



Tobacco: Antisocial, Unfair, Harmful to the Environment

Tobacco Production and Consumption as an Example of the Complexity of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The year 2015 is decisive for sustainable development. Based on intergovernmental negotiations, a list of goals will be formulated showing barriers to sustainable development and setting goals for its implementation. These Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) resume and supplement the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) expiring in 2015. The main focus of the MDGs was combating and eradicating hunger and poverty. This has to remain the central concern of the global community. However, other global issues such as growing social inequality, increasing environmental devastation and resource use, intensifying climate change and lack of implementation of justice, peace, good governance and human rights must be addressed by all states in the future. Therefore, the SDGs have to focus on both the challenges in the areas of environment and development in the years to come. At the end of the negotiation process, the so-called Post-2015 Agenda will be adopted at an UN Summit in September 2015.

It is central for the implementation of the Post-2015 Agenda, that the goals apply both to the countries of the Global North as well as to those of the Global South. Thus, donor nations will have an obligation to reorganize their domestic policies as well as their development assistance while at the same time closely interlink these matters with regard to sustainable development.

Existing Proposed Goals

The July 2014 final report of the international Open Working Group for Sustainable Development Goals (OWG) is one of the most important documents in the process of formulating SDGs. It contains a list of 17 goals and 169 targets devoted to the core concerns of the new agenda for sustainable development: combating poverty and hunger, protecting ecosystems, the sustainable use of natural resources, combating inequality and injustice as well as issues of financing and implementation (OWG 2014). Another fundamental document is the Synthesis Report “The Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending Poverty, Transforming all Lives and Protecting the Planet” of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, which was published in December 2014. In order to structure the numerous OWG goals, he recommends six key elements he considers essentially important in the formulation of a universal, integrated, and transformative agenda for sus-

tainable development and for its implementation at the country level: *dignity, people, prosperity, planet, justice and partnership*.

Both the OWG document and the Synthesis Report of the UN Secretary-General have their weaknesses. On the one hand, the interconnection of the three dimensions of sustainability - ecology, economy, and social affairs - is insufficiently reflected in both documents. On the other hand, an explicit reference to human rights, especially linked to the fight against poverty and hunger, is missing. Additionally, the constant assumption that the aspired social transformation has to be based on economic growth and could be unlinked from its ecological consequences by technical solutions is opposed by many representatives of civil society. Moreover, both documents offer various partnership models between public, private sector and civil society stakeholders as appropriate forms of cooperation to implement the agenda. But they do not take into account power imbalances, necessary legal framework requirements or the role of the private sector in intensifying global problems.

Nonetheless, due to the broad spectrum of addressed topics, the reports of the OWG and the UN Secretary-General constitute a sound basis for a further elaboration of the new agenda. Therefore, most civil society organisations demand a complete adoption of the proposed goals. At the same time, they call for comprehensive monitoring mechanisms to be instituted on the national, regional and international level in order to ensure, that the implementation of the SDGs is legally binding.

In July 2014 the United Nations published the final draft of the outcome document for the Post-2015 Summit, including the negotiated OWG goals. This study refers to the wording suggested by the OWG.

OWG Goals	Title
1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere
2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
3	Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
9	Build a resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation
10	Reduce inequality within and among countries
11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
12	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
13	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts* <i>(*acknowledging that the UNFCCC is the primary international, intergovernmental forum for negotiating the global response to climate change)</i>
14	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
15	Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
17	Strengthen means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development



More than 90 per cent of the worldwide traded tobacco are grown in the Global South.

Tobacco as an Example of the Interrelations between OWG Goals

The global intention to create goals for sustainable development is considerably complex. This study exemplifies the way in which the proposed goals are intertwined with one another and, as an example, analyses the production and consumption of tobacco products.

The starting point of this study is the health effect of tobacco use. About one billion people smoke worldwide, 80 per cent of them reside in low and middle income countries. In Germany, about 20 million people smoke constituting 30 per cent of the population above 15 years (WHO 2015). Annually, about six billion industrially manufactured cigarettes are consumed worldwide. Tobacco use is addictive, is hazardous to health and kills half of its consumers.

Every year, six million people die due to the consequences of smoking worldwide and 600,000 people die

from secondhand smoke. In Germany, 128,000 people die each year from smoking (Eriksen et al. 2015). More people actually die from smoking than from HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria combined. The main burden is borne by the Global South, where 80 per cent of the deaths occur (Eriksen/Mackay/Ross 2012:16). The so-called tobacco epidemic was officially recognized as a global problem in the late 1990s by the World Bank and the World Health Organization (WHO) (World Bank 1999). In response, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) was developed and adopted (WHO 2003). By now, this first international health treaty has been signed by 180 nations, including Germany. Tobacco growing countries such as Indonesia, Malawi or the USA have not yet acceded to the convention. The WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control is an existing global government structure under the aegis of WHO and is designated as the first of four instruments to reach the health goals in the SDG proposals of the OWG.

However, a detailed look at the entire chain of production and consumption of tobacco products shows in-

terrelations extending far beyond the health topic.

Tobacco is cultivated worldwide in about 120 countries on 4.3 million hectares of arable land. Each year, almost 7.5 million tons of raw tobacco are produced, more than 90 per cent of those in the Global South (FAOSTAT 2014). Tobacco is different from other cash crops, e.g. coffee or tea, in three major aspects: first, the curing of the green leaves of Virginia tobacco requires huge amounts of firewood, which is mostly obtained by cutting down forests. Secondly, tobacco plants are poisonous and cause serious nicotine poisoning in farmers and tobacco workers. Thirdly, tobacco is used to manufacture addictive consumer products that are extremely hazardous to health. Therefore, the social, environmental and economic issues associated with tobacco cannot be solved by fair trade in the supply chain.

Tobacco in the World Market and in Germany

The world market for tobacco is controlled by two leaf tobacco merchants (Alliance One International (AOI), Universal Corporation) and four multinational cigarette companies (Philip Morris International (PMI), British American Tobacco (BAT), Japan Tobacco International (JTI) and Imperial Tobacco Group (ITG)). Their profits go to Europe, Japan and the USA. In contrast, people in the Global South primarily bear the social, economic and environmental costs of production and consumption. China poses an exception: the tobacco cultivated there corresponding to 43 per cent of world production is almost exclusively processed in China. Out of all cigarettes produced by the Chinese state-owned enterprise, China National Tobacco Corporation (CNTC), corresponding to 41 per cent of the world cigarette market only one per cent is exported.

Germany is an important location of the tobacco industry. Each year about 220,000 tons of raw tobacco are imported to Germany and processed. Only Russia imports even larger amounts. With an annual export of about 160 billion cigarettes, Germany is one of the world's largest cigarette exporters. More than 15 production facilities are located in Germany. The group British American Tobacco (BAT) has its largest worldwide cigarette factory in Bayreuth. The world's leading provider

for tobacco production machines, Körber AG, is located in Hamburg. Germany thereby profits directly and to a great extent from the production and consumption of tobacco. Yet this contradicts the federal government's commitment to sustainable development.

About this Study

If all the goals for sustainable development proposed in the Synthesis Report and in the OWG document are actually implemented, this will have far-reaching effects on all areas of life, behaviour and politics in the Global North as well as in the South. The multisectoral approach is even a major challenge for non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

In an attempt to illustrate this, the study uses the example of tobacco. It is structured on the basis of the six key elements of the UN Secretary-General's Synthesis Report (dignity, people, prosperity, planet, justice and partnership) and analyses the chain of production and consumption of tobacco. In order to show to what extent and degree of complexity tobacco opposes the SDGs and to what extent it obstructs or even counters them, the study frequently denominates the corresponding OWG goals. It suggests specific approaches to promote sustainable development. Finally, the study presents key conclusions combined with demands to the stakeholders in the post-2015 negotiation process.

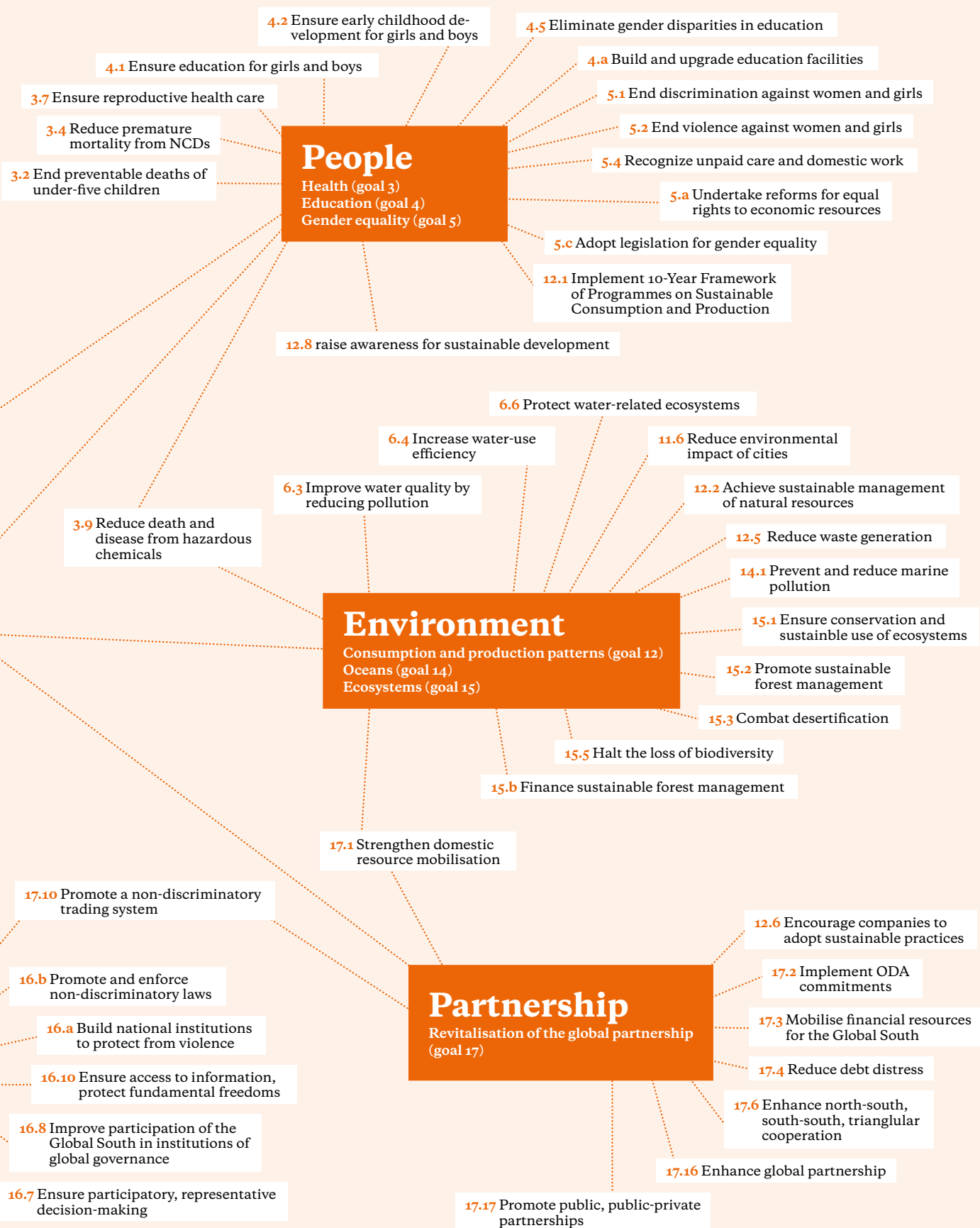
Central Goal of the FCTC

"To protect present and future generations from the devastating health, social, environmental and economic consequences of tobacco consumption and exposure to tobacco smoke"

(Source: WHO 2003)

Tobacco within the post-2015 agenda is not a pure health topic, because consumption and production of tobacco also impede sustainable development.





Chapter 2

What Tobacco Has to Do with Human Dignity

The basis for sustainable development must be decent living conditions for all. In order to achieve this, combating poverty (Goal 1) and inequality (Goal 10) is central, as stated in the Synthesis Report. According to the World Bank 2.4 billion people worldwide live on less than two US dollars per day (Goal 1.2). Of these, 1.2 billion people live in extreme poverty on less than 1.24 US dollars per day (Goal 1.1). Moreover, according to UN data, there are still 795 million people starving and two billion people malnourished (Goal 2). In addition, development cannot be sustainable, if entire sections of the population are excluded from participating in society due to social or economic factors. Economic inequality is the most apparent form, while unequal opportunity e.g. based on age, sex, disability, origin, or religion (Goal 10.3) remains less apparent.

2.1 Tobacco Increases Poverty and Hunger

Due to its high prevalence among poorer sections of the population (Esson/Leeder 2004:xiii) **tobacco consumption** increases poverty and hunger: money spent on tobacco products reduces available income, tobacco-related diseases lead to a loss of working hours and thereby to a loss of income, and the costs for the medical treatment of tobacco-related diseases increase household expenditures significantly. More than 50 per cent of tobacco-related deaths occur in the productive years (30 to 69 years old) and thus lead to reduced income for the families affected. All this means less food (Goal 2.1), education,

Goal 2:

End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

health care and clothes. Among the 15 countries with the highest prevalence of smoking among men (Eriksen/Mackay/Ross 2012:98-105), a significant proportion of poor households is found in Indonesia, Georgia, Laos, China and Armenia (World Bank DATA 2014).¹ In 2005, smoker households in Indonesia spent as much money on tobacco products as on fish, meat, milk and eggs combined (CTFK 2013a). In 2002, smokers from poor households in rural China bought tobacco products with a value equivalent to one sixth of their food expenses (CTFK 2014a). Given the enormous economic development in China, this ratio within household expenditures has certainly changed. Yet the cost of the treatment for tobacco-related diseases and the resulting loss of available income will occur only decades later (Esson/Leeder 2004:13). Therefore, there will be an enormous increase of these consequences in China in the years to come.

In the Global South, **tobacco cultivation** also contributes to an increase in poverty (Goals 1.1, 1.2) and consequently to hunger and malnourishment (Goals 2.1, 2.2). Globally, tobacco is primarily cultivated by smallholders. While the tobacco industry and its lobby organisations, such as the International Tobacco Growers Association (ITGA; see also Graen 2014a:20, FCA 2014), claim that tobacco is a lucrative crop (ITGA n.D.), tobacco cultivation is characterised by economic exploitation and human rights violations. The power imbalance between multinational corporations and smallholder farmers is inherent in the contract system: By providing agricultural inputs and consultation the companies exercise powerful control over the production, while the risks e.g. of a bad harvest are borne by the tobacco farmers. The companies control the prices for seed, fertilizers and pesticides, as well as - indirectly - the prices for raw tobacco by classifying the tobacco. Thus, the smallholders run into debt to the companies (Graen 2014a:19f). Just like in 2010, when tobacco farmers in Bangladesh protested against the low classification of their harvest by the companies driving them into financial ruin (UBINIG 2010a).

Malawi is the world's largest exporter of burley tobacco, a typical component of American blend cigarettes, e.g. Marlboro or Lucky Strike. About 50 per cent of Malawi's export revenue and 23 per cent of the nation's

¹ Indonesia: 67.4 per cent smokers, 43.3 per cent less than 2 US dollars (2011). Georgia: 56.6 per cent smokers, 31.8 per cent less than 2 US dollars (2009). Laos: 51.4 per cent smokers (2009); 68.3 per cent less than 2 US dollars (2007). China: 51.2 per cent smokers (2009); 28.3 per cent less than 2 US dollars (2008). Armenia: 50.9 per cent smokers; 14.7 per cent less than 2 US dollars (2009); (Eriksen/Mackay/Ross 2012:98-105; World Bank DATA 2014).

nal tax income is realised by tobacco cultivation (Graen 2014b:23). At the same time 72 per cent of Malawi's population live in extreme poverty (World Bank DATA 2014). Tobacco is cultivated by smallholders, but also by tenants on plantations. The living conditions on the plantations are characterised by a lack of life essentials: safe water sources (Goal 6.1), sufficient food (Goal 2.1), adequate accommodation (Goal 11.1) and health care (Goal 3.8) are missing. The children of tobacco farmers in Malawi suffer more frequently from stunting (Goal 2.2) than children from families that do not grow tobacco (Wood et. al. 2013:21).

It is important to note that tobacco growing directly competes with the cultivation of food crops. In six of the world's top ten tobacco growing countries a significant proportion of the population is undernourished. The tobacco growing areas of these countries could be used to grow food for more than ten million people (Graen 2014a:22). This is the case in Malawi, where cropland is scarce, as well as in Bangladesh or Kenya, where tobacco growing is suppressing food crops (UBINIG 2010b; Kibwage/Netondo/Magati 2014:199). In light of this fact, the inclusion of tobacco leaf corporations in the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition in Malawi seems dubious at best. This public-private partnership of the

Malawian government with the EU, various development agencies and 23 private companies aims at reducing poverty and combating hunger. However, under the pretext of food security, the tobacco leaf merchant Alliance One Malawi, a subsidiary of Alliance One International, seeks to expand the cultivation of tobacco. Its goal is to increase the production of flue cured Virginia tobacco almost sixfold and to double that of Burley tobacco (Government of Malawi 2014:30). This plan does not only result in re-increasing Malawi's dependence on tobacco exports. It primarily endangers food security instead of improving it and increases the poverty among smallholders and tenant farmers. In its report on smallholder agriculture in Malawi, the African Centre for Biodiversity comes to the conclusion: "In essence, tobacco is an antisocial crop" (ACB 2014:71).

What Needs to Be Done

In order to promote an improved income and nutrition situation (Goal 2.3) in countries with a high smoking prevalence and a significant proportion of poor households, international cooperation should be devoted to

Country	Raw tobacco production in tons (2008-2012)	Undernourishment in % of total population (2008-2012)
China	3,054,880	13.3
Brazil	852,887	n/a
India	701,566	16.8
USA	335,837	n/a
Indonesia	184,309	15.3
Malawi	173,549	23.1
Argentina	139,182	n/a
Pakistan	106,584	22.1
Zimbabwe	100,669	35.8
Italy	94,886	n/a

(Source: Graen 2014a)

programs for reducing tobacco consumption (Goal 3.d), i.e. for health education and smoking cessation.

Partnerships with the tobacco industry within the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition as in Malawi run contrary to a sustainable development and, therefore, must be terminated immediately. Equally the expansion of tobacco cultivation in this context must be stopped.

In all tobacco growing countries, the final goal should be the complete phase out of tobacco cultivation. In this regard it is important to ensure from the very start, that tobacco growing smallholders participate actively in the development of alternative livelihoods. Article 17 of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control provides for the “support of economically viable alternative activities” for tobacco farmers (WHO 2003:16). In particular, if the transition to food production is combined with sustainable agricultural practices (Goal 2.4), the preservation of seed diversity (Goal 2.5), and the sustainable use of natural resources (Goal 12.2), it can greatly contribute to food security. Such a transition is implemented for example by former tobacco farmers in Bangladesh, where the agricultural movement Nayakrishi Andolon supports them in returning to food cultivation. As a result, their average net profit increased twelvefold from the mixed cultivation of potatoes, corn, lentils and coriander as opposed to tobacco. Moreover, investment costs were significantly reduced (Akhter/Buckles/Tito 2014:168ff).²

Brazil has played a lead role in linking the struggle against poverty and hunger with the phasing out of tobacco cultivation. In 2003, the Brazilian government started the cross-sectoral Fome Zero Programme to combat hunger, which integrated the work of 19 ministries and combined economic policies with social protection. One part of this concept is the National School Meals Programme, which provides free lunches to all public schools and at the same time educates the students about a healthy diet and the origin of food. Since 2009, 30 per cent of the school meals’ components must be directly purchased from local smallholders, with a 30 per cent premium price for organic production (FAO/IFAD/WFP 2014:25). This regulation of public procurement in

favour of local smallholders (Goal 12.7) is an important link to the National Programme for Diversification in Tobacco Growing Areas introduced in 2005. The Ministry for Rural Development coordinates and supports smallholders in the transition from tobacco to organic agriculture by trainings, rural extension services, and technology (Eidt 2014:237f). The success of the government’s fight against hunger, which has not been restricted to tobacco growing areas, is reflected in the statistics: thanks to numerous well-coordinated programmes and a comprehensive plan of action, the level of poverty decreased from 24.3 to 8.4 per cent of the population from 2001 to 2012, while extreme poverty fell from 14 to 3.5 per cent of the population. The income of the poorest fifth of the population increased by more than six per cent, three times more than that of the wealthiest fifth. Moreover, between 2000 and 2006 the proportion of undernourished people dropped from 10.7 to under 5 per cent. Brazil thereby met both the MDG of halving the proportion of its people suffering from hunger as well as the more ambitious goal of the World Food Summit of 1996 of halving the absolute number of hungry people by 2015 (FAO/IFAD/WFP 2014:23). In addition, the Brazilian experiences in school feeding were incorporated into the work of the Centre of Excellence against Hunger of the World Food Programme (WFP) and were passed on to other countries through south-south-cooperation (Goal 17.6).

2.2 Tobacco Intensifies Inequality

The prevalence of **tobacco consumption** is not only common among people with lower incomes, but is increasing very rapidly in low and middle income countries. Tobacco consumption exacerbates inequalities within a society (Goal 10.2) due to its health, economic and social impact. The marketing activities of the tobacco industry significantly contribute by presenting cigarettes as the guarantee for self-confidence, success, strength, and fame – i.e. full social participation. Images are custom-made for certain target groups appealing to their feeling of the

² More examples can be found online on the world map of alternatives of Unfairtobacco.org.



In India, bidis - cigarettes made from green tobacco leaves - are still hand-rolled.

inequality experience: in Bangladesh, the brand Hollywood (BAT) is sold in the low-price market segment. The brand Camel (Japan Tobacco International, JTI) targets young adults in Russia with outdoor apparel and sponsors glamorous parties in the Ukraine featuring famous musicians. In Germany, Marlboro (Philip Morris International, PMI) advertises on billboards using slogans like “Maybe never reached the top”.

The social, economic and health impact inherent in the **production of tobacco** causes income inequality as well as unequal opportunities for people to participate in development. In the tobacco sector, whether on plantations in Malawi or in the bidi factories of India or Bangladesh, the standards for work safety and social protection (Goal 10.4) are either low or non-existent.

What Needs to Be Done

In order to promote sustainable development in regard to tobacco, official development assistance (ODA) funds and programmes for low and middle income countries (Goal 10.b) are of great significance.

Already existing German development projects in the health sector in countries such as Tanzania (male smoking prevalence 21.6 per cent) or Cambodia (male smoking prevalence 41.6 per cent) should integrate health education concerning smoking and secondhand smoke as well as treatment opportunities for tobacco-related diseases. Moreover, civil society groups advocating for tobacco control should receive financial and technical support. In Tanzania, a corresponding civil

society group is the Tanzania Tobacco Control Forum, in Cambodia it is the Cambodian Movement for Health. In addition, according to the WHO a comprehensive ban on all advertising and marketing activities is one of the six cost-effective measures³ proven to be effective in reducing tobacco consumption (WHO 2013a:26f) and thereby in reducing unequal development opportunities. Therefore, it would also contribute indirectly to more available income (Goal 10.1). To date the advertising ban has only been insufficiently implemented in Germany, too. Among other things, advertisement on billboards, at points of sale, in cinemas after 6 pm., sponsoring domestic events, individual advertisement on the internet, the use of tobacco brand logos on other products (so-called brand stretching) and indirect sales strategies such as promotion are still allowed (DKFZ 2012:5).

FCTC Article	Title
17	Support of economically viable alternative activities
18	Protection of the environment and the health of persons

(Source: WHO 2003)

In order to end tobacco cultivation rural development programmes (Goal 2.a) must be adjusted to the needs of tobacco farmers. In Laos, Bolivia, and Peru, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) supports the creation of alternative livelihoods to drug cultivation. A similar approach should be considered for tobacco cultivation. The BMZ special initiative “One World No Hunger” already includes corresponding approaches, such as the projected Innovation Centres scheduled to start in spring 2015. Best practice examples such as the experiences of the transition to bamboo originating in a project in South Nyanza, Kenya (Kibwage/Netondo/Magati 2014), could be applied to the rural development in the Western re-

gion of the country, where tobacco is also cultivated. The involvement of Maseno University, a project partner in South Nyanza and a potential partner for the Innovation Centre, seems promising. Other tobacco growing countries to benefit from the special initiative of the German government are Malawi, Nigeria, India, and Zambia.

Particularly in Malawi, hit especially hard by the consequences of tobacco growing, the future Innovation Centre must support the phasing out of tobacco cultivation. This would be most effective if combined with the already planned strengthening of school feeding measures (BMZ 2015a). But partner institutions should be chosen with utmost caution and a high level of transparency. The German government has indicated that the projected centre should be affiliated with the Mwimba College of Agriculture (Bundestag 2014:112). This college is a private establishment of the Agricultural Research and Extension Trust (ARET) and up to now has served almost exclusively for vocational education in tobacco cultivation. The trust aiming at the improvement of Malawi’s tobacco cultivation maintains close relations to the tobacco industry and its lobby organisations, such as the Tobacco Association of Malawi (TAMA) and the ITGA. Through these organisations representatives of tobacco companies exercise a great deal of influence on the bodies of the trust (ARET 2015). If the Innovation Centre is indeed affiliated with Mwimba College, the contract must stipulate that funds from the BMZ special initiative “One World No Hunger” are not used to improve tobacco cultivation, but rather to exclusively develop alternative livelihoods. This must be closely monitored during the project’s implementation. Ideally, the Innovation Centre would be affiliated with a different institution altogether such as the Natural Resources College of Luanar University. Although the university has recently received financing for scholarships from the tobacco company JTI (LUANAR 2015) and, therefore, is not free from the tobacco industry’s influence, it does not specialise in tobacco cultivation. Thus it is less affected by conflicts of interest and can better serve to promote alternatives to tobacco growing.

³ The WHO identifies six core measures for cost-effective reduction of tobacco use. The MPOWER package includes: monitor tobacco use and prevention policies, protect people from tobacco smoke, offer help to quit tobacco use, warn about the dangers of tobacco, enforce bans on advertising, promotion and sponsorship bans as well as raise tax on tobacco (WHO 2013A).



Tobacco cultivation is very labour-intensive and hazardous to health.

Regarding current tobacco production, the standards for work safety and social protection (Goal 10.4) must be significantly improved by effectively implementing Article 18 of the FCTC, which promotes the “protection of the environment and the health of persons” (WHO 2003:16). On Malawian tobacco plantations, the workers could benefit from protective clothing and washing facilities. It is also necessary to pass the tenancy labour bill drafted as far back as 1995. Even the former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier de Schutter, called for such a step after his visit to Malawi in 2013 (UNHCHR 2013:10). In the bidi production in India and Bangladesh, where cheap cigarettes made from green tobacco are hand-rolled, appropriate measures need to include dust masks, the introduction of a minimum age or the regulation of working hours. However, a short-term improvement of working conditions does not offer better prospects for income growth (Goal 10.1) as does the complete abandoning of the tobacco sector. For example, in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, bidi workers

received assistance in their transition into retailers and brick workers by the Rural Uplift Centre Veturnimadam, while individual small businesses trained tailors and potters (Vidhubala 2001).

Chapter 3

Why Tobacco Impedes Human Development

A truly sustainable development must focus on the people and, therefore, be based on human rights. People can only live in dignity and unfold their capabilities, if key human rights such as health, education, and equality are guaranteed. Yet today, millions of people do not have access to basic health care. 77 million children of primary school age worldwide are denied the human right to education and one in five adults worldwide can neither read nor write. It is still women and girls who are most affected worldwide by poverty, hunger, and the lack of access to health, education, as well as opportunities for social and economic fulfilment. For this reason, both the Synthesis Report and the OWG emphasise in their proposals health (Goal 3), education (Goal 4), and equality (Goal 5) as key elements. Similarly, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control invokes human rights in its preamble and designates precise frameworks, i.e. the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the UN Women's Rights Convention (CEDAW) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

3.1 Tobacco Is Addictive and Causes Diseases

Tobacco consumption is the single most preventable cause of non-communicable diseases and premature death (Goal 3.4). It causes heart and lung diseases, cancer, and diabetes. The direct health costs of tobacco addiction are high. In Malaysia, the costs for the treatment of tobacco-related diseases in 2008 were equivalent to the expenses for the entire state programme for rural development (about 584 million Euro), while in Chile (2008) they amounted to about 720 million Euro, equalling the expenses for public safety (Eriksen/Mackay/Ross 2012:44f). Moreover, tobacco consumption and secondhand smoke

are harmful to health, especially for pregnant women, as well as unborn and small children (Goal 3.2, 3.7): complications such as abruption of placenta, stillbirths and miscarriages, as well as sudden infant death syndrome and respiratory diseases are only some of the possible consequences (ibid.:19). Secondhand smoking refers to breathing of tobacco smoke from the surrounding air that contains the smoke from cigarettes and the exhalations of smokers. Two thirds of the worldwide 166,000 deaths of children caused by secondhand smoke (ibid.:21) occur in Africa and South Asia. The combination of respiratory infections and secondhand smoke appears to be fatal to children in these regions (Öberg et al. 2011:144).

On the other hand, the health consequences of **tobacco production** are little-known. To grow tobacco a large number of chemicals (pesticides, fungicides, insecticides, chemical fertilizers) are used, because the plant is very susceptible and requires many nutrients. Smallholders often lack protective clothing and appropriate devices and, therefore, pesticide poisonings and their psychological consequences are rampant (Goal 3.9). In Brazil's biggest tobacco growing regions, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná, suicides among tobacco farmers caused by pesticide poisoning have been observed for many years (Eltz 2008). Moreover, the chemicals contribute to the contamination of soil, air and water and are thereby also harmful to people who do not grow tobacco. In contrast to other crops, the tobacco plant itself is poisonous due to its high nicotine content. During harvesting field workers absorb a nicotine dose equivalent to about 50 cigarettes daily through their skin (Plan Malawi 2009:II). They fall ill with the so-called green tobacco sickness (GTS), a form of strong nicotine poisoning causing nausea, dizziness, headache, and muscle weakness (Graen 2014a:21). In particular, children working in tobacco fields or in the processing of tobacco are enormously endangered by the chemicals and nicotine poisoning, both affecting their physical development.

Goal 3.4

By 2030 reduce premature mortality from non-communicable diseases (NCDs)

What Needs to Be Done

To achieve the health goals mapped out by the Open Working Group, the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control is designated as the first of four proposed instruments (Goal 3.a). The implementation of the agreed legally binding key measures to reduce tobacco consumption as well as measures concerning work safety in tobacco cultivation must be accelerated. In the longterm, the key goal of the FCTC, the reduction of tobacco consumption, can also contribute essentially to gain land for food cultivation.

Measures for the Reduction of Tobacco Consumption

FCTC Article	Title
6	Price and tax increases
8	Protection from secondhand smoke
11	Packaging and labelling of tobacco products
12	Education and raising of public awareness
13	Ban on tobacco advertising
14	Support of tobacco cessation

(Source: WHO 2003)

3.2 Tobacco Is a Danger for Education

Especially in low and middle income countries, **tobacco consumption** impairs the right to education. The purchase of the addictive stimulants uses financial means that could otherwise be available for education (Goals 4.1, 4.2). In particular, the education of girls is neglected (Goal 4.5) (Esson/Leeder 2004:36). For example, in Indonesia in 2005, smoker households spent an average of 11.5 per cent of the household income on tobacco products while only 3.2 per cent was used for education (CTFK 2013a). Moreover, the death of a parent as a consequence of tobacco use and thereby the loss of household income reduces education opportunities for the children. In addition, a lower level of education is closely associa-

ted with the high likelihood of tobacco use (Esson/Leeder 2004:32f).

The right to education is also endangered by **tobacco cultivation**: tobacco is a very labour-intensive and an economically unviable crop for smallholders in countries like Brazil, Malawi or Indonesia (Graen 2014a:18f). As a result, child labour in tobacco fields is widespread. In Malawi, for example, at least 78,000 children work in the tobacco fields (Plan Malawi 2009:II) and in Paraná (Brazil), at least 80,000 children work for smallholder tobacco growers (Eltz 2008) (for other countries where tobacco cultivation is associated with child and/or forced labour, see US Department of Labor 2014). Even in the USA, children are involved in tobacco cultivation: however, an exact number is not available (Wurth/Buchanan/Human Rights Watch 2014). Working in the tobacco fields or in the bidi production of Bangladesh or India comes at the expense of education (Goals 4.1, 4.2, 4.5). Either the children cannot attend school at all, as in Malawi (Lecours 2014:110), or they suffer from a double burden of attending school and working in the tobacco sector, as in Brazil (Eltz 2008). In Bangladesh, the smoke of tobacco curing barns located in the vicinity of schools harms the health and concentration of schoolchildren (UBINIG 2010b). In Zimbabwe, in areas with a deficient state infrastructure, education comes at a high price: tobacco sheds serve as substitute schools with poor lighting conditions, poisonous fumes and tobacco dust in poorly ventilated rooms (IRIN 2004, Langa 2013).

The tobacco industry has identified the promotion of education as a rewarding field for corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes, all the while making sponsoring schools a good opportunity to further open up markets. In China, the state-owned China National Tobacco Corporation (CNTC), financed the building of 100 primary schools after the devastating earthquake in 2008 and used this opportunity to advertise tobacco products. The schools were named after cigarette brands and their fronts bore the CNTC logo. One school even displayed the slogan “Talent comes from hard work - tobacco helps you to become talented” and some of the pupils received school uniforms with brand names (England 2010). In Malawi, too, the tobacco industry is polishing its image: Philip Morris finances the building of schools; Alliance One International and Japan Tobacco International sponsor scholarships.



Child labour is widely used in tobacco cultivation.

What Needs to Be Done

In order to increase education opportunities and achieve the OWG goals, the reduction of tobacco consumption and a change of the power balances in tobacco cultivation and trade will be necessary. In addition, the improvement of the school system (Goal 4.a) as well as the provision of adequate buildings is a basic measure to improve the situation in tobacco growing countries such as Zimbabwe and Malawi.

In Germany, too, education to promote awareness for sustainable consumption and production patterns (Goal 12.8) has to be pursued. Specifically concerning tobacco, the social, ecological, and economic impact of tobacco cultivation and cigarette production is little-known. The WHO FCTC explicitly encourages this kind of education in Article 12f. Education and awareness-raising to this effect is already supported by the BMZ. Another suitable framework would be the Consumer Information Programme implemented by the German Federal Ministry for Environment within the 10 Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production patterns (Goal 12.1).

3.3 Tobacco Endangers Gender Equality

In the 1920s, cigarette companies in the USA started to direct their advertisement at women. While this potential customer base was only sparingly addressed until the late 1960s, the tobacco industry recognised the strengthened feminist movement as a growing market for their products and started to develop brands for women. During the 1970s, as women increasingly expressed their health concerns regarding smoking, cigarette manufacturers responded with the invention of the so-called light cigarette (CTFK 2015). The worldwide market liberalisation beginning in the 1990s opened up a new market segment to tobacco companies in the Global South: again the target group were women. Even today, the companies see their future in the low smoking prevalence among women in the Global South and the inherent increasing opportunities for growth. Large-scale marketing campaigns (advertisements, promotion tours, concerts) are targeted specifically at women in the Global South and contribute to a change in the social acceptance of smoking among

women. For decades the advertising messages of the industry have associated smoking with the attractiveness, empowerment, independence, and success of women (Samet/Yoon (ed.) 2010: 107).

Yet **tobacco consumption** does not contribute to end discrimination against women, but rather increases gender inequality (Goal 5.1). More than 80 per cent of smokers worldwide live in low and middle income countries, where on average only eight per cent of women compared to 49 per cent of men smoke (CTFK 2013b). Poorer households are exceedingly affected by the consequences of tobacco consumption (Esson/Leeder 2004:36) and, therefore, a review of poor households in which men smoke demonstrates the injustice. Where decisions on how to use scarce financial means must take addiction (i.e. of smoking men) into account, expenses necessary for women and children are limited. In these households research could establish a link between available income and the likeliness, that sick women or children would receive medical attention (ibid.). Moreover, in case of a tobacco-related disease, women must care for their spouse (Goal 5.4) and, in case of his death, ensure the survival of the family (Samet/Yoon (ed.) 2010:16). In addition, almost half of the worldwide deaths caused by secondhand smoke occur among women, more than a fourth among children and a fourth among men (Eriksen/Mackay/Ross 2012:20f). This can be attributed, inter alia, to the fact that worldwide about 60 per cent more women than men are non-smokers (Öberg et al. 2011:144). These statistics can, however, also point to power balances leaving women and children less opportunities to procure a smoke-free room at home or at work.

Concerning **tobacco cultivation**, women in the Global South are the backbone of production. They work in the fields and conduct most of the processing of raw tobacco, in addition to being responsible for household duties (Goal 5.4). In Bangladesh, women are particularly responsible for the time-consuming curing of green tobacco leaves, a process requiring a steady, high temperature in the curing barns maintained by fire for several days (Lecours 2014: 119). Research on tobacco growing in Nigeria, Vietnam, Kenya, and Uganda (Lecours 2014: 107ff) shows that women bear the main burden of work, while mostly men receive the income from the sale of raw tobacco (Goal 5.1). In places, where only men can enter into contracts with tobacco firms, as for example in Nigeria, and receive a lump-sum payment at the end of the season, men have complete control over the mutually

earned income from tobacco cultivation (Lecours 2014: 107ff). In Malawi, sexual harassment of girls (Goal 5.2) on tobacco plantations has been reported (Plan Malawi 2009: 34f). In the bidi production in Bangladesh, primarily women and children are employed, while men receive the payment in their capacity as contractors. It is also the men, who earn the profits as brokers and factory owners (Roy et al. 2012:314f).

What Needs to Be Done

The reduction of tobacco consumption can lead to more equality between men and women. It would be associated with a greater freedom of choice on household expenditures, as well as with improved education opportunities for girls and women.

Particularly in tobacco growing countries, reforms of national laws on land and property ownership as well as access to financial resources (credit) are important measures for achieving equality between men and women (Goal 5.a). Thereby women would receive more freedom to decide about their own labour power and the nature of their livelihood. However, the most comprehensive improvements for women and children will be achieved by abandoning tobacco cultivation.

For tobacco as in many other areas, the creation of a legal basis for equal participation in social development (Goal 5.c) remains a fundamental step.



Cigarette advertisement in Tanzania in 2007: it's fresh, it's cool, it's yours.

Chapter 4

How Tobacco Destroys the Environment

At least since the Brundtland Report⁴ of 1987 and the 1992 Conference for Sustainable Development in Rio de Janeiro, the global community has acknowledged that the protection of ecosystems as well as the sustainable use and fair distribution of resources are an integral part of sustainable development. Waste, exploitation, and overuse of resources such as soil, water, and forests, together with increasing environmental pollution and climate change deprive many societies worldwide of the very basis of life and development and of future prospects, thus contributing to poverty. Each year, the resource capacity of one and a half earths is consumed with increasing speed. In 2014, the Earth Overshoot Day, a day on which the human demand for natural resources exceeded the capacity of the earth to reproduce these resources, already fell on August 19th. Each year, millions of hectares of fertile farmland are replaced by intensive agriculture leading to erosion, and by the construction of streets and cities. Moreover, the global rate of deforestation remains alarmingly high in many parts of the world. The Synthesis Report of Ban Ki-moon

strengthens the elementary link between environment and development and under the heading planet summarises the protection of ecosystems (Goal 15), sustainable consumption and production patterns (Goal 12) as well as climate protection (Goal 13).

4.1 Tobacco Pollutes Settlements and Cities

Tobacco consumption produces poisonous gases and waste. Particularly in urban areas it causes declining air quality due to secondhand smoke as well as litter pollution (Goal 11.6) from cigarette packaging and butts. The latter are made from cellulose acetate, a synthetic material which biodegrades at an extremely slow rate, and they contain all the poisons that are filtered out of cigarettes including tar, heavy metals, nicotine, pesticide residue, and aromatic hydrocarbons. Through the sewer drain systems, poisonous substances and plastics enter into the water and are just as problematic for the provision of water to human settlements (Goal 6.3) as they are acutely poisonous to flora and fauna. Globally, cigarette butts constitute up to 50 per cent of littered items in cities (Healton et al. 2011), in European cities even up to 60 per cent (DKFZ 2009).

While **tobacco cultivation** does not take place in urban areas, it has a great influence on the living conditions and settlements in tobacco growing areas. Pesticides, fertilizers and chemicals are washed into the courses of rivers (Goal 6.3) and find their way into the ground water (Goal 6.6, 11.6). For example, in Bandarban District of Bangladesh, tobacco is cultivated alongside the Matamuhuri River over a distance of 80 kilometres. Reports describe the death of fish and the loss of the fertile riverbank areas for food cultivation. If the poison does not kill the fish, it returns to human beings through the food chain. In addition, during the curing of green tobacco leaves, the settlements along the Matamuhuri experience air pollution (Goal 11.6) due to emissions from curing barns (UBINIG 2010b).

The **production of cigarettes** which mostly takes place in urban surroundings also contributes to environmental pollution. Various types of tobacco are blended,



All over the world, cigarette butts are littered on the streets.

⁴ Gro Harlem Brundtland, the former director of the UN Commission who prepared the report, was also a driving force behind the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control during her term as WHO Director-General (1998-2003).



Cigarettes are the most frequently found waste item on ocean beaches worldwide.

finely chopped and finally furnished with other additives. This tobacco blend is the basis for the highly automated manufacture of cigarettes by machines producing as many as 20,000 cigarettes per minute (BAT 2014a). During the course of this process liquid, solid, and gaseous waste accumulates, of which chemical waste poses the most serious danger (Goals 3.9, 6.3). In 2013 for example, cigarette groups in the USA produced 800 tons of reportable chemical waste, of which 360 tons were released into the environment. The six substances with the highest concentration were ammonia, nicotine, hydrochloric acid, nitrate, chlorine, and lead compounds (RTKNET 2014; Novotny/Zhao 1999; Legacy for Health 2011). Based on its own statements, the annual production of its 676 billion cigarettes (2013) by the BAT Group generated worldwide about 8,000 tons of disposable waste. The company did not give a statement on dangerous chemical waste products (BAT 2014b).

What Needs to Be Done

Smoke-free areas can contribute to the direct improvement of air quality in cities and settlements. For example, in New York City smoking is not permitted in parks, on the beach, and in pedestrian areas (NYC Parks 2014). Since February 2015, two public places in Bristol are smoke-free (BBC News 2015) and in Canada corresponding rules have long been discussed and finally introduced on the local level (County of Lambton 2011). The general reduction of tobacco consumption results in less waste,

other measures can include special waste concepts for the poisonous cigarette butts and the recycling of packaging waste (Goal 12.5).

The burden of tobacco cultivation on settlements can be reduced by better informing tobacco farmers about the chemicals they use and by introducing measures to protect the courses of rivers applying regulations such as, for example, minimum distances of tobacco fields from water bodies.

4.2 Tobacco Poisons Water and Oceans

Based on the assumption that up to 80 per cent of maritime pollution originates at land, **tobacco consumption** is a worldwide danger for maritime ecosystems (Goal 14.1). Since the introduction of the International Coastal Cleanup in 1986, cigarette butts are the most frequent waste item found on beaches every year (Ocean Conservancy 2014). Fish, birds and marine mammals mistake cigarette butts for food and poison themselves. The plastic contained in the filters contributes to the burden of plastic trash in our oceans. The poisonous materials leaking out of the filters accumulate on other bits and pieces, endanger the diverse ecosystems of the oceans and coastlines and their biological diversity and finally return back to human beings through the food chain. In laboratory experiments, half of the fish tested died from these poisonous substances at a concentration of one

used cigarette butt in one litre of water (Slaughter et al. 2011).

In addition, **tobacco cultivation** and **cigarette production** consume a great deal of water (Goals 6.4, 12.2). Based on a 2011 study, the water footprint of raw tobacco, i.e. the total volume of fresh water necessary to produce raw tobacco, is 2,925 cubic meters per ton, more than twice as much as is necessary for corn (Mekonnen/Hoekstra 2011:1584). For the worldwide production of 7.5 million tons of raw tobacco, almost 22 billion cubic meters of water are necessary each year. According to the British group BAT, the production of 676 billion cigarettes in 2013 required 2.46 million cubic meters of water (BAT 2014b). For instance, steam is used to regulate the moisture content in the tobacco blend and apply additives. A particularly huge amount of water is needed for the processing of the so-called tobacco by-products: separated leaf veins are shredded into small pieces, soaked in water and rapidly dried again. Tobacco dust and smaller tobacco particles are processed into a pulp, then dried into a paper like sheet and added to the tobacco blend after being finely cut. An extrapolation based on the above figures provided by BAT projects for the global annual cigarette production of six trillion pieces a water usage of almost 22 million cubic meters.

4.3 Tobacco Destroys the Forest

Tobacco consumption has direct effects on forests: thoughtlessly littered cigarette butts time and again cause forest fires. For example in 2003, a cigarette butt caused a fire that spread to 26,000 hectares of forest in Canada (Fong 2009). In 2010, a cigarette butt caused 60 hectares of forest in the Indian state of Kerala to burn down (Eriksen et al. 2015). In 2012, some 2,000 hectares of forest in the Russian Republic of Buryatia were

destroyed (RT 2012), and in spring 2014, 70 hectares of forest burnt down in the Austrian Alps (Domanig 2014). The impact of such fires has to be measured not only on the surface area, but also on the nature of the forest destroyed. In timber plantations they primarily cause economic damage to forest enterprises, while the destruction of forest areas in national parks especially implies the loss of biodiversity and natural habitat (Goal 15.1).

However, it is primarily **tobacco cultivation** that has a huge impact on forests. Tobacco mono-cropping leads to severe soil depletion. The necessary shifting cultivation as well as the curing of Virginia tobacco seriously contributes to deforestation. Industrially manufactured cigarettes contain about 50 per cent Virginia tobacco. Virginia tobacco requires large amounts of firewood for the curing process. In southern Africa, this primarily happens at the expense of the Miombo, the largest contiguous belt of dry forest in the world, a truly unique ecosystem (Goal 15.1). In Tanzania, each year 61,000 hectares of forest are cleared for the cultivation of tobacco (Goal 15.2) (Mangora 2012:135). In the Urambo District, 3.5 per cent of the deforestation are attributed to shifting cultivation for new tobacco fields and an additional three per cent are attributed to the curing of tobacco (Mangora 2005:389). In the Tabora District, the continuous deforestation has led to desertification (Goal 15.3) and to a loss of biodiversity in the Miombo (Goal 15.5). The natural habitat for wild animals such as elephants and lions, but also for pollinating insects such as bees and butterflies is disappearing (Geist/Heller/Waluye 2004:97ff). In Zimbabwe, on the southern border of the Miombo, nine kilos of firewood are used for each kilo of cured raw tobacco. According to the National Forest Commission, an area of almost 50,000 hectares of forest is cleared for this purpose each year (Scoones 2014). In Bangladesh, the tobacco farmers in two sub-districts in Bandarban require 65,000 tons of firewood for curing their tobacco each year (UBINIG 2010b), while in Kushtia District the farmers have switched to burn rice straw and jute sticks, because the forests have already largely vanished (Akhter/Buckles/Tito 2014:148).

Goal 15.1

By 2020 ensure conservation, restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains and drylands, in line with obligations under international agreements



In Bangladesh, many tobacco curing barns are heated using firewood.

What Needs to Be Done

In tobacco growing countries, three levels of action can be identified. First, alternative curing methods or at least more effective curing barns must be used. In 2006, a curing barn using 50 per cent less wood was developed in Malawi with financial support by the German development assistance and in cooperation with the tobacco industry (Scott 2006). However, the transition to the so-called rocket barns has up to now proceeded at a very low pace, because tobacco farmers hardly have sufficient financial resources to build them (Otanez/Glantz 2011:408). Nonetheless, pictures and descriptions of rocket barns are shown on the websites of tobacco groups like BAT in order to provide the image of a sustainable corporation. Further suggestions are the use of agricultural waste products such as coffee husks (Nayak 2013) or rice husks (BAT 2015). A return to using coal for the curing process, as practised in Zimbabwe until the early 2000s, is not an ecologically sustainable alternative. Secondly, forests must be protected and restored. To this purpose national regulations on the size of tobacco cultivation areas should be adopted. For example, in Bangladesh,

the Bandarban District Court banned the cultivation of tobacco in 2010 based on a petition by two journalists. The tobacco companies appealed the decision and requested the Supreme Court to clarify matters. Until the final judgement, the court in Bandarban decreed that the area for tobacco cultivation in the district be limited to 400 hectares (Weber 2012:24). The Supreme Court finally issued a stay order of the lower court's decision resulting in the re-approval of unlimited tobacco cultivation in Bandarban. Existing damages to forests can partially be alleviated by reforestation with native tree species. Continuous rural extension services and a participatory approach are indispensable for the success of these projects, so that the seedlings can grow into trees. To finance such programmes, an additional tax could be imposed for example on leaf buying companies (Goal 15.b). Thirdly, programmes to phase out tobacco cultivation must be promoted.



Tobacco auction floors in Lilongwe, Malawi

Chapter 5

How to Attain Justice

Goal 16.6

Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels

A future concept for sustainable development must include justice for all. Peaceful and just societies are an absolute essential. Corruption and mismanagement as well as the dominance of the global financial and economic system over people and governments must be ended in order to implement sustainable development. The Synthesis Report of the UN Secretary-General uses the term **justice** to summarize security, peace, access to justice and strong institutions (Goal 16) and explicitly links them to human rights: “Laws and institutions must protect human rights and fundamental freedoms” (UN 2014:23).

Concerning **tobacco consumption**, justice means to give public health priority over the profits of companies. This involves issues like the rule of law (Goal 16.3), transparent institutions (Goal 16.6), political decision-making (Goal 16.7) and public access to information (Goal 16.10). The worldwide adoption of tobacco control legislation protecting the right to health has attracted the attention of multi-national tobacco corporations. Using investor-state lawsuits based on bi-lateral trade agreements they seek to weaken or even prevent such laws. A current example is the lawsuit of Philip Morris International (PMI) against Uruguay. The tobacco company (2013 net revenue: 80 billion US dollars) is taking action against a more restrictive law on the packaging of cigarettes and based on a 1988 investment treaty between Switzerland and Uruguay (2013 national budget: 18.6 billion US dollars), PMI calls on the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) of the World Bank (Unfairtobacco.org 2014a). The proceedings are not conducted publicly and the decision of the ICSID cannot be subject to appeal. This practice is highly undemocratic, because the company can override the parliamentary decision of the Uruguayan Parliament favouring the right to health. In the current debates on multi-lateral trade agreements - e.g. the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between Europe and the USA, the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) between twelve Pacific Rim nations or the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Europe

and Canada - it is a powerful example of how parliamentary decisions can be annulled. Philip Morris Asia, a subsidiary of PMI in Hong Kong, is proceeding similarly against the Australian law on plain packaging of cigarettes. In 2011, the company took action based on a bi-lateral investment agreement between Hong Kong and Australia (Martin 2013). In Namibia, the merest threat of legal action by cigarette corporations has delayed the implementation of the tobacco control law for years. Three other African nations have been strongly influenced in a similar fashion regarding their health policies (Tavernise 2013). In the near future, the European Union will have to contend with a lawsuit brought by several tobacco groups in order to overturn the EU tobacco products directive adopted in March 2014 (BBC News 2014).

The exploitation of children in **tobacco growing** (Goal 16.2) as well as the violation of many other human rights is primarily the result of the power imbalance between transnational groups and smallholder farmers. In Paraná, Brazil, a prosecutor characterised the conditions in tobacco growing as debt bondage (Eltz 2008). The practiced contract system ties smallholder farmers directly to tobacco leaf merchants such as AOI and cigarette corporations such as Souza Cruz, a subsidiary of BAT. In 2007, the Smallholder Association of São Lourenço (Associação Lourenciana de Pequenos Agricultores, ALPAG) filed a class action against several companies based on certain contract provisions, as for example reporting of the debt level of smallholders to governmental credit officials by the corporations or the methods of classifying raw tobacco (Goal 16.7). After pending litigation for six years all the claims were dismissed in two stages (AOI 2013:17; Agrolink 2013). Even in countries where tobacco is sold by auction unjust practices such as price collusion among tobacco merchants caused by power imbalances exist (Otañez/Mamudu/Glantz 2007). Due to such illegal price collusion the tobacco leaf merchant AOI has already been fined in European courts, e.g. in Italy and Spain (AOI 2013:17).

Beyond the usual channels of commerce the **illegal trade** in tobacco products (about eleven per cent of the



In tobacco production smallholder farmers are in the weakest position.

global cigarette market) increases the availability and affordability of tobacco products, thereby boosts tobacco consumption and undermines tobacco control measures. Moreover, it leads to an income loss in tobacco taxes and at the same time contributes to the financing of organised crime (Goal 16.4). Two examples of the latter are the group Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), who dominates the so-called “Marlboro Connection” through the Sahara (Willson 2009), and the Irish Republican Army (IRA), whose illegal business was and is established between Europe, the American continent and the Pacific Rim (Willson 2009, Cusak 2015). For the last two decades, cigarette smuggling has even been a substantial component of the economic strategies of tobacco groups. In August 2001, the European Commission took legal action in an U.S. court against two multinational groups, PMI and JTI (via its subsidiary Reynolds American), accusing them for cigarette smuggling. Later, all legal cases were dropped, because in 2004 (PMI) and 2007 (JTI) both groups entered into legally binding contracts

with the EU for the mutual combating of cigarette smuggling (ASH 2014). Three years later, in 2010 the other two multi-national groups BAT and ITG signed a similar contract. In 2011, it became known that internal investigations of JTI uncovered an elaborate smuggling structure in the Balkans and the Middle East that involved at least 13 employees of the corporation. The group remained by and large inactive, but dismissed all those involved in the investigation in early 2010 (Holland/Jovanović/Dojčinović 2011).

What Needs to Be Done

Effective institutions (Goal 16.a) and legal foundations (Goal 16.b) on national and international level have a far-reaching influence on establishing justice. The WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control and the associated Protocol to Eliminate Illicit Trade in Tobacco

Products (WHO 2013b) are international instruments that must be implemented. In this regard Germany must fulfil its duties and accelerate the implementation of the FCTC on a national level. The establishment of a national cross-sector coordinating mechanism for tobacco control measures is part of this. There already is an interdisciplinary committee, the Council on Drugs and Addiction, however, it only has an advisory function and does not undertake any coordinating tasks. Another step currently necessary is the official ratification of the Illicit Trade Protocol that Germany already signed in October 2013. On the international level, the proper representation of low and middle income countries at the biennial conferences of the parties to the FCTC (Goal 16.8) needs special attention. In the past it became clear that the availability of financial resources and the choice of conference locations have been significant factors for unequal representation (Plotnikova/Hill/Collin 2014). During such complex treaty negotiations numerous details are discussed and decided upon within only a few days. Countries with fewer resources can only send a delegation of a few representatives or even only one person. As a result, they do not have an equal opportunity to take part in all the working groups and discussions relevant to their government. In order to compensate for this disparity and create a just negotiating situation, it is urgently necessary that countries with only little resources are offered financial support. Additionally, countries such as Malawi or Indonesia should be encouraged to join the FCTC and supported in its implementation.

On the national level, all countries could contribute to enforce the right to health by introducing non-smoking legislation, governmental programmes on health education and local health institutions. In Bangladesh, for example, tobacco control teams use the communal institution of mobile courts. Judges, administrative officials and police patrol city districts and take immediate action against legal violations. Thus they not only enforce smoke-free legislation, but also serve to educate the public about these laws and their significance (Jackson-Morris et al. 2015).

Tobacco growing countries need effective labour protection legislation, for example the tenancy labour bill in Malawi, or the implementation of laws protecting children. In the tobacco sector, supporting tobacco

smallholders in forming co-operatives could also lead to more justice. Co-operating farming families have a better bargaining position vis-à-vis tobacco corporations when it comes to prices and contracts. Such co-operatives also benefit from purchasing advantages when buying agricultural inputs. The power imbalances could further be remedied by exercising more control over tobacco leaf trade. In order to limit the tobacco corporations' opportunities to manipulate the classification of raw tobacco, governmental officials could be employed for this task. Such a classification system could be financed by taxing sales revenues, just as it is currently practised in the auction floors of Malawi (Graen 2014a:23).⁵



A farmer prepares green tobacco leaves for drying without wearing protective clothing.

⁵ However, this system is at risk in Malawi, because the tobacco sector is restructured into a contract system. Until now, this system does not involve public authorities in the classification of raw tobacco.

Chapter 6

What Prosperity for All Means

Goal 8.5

By 2030 achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men and equal pay for work of equal value

For a long time, prosperity was defined primarily along economic performance. Yet prosperity is not just a question of material possessions, but also means participating in society and a life in an environment with clean air, clean water and less waste. The Synthesis Report also puts prosperity for all at the center of sustainable development. However, this report, just like the report of the Open Working Group, is mistaken in linking prosperity to the creation of a strong, inclusive and transformational economy (Goal 8). Civil society organisations, however, share the perspective that prosperity should rather be defined in terms of decent work for all.

Concerning **tobacco production**, working and living conditions are often degrading and characterised by bonded labour (exploitation similar to slavery), the exploitation of child labour (Goal 8.7) and the de facto absence of occupational health and safety (Goal 8.8). Therefore, initiatives such as the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition in Malawi tending to scale up tobacco cultivation are not a suitable measure for promoting prosperity, because the tobacco grown on Malawi's plantations primarily creates profits in the production process for the Global North, including Germany. From the auction floors in Lilongwe the route leads to the warehouses of the tobacco leaf merchants in Malawi and further to the factories of cigarette companies, also in Germany.

Two transnational companies headquartered in the USA dominate the **trade in tobacco leaf**. In 2013, the Universal Corporation realised a net income of 132.7 million US dollars (Universal Corporation 2013:17), while AOI realised a net income of 24 million US dollars (AOI 2013:20). Both firms are highly dependent on the five largest cigarette groups, from which they obtain more

than half of their income (AOI 2013:5; Universal Corporation 2013:6).

These five companies dominate the worldwide **cigarette market** with a share of 83 per cent (CTFK 2014b). The profits of the four international groups PMI, BAT, JTI and ITG amounted to a total of 24.4 billion US dollars in 2013, which were booked in the USA, Great Britain and Japan. The Chinese state enterprise CNTC, whose business figures are rarely made public, realised a net income in 2011 of 19 billion US dollars (Eriksen et al. 2015).

Germany is an important location for the tobacco industry, with more than 15 production facilities. Here, leaf tobacco merchants have their warehouses and processing plants and the cigarette groups PMI, BAT, JTI and ITG carry on production and sales operations. Each year, about 205 billion cigarettes are manufactured in Germany and an average of about 160 billion cigarettes is exported (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland 2015). The largest factory in the world belonging to the BAT Group is located in Bayreuth, PMI operates its second largest factory of Europe in Berlin, JTI has production facilities in Trier and ITG is the parent of Reemtsma Cigarettenfabriken GmbH with a manufacturing facility in Langenhagen.⁶ Moreover, with annual sales of about 100 billion cigarettes, Germany is the largest cigarette market in Western Europe (Eriksen et. al. 2015).

A further part of the tobacco infrastructure in Germany is Körber AG, which is headquartered in Hamburg. Its activities in the tobacco sector include providing cigarette manufacturing machines as well as worldwide technical consultation and research in the area of cigarette manufacturing.

And last but not least, Germany serves the industry with the world's largest tobacco trade fair, the Inter-tabac in Dortmund, providing a platform for the presentation of new products, the exchange between companies and the conclusion of business deals. Public agencies are also involved in it, because the trade fair is implemented by the city-owned Westfalenhallen Dortmund GmbH, even though this contravenes Germany's obligations under the FCTC.⁷ During the past three years, the Westfalen-

⁶ BAT: three locations in Hamburg, Bremen and Bayreuth; PMI: three locations in Munich, Berlin and Dresden; JTI: two locations in Cologne and Trier; ITG: three locations in Hamburg, Langenhagen and Trossingen.

⁷ This applies to the obligation to reduce contacts with the tobacco industry to an absolute minimum (Article 5.3 and its guidelines) as well as to the obligation to ban the promotion of tobacco (Article 13).



Switching to organically grown grapes is successful in Brazil.

hallenged Dortmund GmbH tried to export the trade fair and establish it in Southeast Asia. The Inter-tabac Asia was held twice in the Philippines, the third trade fair of this nature planned for 2013 in Bali (Indonesia) was called off after international protests (Unfairtobacco.org 2014b).

What Needs to Be Done

The phasing out of tobacco growing, the diversification of livelihoods as well as the transition to value-added products can help former tobacco farmers achieve prosperity. Therefore, it is of utmost necessity in Malawi to immediately terminate the promotion of tobacco cultivation through the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition in favour of the sustainable, local production of food crops.

In Kenya, the transition to bamboo has proven to be promising with bamboo offering numerous uses from toothpicks to furniture, fences and scaffolding (Kibwage/Netondo/Magati 2014:203f). In Bangladesh, tobacco and other farmers, who cultivated a variety of food crops, developed a scale for the economic evaluation of each season. In 2007, categories assessed included yield, happiness, product quality, and food independence. Although the tobacco yield significantly exceeded expectations while the yield from food crops was significantly

lower than expected, the group came to the conclusion that the cultivation of food crops led to more satisfaction and sufficient availability of food in comparison with tobacco whilst the product quality was equal for both. Tobacco farmers did describe themselves as not happy and identified a lack of food for at least one month per year (Akhter/Buckles/Tito 2014:173). In Brazil, former tobacco farmers processed organically grown fruits and vegetables into preserves, jam and similar products and got them certified and marketed through a network for organic products (CEPAGRO et. al. 2013). In addition, their products were purchased by public schools within the National School Meals Programme. All three examples share the local marketing as an important element of success, and in contrast to tobacco prosperity is locally experienced.

In Germany, the City of Dortmund must immediately stop participating in the extension of tobacco consumption by organizing the world's largest tobacco trade fair.

Chapter 7

How to Create a Global Partnership in Solidarity

The realisation of a global agenda for sustainable development requires international cooperation and a mutual strategy for financing. The Synthesis Report frames it as the renewal of the global partnership for sustainable development (Goal 17). All stakeholders must contribute to achieve this goal. The higher costs of non-action and non-payment in the long term must be taken into consideration when providing funds for the implementation of sustainable development. In this regard, partnerships between states as well as between states and other stakeholders must be developed. But multi-stakeholder partnerships to implement the Post-2015 Agenda most certainly require clear standards, criteria, responsibilities, and monitoring. Moreover, such alliances should not allow states to shift their responsibilities to other stakeholders when it comes to ensuring decent living conditions within the planetary borders. In the new global partnership, states cannot drop the principle of common but differentiated responsibility.

7.1 Phasing out Requires Financing

Some measures for reducing **tobacco consumption** are not expensive to implement, for example a comprehensive ban on advertising or smoke-free laws. They can even generate government income by using sanction mechanisms such as fines. Further income can be realised by increasing tobacco taxes (Goal 17.1), which has proven to be the most effective measure for reducing tobacco consumption. This tax revenue can then be targeted for use in health education. In Nepal, cigarette taxes are earmarked for cancer prevention, in Argentina, Costa Rica, Jamaica, Panama, Mongolia and the Philippines health and social programmes are financed through these taxes (WHO 2011:101). In Australia and New Zea-

land, income from tobacco taxes is used to finance sporting events that were previously sponsored by the tobacco industry (ibid.). However, in Germany tobacco taxes are passed directly into the federal budget without appropriation, even though tax increases are generally justified by other tasks, for example combating terrorism or covering pension scheme gaps, and, therefore, are perceived by the German public as earmarked for a specific purpose.

The need for financial support in phasing out **tobacco growing** and the creation of alternative livelihoods is very diverse and primarily based on ecological and economic parameters. For example, in Malaysia, the Ministry for Plantation Industries and Commodities is financing the establishment of a completely new industrial sector for the processing and marketing of kenaf, a fibrous plant similar to ordinary jute, and invested about 13.8 million US dollars for the development of the sector (Eichborn/Norger 2012:6). In Brazil, the Ministry for Agricultural Development provided 25 million US dollars for 75 projects to transition from tobacco to organic agriculture, financing among others professional trainings, rural extension, and research (Gregolin 2012:16f). In Taiwan, tobacco taxes are even used to provide financial incentives for phasing out tobacco cultivation (Eichborn/Norger 2012:6f). By contrast, in Bulgaria one farmer, who himself did not cultivate tobacco, reacted to the many reports concerning the decline of tobacco growing. He used his own money to buy 45 kilo of crocus bulbs and planted the first saffron field in Bulgaria. Subsequently, he founded the Association of Saffron Growers in Bulgaria with 100 hectares of trial fields in order to convince tobacco growers of this alternative (Cakir 2014).

What Needs to Be Done

Until now, the German Development Assistance has not financed projects on tobacco control, neither in the area of health care nor in that of agriculture, although the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control provides for the use of development funds for tobacco control in Article 26.3. More ODA funds (Goal 17.2) supporting tobacco control would certainly be desirable for countries such as Indonesia with a very high prevalence of smokers and strong presence of the tobacco industry. In addition, the debt relief for highly indebted poor countries (Goal 17.4) would also contribute to tobacco control.

Goal 17.10

Promote a universal, rules-based, open, non-discriminatory and equitable multilateral trading system under the WTO



In Europe, the sweetening plant stevia is currently researched as an alternative to tobacco.

Thus financial resources could get available to increase governmental spending on tobacco control as for example in Mali (34 per cent smokers prevalence in 2007), where funds amount to only about 10,000 US dollars annually according to the last report on implementation of the FCTC (WHO AFRO o.D.). Other financial resources (Goal 17.3) for tobacco control are, for example, foundations such as the Bloomberg Philanthropies and the Bill&Melinda Gates Foundation. In March 2015, these foundations set up the Anti-Tobacco Trade Litigation Fund providing four million US dollars for low income countries in order to defend tobacco control legislation against litigation by the tobacco industry (Bloomberg Philanthropies 2015).

The phasing out of tobacco cultivation and the establishment of alternative livelihoods can be supported particularly well by development funds. The tailoring of existing rural development projects to this need hardly requires any additional financing. However, for countries such as Malawi, which is still heavily dependent on tobacco exports, an increase of ODA funding (Goal 17.2) and at the same time an effective national debt relief (Goal 17.4) are necessary in order to allocate the resources required to diversify agriculture. Additionally, financial support in the area of agricultural diversification is offered for example by the Technical Cooperation Programme of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) or the Rural Development Programme of the European Union (Goal 17.3). In Germany, for example, the

transition from tobacco to the cultivation of culinary herbs in Rhineland-Palatinate was enabled by funds for agricultural support (Proplanta 2008). Financial support of the EU is provided for a project at the University of Hohenheim researching the cultivation of the sweetener plant stevia as an alternative to tobacco in Greece, Portugal and Spain (Go4STEVIA 2015). EU funds provided for the area of health and food safety in the Global South can also be used for phasing out tobacco cultivation.

7.2 Dealing with a Lethal Product

Market liberalisation contributed significantly to the expansion of **tobacco consumption**, particularly of cigarette smoking. After the tobacco consumption trend changed in North America, Western Europe and Australia in the 1970s, cigarette corporations started to open up markets in the wealthier Asian countries (South Korea, Thailand, Japan, Taiwan) at the end of the 1980s and since the 1990s aim at the markets of Southeast Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and China (Esson/Leeder 2004:21). Due to various bilateral and multilateral as well as regional trade agreements the trade in tobacco and tobacco products has increased enormously. In general, the reduction of trade barriers leads to greater competition, lower prices and increasing marketing, all of which provide excellent conditions for increased consumption. The



Contrary to the negotiations on the TPP, tobacco is not perceived as a questionable commodity in negotiating the TTIP.

opening of markets in South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Thailand demonstrates this particularly well. Between 1987 and 1990, the USA forced the opening of these markets for American cigarettes by threatening with trade sanctions. The agreements are based on arbitration under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Expert research showed that the prices for imported cigarettes dropped (Taylor et al. 2000:358) and that the consumption of both

Opening Up of the Indonesian Market

In 2005, Philip Morris International bought the Indonesian company Sampoerna. Three years later the company was the market leader in Indonesia. From 2004 to 2009, the smoking prevalence among young men between 13 and 15 years rose from 23 per cent to 41 per cent.

(Sources: Weber 2012:17, *Global Youth Tobacco Survey*.)

domestic and imported cigarettes increased in the following years, especially amongst women (WHO 2012:23f). An analysis of the link between trade liberalisation and tobacco consumption in 80 countries with various levels of income showed that the opening of markets primarily had a significant influence on the increase of tobacco consumption in low and middle income nations (Bettcher et al. 2001:51ff).

Tobacco is still looked upon as an ordinary consumer good in the trade policies of international trade agreements and at the WTO, even though tobacco consumption kills half of its consumers. While the general rules of the WTO acknowledge the priority of the right to health, in reality complex interrelationships hamper this prioritisation. For example, in 2009 the USA adopted in the context of tobacco control legislation a production and import ban on clove cigarettes. Indonesia, the main exporter, then objected to the WTO arguing that the ban was discriminatory, because US-manufactured menthol cigarettes were not banned at the same time. The WTO ruled in favour of Indonesia and thereby put trade principles above health policy. The US did not thereafter change the law, but rather reached an agreement on compensatory measures with Indonesia in October 2014 (ICTSD 2014). Nevertheless the retention of the law is no testimony for the USA's commitment to tobacco control, because a health policy governed motivation would have meant changing the law and also banning menthol cigarettes. Moreover, the USA is one of the few states that has not yet ratified the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. Taking into account that the USA is the world's fourth largest producer of raw tobacco and third largest producer of cigarettes, its position in the negotiations for a Transpacific Trade Agreement (TPP) becomes equally clear. Referring to the FCTC, Malaysia in its demand to completely carve out tobacco from the agreement, encounters vehement opposition from the USA (Unfairtobacco.org 2014c). In the context of these current conflicts, the FCTC Conference of the Parties adopted a declaration in October 2014 prompting the treaty's parties to give priority to public health particularly in trade and investment agreements (COP WHO 2014).

Trade in tobacco leaf and its price on the world market is primarily set by agreements and contracts between the two global tobacco leaf merchants and the four transnational cigarette groups. The shifting of tobacco growing to the Global South was followed by the strong expansion of the production sites of cigarette corpora-

tions in the 1980s and the 1990s. In order to provide the rapidly growing production with cheap tobacco leaf, the cigarette groups entered into a close relationship with leaf merchants. They ordered tobacco leaf at an established price from the merchants, who could meet the need for cheap tobacco leaf both through their influence on the prices in contract systems as well as through coordinating their branches in individual nations. In order to create this system, the tobacco groups used various incentives to motivate tobacco farmers and thus stimulated a massive overproduction, which caused the prices to sharply drop in the 1990s (CTFK 2001:3ff). This system has been maintained to this day, as has been shown by analyses of the tobacco auctions in Malawi (Otañez/Mamudu/Glantz 2007).

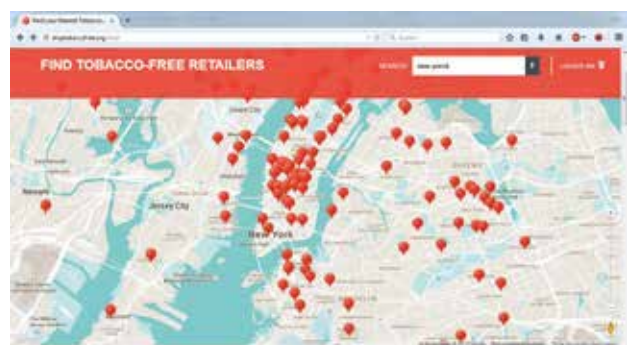
What Needs to Be Done

Tobacco products are lethal consumer goods that are harmful to health. Therefore, trade policy should re-assess their value. A transformation of the world trade system (Goal 17.10) needs to include the consistent priority of the right to health. In WTO trade conflicts concerning tobacco products, decisions must be uniformly made in favour of the health of consumers, even if this sometimes means unequal trade conditions. New trade and invest-

ment agreements should explicitly exclude tobacco. At the very least, investor-state lawsuits should not be allowed.

Taking the consumption and production patterns of tobacco into account, a sustainable practice for retailers would be to remove this unsustainable product from their shelves (Goal 12.6). In the USA, the pharmacy chain CVS completed a paradigmatic change in September 2014. All tobacco products were removed from the range of products in their 7,700 branches and CVS began a large-scale programme to help people quit smoking (CVS Health 2014). Similarly, the U.S. supermarket chain Raley's removed tobacco products from their product range in February 2015 (News10/KXTV 2015).

Fair trade can open up new opportunities for the products of former tobacco farmers, because on the one hand market access to industrial nations is offered and on the other hand high working and social standards are combined with financial safeguards for the producers. In Malawi, former tobacco farmers organized themselves as the cooperative MASFA (Mchinji Area Smallholder Farmers Association) and now produce peanuts for the fair trade market (Fairtrade Foundation 2013:6). Also in Malawi, the Kawalazi Estate Company, whose products have a fair trade certificate, offers good working conditions for about 3,000 tea pickers on its plantation. Many of the tea pickers previously worked on tobacco plantations (Henry-Biabaud/Mauduy 2014).



This website shows where to find supermarkets that do not sell tobacco.

7.3 Fatal Partnerships

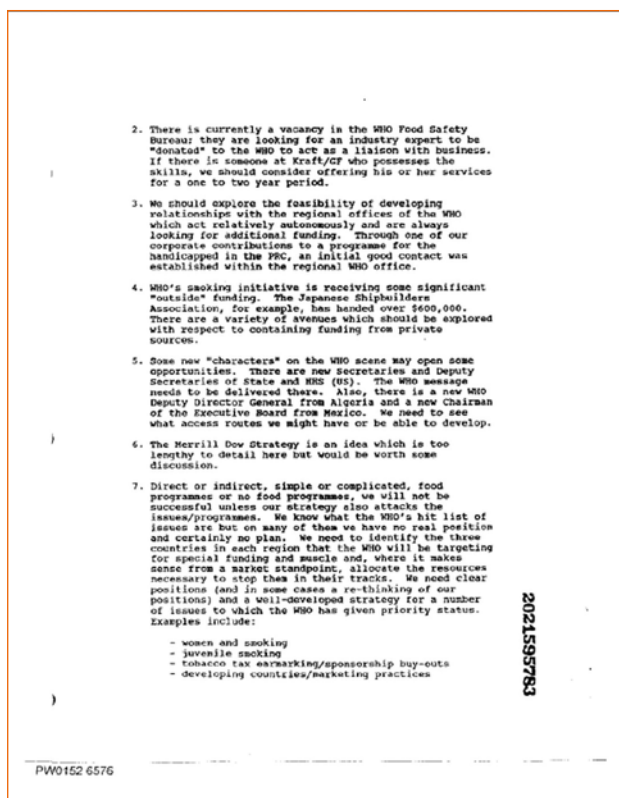
The global extent of the tobacco epidemic certainly requires international cooperation (Goal 17.6) in various areas. Caution is advised, when it comes to discussions on multi-stakeholder partnerships (Goal 17.16) and public-private partnerships (Goal 7.17). Any type of multi-stakeholder partnership must be subject to clear standards, criteria, responsibilities, and monitoring and may not offer states a basis for avoiding their responsibility. Moreover, the rights of the local population and affected people must be taken into consideration and their access to information as well as their participation has to be guaranteed.

The inclusion of tobacco corporations in programmes to reduce **tobacco consumption** is less in the

interest of sustainable development than a way for the companies involved to maintain a good reputation and advance their interest in profits. Internal documents⁸ of the tobacco industry reveal for example, that smoking prevention programmes aimed at youth carried on since the 1980s by tobacco companies such as Reynolds American or Philip Morris were created in order to avoid stricter laws and to provide additional access to youth as future tobacco consumers. Important facts such as the health consequences of smoking were not addressed in these programmes, instead the image of the adult choice for smoking was made more appealing (Landmann/Ling/Glantz 2002).

A relatively new focus of the CSR activities of tobacco groups is **tobacco growing** and the theme of child labour. In 2002, BAT founded the Eliminating Child Labour in Tobacco Growing Foundation (ECLT). Today, this foundation is active in seven countries (Kyrgyzstan, Malawi, Mozambique, the Philippines, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia) and is financed and governed by more than ten tobacco and tobacco leaf corporations. Among the other stakeholders of the foundation are unions, governmental agencies and civil society organisations as well as international organisations. Beyond some local successes, the main purpose of this foundation is to steer the public discussion concerning child labour to its own advantage and thereby increase the social prestige of the companies (Otanez et. al. 2006).

The World Health Organization has taken a clear stand against the participation of the tobacco industry in tobacco control. An investigation of internal industry documents relating to the WHO revealed, for example, the extensive Boca Raton Action Plan of PMI, which provided for a well-targeted strategy designed to influence the tobacco control policies of WHO while keeping this hidden from the public and WHO itself (WHO 2000:63). As a result of this investigation, the FTC explicitly limited the cooperation with the tobacco industry to the minimum necessary for the introduction of regulations. The guidelines for the implementation of Article 5.3 clearly state: "There is a fundamental and irreconcilable conflict between the tobacco industry's interests and public health policy interests" (WHO 2008:2).



Philip Morris tried to infiltrate the WHO with PMI employees.

⁸ Since 2002, internal documents of the tobacco industry are retrievable in an online library, which had to be published in the United States following various court rulings. <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/>



Tobacco farmers are trained in processing bamboo during a workshop in Kenya.

What Needs to Be Done

Multi-stakeholder approaches or public-private partnerships can be used for tobacco control, as long as they exclude the tobacco industry. In Bangladesh, for example, local multi-stakeholder tobacco control teams, whose members belong to the local administration, the police, local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the retail trade, successfully promoted sustainable development without tobacco consumption (Jackson-Morris 2015).

Research on alternative livelihoods to tobacco growing has been successfully undertaken by a multi-stakeholder initiative for example in the Tobacco to Bamboo project in Kenya (Kibwage/Netondo/Magati 2014). Financed by the Canadian government, scientists from two Kenyan universities worked together with the International Network for Bamboo and Rattan (INBAR) as well as with the Kenyan Ministry for Agriculture and Environment and four smallholders' cooperatives. During the six-year project, an extensive south-south exchange

for capacity building was implemented with stakeholders in China, Malawi and Bangladesh.

The German-Indonesian development cooperation also offers an opportunity to use existing international cooperation for sustainable development concerning tobacco. In the agreements of 2013 both countries decided to strengthen the international role of Indonesia in global processes (BMZ 2015b). Thus, the German government should call for and support the ratification of the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. Indonesia is the only Asian country that has not yet acceded to this treaty.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Demands

The example of tobacco shows that tobacco control policies focusing only on the health goal for reducing non-communicable diseases (Goal 3.4) fall considerably short as an approach. Particularly addictive drugs need complex and diverse approaches, some of which are laid out in the WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. The sustainable development goals of the Post-2015 Agenda are well-suited to link these approaches. Health goals (Goal 3) are closely related to education (Goal 4) and equality (Goal 5), but it is imperative to put them in the context of combating poverty (Goal 1), hunger (Goal 2), and inequality (Goal 10). The determinants for this are not only social and economic living and working conditions (Goals 6, 8, 11), but also the ecological environment (Goals 13, 14, 15). Besides the planetary boundaries, the global financial and economic system (Goals 12, 17) is part of the determinative framework in which worldwide justice must be guaranteed (Goal 16). And finally, the financing and the implementation of measures for a sustainable development, ergo the necessary sustainable transformation of society, requires international cooperation (Goal 17). The analysis of the key elements of the Synthesis Report and the SDGs using the example of tobacco therefore results in five conclusions.

1. Tobacco is not the least sustainable. Both tobacco consumption and tobacco production impede sustainable development. The support of and cooperation with the tobacco industry adversely affect sustainable development.

- Article 5.3 of the FCTC, calling for the protection of public health policies from the influence of the tobacco industry, must be implemented on all levels and in all areas.
- This includes refusing to cooperate with the tobacco industry in programmes that promote alternative livelihoods for the phasing out of tobacco growing.
- In addition, the cooperation with tobacco corporations, i.e. the promotion of tobacco growing, in Malawi in the context of the G8 New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition must be terminated immediately.

2. Tobacco is not a commodity like cotton or tea. Tobacco is addictive and harmful to health for consumers and producers.

- International trade agreements must address this fact and exclude tobacco to the extent possible, but at the very least not allow investor-state lawsuits.
- The world trade system as well as the WTO must be reformed in a fashion that gives the right to health priority over trade interests and that grants countries of the Global South an equal role.
- The city of Dortmund must immediately stop the public promotion of tobacco consumption and end the implementation of the Dortmund tobacco trade fair by the city-owned Westfalenhallen Dortmund GmbH.
- Education on the conditions and consequences of smoking as well as of this unsustainable production and consumption pattern must be promoted in Germany with governmental support.

3. Tobacco cultivation, production and consumption lead to ecological destruction such as deforestation and desertification as well as air and water pollution.

- The deforestation caused by tobacco cultivation in countries like Bangladesh, Tanzania, Zimbabwe or Malawi must be combated by reforestation measures.
- Non-smoking legislation, including amongst others smoke-free zones in public areas, as well as comprehensive waste disposal concepts need to be developed and introduced in order to overcome the ecological consequences of consumption.

4. The unsustainable cultivation of an unsustainable consumer good must be ended in favour of sustainable practices. The phasing out of tobacco cultivation promises less poverty and hunger.

- It is necessary to financially and technically support alternative livelihoods to tobacco growing and to increase ODA funds.
- The Innovation Centres of the special initiative “One World No Hunger” of the German government should explicitly promote alternative livelihoods to tobacco cultivation in tobacco growing countries (Malawi, Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia and India). It is a necessity to prevent these projects from being influenced by the tobacco industry, particularly in Malawi.
- Programmes for phasing out tobacco growing should be combined with those for improving the food situation (e.g. school meals).

5. Tobacco control is an important instrument for sustainable development.

- The WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), the internationally binding agreement on tobacco control, must remain explicitly designated as an instrument in the Post-2015 Development Agenda and its implementation must be accelerated.
- Germany must ratify the FCTC Protocol to Eliminate Illicit Trade in Tobacco Products.
- In order to proceed in an interdisciplinary fashion, a national coordinating body for tobacco control initiatives should be created in Germany.
- Germany must implement the ban on all advertisement and marketing initiatives of the tobacco industry in accordance with FCTC Article 13.
- Germany, a party to the treaty, has to meet its financial commitments under Article 26.3 concerning the implementation of the FCTC in the Global South. ODA funds should be provided both for measures aimed at reducing tobacco consumption as well as tobacco production.

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Abbreviations

10YFP	10 Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production
ALPAG	Associação Lourenciana de Pequenos Agricultores
AOI	Alliance One International
AQIM	al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
ARET	Agricultural Research and Extension Trust
BAT	British American Tobacco
BMZ	Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
CETA	Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
CNTC	China National Tobacco Corporation
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ECLT	Eliminating Child Labour in Tobacco Growing Foundation
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FCTC	Framework Convention on Tobacco Control
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GTS	Green Tobacco Sickness
ICSID	International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes
INBAR	International Bamboo and Rattan Network
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ITG	Imperial Tobacco Group
ITGA	International Tobacco Growers Association
JTI	Japan Tobacco International
LUANAR	Lilongwe University of Agricultural and Natural Resources
MASFA	Mchinji Area Smallholder Farmers Association
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OWG	Open Working Group on Sustainable Development Goals
PMI	Philip Morris International
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TAMA	Tobacco Association of Malawi
TPP	Transpacific Partnership Agreement
TTIP	Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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