## Drug Policies in Colombia:

An overview towards the Mid-Term Review of 2024

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## Introduction

"Colombia is tired. Tired of handing over the dead and persecuting its peasants in this war on drugs that has failed". Such was the opening remarks of Laura Gil, Colombia's ambassador to Austria and permanent representative to the United Nations in Vienna, during the **2023** Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND). This introduction was followed by a call for the CND to be open to the possibility of re-evaluating the approach to drug policies, with an understanding of the moment we are currently in.

This year, the mid-term review is critical for States to make a stop along the way, review the stagnation of their objectives, and make strategic decisions in light of the impossibility of achieving a drug-free world. In that sense, **this report offers an overview of Colombia's experience** in the framework of the challenges that were raised in **2019**, which today are under review at the **67th CND** and, mainly, raises the need for them to be reviewed under a rights-based approach and that, in the same sense, the new objectives or challenges for the coming years are raised. This necessarily implies recognizing the failure of national and international approaches that have been built on the shoulders of prohibition.

To achieve the abovementioned, the report presents a brief context of Colombian drug policy from an approach to the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, as well as the importance that civil society has had in capacity-building over the past few years. Subsequently, we make a brief balance of the challenges posed in **2019** and how they relate to the Colombian reality, highlighting the gaps and good practices. And, to conclude, we qualify which of these were formulated in terms of human rights and which ones need a new approach.

### Context



Colombia has consolidated its position as a country with the authority to speak about the need to bring about a change in drug policies, addressing the possibility of adopting a true human rights approach and thinking about strategies that make it possible to propose policies that respond to the specific context of each country. This leadership, despite its ups and downs, has made it possible to articulate conversations that encourage rethinking the real effects of the prohibition regime and its differentiated impact on producing countries, mainly affecting the most exposed links in the chain of production and marketing of non-legal psychoactive substances.

These efforts, persistently promoted and accompanied by Colombian civil society, have been reflected in **the most recent National Drug Po-licy,** with a 10-year term (2023-2033) which, under the title *Sembrando vida, desterramos el narcotráfico* [Sowing life, we banish drug traffic-king], sets as a priority "caring for life and the environment, putting human rights, public health, and the consolidation of peace in the first place."<sup>1</sup> Currently, the National Government, headed by the Ministry of Justice and Law, is preparing the Plan de Acción [Action Plan], through which the National Policy, launched in September 2023, will be implemented.

At the legislative level, during the last few years the **Congress of the Republic** has developed legislative initiatives that have attempted reformist approaches to drug policy. Notable among these initiatives are the draft legislative act to regulate the adult use of cannabis and the bills on risk and harm reduction, regulation of legal and non-legal uses

<sup>1</sup> National Drug Policy (2023-2033). Sembrando vida, desterramos el narcotráfico. Retrieved from: https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Sala-de-prensa/Documents/Pol%C3%ADtica%20Nacional%20de%20 Drogas%202023-2033%20%27Sembrando%20vida,%20desterramos%20el%20narcotr%C3%A1fico%27. pdf



of coca leaf, differentiated criminal treatment for growers – pursuant to the Peace Agreement with the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)–, the prohibition of the use of glyphosate for the eradication of crops declared to be illicit, among others. However, none of the aforementioned bills has managed to become law due to the impossibility of reaching majority or not reaching the necessary threshold.<sup>2</sup> As of the date of elaboration of this report<sup>3</sup>, the only legislative achievement has been the Public Usefulness Law<sup>4</sup>, which created a prison sentence substitution measure for women who are heads of household convicted of crimes related to theft or drugs, when the crimes have been committed under conditions of marginality.

As for the **High Courts**, Colombia has been an example in the region and in the world for the broad jurisprudential line that has vindicated the rights of people who use drugs, in addition to having rulings that protect the rights of communities that for decades were aerially sprayed with glyphosate. The greatest milestone is the C221 ruling of 1994, which precisely 30 years ago decriminalized the use of personal doses of psychoactive substances under the protection of the right to free development of personality. However, this has not been an obstacle for local authorities, who so far in 2024 have issued regulations aimed at prohibiting consumption in almost all public spaces and during most of the day, openly contradicting what has been established by the Constitutional Court<sup>5</sup> and the guidelines of the Protocol developed by the Ministry of Justice and Law<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Ministry of Justice and Law. Protocolo para la aplicación de los numerales 13 y 14 del parágrafo 2 del artículo 140 de la Ley 1801 de 2016 - Código Nacional de Seguridad y Convivencia Ciudadana, relacionados con la restricción del porte y consumo de sustancias psicoactivas (SPA). [Protocol for the application of numerals 13 and 14 of paragraph 2 of article 140 of Law 1801 of 2016 - National Code of Citizen Security and Coexistence, related to the restriction of the carrying and consumption of psychoactive substances]. Retrieved from: <a href="https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Sala-de-prensa/Documents/Protocolo%20SPA.pdf">https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Sala-de-prensa/Documents/Protocolo%20SPA.pdf</a>



<sup>2</sup> This is the case of the Draft Legislative Act to regulate the adult use of cannabis that has been presented five times and in one of them, despite reaching a majority during its final debate, that was not enough due to the threshold established in the Political Constitution of Colombia.

<sup>3</sup> February 29, 2024.

<sup>4</sup> Law 2292 of 2023. Retrieved from: <u>https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma\_pdf.php?i=204403I</u>

<sup>5</sup> Constitutional Court of Colombia. Ruling C-127 of 2023.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that **Colombian organized civil society has been fundamental** in monitoring and overseeing the design and implementation of drug policies throughout the country and in accompanying the processes at the international level as well. This capacity and technical strengthening have consolidated a civil society specialized in drug policy specialized in matters of consumption, risk and harm reduction, crops for illicit use, strategic litigation, political advocacy, market regulation, security, environment, alternative uses of coca leaf, criminal policy, gender approach, among others.

## 2019 Ministerial Declaration Challenges: 5 years later

The following is a brief review of some of the eleven challenges contemplated in the 2019 Political Declaration. The chosen challenges address the Colombian context, the priorities, and the availability of current information that allows us to understand where we stand 5 years later regarding the challenges posed by the international regime.

#### Assessment

Address a constantly expanding and diversifying drug market.

The strategies implemented for decades in Colombia have been based on the main objective of reducing and eventually eliminating the supply of psychoactive substances. Furthermore, we have historically been recognized as a producer country, due to the high number of hectares of coca leaf crops for cocaine production and commercialization.

During the **2018–2022** timeframe, the Colombian government designed a drug policy named "Ruta Futuro" that established a pillar focused on reducing the availability of drugs with a budget allocation equivalent to **95%** of the total national policy<sup>7</sup>. This percentage corresponds to **4.2 billion Colombian pesos** that were allocated to address actions related to illicit crops and productivity, the use of pesticides for the development of illicit crops, production infrastructures, and synthetic drugs and new psychoactive substances, among others.

However, according to the Monitoring Report of the territories with presence of coca cultivation **2022**<sup>8</sup>, published in **September 2023**, an area of **230,000** hectares of coca leaf cultivation was reported.

<sup>7</sup> Elementa DDHH. *Radiografía de la Política de Drogas en Colombia 2018-2022*. Bogotá, Colombia. Retrieved from: <u>https://elementaddhh.org/radiografia-politica-de-drogas-en-colombia-2018-2022/</u>.





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This meant an increase of **13%** in relation to the previous year. There was also an increase of **24%** in the potential cocaine hydrochloride production, a decrease of **1.5%** in cocaine seizures, and a decrease of **18%** in the number of laboratories dismantled.

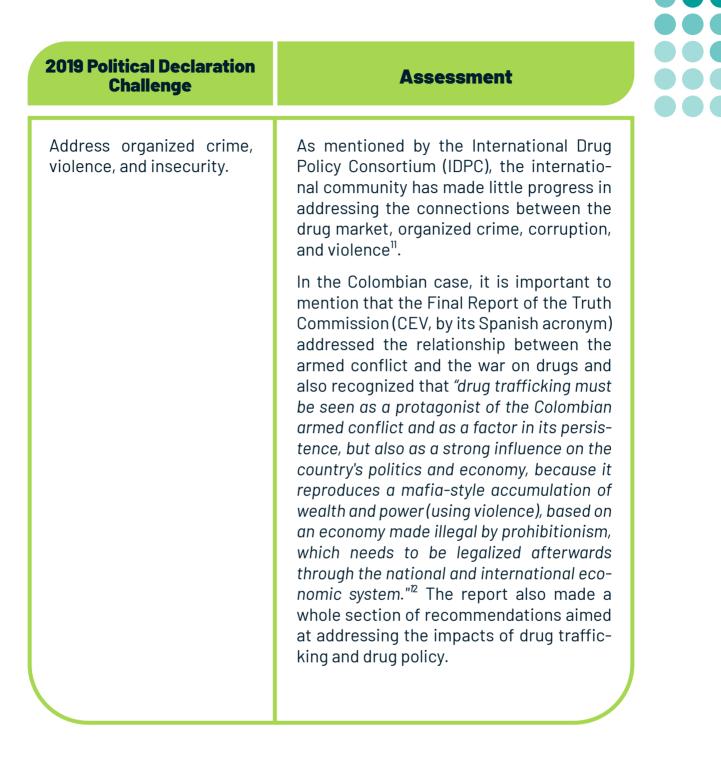
Regarding the number of people who use drugs, according to the National Survey of Psychoactive Substance Use conducted in **2019**<sup>9</sup>, the prevalence of consumption of illegal psychoactive substances was of **9.7%** nationwide. As for the identification of new psychoactive substances (NPS), according to the Early Warning System (SAT, by its Spanish acronym) of the Colombian Drug Observatory of the Ministry of Justice, 52 NPS have been identified since **2007**<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> See: Early Warning System. Accessed on: March 2023. Retrieved from: <u>https://www.minjusticia.gov.</u> <u>co/programas-co/ODC/Paginas/SAT.aspx</u>.



<sup>8</sup> United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Integrated Illicit Crop Monitoring System (SIMCI, by its Spanish acronym), Monitoring of territories with presence of coca cultivation 2022 (Bogotá: UNODC-SIMCI, 2023). Retrieved from: <u>https://www.unodc.org/documents/crop-monitoring/Colombia/Colombia\_Monitoreo\_2022.pdf</u>. Here the Executive Summary in English: <u>Monitoring of Territories with presence of Coca Cultivation 2022 (biesimci.org</u>)

<sup>9</sup> DANE. National Survey of Psychoactive Substance Use (ENCSPA, by its Spanish acronym). 2019. Retrieved from: <u>https://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/boletines/encspa/bt-encspa-2019.pdf</u>.



<sup>11</sup> IDPC. OFF TRACK: Shadow report for the mid-term review of the 2019 Ministerial Declaration on drugs. 2023. Retrieved from: <u>https://cdn.sanity.io/files/6u5teakk/</u>production/94fc15c468076656c4ce4e86521de42296047570.pdf?dl=.

<sup>12</sup> Truth Commission. Final Report. Findings and recommendations for non-repetition. Retrieved from: <a href="https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/sites/default/files/descargables/2022-08/FINAL%20CEV\_HALLAZGOS\_DIGITAL\_2022.pdf">https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/sites/default/files/descargables/2022-08/FINAL%20CEV\_HALLAZGOS\_DIGITAL\_2022.pdf</a>.





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Protecting the health of people who use drugs.

The protection of the human right to health should stem from the incorporation of strategies that recognize the use of psychoactive substances with an approach that does not aim at mandatory abstinence, that promotes the availability and accessibility of treatment, and that includes an approach to risk and harm reduction as a high priority axis, with support to reduce, for example, the incidence of bloodborne diseases such as HIV and hepatitis C in people who use drugs through injection.

In terms of high-impact consumption, the prevalence of heroin use in Colombia is very low (0.09%)<sup>13</sup>, but there is a significant prevalence of HIV (between 3.2% and 23.9%) and hepatitis C (between 10.7% and 80.2%). Besides, in Colombia, heroin presents the peculiarity that it is also used via the pulmonary route. As for *basuco* (smokable cocaine), the prevalence of use in the country is of 0.54%, and is concentrated in the lower socioeconomic strata.

Risk and harm reduction strategies continue to be led and financed mostly by community initiatives, organized civil society, and international cooperation, seeking to reduce the impact on public health through the replacement of syringes, distribu-

<sup>13</sup> DANE. National Survey of Psychoactive Substance Use (ENCSPA, by its Spanish acronym). 2019. Retrieved from: <u>https://www.dane.gov.co/files/investigaciones/boletines/encspa/bt-encspa-2019.pdf</u>.



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tion of hygienic material, training spaces to share responsible consumption practices, drug substitution, substance analysis and, more recently, the establishment of two community-based devices for the safe and responsible consumption of injectable substances. However, there is still a huge gap in risk and harm reduction strategies aimed at people who use *basuco*, people deprived of liberty, as well as programs with a gender focus on behalf of women who use drugs.

Reforming drug policies that violate human rights.

In most cases, drug policy reform involves the reform of laws that threaten human rights. As mentioned above, in the Colombian case, many attempts have been made to present bills that, by legislative means, have not become law. In this regard, Article 49 of the Political Constitution - after a 2009 reform - expressly prohibits drug use, contravening the Constitutional Court's ruling over three decades. This prohibition has been attempted to be modified five times and it has not been possible, thus becoming a legal blockage for the regulation of markets such as that of adult use of cannabis and has also enabled the authorities and police to prosecute and criminalize drug use through administrative means, generating an obvious legal contradiction.



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Consistent with this challenge, the CEV's (Colombian Commission for the Clarification of Truth) Final Report included a recommendation to immediately adopt "a human rights and public health approach to policy on cultivation and consumption and to rationalize the use of criminal proceedings against the weakest links in the chain, which would allow, among other things, overcoming structural problems of poverty, exclusion and stigmatization. And to implement a proposal towards the rigorous regulation of the market and consumption under state and international control in a process in which Colombia can and should play a role of inspiration and leadership."<sup>14</sup>

We positively highlight the derogation of **Decree 1844 of 2018** which, being clearly unconstitutional, imposed economic sanctions for the mere possession of psychoactive substances, presuming that there was a commercialization of such, regardless of the quantity.

<sup>14</sup> Truth Commission. Final Report. Findings and recommendations for non-repetition. Page 774. Retrieved from: <a href="https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/sites/default/files/descargables/2022-08/FINAL%20CEV\_HALLAZGOS\_DIGITAL\_2022.pdf">https://www.comisiondelaverdad.co/sites/default/files/descargables/2022-08/FINAL%20CEV\_HALLAZGOS\_DIGITAL\_2022.pdf</a>.



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Reducing the excessive use of imprisonment and punishment.

Prison overcrowding is a problem of great dimensions for the Colombian criminal and penitentiary system, leading the Constitutional Court to declare the Unconstitutional State of Affairs in **1998**<sup>15</sup> and **2013**<sup>16</sup>, understanding it as the configuration of a massive, widespread, and structural violation of fundamental rights of persons deprived of liberty. According to figures from the National Penitentiary and Prison Institute (INPEC, by its Spanish acronym), in April 2023 overcrowding reached almost **22%** in prisons, while in temporary detention centers it exceeded **151%**, according to the Ombudsperson's Office<sup>17</sup>.

However, this has not been an obstacle for criminal law to continue to be the tool used, mistakenly, to discourage the perpetration of drug-related crimes in Colombia. According to figures provided by the Ministry of Justice in the new drug policy, as of **August 2023** Colombia had **17,670** people in prison for drug trafficking, possession, or manufacture, which is equivalent to **17%** of the total prison population<sup>18</sup>. In relation

<sup>15</sup> Corte Constitucional de Colombia. Sentencia T-153 de 1998.

<sup>16</sup> Constitutional Court of Colombia. Ruling T-399 of 2013.

<sup>17</sup> El País. *El Congreso dilata la discusión del proyecto de humanización carcelaria*. May 31, 2023. Retrieved from: <u>https://elpais.com/america-colombia/2023-05-31/el-congreso-dilata-la-discusion-del-proyecto-de-humanizacion-carcelaria.html?event\_log=go</u>.

<sup>18</sup> Política Nacional de Drogas (2023-2033). Sembrando vida, desterramos el narcotráfico". Página 41. Disponible en: <u>https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/Sala-de-prensa/Documents/Pol%C3%ADtica%20</u> Nacional%20de%20Drogas%202023-2033%20%27Sembrando%20vida,%20desterramos%20el%20 narcotr%C3%A1fico%27.pdf.



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to the differentiated impacts of incarceration, **2,703** women were deprived of liberty for drug-related offenses in **May 2022**.<sup>19</sup>

As part of the efforts to alleviate the situation of incarcerated small-scale female and male growers of crops declared illicit, the Peace Agreement included a commitment to establish a differentiated criminal treatment so that the State would waive criminal prosecution, the continuation of ongoing proceedings, and the sentencing of those already convicted. However, despite the multiple initiatives that have been presented before the Congress of the Republic, this project has also failed to become law, being nowadays one of the agreements pending compliance.

Among the initiatives worth highlighting, the Public Usefulness Law<sup>20</sup> stands out for the creation of a prison sentence substitution measure for women who are heads of household convicted of crimes related to theft or drugs, when the crimes have been committed under conditions of marginality. Estimates are that this law could benefit approximately **3,000** women.

<sup>19</sup> Colombian Drug Observatory (ODC, by its Spanish acronym). Gender. Infographic elaborated with INFEC data. Retrieved from: <u>https://www.minjusticia.gov.co/programas-co/ODC/Paginas/genero.aspx</u>.
20 Law 2292 of 2023. Retrieved from: <u>https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma\_pdf.php?i=204403</u>.



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Legal regulation of substances under international control.

The market for medical and scientific uses of cannabis has been legal in Colombia since **2016.** Although it was expected for this regulation to open the door to the adult use of cannabis, it has been impossible to reach this regulation through the Congress of the Republic. The Draft Legislative Act has failed five times and within the debate between senators and representatives the lack of evidence, stigmatization, and misinformation that ignores the economic contribution it has meant for countries that have already advanced in such regulations has prevailed.

According to the National Planning Department (DNP, by its Spanish acronym), the illegal marijuana market ranges between **2.2** and **4.4 billion Colombian pesos,** and its production is concentrated especially in some of the municipalities of northern Cauca such as Caloto, Corinto, Miranda, Toribío, and Santander de Quilichao<sup>21</sup>. As members of the civil society we hope that this year the attempts to regulate the adult use of cannabis will be resumed and that the project pass the eight debates in a favorable way, including a social justice approach that understands the reality of the people involved in the cultivation and

<sup>21</sup> National Planning Department. 2017. Narcomenudeo en Colombia: Una transformación de la economía criminal. National Planning Department.





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repair the damage generated by the prohibition for decades<sup>22</sup>.

Furthermore, given the current juncture of the review process for the declassification of the coca leaf, it will be essential for Colombia to support this process and share in different scenarios the experience that we as a country have gained in the different uses of the coca leaf -in the agro-industrial, food, medicinal, and textile sectors, among others-<sup>23</sup>.

Addressing the development dimension of illegal drug markets and drug policies.

The Peace Agreement with the FARC-EP (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army) included, for the first time in the history of an agreement to end an armed conflict, a section aimed at addressing drug policy issues. Within the agreement, crop substitution was considered to be one of the strategies to generate productive opportunities from a development approach that would make it possible to overcome the conditions of poverty of the communities that cultivate the crops. Additionally, even though families have made progress with voluntary eradication as part of their share of the agreement, the percentage of compliance by the national government has been significantly low

22 See: Elementa DDHH. Dosis de Información: Regulación de uso adulto del cannabis. Retrieved from: <u>https://elementaddhh.org/regulacion-de-uso-adulto-del-cannabis/</u>.

<sup>23</sup> See: Alianza Coca para la Paz. Retrieved from: <u>https://alianzacocaparalapaz.org/</u>.



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(74% as reported in the National Development Plan [PND] bill). And, according to monitoring by the *Fundación Ideas para la Paz* (Ideas for Peace Foundation, FIP), the program needs structural changes to yield results<sup>24</sup>.

The incorporation of the integral development dimension, besides being grounded in differential approaches and peace building, must understand the complexity of the structural conditions that perpetuate the conditions of vulnerability in the country's rural peripheries, including the illegal and military network that surrounds the crops and the historical dynamics of land in the country<sup>25</sup>.

The communities' expectations for the new direction of the substitution program, headed by the Directorate for the Substitution of Illicit Crops (DSCI, by its Spanish acronym), are extremely high. They hope that the redesign addresses the uncertainty, non-compliance, and for them to finally be able to have adequate, agreed, and viable alternatives.

<sup>25</sup> See: Elementa DDHH. Dosis de Información: Desarrollo rural integral para cultivadores y cultivadoras de hoja de coca. Retrieved from: <u>https://elementaddhh.org/desarrollo-rural-integral-para-cultivadores-y-cultivadoras-de-hoja-de-coca/</u>.



<sup>24</sup> Ideas for Peace Foundation. ¿Qué pasa con el PNIS en el gobierno de Gustavo Petro? Retrieved from: https://ideaspaz.org/publicaciones/opinion/2023-05/que-pasa-con-el-pnis-en-el-gobierno-de-gustavopetro.



2019 Political Declaration Challenge	Assessment
Ensuring a meaningful par- ticipation of civil society.	As mentioned earlier in this document, Colombian civil society has contributed to strengthening the technical and infor- med position of the national government in national and international scenarios during the past two years (2022-2024). This participation was fundamental for the construction of the current drug policy, which has a realistic diagnosis of each of the dimensions addressed
	Although the participation of civil socie- ty continues to be a controversial matter in spaces such as that of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND), we hope that na- tional and local institutions continue to recognize its importance for the design and implementation of drug policies. The latter, understanding that the role of over- sight and monitoring that it also plays has as its starting point the fact that prohibi- tion strategies have failed and that the pa- radigm shift must include a human rights approach.
Improving data collection and analysis.	The most recent National Survey of Con- sumption of Psychoactive Substances (ENCSPA, by its Spanish acronym) was conducted in <b>2019</b> by the National Admi- nistrative Department of Statistics (DANE, by its Spanish acronym). However, chan- ges in the survey methodology do not allow

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comparison with previous studies, ma-

2019 Political Declaration Challenge	Assessment
	king it difficult to have a better picture of the reality of legal and non-legal drug use in the country. Furthermore, considering that the regulations require the statistics to be updated every five years, we hope a new study is projected this year.

# Challenges in terms of human rights

The Report on Human rights challenges in addressing and countering all aspects of the world drug problem of Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)<sup>26</sup> is of great relevance to the present and future of national and international drug policies.

The analysis of policies, rights, and recommendations, pursuant to resolution 52/24 of the Human Rights Council, was constructed as a fundamental input for this year's discussion during the mid-term review. However, we believe that it will be fundamental for the coming years because it can be used to build the road ahead with a narrative that, in addition to including the language of rights, enables the evaluation of progress and setbacks regarding the recommendations outlined in the report.

<sup>26</sup> Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. A/HRC/54/53. Retrieved form: <u>https://undocs.org/es/A/HRC/54/53</u>.



And finally, we conclude this report by noting that the following challenges of the **2019** Political Declaration can be supported in compliance with the recommendations of the OHCHR Report and it is even possible that, with an eye on **2029**, these may be reformulated under strict compliance with human rights standards and an express recognition of the failure of prohibitionism.

Challenge	OHCHR recommendation to be considered in the reassessment or reformulation with an eye on 2029
Address a constantly ex- panding and diversifying drug market.	<ul> <li>Adopt gender-sensitive drug policies that respond to the specific needs of women.</li> <li>Address the underlying socioeconomic factors that increase the risks of using drugs or that lead to engaging in the drug trade.</li> </ul>
Address organized crime, violence, and insecurity.	<ul> <li>Only resort to military force extraordi- narily, temporarily, and when strictly ne- cessary in specific circumstances.</li> </ul>
Protecting the health of people who use drugs.	<ul> <li>Adopt drug policies that recognize and advance the rights of people who use drugs, including by ensuring access to medical care for people who inject drugs and develop HIV, viral hepatitis and other diseases.</li> </ul>
	• Adopt drug policies that explicitly pro- tect against discrimination, and ensure everyone's right to health and to be trea- ted with respect, dignity, and equality.

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Challenge	OHCHR recommendation to be considered in the reassessment or reformulation with an eye on 2029
	<ul> <li>Incorporate and fund harm reduction services.</li> <li>Address the increased vulnerability of people who use drugs in crisis settings.</li> <li>Ensure that the eradication of illicit crops does not negatively affect the health of individuals in the area, and the environment.</li> </ul>
Ensuring better access to controlled medicines for pain management and pa- lliative care.	<ul> <li>Adopt drug policies that explicitly pro- tect against discrimination, and ensu- re everyone's right to health and to be treated with respect, dignity, and equa- lity.</li> </ul>
Reforming drug policies that violate human rights.	<ul> <li>Ensure that law enforcement in drug control efforts is fully consistent with States' human rights obligations.</li> <li>Ensure that any financial and technical assistance provided to countries for drug enforcement operations does not contribute, or carry a risk of contributing, to the commission of human rights violations.</li> </ul>
Reducing the excessive se of imprisonment and ounishment.	<ul> <li>Adopt alternatives to criminalization, "zero tolerance" and elimination of drugs.</li> <li>Review convictions and/or sentences and, where appropriate, quash, com-</li> </ul>



Challenge	OHCHR recommendation to be considered in the reassessment or reformulation with an eye on 2029
	<ul> <li>mute, or reduce convictions and/or sentences.</li> <li>Ensure that crimes are clearly defined in law, and that penalties are proportionate to the gravity of offences.</li> <li>Consider the specific needs and possible vulnerabilities of women drug offenders when prosecuted and imprisoned.</li> <li>Ensure that conditions in detention for drug offences respect the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the United Nations St</li></ul>
	<ul> <li>Treatment of Prisoners.</li> <li>End the disproportionate impact of discriminatory law enforcement and sentencing policies on people of African descent.</li> </ul>
Legal regulation of subs- tances under international control.	<ul> <li>Consider developing a regulatory sys- tem for legal access to all controlled substances.</li> </ul>
Addressing the develop- ment dimension of illegal drug markets and drug po- licies.	<ul> <li>Invest in alternative development with the participation of local communities.</li> </ul>
Ensuring a meaningful par- ticipation of civil society.	<ul> <li>Meaningfully engage civil society orga- nizations, people who use drugs, affec- ted communities and youth.</li> </ul>



