

Proposed 2014–2017 Strategy: Global Drug Policy Program

Summary

National and international drug control policies are typically repressive, unjust and dismissive of scientific evidence. Since 2008, the Global Drug Policy Program (GDPP) has supported civil society voices as well as research and teaching to reform policies that are the antithesis of Open Society values. OSF's Latin America Program, International Harm Reduction Development, Campaign for a New Drug Policy (US Programs), Youth Initiative, and more recently OSIWA have been part of this work. There were only rudiments of a "field" of drug policy reform in civil society before OSF worked in this area. OSF grantees now constitute the world's most important network of drug policy reformers.

The 2014-2017 period holds the potential for historically important drug policy change:

- **Opportunities:** (1) Many countries are near drug policy breakthroughs, with NGOs in those countries poised to advance change, and the UN General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on Drugs in 2016 is a built-in test of national-level reform. (2) A number of universities wish to develop research and teaching in drug policy. (3) There is an emerging interest among development organizations in ways to address drug-poverty links.
- **How change will come:** Change is likely when NGOs have the resources to make breakthroughs, public awareness is improved through strategic use of media, and credible experts add to the evidence base for policy reform. Contexts differ: the focus in Europe is preventing backsliding, in Latin America fostering experiments in alternative policies, and in Africa progress toward decriminalization of minor offenses. At times, despair over drug-related crime, violence and other harms may, sadly, be the best catalyst for change.
- **Our distinctive capacity:** Having played a central role in building the field, GDPP and OSF partners are well placed to identify the right entities to support at strategic times – whether at moments of positive opportunity or of desperation that may drive change.
- **Our goals:** GDPP will (1) support national policy reform in key countries by building on existing efforts and bringing new voices to the debate, (2) support technical capacity-building in drug policy, including through university courses, and (3) deepen links with the development sector related to marginal populations involved with drug markets.

GDPP will work with other OSF programs on a shared drug policy framework and hopes to be part of foundation-wide efforts on criminal justice reform and Roma rights as they develop. Drug policy already serves as a good example of how OSF cross-program expertise can be mobilized to advance Open Society values.

GDPP seeks both to support a field of reformers it has helped to build and to inspire others to join in addressing our goals. It is bold to suppose that repressive drug control regimes, entrenched for so long, can be changed. But GDPP is ready to invest in these efforts and to stand with those most harmed by inhumane policies because our experience shows that drug policy change may come at the end of a hard path, but it is possible.

Program History and Context

History: The Global Drug Policy Program (GDPP) was established in 2008, following a meeting on drug policy convened by George Soros in 2007. The International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRD) was very successful in its work on drug-related health issues, but Mr. Soros saw the need to address drug policy issues beyond those related to health — indeed, to change the dominant paradigm of drug policy away from repressive prohibition. Public health efforts linked to drugs and reforming repressive law and policy go hand

in hand; without law reform, public health programs are undermined and vice versa. GDPP was established as a grant-giving, non-network program (i.e. not obliged to fund programs and initiatives through national foundations), allowing it to work wherever the need was greatest. From the time of its first grants, GDPP worked with Latin America Program (LAP), IHRD, Campaign for a New Drug Policy (US Programs) and Youth Initiative, among other OSF programs, in many joint efforts. The first GDPP annual budget was \$2 million; it was spent in six months. By its fifth year, the budget had tripled to meet high demand. At the same time, GDPP evolved also to meet higher-than-expected demand for advocacy and technical advice, as reflected in the experience of the current program staff.

Program overview: GDPP aims to shift the paradigm of drug policies around the world from today's punitive approach to one rooted in public health, social justice and human rights. With very few exceptions, national drug laws and policies seek primarily to punish illicit drug production, possession and use. Relying on repression to solve the drug problem is ineffective, expensive and ultimately irrational. Our long-term goal is that states and the global community be open to experimenting with less criminalization of drug use and possession as evidenced by legislative change and rigorous implementation of reformed laws. GDPP's grantees constitute the most important drug policy reform network in the world.

Expertise and location: Led by an internationally recognized pioneer in drug policy, staff members have academic and NGO backgrounds in drug policy, public health and social change. By the end of 2013, staff will be located in all three major OSF offices: Budapest (2), London (1) and New York (3), with a vacant program officer position being recruited in New York at this writing.

Distinguishing factors: GDPP is the only OSF program focused exclusively on drug policy reform. Dealing with global drug policy means GDPP and partner OSF programs must take on UN-level advocacy, which is demanding and requires special competencies, while remaining abreast of key national and regional developments. IHRD shares GDPP's reform framework but funds largely in the area of health-sector responses to illicit drugs. OSF – including GDPP, LAP, IHRD and other partner programs – is recognized as the world's most important funder of drug policy reform.

Advancing Open Society values: While human rights law restrains government power and protects people from its arbitrary use, the UN drug conventions and repressive drug policing unduly extend government power. Integrating human rights principles into drug control regimes is a necessary condition for open societies. The drug policy movement GDPP has helped to create is fostering fundamental change by encouraging new approaches to an essential area of public policy and practice and to assisting those most vulnerable to the worst harms of drug policy and illicit drug markets. Criminalization- and prohibition-based policies have led to a rise in drug-related violence, prison overcrowding, and worsening of HIV epidemics. The work of GDPP and its grantees reflect the OSF cornerstones of improving lives, fostering change, thinking broadly, and working locally.

Thanks in part to OSF-supported advocacy, opportunities for advancing Open Society values in drug policy reform processes have never been better:

- Sitting presidents in Latin America are challenging the US-sponsored drug war and secured the Organization of American States' major review of drug policy options (released in June 2013), a milestone in high-level drug policy debate in a regional multilateral body.
- Though progressive policies in some European countries are challenged by fiscal austerity, they have stood the test of time and inspired new policy thinking outside Europe.
- The referenda on regulated marijuana markets in two US states signal shifting views in the US population and have caught the world's attention.
- Uruguay is the first country in the world on the cusp of full regulation of a legal cannabis market.

- A review of the global drug regime by the UN General Assembly in 2016 is an unusual opportunity to mobilize the global drug policy reform movement.

Protagonists: Thanks largely to OSF support, there are many important players on the drug policy reform stage. Noted below are just a few examples.

Organizations and institutions — positive or potentially positive forces

- **Drug Policy Alliance** (www.drugpolicy.org) — leading US organization promoting drug policy alternatives grounded in science, compassion, health and human rights
- **Global Commission on Drug Policy** (www.globalcommissionondrugs.org) — a 22-member panel promoting science-based, humane approaches to reducing the harms of repressive drug policy
- **London School of Economics** (<http://lse.ac.uk>) — critical review of drug policy is a priority in its research and public events
- **Skoun** (www.skoun.org) — a leader in drug policy reform in the Middle East
- **Transnational Institute** (www.tni.org) — works for democracy, equity and sustainability; its Drugs and Development Program is a leading voice for drug policy reform
- **United Nations General Assembly** (www.un.org/en/ga) — will host a major review of the global drug control regime in 2016
- **West Africa Commission on Drugs** (www.wacommissionondrugs.org) — attempts to open debates in a region where drug policies are dominated by harsh policing and political leaders do not see the value of reform
- **GIZ (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)** (<http://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/germany.html>) — the only bilateral development agency working constructively on drug policy and drug-poverty links
- **Cato Institute** and other libertarian advocates may work toward legalization of drugs but do not always share OSF's interest in supporting responsible and accountable governments.

Organizations and institutions — challenging or less positive forces

- **Commission on Narcotic Drugs** (<http://bit.ly/Xgyqk5>) — UN's main drug policy-making body
- **Russian Federation** (government) (<http://government.ru/en>) — the leader of anti-reform forces in UN bodies; clings to repressive domestic policies

Individual leaders

- **Kofi Annan** — helped to convene high-profile West African leaders willing to open reform debates; one of very few African leaders willing to criticize drug war approaches publicly
- **Richard Branson** — Member of Global Commission on Drug Policy, co-founder of The Elders, founder and chairman of Virgin Group
- **Ruth Dreifuss** — Member of Global Commission on Drug Policy and former president of Switzerland, and a leading voice for drug policy reform; now chairs GDPP Advisory Board
- **Michel Kazatchkine** — Member of Global Commission on Drug Policy and former executive director of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria

Capacities and tools: GDPP enables, supports and facilitates the work of others in the drug policy sphere. Ultimately, GDPP's goal is to create opportunities for advocacy and, in support of that advocacy, significant networking and cross-institutional communication and collaboration. Grant-making is the principal tool of our work. However, GDPP has also made its mark in mobilizing academic institutions to offer drug policy courses to train a new generation of policy thinkers and enabling experienced reformers to mentor new leaders as advocacy fellows. A well-received public seminar series at Central European University has complemented course-based work. GDPP's original case studies of national drug policies that reflect good practices continue to be widely used and translated. In addition, GDPP staff undertake some direct advocacy, often at international conferences and UN meetings. It is a major advantage for the program that GDPP Director Kasia Malinowska-Sempruch has been a leading figure in international advocacy on drug policy and harm reduction ever since both became global health issues because of their link to HIV. OSF's capacity in

drug policy reform is enhanced by effective collaboration across OSF programs, enabling GDPP’s efforts to benefit from the expertise of a wide range of OSF staff. With the addition of a communications officer (co-funded by OSF Communications), GDPP has also distinguished itself by outstanding engagement of important international media in drug policy coverage.

Major inflection points:

2009	Report of Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy, co-chaired by three former Latin American presidents, <i>Towards a Paradigm Shift</i> , calls for drug use to be treated as a public health issue and policing to be focused on major crimes.
	<i>The Economist</i> publishes a special issue on drug policy reform, only days before the high-level segment of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs in March.
2010	At the International AIDS Conference, the <i>Vienna Declaration</i> calls for the incorporation of scientific evidence into drug policy. Former heads of state, Nobel laureates, and other high-profile individuals and organizations endorse the Declaration.
	George Soros publishes opinion piece in October 26 issue of <i>The Wall Street Journal</i> , “Why I Support Legal Marijuana.”
2011	Global Commission on Drug Policy, a brainchild of George Soros, launches its first report, <i>War on Drugs</i> . Global Avaaz campaign collects 500,000 signatures.
	UK House of Lords meeting brings together Latin American and European officials
2012	6 th Summit of the Americas in Cartagena, Colombia: Several sitting heads of state publicly challenge their peers, including Barack Obama, to undertake a serious debate on alternatives to the US-supported drug war. As a result, the Organization of American States undertakes a study of drug policy alternatives (recently released).
	In September, the presidents of Colombia, Guatemala and Mexico spearhead the passage of a UN General Assembly resolution that mandates a UNGA Special Session on drugs in 2016.

In addition, many important national-level milestones have benefitted from OSF support:

- **Brazil** — Campaign led by the NGO Viva Rio to reform Brazil’s drug law
- **Poland** — 2011 liberalization of the drug law to better distinguish drug users from drug dealers
- **UK** — “Count the Costs”: analysis of drug war costs in several sectors, now used beyond the UK
- **US** — 2012 referenda on legalization of marijuana in Colorado and Washington
- **Uruguay** — 2012 government proposal for legal regulation of cannabis, now approved in one house of the Congress; country on verge of having a legal government-run cannabis market

Reviews and evaluations: The GDPP Grants Committee, comprised of staff from collaborating OSF programs, has given excellent feedback and advice on grant-making. For larger strategic issues, the Brain Trust on Drug Policy in OSF, meeting once a year, provided invaluable guidance and criticism. Including George Soros, the foundation president, Global Board members and high-profile outside experts, the Brain Trust steered OSF drug policy work in new directions, suggested key partners and contacts, and commented on regional prioritization. Through it we benefited from George Soros’ ideas, including how his meetings and contacts might advance drug policy reform. The Grants Committee and the Brain Trust were recently replaced by an Advisory Board with former Swiss president Ruth Dreifuss as chairperson, which includes some former Brain Trust members and provides critical feedback and strategic advice for GDPP rather than for all OSF programs with drug policy interests.

In 2011, GDPP commissioned an external evaluation of the first three years of the program’s work (2008–2010), based on a document review and interviews with 29 grantees and other key informants. That evaluation concluded, among other things, that GDPP had played a central role in strengthening and sustaining the drug policy reform movement and had worked effectively with other OSF programs. It noted,

however, that more needed to be done to address the problems of cultivators of drug-related crops, including in Afghanistan, and that more should be done in Asia and Africa. Since that evaluation, the program has expanded its work in Africa, supported a major university-level drug policy course in South Asia, and supported an organization that networks and mobilizes cultivators of drug crops. A September 2011 exercise initiated by the OSF Learning, Monitoring and Evaluation Director was also a helpful reflection. An insightful July 2013 evaluation of the CEU and University of Jodhpur short courses is helping to improve those activities.

Faalty to Fields and Places

Before GDPP existed as a program, there were experts and public figures who criticized the “war on drugs” but there were very few NGOs that worked full-time for drug policy reform or had well-funded drug policy programs. The Drug Policy Alliance in the U.S. was a notable exception. GDPP with its OSF partners is not the only driver of the drug policy reform movement, but OSF has been the most important source of support for NGOs and universities that now comprise the “field”. For this reason, the distinction between “field” and “our initiatives” for GDPP is not as pronounced as may be the case for other programs. The field developed quickly and productively due to large underlying demand for reform in civil society in many countries. With its timely appearance GDPP helped shape strategies and ensure networking of the players. One of the successes of our work is the emergence of mature organizations whose leadership GDPP trusts, but even in these cases, GDPP still provides – and in many cases is actively sought for – strategic advice. Though GDPP has actively shaped the strategies of many NGOs in the field, our trusted partners in the field represent a variety of specialties and approaches – some aiming explicitly for some level of legal regulation of drug markets, others focused on reducing violence, over-incarceration and other harms.

GDPP’s closeness to the field and funding of most key drug policy reform efforts in the world pose the challenge that there may not be adequate capacity in the field to validate objectively OSF’s goals and approaches. However, thanks to the atmosphere that OSF funding has helped create, there are now important reform players that do not depend directly on OSF. For example, the actions of President Santos of Colombia in moving the OAS to produce a major report on drug policy alternatives was a milestone independent of OSF but was enabled by an environment – created partly with OSF support – in which questioning the drug policy status quo was politically safer.

The drug policy reform field in civil society is dominated by groups with a national policy focus, but some also work to improve global and regional drug control mechanisms. OSF has been instrumental in helping to open debates about an entrenched and flawed global regime based on the UN drug conventions; reform of this system is a central challenge for the field. The expected geographical focus of GDPP grants for most of the 2014–2017 is as follows:

- **Global** — especially focusing on reform of multilateral mechanisms
- **Latin America** — now a leading, dynamic region for drug policy reform
- **Africa** — continent-wide work through the African Union and West Africa work with OSIWA and the West African Commission on Drugs
- **Europe** — countering backsliding, sharing the experiences of countries that have adopted evidence-based, rights-friendly policies and protecting them from changing political winds.

Afghanistan, the world’s largest producer of opium, is an obvious priority, and discussions with Open Society Afghanistan about common drug policy goals are in an early stage. The US is also a focus in collaboration with the Campaign for a New Drug Policy.

National and international media are crucial players in drug policy reform in all regions and globally. Part of GDPP’s responsibility to the field is also to assist grantees and other partners in strategic engagement of mass media.

Trusted organizations and individual leaders: We offer one example here of an organization that we trust in the field and that typifies the mature leadership of the field that we hope to build in our work. Other examples and a full list of potential grantees are in the Annex.

A field leader: Transnational Institute (TNI) (co-funded with LAP): GDPP provides TNI with institutional grant support, participates in its meetings, and calls on it for advice. TNI's principal supporters and collaborators have very good access to government officials. TNI is selective in what it does, but has become a "go-to" organization on topics in which it specializes, seen as a credible source of information and leadership. TNI develops working relationships with governments — for example, TNI Drugs and Democracy coordinator Martin Jelsma has advised Bolivian president Evo Morales. Its staff are intelligent and courageous advocates. OSF's institutional support gives TNI flexibility to respond to new developments; other funders often don't give core support. GDPP anticipates continuing core grant support to TNI. We will continue to learn from TNI's example of effective advocacy and relationship-building, and will call on TNI for advice in countries where it is active. In the next four years, GDPP expects TNI to advocate with many national delegations in advance of the UNGASS; be vigilant on Dutch drug policy; build on its pioneering work on drug-development links in Asia and the Andes; and continue producing in-depth analytical reports.

Program Concepts and Initiatives

GOAL #1: Drug policy reform advances in key countries, and national leaders advocate publicly for progressive change to the global drug control regime.

- **What is the opportunity?** Evolution of national drug policy debates to the point of near breakthroughs to progressive reform, and UNGASS 2016 to test progress in national policies.
- **How we think change will happen:** In context-specific ways – where breakthroughs are near, by ensuring that credible advocates can sustain their voices and mobilize public opinion; in other cases by creating breakthrough potential, including by sharing lessons from successful efforts. Adoption of less repressive drug laws is a necessary but not sufficient condition for change; less punitive laws must be implemented and their implementation vigilantly monitored.
- **What's our distinctive capacity?** Having built many of the civil society efforts that are near breakthroughs, GDPP knows the networking, technical and financial support needed and has the expertise to recognize turning points.
- **Path forward:** two categories of strategies:
 - A. Strengthen and sharpen existing reform movements in key countries.
 - B. Bring new voices to drug policy reform debates in key countries, regionally and internationally, including organizations not centrally focused on drug policy.

A. Strengthen and sharpen existing reform movements in key countries, seizing opportunities for law and policy change and bold policy experiments

Strategies

- Identify key countries — probably Uruguay, Colombia, Guatemala (possible), Italy, Poland, France, Japan and one country in West Africa to be identified with OSIWA — where strengthening reform-focused NGOs can lead to legislative/policy reform and implementation of better laws, and support those NGOs with grant-making and networking.
- Inform governments about flexibilities in the UN drug conventions and elements of good policy.
- Support strong NGOs that can spearhead mobilization in countries beyond the key countries above where some level of progress is likely.
- Mobilize stakeholders to develop public support in national contexts, including through mass media.

- Leaders in countries experiencing or having undergone reforms are supported and organized to speak publicly in favor of changes to the global drug regime.
- Solidify constructive national positions in advance of UNGASS 2016.

Indicators

- In key countries, an identifiable campaign, legislative process, or equivalent action is under way.
- OSF research paper in “inspiration” series (describing relatively good practices) is published on successful national experiences in dealing with the global drug control regime.
- UNGASS 2016 sees member states such as the following standing up for drug policy reform: Argentina, Australia, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Saint Lucia, Switzerland, Tanzania and Uruguay.
- At UNGASS 2016, these previously obstructionist states stop impeding change: France, Italy, Japan and Sweden.

B. Bring new voices to drug policy reform debates in key countries, regionally and internationally, including NGOs and international organizations not centrally focused on drug policy

Strategies

- Identify and provide financial and technical support for NGOs -- especially in human rights, socio-economic development, prison reform and child protection -- to become advocates for drug policy reform, and facilitate networking among them.
- Identify data gaps and fund research where needed to inform the work of these new partners, and support their use of existing drug policy data.
- Improve NGO participation in Vienna UN drugs processes (CND, INCB).
- Support advocacy targeting UN agencies not in the drug control regime (e.g. UNDP, UNICEF, UNAIDS, UNHRC, World Bank) and other multilateral bodies (e.g. OAS, ASEAN, African Union, European Union) to call for drug policy reform in key countries, regionally and globally, and to play a constructive role in UNGASS processes.
- Support friendly UN member states and NGOs in raising drug policy issues in governing bodies of the above-named agencies, including by preparing briefing notes on key issues.
- Identify and engage experts able to advise on strategies to influence regional multilateral organizations and non-drug UN agencies.

Indicators

- At least one prominent NGO from each of the following sectors is calling for drug policy reform: prison reform, human rights, development, and child protection.
- Organizations from these sectors have convened member states in drug policy reform debates, either in the UN or other forums, or have met with member states in preparation for multilateral debates.
- Short report is published on existing by-laws of Vienna NGO Committee and strategies for changing procedures. (This group, which is meant to organize NGO participation in UN processes in Vienna, has not been friendly to drug policy reform.)
- Non-drug UN agencies and other multilaterals organizations issue resolutions or statements on their concerns about the negative impact of the existing drug control regime.
- Report on strategies for influencing regional multilateral bodies and plan of action prepared and ready for implementation.
- Briefing notes for member states in key multilateral agencies prepared and disseminated.
- Organizations from the sectors noted above and multilateral agencies named above speak publicly for drug policy reform during or in lead-up or follow-up to UNGASS 2016.

For both A and B:

- ✓ **Collaboration with OSF units:** Co-funding grants, soliciting advice and expertise, reaching new allies, and direct advocacy with all OSF regional programs and selected thematic programs.

- ✓ **Strategic partners:** grantees focused on national drug policy and those with experience convening states in reform discussions, academic experts and think tanks, and receptive policy-makers. For developing new voices, receptive organizations in the sectors and agencies named above (e.g. Human Rights Watch), academic experts and think tanks, organizers of the events named above, and experts on multilateral processes who will be sought for advice.
- ✓ **Opponents** to national reform are those profiting from illicit markets, as well as those not informed of the costs of bad policies. Opponents in the UNGASS could include UNODC and INCB, as well as states such as the US and Russia that cling to bad policies, and anti-reform NGOs such as Project SUNDIAL, an offshoot of the Drug-Free America Foundation (www.dfaf.org) and European Cities Against Drugs (www.ecad.net).
- ✓ **Risks and unintended consequences:** Precipitating debates could backfire and move drug policy in a non-productive direction. NGOs new to the field may misconstrue issues and propagate unhelpful ideas. NGOs may also resist working on an edgy new issue. In the worst cases, NGOs, researchers, research subjects and advocates may face harassment or violence.

GOAL #2: Key policy reform advocates and potential advocates (e.g. policy-makers, journalists, social science researchers, police, prosecutors, NGOs) benefit from high-quality technical knowledge building on drug policy.

- **What is the opportunity?** A respectable body of research on drug policy and growing interest among universities in developing the science of drug policy, as well as interest in being better informed on the part of policy-makers, journalists, advocates and potential advocates.
- **How we think change will happen:** A poor information base impedes change or, worse, leads to bad policy. Change is facilitated by adding high-quality research to the evidence base and ensuring that advocates and policy-makers have access to evidence and are familiar with successful experiences.
- **Our distinctive capacity:** Our having developed rigorous case studies of good national drug policy and having led the development of successful university-level short courses; our established reputation as an engine for advancing alternatives to the current regime; and our ability to call on colleagues in our network who can showcase good practices.

Strategies

- Support development and administration of university-level courses, short courses and executive education in several accredited universities in several regions. (There is very high demand for such courses, judging from the high number of applicants received for those offered so far.)
- Assist in networking and continuing education of alumni.
- Support internships for university students in drug policy reform advocacy and practice.
- Map and assist in networking universities that engage in drug policy teaching and research.
- Assist experienced civil society groups in hosting advocacy fellowships, internships and study tours for policy-makers and future leaders.

Indicators

- At least four good-quality drug policy courses are regular offerings of universities at master's or undergraduate level (likely to be in public policy, public health or criminal justice departments).
- Short courses are offered regularly at five universities (at least one in Africa and one in Latin America) and are taught or co-taught by regular faculty.
- An executive course for policy-makers is offered regularly at one university (which can be a model for expansion).
- At least five GDPP grantees seek funding for university student interns (CEU students as a start).
- Updated map of universities with drug policy research or teaching is produced.
- Collaboration with International Society for the Study of Drug Policy to establish network of universities involved in research and teaching on drug policy.
- Five experienced grantees host advocacy fellows, interns or study tours.

- ✓ **Tools** will include grant-making, technical support for curricula and internship program development, in some cases co-teaching, enabling academics to network, and drawing on grantees as internship and study tour hosts.
- ✓ **GDPP advantage:** GDPP developed and offered the first university-level short courses in the field and has the most developed network of academic and NGO partners who can help.
- ✓ **Strategic partners:** Universities already working with GDPP (e.g. Central European University, University of Jodhpur, University of Essex, Swansea University, Universidad de los Andes, Centro de investigación y docencia económicas), as well as National University of Ireland at Galway, University of California – Santa Cruz, and seasoned NGOs that will host interns and fellows.

We have reflected on opponents, risks and related factors but do not list them here for lack of space.

GOAL #3: Drug production, transit, marketing and use are approached as problems of development, and drug policies are improved by application of the principles of rights-based, sustainable development.

- **Background:** Developing countries and the poorest people in middle-income countries bear the brunt of repressive drug policies in many ways. Cultivators of drug crops (coca, opium poppies, cannabis), frequently without secure land tenure, often have no better livelihood alternative, suffer asset losses in crop eradication programs, and in some cases would face violent retaliation from powerful figures if they considered alternatives. Women and young people living in poverty who survive by working as drug “mules” or small-scale couriers may face more severe criminal sanctions than major traffickers. The global development agenda has failed to account for injustices in the drug-poverty nexus.
- **What’s the opportunity?** Dissatisfaction among policy-makers and civil society over programs conceptualized by outside donors (without local consultation) to address drug-poverty links; interest on the part of some development organizations including at least one bilateral aid agency in humane approaches to drugs and in drawing other development players into the field; and increasing awareness of the vulnerability of poor people depending on drug-related livelihoods for lack of other opportunities. Some developing country governments welcome debate in these areas.
- **How we think change will happen:** Through improving understanding of the situation of the most vulnerable people caught up in drug-related livelihoods, including amplifying their voice in policy discussions, and supporting development actors to advance assistance and analysis that address the reality of the drug-poverty connection.
- **Our distinctive capacity:** Our credibility in speaking on behalf of the drug policy reform world in reaching out to the development community. Just as OSF speaks on behalf of sex workers and people who use drugs in spite of political controversy, we are able to take the risk of working with and speaking on behalf of vulnerable people in drug-related livelihoods.

Strategies

- Support the involvement of credible development organizations and experts in drug policy reform, including GIZ (German Agency for Technical Cooperation).
- Support the development of an evidence base and practical strategies on the poverty-drugs nexus, including in Africa.
- Ensure that the voices of vulnerable people, including women farmers, involved in drug-related livelihoods are heard in policy discussions.
- Stimulate policy debate on whether licit uses of cannabis and coca leaf can address poverty.
- Improve and disseminate the evidence base on lessons from “alternative livelihood” programs for vulnerable people reliant on drug-related livelihoods and support evidence-based solutions.

Indicators

- At least 3 major development organizations have and act on a well informed strategy to approach drugs as a development issue, including attention to such factors as uncertainty of land rights and other vulnerabilities of people depending for their subsistence on drug-related activities.

- At least 4 functioning and sustainable organizations represent in public events the interests of the most vulnerable and impoverished people involved in drug markets and bring these interests to policy discussions.
 - Subsistence farmers with drug-related livelihoods participate meaningfully in 4 key international drug policy events.
 - Studies of poverty-drug links completed in 2 regions, including consideration of the opportunities and limits of licit uses of some drug crops as part of addressing poverty concerns.
 - Development researchers in 3 universities/institutes are studying poverty-drug links.
 - International standards exist, complementing the *Lima Declaration on Alternative Development*, for involvement of low-income countries with production and marketing of drug-related products.
 - Post-2015 global development goals account for drug-poverty links.
 - GDPP and key partners continue to engage and plan with GIZ on drug-related development assistance, and OSF and GIZ jointly fund 3 projects addressing drug-poverty links or adding to the evidence base on good drug-related development practices.
- ✓ **Tools** include grant-making, research, networking and media, publications and events.
 - ✓ **GDPP's advantage** is leadership in the drug policy reform movement that can help steer resources and thinking to this neglected area and the institutional strength to take on controversial issues.
 - ✓ **Strategic partners:** Observatory of Crops Declared Illicit (Valencia, Spain); GIZ; academic researchers and universities, including Universidad de los Andes and at least one African university; grantees in Bolivia; experienced grantees with expertise in development issues, including Washington Office on Latin America, Transnational Institute, Institute for Development Studies (University of Sussex, U.K.), International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth, and Institute for Policy Studies Drug Policy Project.
 - ✓ **Risks:** The development sector has its own priorities and is not always keen to take on politically charged issues, or drug policy may not for other reasons compete with larger security issues, climate change, etc. Also, there are many barriers to finding viable livelihood options in low-income settings.

Contributions to Shared Frameworks

GDPP will work with other OSF programs, beginning with those already most active in supporting drug policy reform, to develop an OSF shared framework on drug policy. Because drug policy reform has already been a framework shared effectively by OSF programs, there is a strong history on which to build a foundation-wide effort. For example, GDPP and IHRD are fully aligned on harm reduction, but IHRD is mainly focused on public health while we focus more on criminal justice aspects of policy. In addition, GDPP intends to be part of the anticipated shared frameworks on rights-respecting criminal justice reform and on Roma rights. We bring to the former a wealth of experience on how drug policy manifests itself in over-incarceration and other injustices as well as a network of drug policy experts with criminal justice expertise. We hope with partners in this work to identify strategic grant-making and research opportunities for criminal justice reform that might catalyze drug policy reform (or vice versa). With respect to Roma rights, we offer expertise on drug policy as a tool for social control and discrimination against minority communities and our knowledge of strategies to counter this injustice.

Other Significant Collaborations

OSF collaborations: In 2014 and beyond, GDPP, in collaboration with LAP, hopes to improve the networking of grantees in Latin America. In the aftermath of the Organization of American States' report on drug control approaches, region-wide action is likely to be increasingly important. A functioning network that can both respond quickly to new developments and strategize together for longer-term efforts will be essential. With IHRD, GDPP will continue working on innovative ways to engage reform-minded law enforcement officials in key advocacy opportunities. Their unique experience affords them credibility with the general public that is hard to match.

Non-OSF collaborations: The sustainability and scale of GDPP's efforts are limited by the dearth of public- and private-sector donors in the drug policy field. We will continue at every opportunity to try to engage other donors in this important work. GIZ, one of the only bilateral donors that has a program explicitly focused on illicit drugs, is a partner we wish to cultivate for sharing strategic ideas and eventually joint work. We expect that our close collaboration with the Drug Policy Alliance in the US and the participation of GDPP grantees from outside the US in DPA's annual conference will continue to be fruitful.

Internal organizational plans: GDPP governance has changed recently as the Brain Trust and Grants Committee have given way to a new Advisory Board. The Brain Trust was an excellent mechanism for advising jointly all of the OSF programs working on drug policy and allowing them to strategize together. We will strive to ensure that our close relationships with other OSF programs, as well as our work together in an eventual shared framework on drug policy, will enable joint strategizing and consultation. We are pleased that former Swiss president Ruth Dreifuss, a member of the Global Commission on Drug Policy, is chairing the GDPP Advisory Board and to help finalize its composition. The Advisory Board also includes Dr Michel Kazatchkine (UN Special Envoy on HIV/AIDS for Eastern Europe and Central Asia), Ethan Nadelmann (director of the Drug Policy Alliance) and OSF board member Maria Cattai. Other members are being recruited.

The recent move of the GDPP director and communications officer to New York will strengthen opportunities for communication and collaboration with New York-based programs.

Annex: Trusted actors in the field and potential grantees

Trusted leaders in the field

Like TNI, featured in the body of this paper, the exemplary individuals and organizations below are trusted leaders in the field of drug policy reform. GDPP trusts them because 1) they have shown courageous leadership on difficult issues in difficult circumstances, 2) they have made the effort to be well informed on complex drug policy issues, 3) they are good communicators and manage media work well, and 4) they have worked well as part of coalitions or networks and see their work as part of a global movement. They represent just a few of the mature or maturing organizations GDPP has helped to nourish. Others are listed below these case examples.

Daniel Mejía, Universidad de los Andes (co-funded with LAP)

Professor Mejía is a leading researcher in Latin America who has courageously taken on hard topics related to drugs and presented his research to decision-makers and civil society. He and his colleagues have studied such politically charged topics such as aerial spraying of coca fields, drug-related organized crime, and the economic impact of U.S.-supported drug policies in Colombia. His research has inspired others in Latin America to develop research and teaching in drug policy-related areas. In 2013, his leadership was key to the decision of the International Society for the Study of Drug Policy to hold its annual meeting in Latin America for the first time. GDPP expects that he will play an important role in the London School of Economics' upcoming effort to engage top-tier economists in global drug policy reform.

Professor Mejía's international presentations have shown the significant impact that scholars can have on public debate and on helping to inform civil society advocates. OSF support was needed to enable Professor Mejía and his colleagues to establish an institutional base for drug policy research. Professor Mejía will be a crucial voice in the follow-up to the Organization of American States study on drug policy in the Americas, as well as in the lead-up to the UNGASS.

Centre for Research and Information on Substance Abuse (CRISA), Nigeria

CRISA is led by Dr. Isidore Obot, chair of the Psychology Department of the University of Uyo in Nigeria. Dr. Obot has been a leader in mobilizing drug policy debates in West Africa among health and social science researchers. With minimal funding, CRISA has kept alive a biannual conference of researchers working on drug issues; it is also the editorial home for the *African Journal of Drug and Alcohol Studies*. Dr. Obot has used diverse platforms to raise harm reduction issues and to push for humane health services for drug users. He is an advisor to the OSF-supported West African Commission on Drugs.

With GDPP support endorsed by OSIWA, CRISA hopes to convene a Nigerian drug policy NGO coalition in 2013. Nigeria will receive its first significant support from the European Union to strengthen health services for people who use drugs, and the EU has specified that some of this funding should go to NGOs, but NGOs in the sector have not been well organized. With CRISA's help, NGOs can be a coordinated voice for participation in activities funded by the EU grant, and in related policy issues beyond the grant. With OSIWA's collaboration, GDPP expects to continue its support for this network in 2014. CRISA's networking can be a lesson to how drug policy NGOs can work together in West Africa.

GDPP support has enabled new topics to be introduced at the CRISA conference, including drug policy experiences from outside West Africa.

Krytyka Polityczna

Krytyka Polityczna (“Political Critique”), the most innovative think tank and publishing house in Poland, exemplifies a group that was not founded to work on drug policy reform, yet intelligently and courageously integrates drug issues into its wide-ranging agenda. Its media-savvy staff, which includes several journalists, is very visible in Poland and increasingly in media outside Poland, articulating a progressive European political agenda of which drug policy is now part.

Political Critique has published three well-received books on drug policy, organized drug policy debates across Poland, and runs a website on drug policy. It has expanded its presence in Russia, Germany and Ukraine, and is in discussions with Ukrainian counterparts about mounting a Ukrainian version of Political Critique’s drug policy website. This initiative is especially important since Ukrainian media outlets rely mostly on Russian news agencies, which have an anti-reform bias. Political Critique has been supported by the European Commission, local governments, business entities, and NGOs such as Germany’s Heinrich Böll Foundation, but none of these donors supported drug policy reform work.

Political Critique has been at the center of some recent milestone events that have resulted in positive changes in drug policy in Poland. The organization also joined GDPP in a successful appeal to former Polish president Aleksander Kwaśniewski to join the Global Commission on Drug Policy. In a region where politics is heavily affected by conservative religious values and the worst forms of populism, Political Critique is helping Eastern European civil society to articulate a progressive post-socialist experience, including on drug issues. We expect that in the coming years they will grow further into this role.

Other leaders in the “field” likely to be supported by GDPP in 2014-2017

National and multinational policy reform advocacy and related research

National

- Centre for Research and Information on Substance Abuse (Nigeria)
- Andrey Rylkov Foundation for Health and Social Justice (Russia)
- Canadian Drug Policy Coalition (Canada and North America)
- Mejiro University (Japan)
- French Commission on Drug Policy (being explored by trusted NGOs) (France)
- Forum Droghe (Italy)
- Andean Information Network (Bolivia)
- Viva Rio (Brazil)
- Asociacion Civil ProDerechos (Uruguay)
- Colectivo por Una Politica Integral Hacia las Drogas (CUPIHD) (Mexico)
- Intercambios Civil Association (Argentina)
- Centro de Investigacion Drogas y Derechos Humanos (CIDDH) (Peru)
- Harm Reduction Coalition (US, focused on US role in UN debates)

Multinational (regional or global)

- Global Commission on Drug Policy (Igarape Institute, Brazil, secretariat)
- West African Commission on Drugs through Kofi Annan Foundation
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (Switzerland)

- Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network (Canada and international)
- Agencia Piaget para o Desenvolvimento (APDES) (Portugal, with partnerships in lusophone Africa)
- Krytyka Polityczna (eastern and central Europe)
- Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (Hungary and international)
- Eurasian Harm Reduction Network (Lithuania)
- Washington Office on Latin America (US, focus on Latin America)
- Asuntos del Sur (Chile, Latin America focus, public polling)
- Skoun Lebanese Addictions Center (Lebanon, focus on Middle East)
- Transnational Institute (TNI) (international, based in Netherlands)
- International Drug Policy Consortium (international, based in UK)
- International Network of People who Use Drugs (INPUD) (international, based in UK)
- Global Drug Policy Observatory, Swansea University (international, based in UK)
- Harm Reduction International (international, based in UK)
- Release/Talking Drugs (international, based in UK)
- Transform Drug Policy Foundation (UK and international, based in UK)
- Association DIOGENIS (South East Europe, based in Greece)
- International Centre for Science in Drug Policy (Canada)
- London School of Economics and Political Science (UK-based; mobilizing economists globally)
- Beckley Foundation (Latin America and international focus, based in UK)

Knowledge-building, research and teaching

Some of the universities noted here may achieve the status of leaders in the field in 2014-2017, though it is likely that GDPP will continue to advise them in shaping courses, research and fellowships. The NGOs mentioned will be supported to enable them to provide mentoring, study tours, internships and fellowships to less experienced advocates and policy-makers.

- Centro de Investigacion y Docencia Economicas, A.C. (CIDE) (Mexico)
- Universidad de los Andes, Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Economico (Colombia)
- Central European University (Hungary)
- Centre for Drug Policy and Human Rights, University of Essex (UK)
- Jodhpur School of Public Health (JSPH) at Jodhpur National University (India)
- Release (UK)
- Transnational Institute (Netherlands)
- Harm Reduction Coalition (US)
- Harm Reduction International (UK)