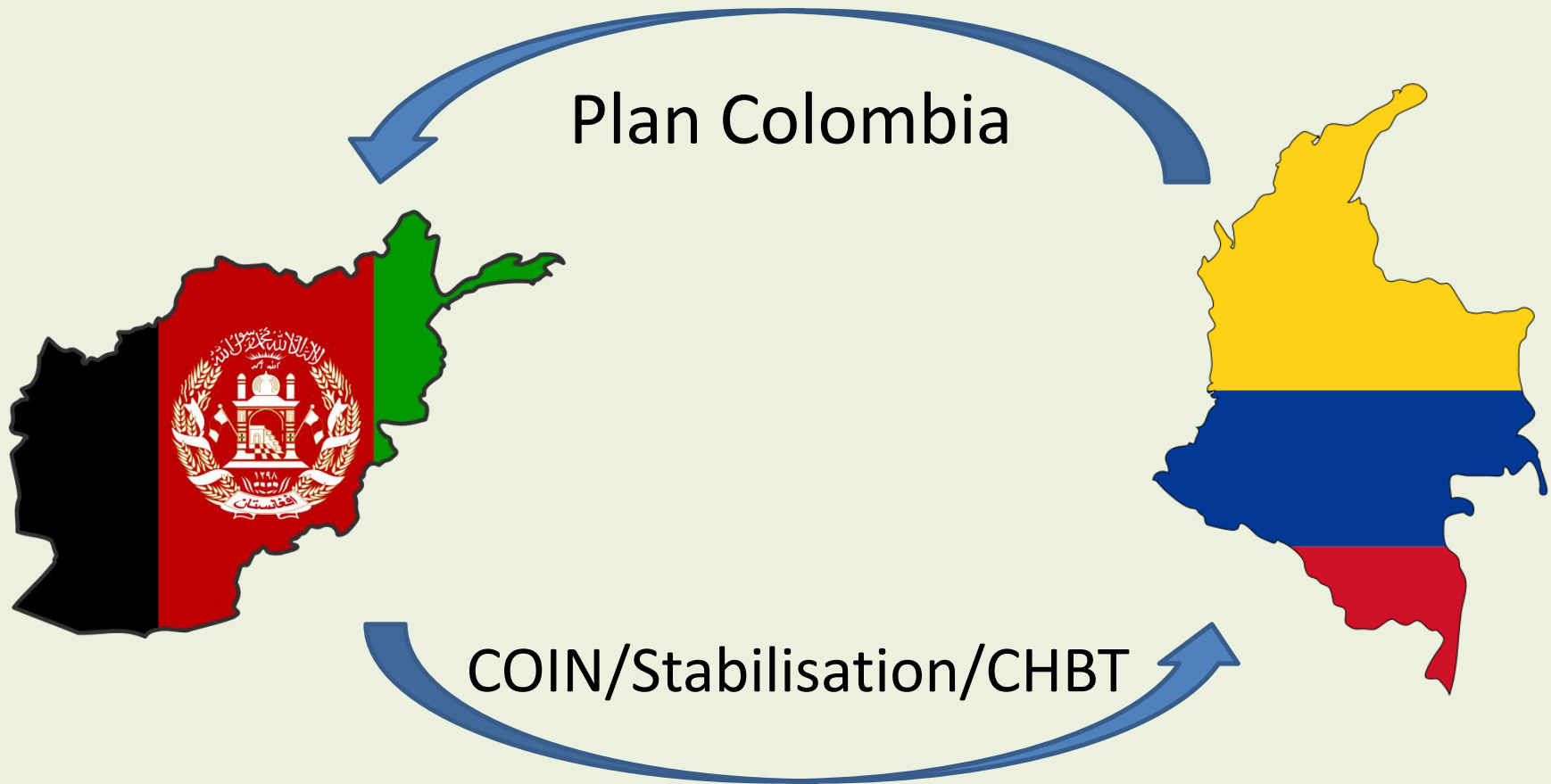
- **International Support:** In the bilateral sense mainly limited to the United States (USAID) and the Netherlands. Multilaterally the EU.
- **Products/projects supported internationally:** Mainly livestock, milk, cocoa, coffee, sugar cane and plantain. Rubber is increasingly being promoted but so far production is limited.
- **International market access:** Very limited on none. In the future perhaps rubber.
- **Shared Responsibility:** Only the United States and the Netherlands in terms of direct and indirect linkages between their support programmes and the objective of drug control. Through the EU, other countries contribute to the EU Peace Laboratory.

General outcomes

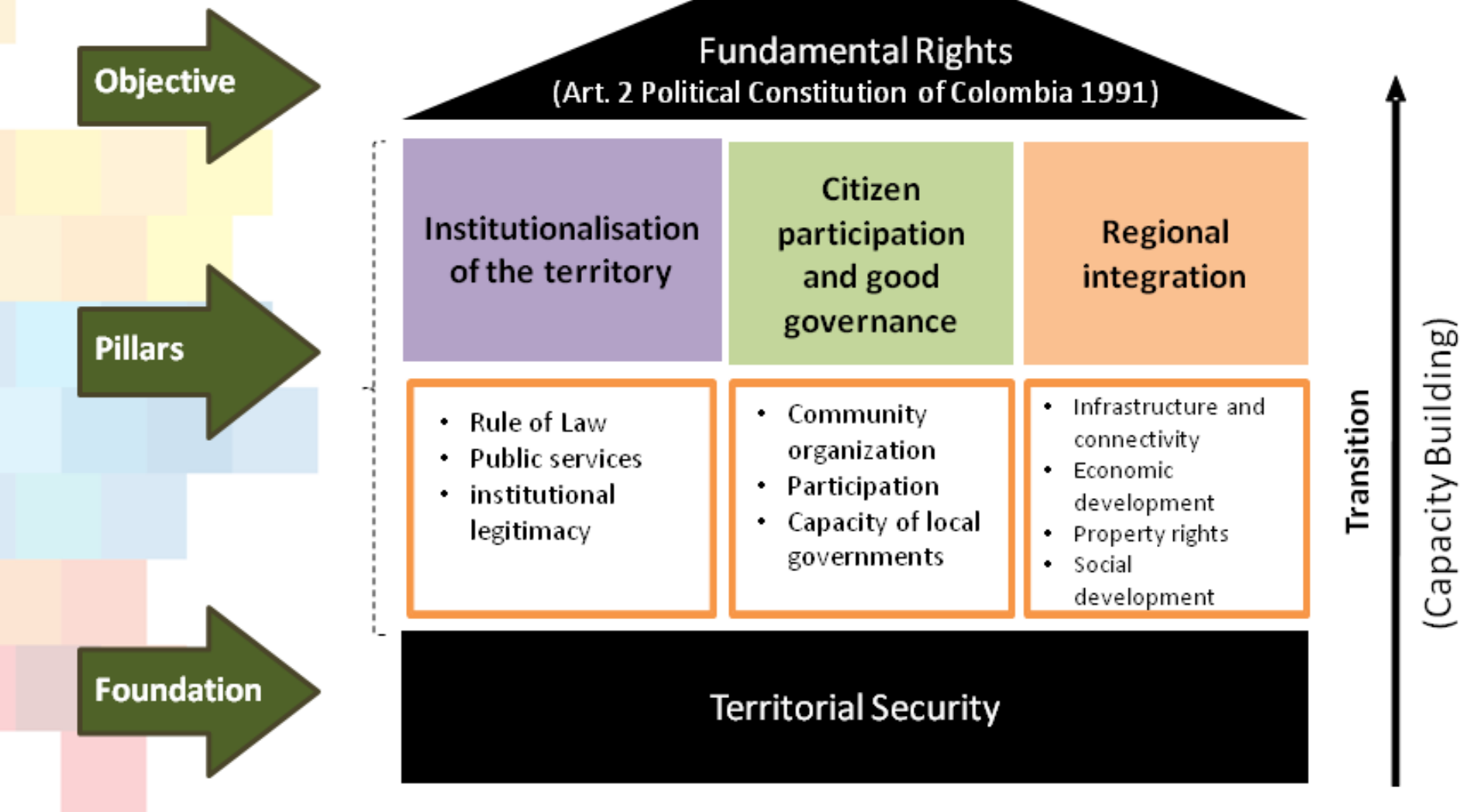
The region of Tumaco:

- **International Support:** Mostly limited to USAID, with some additional support of UNDP and the EU.
- **Products/projects supported internationally:** Especially cocoa, coconut, oil palm and timber. To a lesser extent artisanal fishing, sugar cane, rice, plantain, forestry plantations, some other crops, and silvopasture (combining forestry with animal husbandry). Also: protection of biodiversity and natural resources
- **International market access:** Almost inexistent, except for *piangua*, palm oil (before the fungus disease) and indirectly for some cocoa through bulk processing in factories outside of the region
- **Shared Responsibility:** In terms of bilateral cooperation mainly limited to the United States through USAID.

3. Afghanistan and Colombia (I)



The strategic focus of the PNCRT



3. Afghanistan and Colombia (II)

What Afghanistan and Colombia have in common in terms of AD

Long history of AD interventions or similar rural development efforts

Scattered, disconnected efforts of AD

Compartmented International support linked to regions (more in Afghanistan due to ISAF mission)

Especially **agricultural** produce, low added value, hardly any agro-industry

Mostly for **local markets**, sometimes national, hardly ever international

Mostly **small-scale**: a few hundred farmers at a time

Classic **marketing problems** (low quality, low volume, poor frequency)

High transportation costs related to remoteness of areas

Focus on 'success stories', **wonder crops** or poster crops

Shifts in approaches and priorities (especially Colombia)

AD opportunities limited in areas because of security situation or presence of AOG

Very little evidence of long-term impact or causality with levels of illicit cultivation

3. Afghanistan and Colombia (III)

What is different in Afghanistan	What is different in Colombia
CN efforts falling off the map	CN efforts high on the agenda
International cooperation/support decreasing but still substantial (least developed country)	International cooperation/support decreasing as an upper-middle income country
Fewer alternative crops and supporting infrastructure available	More alternative crops and supporting infrastructure available
No access to sea ports	Access to sea ports
No tourism industry	Tourism industry
Stick of crop eradication is weaker	Stick of crop eradication is stronger
Role of religion, traditional leaders/shuras more important in farmer's decision-making	Not key factors
CN dependent on international assistance	More able to pay for CN efforts

Modest conclusions

1. Without the US there would be hardly any bilateral form of shared responsibility in Colombia.
2. Multilaterally (e.g. the EU), the link with drugs becomes very weak.
3. Much of the international (development) cooperation is not linked to drugs at all.
4. Access to international markets does not really include AD products.
5. **No real securitisation but politicisation**
6. There are no 53 countries assisting AD in Colombia

Modest recommendations

How to boost support through shared responsibility?

- Drugs/AD discourse does not sell
- How to solve that?
- 1. Increase linkages with climate change
 - a. Protection of the tropical forest as a source of oxygen/carbon absorption
 - b. Protection of the mountain ecosystems as a source of water
- 2. Focus on linkages with companies, not countries



Thanks!

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