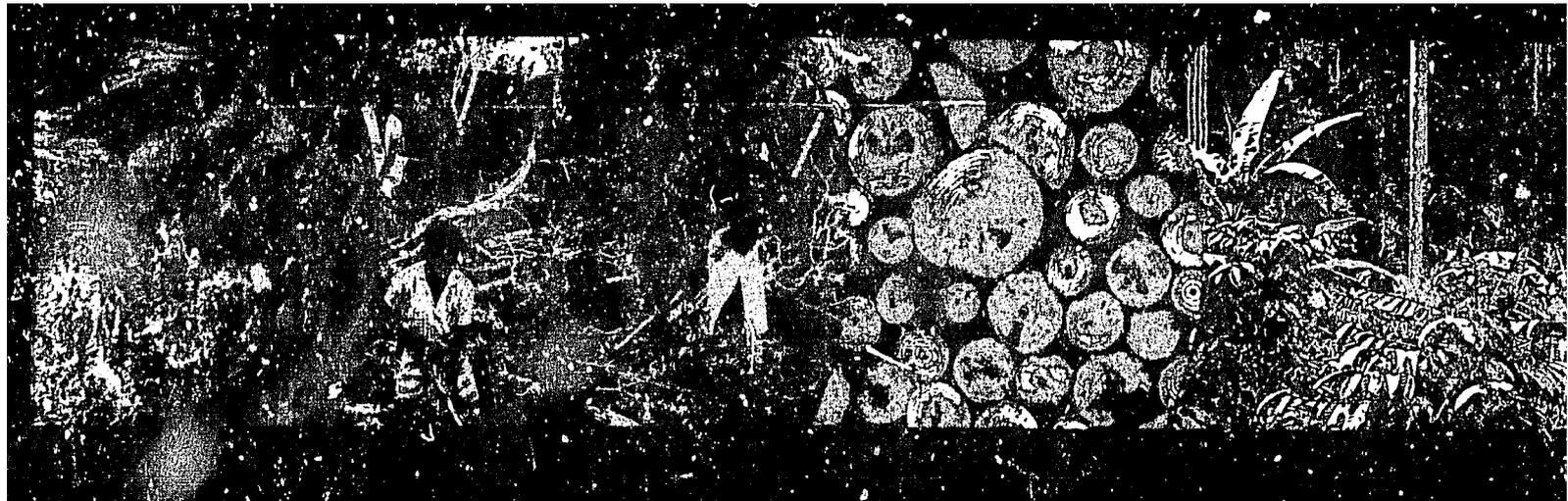


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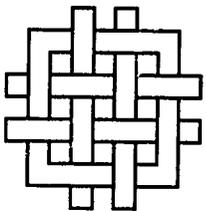
**THE TROPICAL FORESTRY ACTION PLAN
AFTER FIVE YEARS**

Robert Winterbottom,

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TAKING STOCK: The Tropical Forestry Action Plan After Five Years

Robert Winterbottom



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R. W.

FOREWORD

In 1985, our reading of the state of the world's tropical forests and the pace of deforestation forced us to conclude that an ambitious global campaign involving more funds and people than any other environmental action plan ever launched was urgently needed. Our shared sense of the best way to get such an initiative off the ground was to scour and analyze all the data then available on tropical forests, to call on international agencies and forestry and agriculture experts from around the world to put these analyses into perspective, to search for successful projects that might be worth emulating, and to develop a budget for getting what we then called *Tropical Forests: A Call for Action* implemented at the national level in ways that suited each participating country's development needs and natural resource management challenges.

Five years later, the needs to control deforestation and to reclaim lost forestlands are greater than ever, and the need to take a close, hard look at the plan that has since evolved into *The Tropical Forestry Action Plan* (TFAP) is pressing. Because of WRI's role in launching the TFAP, we feel a particular responsibility to assess its successes and failures, its strengths and weaknesses, and to recommend how the process might be improved and better utilized in the future. *Taking Stock* is such an assessment.

As Robert Winterbottom's analysis indicates, the original plan was flawed in some respects. The rights and needs of forest dwelling peoples were not stressed in the original plan, for example, and it was assumed that increasing funding for the forestry sector would solve problems whose roots reach deep into economic and social policies made and observed outside the forestry sector.

Some parts of the original plan have also been misread or simply gone unread. Careful study of *A Call for Action* must assuage any skeptic's doubts that it is simply about trees. Over and over again, the importance of sustainable agriculture to sustainable forestry is stressed, and increased attention to land use, forest management for industries, fuelwood and energy supplies, conservation of ecosystems, public participation, and institution building form the basis of the action plan.

More important, however, is the principal finding of WRI's analysis: the actual implementation of the TFAP has not lived up to original plans and ex-

pectations. As Winterbottom observes, the plan sprang from a widely shared belief that more effective programs in forest conservation and sustainable management, policy reform both within and outside the forestry sector, and improved land-use planning and inter-sectoral coordination could help make headway against uncontrolled deforestation and the waste of tropical forest resources; but, many of the institutions controlling the TFAP—FAO, donors, and national governments—seem to have become preoccupied with accelerating investment in the forestry sector at the expense of the quality control and direction needed to make the planning process and the plan itself succeed.

Taking Stock details a number of urgently needed steps for revitalizing the TFAP process so that the potential inherent in the effort can be realized. Looking to the future, the report stresses four goals in particular. First, the TFAP planning process must meet the needs and safeguard the livelihoods of people who live in or depend on the forest. Second, the plan should help ensure that the remaining areas of tropical forests are used in ways that contribute to national development, encourage multiple uses of forest lands, and protect biological diversity. Third, the TFAP should mobilize the resources needed to regenerate degraded tropical forest lands and promote sustainable land use around tropical forest areas. Stabilizing land degradation and promoting sustainable development patterns that relieve pressure on remaining natural forests are especially high priorities. Fourth, the TFAP should help stimulate needed policy reforms both in tropical countries and in development assistance institutions.

Taking Stock is a systematic attempt to call attention to flaws in the TFAP and lapses in its implementation and to weigh both against the plan's intended goals, its true potential, and the progress made so far in spite of set-backs and failings. Significantly, its conclusions were reached through a participatory process that was itself influenced by five years of experience with the TFAP. If the recommendations are taken with that same spirit, the odds are good that this tremendously important initiative can be put right in the 1990s—the decade in which the fate of tropical forests and their inhabitants could be sealed.

The research and preparation of the report was

made possible by the generous support of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Moriah Fund, the W. Alton Jones Foundation, and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. The Atkinson Foundation, the General Service Foundation, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Netherlands Development Cooperation, the German Institute for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the U.S. Agency for International Development, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Bank

also contributed to the development of this assessment, through their support for two workshops related to TFAP implementation, and for WRI project activities in Ecuador, Zaire, Cameroon and Burkina Faso.

James Gustave Speth
President
World Resources Institute

I. INTRODUCTION

This assessment of the *Tropical Forestry Action Plan* (TFAP) reflects WRI's growing concern that the Plan will not, as it is currently being implemented, be able to meet many of its intended objectives. Five years after the TFAP was first proposed, important questions need answers. Is the Plan making reasonable progress toward its original goals?¹ Is the Plan helping to conserve tropical forests and promote wiser use of forest lands and a better life for people who depend directly on tropical forests?² Will further support for TFAP's implementation promote sustainable development, policy reforms, and the other actions needed to address deforestation's root causes? Will increased development assistance for forestry fully capture the long-term development benefits of tropical forests?

Taking Stock seeks to answer these questions. It reflects many months of research and analysis at WRI on the Plan's accomplishments and the shortcomings encountered in implementing the TFAP. The analysis draws upon the discussions of the twice-yearly meetings of the TFAP Forestry Advisors Group and a number of status reports and interim assessments prepared by WRI, FAO, and various aid agencies.³ It also builds upon the conclusions and recommendations of several workshops organized by WRI and others to review the Plan's progress, and on critiques by such organizations as the World Rainforest Movement, Friends of the Earth, and World Wildlife Fund (U.S.).⁴ The analysis also reflects the information and insights that WRI has gained in working directly on country-level TFAPs with governments, aid agencies, other international and national nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and with local communities involved in planning and managing forest lands in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.⁵

Even with the benefit of workshops, other reports, and experience to draw on, for many reasons it is hard to pass judgment on TFAP's record. First, at least three levels of action are involved: promotion of international consultation and coordination of the donor agencies; mobilization of support for a country-level development planning process; and stimulation of investment and other actions at the national level to implement TFAPs. Second, the TFAP planning process has been under way for less than five years. Third, governments and donors have

tended to count all development assistance for forestry in the last few years as funding of the TFAP, even if it doesn't fit into the TFAP framework. Fourth, the Plan is a moving target insofar as its conceptual framework, guidelines, and implementation procedures have evolved considerably since 1985. And, finally, different elements and actions proposed in the Plan have been emphasized in different countries, so there is no clear-cut template to use to measure progress.

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The difficulty of working with and around these obstacles will not be lost on the primary audiences for this report—the national governments, FAO, the aid agencies, and the Forestry Advisors Group that are together managing or influencing the Plan's implementation and the NGOs and international organizations that are monitoring the TFAP process and the TFAP's impact and effectiveness.

Despite these difficulties and the incomplete nature of this assessment, the inescapable conclusion of this paper is that the TFAP effort is in need of a recommitment to the plan's basic principles and goals, a new institutional framework, more systematic monitoring, and a more open and accountable management structure. Moreover, *Taking Stock*, together with various other critiques and assessments of the TFAP, underlines the urgent need to make the TFAP planning process more participatory and to focus it on the identification of strategies for the sustainable development and conservation of forest lands. Significant progress in implementing these reforms should be a precondition for further funding of development assistance projects identified in the TFAP planning process.

II. TFAP—A PROPOSED RESPONSE TO THE DEFORESTATION CRISIS

The TFAP grew out of a desire to respond more effectively to the accelerating loss of tropical forests. The most recent data, however, indicate that this goal is still far from being achieved. Some 16 to 20 million hectares of tropical forest are being lost every year,⁶ compared to an estimated 11 million hectares a year in 1980.⁷ In short, the crisis of tropical deforestation is deepening.⁸ Considering how complex the causes of deforestation are, it is not surprising that progress in controlling net forest losses has faltered over the past few years, but the seriousness of current trends in deforestation is an important point of departure for any analysis of the TFAP.

BACKGROUND ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TFAP

For more than a decade, beginning in the early 1970s, the international community of foresters and environmentalists had become increasingly concerned about the rapid destruction of tropical forests and increasingly frustrated at their inability to control tropical deforestation. In a succession of international meetings, statements on the magnitude of deforestation and its likely consequences grew more strident as the analysis of the causes became more emotive and complex.

In 1983, the Committee on Forest Development in the Tropics (CFDT)⁹ charged FAO with preparing an "Action Programme" to identify the priority problems and corresponding proposals for action. This initiative was principally driven by the committee's concern that development assistance for forestry was stagnating even though the need for such assistance was increasing. Despite the urgency of developing such an action program, by the end of 1984, it was unclear to many observers if or when such a program would be completed by FAO.

Beginning in May 1984, another effort began in parallel. The World Resources Institute convened a meeting of some 75 leaders of science, government, industry, and citizen's groups from 20 countries to discuss "The Global Possible: Resources, Development and the New Century." The conference produced an "agenda for action" on such pressing topics as population stabilization, poverty alleviation, the conservation of biological diversity, agricultural development, and the control of tropical

deforestation. In the case of tropical forestry, a number of goals and suggested priority actions were outlined.

As a follow-up to the Global Possible Conference, WRI organized an International Task Force to further develop a program for "arresting and ultimately reversing the destruction of tropical forests."¹⁰ This Task Force began work in December 1984 and released their draft report in June 1985. The Task Force report, "Tropical Forests: A Call for Action" was finalized and published in October 1985.

This "Call for Action" was developed with the support of private foundations and a number of development assistance agencies, including the World Bank, the Canadian International Development Agency, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the Netherlands Development Cooperation, and the United Nations Development Programme. FAO was invited to take part in the Task Force, but declined.

Coincidentally, spurred on by the work of the WRI Task Force, the FAO convened an informal expert meeting in March 1985 to review proposed action programs in five main areas related to the development and rational utilization of tropical forests. These proposals were endorsed in June, 1985 by the CFDT. In October 1985, FAO formally released the *Tropical Forestry Action Plan* (TFAP), with a view towards "the harmonizing and strengthening of the much-needed cooperation in tropical forestry."

These two "roots" of the TFAP came together in July 1987, when FAO, the World Bank, UNDP, WRI, and the Rockefeller Foundation convened a high-level meeting on tropical forests at the Bellagio Conference Center in Italy. This meeting was primarily aimed at building political awareness of the need for more effective action and accelerated investment to control tropical deforestation. At Bellagio, a new, summary version of the TFAP was presented. This version drew on both FAO's 1985 Plan and WRI's "Call for Action," modified to a degree by the early criticisms of both reports. The revised TFAP booklet noted the need to "avoid the costly mistakes of massive development projects" and to "plan and coordinate projects to avoid wasting or destroying forest resources or jeopardizing forest conservation areas." It also pointed to the threat

posed by deforestation to indigenous people. These changes aside, the basic objectives and approach of the "new" TFAP remained much the same: to overcome the perceived lack of political, financial, and institutional support for combatting deforestation through a "common framework for action."¹¹

The "Statement" of the Bellagio meeting noted the economic and environmental costs of deforestation, as well as its causes. According to the report, more attention was needed in the TFAP's implementation to quantifying the costs of inaction, incorporating recommendations for action into national development plans, promoting community participation, encouraging the private sector, initiating policy reform within both national governments and aid agencies, protecting forest ecosystems, integrating forestry into broader land-use concerns, strengthening research, monitoring tropical deforestation, and coordinating international action. (See *Appendix on the History of the Development of the TFAP.*)

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FAO and various aid agencies viewed the TFAP primarily as a mechanism to harmonize development assistance in forestry, while WRI and others saw the TFAP as a vehicle to launch a broadly-based program to address the root causes of deforestation.

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As indicated in the foregoing, very brief history of the development of the TFAP, a range of agencies and organizations were involved in the conception of the plan. Grassroots development organizations and communities living in the tropical forests, however, were not well represented in the early stages of the development of the global TFAP framework. Furthermore, although the principal "founders" of the TFAP joined together at the 1987 Bellagio meeting to encourage the adoption of the TFAP as a planning framework, different expectations of the TFAP persisted. FAO and various aid agencies viewed the TFAP primarily as a mechanism to harmonize development assistance in forestry, while WRI and others saw the TFAP as a vehicle to launch a broadly-based program to address the root causes of deforestation.

TFAP's PRINCIPAL THEMES AND ANTICIPATED BENEFITS

Careful scrutiny of the TFAP makes it clear that the plan has indeed provided a broad framework for addressing the challenges and needs related to the conservation and development of tropical forests. Over the past five years, the TFAP planning framework has maintained a focus on five inter-related areas:

1. *Forestry in Land Use.* Activities aimed at the interface of forestry and agriculture and at more rational land use through community forestry, integrated watershed management and desertification control, and land assessments and forest resource inventories. To include planting of multi-purpose trees on farms, to help combat declining soil fertility and shortages of poles, fuelwood and other forest products.
2. *Forest-based Industrial Development.* Activities aimed at promoting appropriate forest-based industries—among them, small-scale "cottage" enterprises and other forest-based income-generating activities in rural areas, as well as industrial plantations and the expansion of forest products exports.
3. *Fuelwood and Energy.* Activities aimed at restoring a balance between fuelwood supply and demand, by increasing production and reducing demand of wood fuels; also, included programs to develop wood-based energy systems.
4. *Conservation of Tropical Forest Ecosystems.* Activities aimed at conserving, managing, and using forests' genetic resources, including protected areas management and the management of forests for sustainable production.
5. *Institution Building.* Activities aimed at removing the institutional constraints to conserving tropical forests and using them wisely, including support for training, research, extension; greater institutional support to NGOs and the business community; the strengthening of public forestry agencies; and the revision of laws and policies to better integrate forestry into national planning.¹²

A look back at the original plan also shows that the anticipated benefits of the TFAP were as broad as the plan's scope of action. Implementation of the

TFAP was expected to "contribute decisively to improving life in developing countries."¹³ Benefits were to include:

- more jobs, income, and a stimulus to rural development, as well as increased flows to products and services from sustainably managed forests;
- improved food security, agricultural productivity, and land use;
- more dependable sources of fuelwood;
- increased exports of forest products, with more value added locally;
- increased local community involvement in local forest management; and
- increased protection of wilderness, wildlife, and the genetic diversity of forests.¹⁴

LIMITATIONS OF THE TFAP GLOBAL FRAMEWORK

As broad-based as these goals and expected benefits were, they were to be achieved mainly, though not exclusively, by increasing development assistance to the forestry sector. The idea was that boosting investment, technical assistance, and support for forestry would brighten the prospects for information collection, program development, coordination among sectors, increased political support, and forestry's enhanced contribution to national development.

While the five theme areas of the TFAP may not address all of the major causes of tropical deforestation, progress in each of these areas is crucial to success in controlling deforestation and in promoting the sustainable development of tropical forests. (See Appendix on Underlying Causes of Deforestation.) Also, unlike the FAO's version of the TFAP, the WRI Task Force report underlined the importance of stimulating changes in the agricultural sector as well as in the forestry sector. The "Call for Action" report recommended that at least 30 percent of the proposed 5-year investment of \$8 billion be agriculture-related so as to provide farmers and landless people with alternatives to the destruction of forests and woodlands.¹⁵ Nonetheless, the TFAP has limited itself largely to assistance in the forestry sector.

A related question of degree is how far from conventional approaches to development assistance the new initiatives would go. Although the Task Force report confirmed the need to work with exist-

ing aid agencies and national governments, the "Call for Action" did signal the need for significant departures from a "business as usual" approach to development assistance. Increased investment was to be linked to policy reform, and priorities shifted so as to give more attention to forest conservation, agroforestry, and other neglected areas. The Task Force also cited the need for the full participation of local communities, NGOs, and other groups that had not been sufficiently involved in development planning and project implementation in the past.

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It was a mistake to view the TFAP as primarily a technical planning exercise within the forestry sector when, in fact, a new political planning process was needed to analyze trade-offs and to balance conflicting demands on forest lands.

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Neither the FAO's TFAP nor the WRI Task Force report were sufficiently clear, however, about the need for new institutional mechanisms to implement such a broadly based and participatory development strategy. In retrospect, it was a mistake to view the TFAP as primarily a technical planning exercise within the forestry sector when, in fact, a new political planning process was needed to analyze trade-offs and to balance conflicting demands on forest lands.

For example, both plans apparently assumed that there would be few conflicts between local and national interests in an accelerated program of development assistance in forestry, and that the contribution of the forestry sector to the national economy and to a country's export earnings could be expanded while simultaneously protecting the livelihoods and meeting the needs of forest-dependent local communities. Increased production of wood products and intensified forest management was also assumed to be compatible with safeguarding a country's biological resources and maintaining the environmental services of tropical forests. A tendency to overlook or minimize the significance of such trade-offs has made it difficult to achieve the full range of the TFAP's anticipated benefits.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE TFAP PLANNING PROCESS

GUIDELINES AND PROCEDURES FOR THE TFAP

The key to any assessment of the TFAP is an understanding of both what is intended to happen and what actually happens in-country as part of the national level TFAP planning process. (See *Figure 1*.) The process is initiated or sanctioned by a formal request to the FAO or a prospective donor agency from the interested national government. Once the official request has been received, the TFAP Coordinating Unit of FAO¹⁶ takes the lead in advising aid agencies that may want to provide core funding for

the sector review or otherwise support its preparation and implementation.

Next, an "issues paper" is prepared to highlight the major obstacles to developing the forestry sector. Typically, the issues paper is based on information available in FAO and aid agency files, and on data provided by the host-country government. The issues paper is reviewed by the government and then used as a basis for preparing terms of reference for the sector review mission and its individual team members. The issues papers and terms of reference for sector reviews are generally treated as internal, working documents by the aid agencies and the na-

Figure 1. FAO's Process for Preparing a National Forestry Action Plan

Preparatory Phase

- Request to FAO from national government
- Identification of lead donor agency
- Preliminary mission of international team leader to country to work with national team leader
- International and national team leaders prepare Issues Paper on basis of existing information
- Government reviews draft Issues Paper; Issues Paper circulated as widely as possible
- Issues Paper finalized and circulated to all parties involved
- Identification of sectors of intervention; terms of reference for consultants identified, securing participation of NGOs & local people in process; program and schedule for mission
- National counterpart consultants and other participating donor agencies confirmed
- Seminar or workshop (type I roundtable) organized to bring together all interested national partners

Execution Phase

- Donor-sponsored consultants carry out field missions
 - Principal conclusions presented for discussion with government
 - Preparation of draft mission report and submitted to government
 - Draft report circulated within government and participating agencies; revisions made based on comments received
 - Report finalized and adopted by government
 - National roundtable (type II) to obtain political involvement and support from all parties
- (Note: type II roundtable may come before finalization of draft report, with provisions for incorporating the seminar's comments into final report)
- International roundtable (type III) government and participating donors discuss effective implementation of the National Forestry Action Plan

Follow Up Phase

- Follow up project identification and preparation missions by FAO or by participating donor agencies; assist government in preparing more detailed project proposals
- Project appraisal, funding and implementation
- Periodic review with FAO/TFAP secretariat to review progress of implementation

(Source: Annex 2 "Basic Checklist and Schedule of Activities for the Preparation and Execution of TFAP Sector Review Mission" from: *Guidelines for Implementation of the TFAP at Country Level*, FAO 1989)

tional government. Only rarely are they formally adopted or circulated beyond the circle of specialists participating in the review mission.

A "type I" roundtable meeting is sometimes organized by the government before the sector review mission is recruited and fielded. At such a meeting, representatives of government agencies and other organizations that may have helped prepare the national TFAP discuss the steps needed. Once the sector review mission has been completed and a national TFAP drafted, a "type II" roundtable meeting is generally held at which technical staff and agency representatives go over the draft sector reviews and national action plans.¹⁷

The reports are then finalized, distributed to donor agencies, and formally presented to a "type III" roundtable meeting convened to coordinate funding for the National Action Plan. In theory, after this third meeting, investment commitments are then confirmed in discussions between the donor agencies and the national governments, and other actions are taken to implement the TFAP. In all, preparing and executing a TFAP mission takes about 18 months from the time of the initial request to completion.¹⁸

PARTICIPATING AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The principal institutions most directly responsible for the implementation of the TFAP have been the two inter-governmental bodies which oversee FAO's Forestry Department, namely the Committee on Forest Development in the Tropics (CFDT) and the Committee on Forestry (COFO).¹⁹ The FAO Forestry Department itself (including the FAO/TFAP Coordinating Unit), other UN agencies (UNDP, UNEP, UNESCO, UNSO, WFP, ILO), and representatives of multilateral and bilateral aid agencies have been directly involved as "participating agencies" in the planning and implementation of the TFAP. Governments of donor countries have been represented most often by the chief forestry advisor of their development assistance agencies. Developing country governments have been involved primarily through the national Forestry Departments (which, in most cases, involves the Ministry of Agriculture), as well as through other government agencies (such as the Ministry of Planning and/or Finance) that negotiate development assistance.

The FAO has been charged by its statutory bodies (CFDT and COFO) with the overall coordination of the implementation of the TFAP. In most country-level TFAP planning exercises,²⁰ a designated donor agency takes the lead in funding and organizing a forestry sector review mission and related follow-up

activities, in concert with the FAO and the host country government agencies. According to the FAO guidelines for implementing the TFAP, "the Host Government would arrange for the involvement of national NGOs and the private sector."²¹

THE TFAP FORESTRY ADVISORS GROUP

Over the past five years, an unofficial "Forestry Advisors Group" has met every six months to promote information sharing and collaboration among the various aid agencies, national government agencies, and other organizations involved in implementing the TFAP. The nine regular meetings of the Advisors Group held since November 1985 have provided a forum for planning and organizing the national sector review missions, going over the results of such missions, and coordinating follow-up. The Advisors Group meetings have also provided a significant opportunity for dialogue between TFAP's funding agencies and a number of NGOs with an interest in the TFAP.²²

The Advisors Group meetings have emerged as the single most important forum for shaping the scope and procedures of national TFAP planning exercises. The "general terms of reference" for TFAP missions were outlined at the first Advisors meeting in November 1985 and progressively expanded on the basis of discussions in the Advisors Group meetings to include more explicit guidance to mission team leaders.²³ As the need for more systematic monitoring of the TFAP has been recognized, the Advisors Group has played an important role in stimulating the FAO Coordinating Unit to develop indicators for assessing the results of the TFAP and to organize a review of these results.

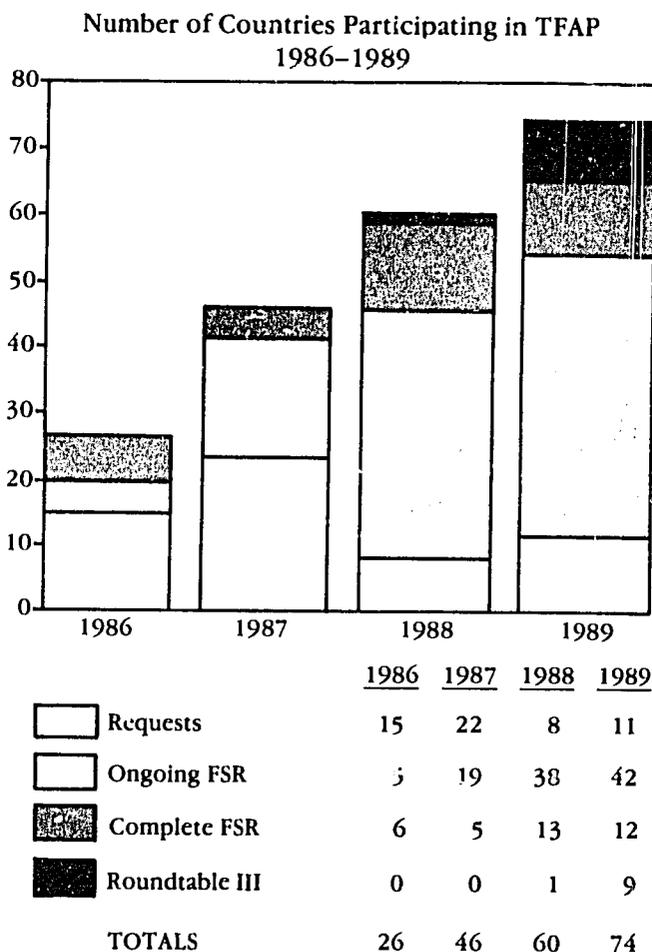
Despite its crucial role, the Advisors Group has come up against serious impediments. It has no institutional stature or authority to insure compliance with the TFAP guidelines or to otherwise influence TFAP planning at the national level.²⁴ Also, as the number of countries participating in the TFAP has increased, and as the range of issues related to TFAP implementation has multiplied, the Advisors Group's meeting agenda has become so crowded that there is seldom enough time to fully debate or resolve key issues. Most agenda items relate to the implementation and coordination of TFAP country-level exercises and to various funding issues or other bottlenecks of direct concern to the aid agencies. Only occasionally has the Advisors Group had enough time to wrestle with the full implications of some of the conceptual or structural problems with the TFAP's framework and approach.

IV. RESULTS OF TFAP IMPLEMENTATION

PARTICIPATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

The intent of the TFAP from the beginning has been that the plan would be implemented at the national level through the preparation of national TFAPs. In 1986, FAO reported that more than 25 countries were involved in one stage or another of the planning process. Since then, the number of countries participating has steadily grown. (See Figure 2.)

Figure 2.



As of March 1990, seventy countries that together possess roughly 60 percent of the world's remaining tropical forests have completed or started to prepare national action plans for the forestry sector.²⁵ Not all countries, however, are following

FAO's guidelines for preparing national TFAPs. Many of the Asian countries are developing a "Forestry Master Plan" (FMP), based on guidelines developed by the Asian Development Bank. The planning process for FMPs places comparatively more emphasis on quantitative analysis of the projected supply and demand of forest products and generally incorporates a longer-term, more detailed analysis of development prospects in the forestry sector.

Straying from the guidelines for national TFAP preparation is not the only way that countries have

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As of March 1990, seventy countries that together possess roughly 60 percent of the world's remaining tropical forests have completed or started to prepare national action plans for the forestry sector.
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modified or "adapted" the proposed TFAP planning process. As indicated in Table 1, many countries have jumped from an issues paper (prepared in most cases by FAO or a lead donor agency) directly to a sector review and type II roundtable meeting. Only eight countries organized an in-country type I roundtable meeting to discuss the organization of the sector review missions, the major problems to be addressed, and other issues early in the TFAP planning process.

In a number of countries, the TFAP planning process has clearly lost momentum. Of the 27 countries that had initiated TFAPs as of 1986-87, only eight have formally adopted their plans and subsequently presented them to potential donors. In the Dominican Republic, Panama, Guyana, Fiji, Malaysia, and Sierra Leone, the TFAP forestry sector review and draft national plan were prepared, but have languished for months without being formally adopted by the national government and presented to a donors roundtable meeting; consequently, fund-

ing for these national plans has not yet been mobilized and the proposed actions haven't been implemented. In Cuba, Mauritania, Mali, and Nicaragua, the planning process has been stalled in recent years or has made only slight progress. In Kenya and possibly in Ethiopia, it appears that the TFAP planning process will be repeated so as to improve on the TFAP prepared several years ago.

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Only rarely have NGOs played an important role in preparing the national TFAPs and influencing the outcome of the planning process.

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AID AGENCY SUPPORT OF THE TFAP

Among most donor agencies, response to the TFAP (at least in terms of financial commitments) has been relatively strong. Since 1985, more than 40 aid agencies, which together account for virtually all of the official development assistance provided to the forestry sector, have collaborated to support the organization of more than 50 country-level forestry sector reviews (See Table 2). Typically, these sector reviews involve teams of a dozen or more technical experts and several person-years of consultants and other technical assistance and logistical support valued at over \$700,000 per country.

FAO and UNDP have most often been the lead agencies for the national sector review missions, but several sector reviews or related TFAP missions have also been led by the World Bank, CIDA, the Netherlands, and France, and the AsDB has coordinated the preparation of a series of FMPs. FINNIDA, ODA, SIDA, GTZ, and USAID have also provided leadership for TFAP missions. Participation in the TFAP by the IDB and the AfDB, as well as such bilaterals as JICA, NORAD, and Switzerland, however, has been relatively modest. In a number of countries, only one or two aid agencies have been recruited to assist in the planning exercise. Seven TFAPs have been prepared by national teams of experts, with very little assistance from FAO or other aid agencies.

NGO AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

NGOs—presumably a good vehicle to achieve popular participation in the TFAP planning process—

have been consulted in a number of national planning exercises. However, only rarely have they played an important role in preparing the national TFAPs and influencing the outcome of the planning process.²⁶ Of the 25 countries for which WRI has reasonably good information from NGOs, only seven held meetings for NGOs to voice their views, and six of these roundtables were organized at the initiative of the NGOs. (See Tables 1 and 3.) Few NGOs were involved early in the review of issues papers and terms of references for national TFAPs. In ten to twelve countries, NGOs were invited to participate in TFAP roundtable meetings and seminars or asked to comment on TFAP reports. NGOs (both local and international NGOs) played a substantial role in the preparation of TFAP reports in only seven or eight countries.

A comprehensive survey of NGOs and their capabilities was prepared in seven countries, including three surveys conducted at the initiative of the NGO community. In at least seven countries surveyed by WRI, there was minimal or no involvement of local, national, or international NGOs. In five to six countries, NGOs submitted project proposals as part of the action plans; but, in general, they lacked the technical support needed to participate fully. In the few countries where NGOs have received some assistance to make it easier for them to participate in the formulation of national TFAPs, the support has most often been provided by international NGOs, often using resources provided by a donor agency participating in the TFAP exercise.

Such international NGOs as IUCN, WWF, IIED, TNC, CI, and WRI have provided technical support directly to sector review missions or otherwise played a significant role in TFAP planning exercises in Cameroon, Mali, Tanzania, Zaire, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Papua New Guinea, and Laos. Their involvement has helped to increase the attention given to conservation, policy reform, land use, and inter-sectoral linkages. More direct participation of local NGOs and the people they represent is essential, however, to better articulate the rights and interests of forest dwellers and other groups omitted from the planning process.

PROPOSED INVESTMENT AND FUNDING OF NATIONAL TFAPs

Although data on the agencies participating in TFAP exercises is readily available from the FAO, information on proposed and actual investments in the TFAP is much harder to obtain. A review of eleven national TFAPs for which detailed information is available indicate that investment levels of about

Table 1. Status of Selected National Forestry Action Plans as of May 1990¹

Country	Request to FAO	Issues Paper	National Roundtable (type I)	NGO Workshop	Sector Review Completed	Draft Plan	National Roundtable (type II)	Final Plan	Internat'l Roundtable (type III)	Lead Agency
Argentina	4/87			o	11/88	9/89			11/88	National
Belize	11/87	1/88		o	6/88	1989				ODA
Bolivia	10/86	9/87	*		4/88	10/88	1/89	5/89	7/89	UNDP/FAO
Burkina Faso	1/87	9/89	9/89							GTZ/CILSS
Cameroon	6/86	9/86		o	5/87	5/87	1/88	6/88	5/89	UNDP/FAO
Colombia	3/87	*	10/87	o		1/88		4/89	6/89	Netherlands
Congo	4/87	4/89								UNDP/FAO
Costa Rica	8/87	*	*	9&11/89 +		3/90	11/89		5/90	Netherlands
Cote d'Ivoire		7/86	6/87	o	9/86	2/87		12/88		FAO/WBCP
Dominican Rep.	5/86	11/86	*	4/89 +	9/87	1/88	4/88			UNDP/FAO
Ecuador	10/87	*	*	1988/89 +	2/90		2/90			National
Fiji				o	12/88	10/88	10/88			UNDP/FAO
Ghana	*			o	4/86			1/87	o	FAO/WBCP
Guinea	6/86	10/86		o	8/86	5/88	3/89	*	o	France
Guyana	7/87			o	11/88	1/89				CIDA
Honduras				o		4/87			1/88	National
Indonesia	9/87		o	o		5/90	5/90			National
Jamaica	6/88				9/89		11/89	3/90	5/90	UNDP/FAO
Kenya	6/86			o	10/86			3/87		World Bank
Laos	1987				9/89	*				UNDP/FAO
Malaysia	6/86		1/87	o		5/88	7/88			National
Mali	1987	11/87		9/38 +						France
Mauritania	9/86									UNDP/FAO
Nepal		1/86				4/88		12/88	5/88	AsDB
Nicaragua	10/87									SIDA
Panama	6/86	6/87			6/88	6/88	6/88			UNDP/FAO
Papua New Guinea		11/88		o	5/89	9/89			4/90	World Bank
Peru	5/86	9/86		1987	5/87	1987		3/88	2/89	CIDA
Philippines				o		7/89				AsDB
Sierra Leone		3/89		o	*	7/89	8/89	3/90	5/90	UNDP/FAO
Somalia		2/89			*					UNDP/FAO
Sudan					1985	4/86				World Bank
Tanzania	2/87	12/88		8/89 +	2/89	3/89	4 & 8/89	9/89	12/89	FINNIDA
Zaire	10/87			4/88 +	10/89	2/90		5/90		CIDA

KEY:

- * completed—but date uncertain
- o this activity was not carried out
- + this activity was an NGO initiative

1. Compiled from FAO/TFAP Coordinating Unit, "TFAP Update" Nos. 1-16 and TFAP Forestry Advisors Group Meetings Summary Reports, 1985-1989.

Table 2. Participation of Development Assistance Agencies in National TFAPS¹

Country	Lead Agency	Participating and Interested Aid Agencies	Country	Lead Agency	Participating and Interested Aid Agencies
Argentina	National	CIDA, FAO, IDB, JAPAN, UNDP	Haiti	UNDP/FAO	CIDA, FAO, France, UNDP, USAID, WB
Belize	ODA	CIDA, FAO, USAID	Honduras	National	CIDA, EEC, FAO, FINNIDA, FRG, Italy, Japan, ODA, Spain, Switzerland, Netherlands, UNDP, USAID
Bhutan	AsDB/DANIDA	FAO, ODA, Switzerland, UNDP, WFP, WB	Indonesia	National	AsDB, CIDA, FAO, FINNIDA, France, FRG, Japan, ODA, Netherlands, UNDP, USAID, WB
Bolivia	UNDP/FAO	Belgium, FRG, IDB, ODA, Spain, Switzerland, Netherlands, UNDP	Jamaica	UNDP/FAO	CIDA, ODA, UNEP
Burkina Faso	FRG/CILSS (?)	CIDA, EEC, FAO, France, FRG, Switzerland, Netherlands, UNDP	Laos	UNDP/FAO	AsDB, Australia, EEC, France, SIDA, WB
Burundi	?	FAO, WB	Lesotho	UNDP/FAO	AfDB, EEC, IFAD, ODA, SIDA, USAID
Cameroon	UNDP/FAO	AfDB, CIDA, EEC, France, FRG, Japan, ODA, WB, WFP	Madagascar	UNDP/FAO	AfDB, France, FRG, Switzerland, USAID, USSR, WB
Colombia	Netherlands	CIDA, FAO, France, FRG, IDB, Spain, UNDP, WB	Malaysia	National	AsDB, CIDA, FAO, France, Japan, UNDP, WB
Congo	UNDP/FAO	AfDB, EEC, FAO, France, FRG, WB	Mali	France	AfDB, CIDA, EEC, FAO, FRG, Switzerland, Netherlands, UNDP, UNEP, USAID, WB, WFP
Costa Rica	Netherlands	FAO, IDB, Italy, Japan, ODA, Switzerland, UNDP, USAID	Mauritania	UNDP/FAO	AfDB, France, DANIDA, EEC, Italy, Netherlands, UNEP, UNSO, USAID, WB
Cote d'Ivoire	FAO/WBCP	CIDA, France, UNDP, UNEP, WB	Mexico	FAO	FINNIDA, FRG, IDB, ODA, Spain, UNDP, USAID, WB
Cuba	National	FAO, UNDP, USSR	Nepal	AsDB/FINNIDA	IDRC, CIDA, FAO, EEC, JAPAN, NORAD, ODA, Switzerland, Netherlands, UNDP, USAID, WB
Dominican Republic	UNDP/FAO	CIDA, FRG, IDB, Israel, USAID	Nicaragua	SIDA/NETHERLANDS/FAO	CIDA, NORAD, UNDP, FINNIDA
Ecuador	FAO	Italy, FRG, Netherlands, ODA, Switzerland, UNDP	Pakistan	AsDB	CIDA, FAO, FRG, ILO, NORAD, Netherlands, ODA, Switzerland, UNDP, USAID, WB
Equatorial Guinea	FAO/WB	EEC, France	Panama	UNDP/FAO	IDB, Japan, ODA
Ethiopia	WB/UNDP/FAO	AfDB, CIDA, FINNIDA, France, Italy, SIDA, Switzerland, WFP	Papua New Guinea	WB	AsDB, Australia, FAO, FRG, Japan, New Zealand, UNDP
Fiji	UNDP/FAO	AsDB, Australia, EEC, FRG, IDB, Japan, New Zealand, ODA	Peru	CIDA	FAO, France, FRG, IDB, Japan, Spain, Switzerland, Netherlands, UNDP, UNEP, USAID, WFP
Gabon	France	?			
Ghana	FAO/WBCP	CIDA, ODA			
Guatemala	USAID	FRG, Netherlands, UNDP			
Guinea	France	CIDA, FAO, FRG, EEC, ODA, UNDP, USAID			
Guyana	CIDA	FAO, FRG/KfW, IDB, ODA, UNDP			

1. From FAO, "Donor Participation List," November 25, 1989. Note: only includes countries which are preparing a national TFAP; only lists official multilateral and bilateral development assistance agencies (see explanation of abbreviations/acronyms at the end of the list).

Table 2. Continued

Country	Lead Agency	Participating and Interested Aid Agencies	Country	Lead Agency	Participating and Interested Aid Agencies
Philippines	AsDB/FINNIDA	CIDA, FRG, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, UNDP, USAID	Thailand	UNDP/FINNIDA	AfDB, DANIDA, EEC, FAO, FRG, Japan, Netherlands, NORAD, ODA, SIDA, Switzerland, UNDP, WB
Senegal	UNDP/FAO	CIDA, EEC, France, FRG, Japan, Netherlands, USAID	Togo	UNDP/FAO	EEC, France, FRG, WB
Sierra Leone	UNDP/FAO	FRG, ODA	Venezuela	FAO	IDB, Netherlands, UNDP
Somalia	UNDP/FAO	AfDB, EEC, FINNIDA, FRG, Italy, ODA, UNSO, WB	Viet Nam	UNDP/FAO	SIDA, Switzerland, USSR, WB
Sudan	WB	FINNIDA	Zaire	CIDA	AfDB, FAO, France, FRG, EEC, UNDP, WB
Suriname	FAO	Netherlands	Zimbabwe	WB	AfDB, CIDA, FRG, ODA, USAID, WB
Tanzania	FINNIDA	AfDB, DANIDA, EEC, FAO, FRG, Japan, Netherlands, NORAD, ODA, SIDA, Switzerland, UNDP, WB	CARICOM	FAO/ODA	CARICOM DB, CIDA, EEC, USAID, USDA

KEY:

Acronym Agency

AfDB	African Development Bank
AsDB	Asian Development Bank
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
EEC	European Development Fund/European Economic Community
FAO	U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization
FINNIDA	Finnish International Development Agency
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
IDB	InterAmerican Development Bank
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development

Acronym Agency

NORAD	Government of Norway, Ministry of Development Cooperation
ODA	U.K. Overseas Development Agency
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNSO	United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office (New York)
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USDA	U.S. Department of Agriculture
USSR	Soviet Union
WB	World Bank
WFP	World Food Program (U.N.)

U.S.\$28 million per country per year are being proposed. (See Table 4.) If all seventy countries now preparing and implementing national TFAPs require the same amount on average, nearly U.S.\$2 billion will be needed—roughly double the current levels of development assistance in the forestry sector.

Forestry in land use and forest industries together account for more than half the proposed investment in 12 national TFAPs that have recently been completed, while forest conservation and fuelwood programs only amount to 20 percent of the total investment. However, these global averages obscure comparatively larger shares earmarked for forest conservation or land use in a number of countries.

Overall, funding commitments in the forestry sector have at least doubled over the past five years, from some \$500 million annually to more than \$1 billion a year in official development assistance in the TFAP's five general areas. (See Table 5.) Over the past year or two, the World Bank has committed itself to tripling investment in forestry, and the UK Overseas Development Administration pledged 100 million pounds over three years to the TFAP. The Federal Republic of Germany (via the KfW Bank and GTZ) has also sharply increased the amount of lending and assistance earmarked for forestry, and funding by USAID of forestry projects increased from \$50 million in 1988 to \$72 million in 1989.

How does this support break down among the

Table 3. Summary of NGO/Local Community Participation in TFAP Activities in Selected Countries

Extent of NGO/ community participation	AFRICA										ASIA					LATIN AMERICA									
	BF	CAM	CI	GF	A	MAL	SEN	SL	TAN	ZAI	FIJ	IND	MYA	NFP	PNG	PHI	BEL	BOL	COL	COS	DR	ECU	HON	NIC	PAN
1. TFAP exercise includes survey of NGOs	1 S	1 S	0	0	1 S	0	0	12 VG	12 G		0			12 M	0	0	0	0	12 G		1 G	0			
2. NGOs consulted in preliminary stage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	S	S	0	0	0	M	S	M	0	S	M	G	S	M	0	G	G	0
3. NGOs submitted reports for TFAP		0	0	0		0	1 M	M	S	0	0		M		0		G	M	0	S	G	0			S
4. NGOs reviewed TFAP draft reports	M		0	0		0	0	S	S	M	0	0	S	M		M	M	G	M	S	S			S	G
5. NGO comments incorporated into final drafts			0	0		0	M	G			0							S	M		S				M
6. NGOs attended TFAP seminars/workshops	S	M	0	0	S	0	M	S	S	M	M	M	G		M		G	G	G	S	S	M		S	G
7. NGOs presented papers at seminars		M	0	0		0	0		M	0	0		M	0			G		0		0			S	
8. Local NGO members of nat'l TFAP mission or steering committee	0	0	0	0		0	0	M	M	0	0		M	0	M	0	G	S	G	S	G	0	G	S	M
9. Technical support provided to local NGOs for participation in TFAP	0	0	0	0		0	0	VG			0	0		S		0		S	G		1 S	0			
10. NGOs submitted project profiles for funding consideration		0	0	0			0				0			S			S	S	0		G	S			S
11. Plans identify NGOs in project implementation		M	0	S			0	VG						G			S	S	VG	G		M		S	S
12. Projects to give technical assistance to NGOs		M	0	M			0	G			0			G					U						0
13. NGOs involved represent conservation issues	M	S	0	M	G	0	S	S	S	S	G	S	S	G	S	S	G	S	G	M	G	M	S	G	G
14. NGOs involved represent rural development issues	G	S	0	G	G	0		VG	G		S	M	M	S	0	M	M	S	G	G	G	0	S	M	M
15. International NGOs involved in preparatory/mission/follow-up stage	1 M	G			1 M	M		G	G		M	0		G	0	0			G	0	G				M

KEY: 0 = none/no, M = minimal/very limited, S = modest/some, G = good/yes, VG = very good, shaded blank = insufficient information.
1 = NGO initiated, 2 = government/donor supported.

COUNTRIES COVERED ABOVE:

AFRICA
Burkina Faso
Cameroon
Cote d'Ivoire
Ghana
Mali

Senegal
Sierra Leone
Tanzania
Zaire

ASIA
Fiji
Indonesia
Malaysia

Nepal
Papua New Guinea
Philippines

LATIN AMERICA
Belize
Bolivia
Colombia
Costa Rica
Dominican Republic

Ecuador
Honduras
Nicaragua
Panama
Peru

Table 4. Assignment of National Priorities by TFAP Theme¹

Proposed Annual Investments:	Forestry in Land Use		Fuelwood and Energy		Forest Industries		Conservation of Ecosystems		Institutions		Total Annual Investment ²
	US\$m/annum	%	US\$m/annum	%	US\$m/annum	%	US\$m/annum	%	US\$m/annum	%	
AFRICA											
Cameroon	6.3	23%	0.88	3%	7.4	27%	2.3	9%	10.3	38%	27
Ghana ³	1.4		27%		2.4	44	0	0	1.6	29	5.5
Tanzania	14.7	41	0.96	3	9.4	24	6.7	18	5.4	14	37
LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN											
Bolivia	5.9	26.5	1.9	8.5	7	31	2.9	13	4.6	21	22.3
Colombia	20	44	1	3	4	9	8.9	19	11.5	25	45.5
Dominican Republic ³	1.5		28		2.5	46	.24	4	1.4	22	5.6
Honduras	17	50	3.2	9	1	3	.88	2.5	12.2	35	34.3
Jamaica	5	48	0.4	4	1.8	17	1.9	18	1.3	13	10.6
Panama	3	22	0.35	3	7.5	55	2.3	17	0.52	4	13.7
Peru	14.5	29	5.3	10	16	32	5	9	9.8	19	50.6
ASIA											
Nepal ³	27.8		49		17.8	31	5.7	10	5.7	10	57
Papua New Guinea	0.9	4	0	0	3.8	17	16	72	1.5	6.6	22.2
Total Proposed Investment ⁴	118		14		80.6		53		65.8		331.3
Percent of total (average for 12 countries)	36%		4%		24%		16%		20%		100%

NOTES:

- (1) The figures refer only to proposed (not confirmed) investment, as outlined in the currently available documentation for national TFAPs. Also, note that investment in one program area may have direct and indirect impacts on investment in several other areas and that the absorptive capacity and funding requirements often differ in each program area; that the absorptive capacity and funding requirements often differ in each, a small investment in one area may address the major needs, while another program area may absorb large amounts for infrastructure.
- (2) Figures represent estimated annual level of needed investment; derived from review of total investment proposed over different planning periods (generally five years).
- (3) In this case, investment for "Fuelwood and Energy" programs was not separated, but included in the Forestry and Land Use program. For overall analysis, joint proposed investments are calculated into Forestry and Land Use figures.
- (4) Total for proposed annual investment in TFAP programs, in 12 countries.

various action programs of the TFAP? Because assistance programmed within the TFAP framework crosses over sectoral lines, it is difficult and even misleading to attempt to distinguish amounts allocated to various sub-sectors. However, FAO's analysis of official development assistance in 1988 for the TFAP indicated that investment in forest industries accounted for the largest share (32 percent) of the total, followed by "forestry and land use" (23 percent) and "institutions" (20 percent) (See Table 5). Forest ecosystems conservation received less than 9

percent of the total, and to date fuelwood programs have received only half of the amount indicated in the estimated investment requirements for the global TFAP.²⁷ Predictably, development banks preferred to fund industrial forestry projects, while the bilateral aid agencies have provided the most support for land-use and institution-building projects. The Netherlands also has pledged to substantially increase its assistance for forestry and for land-use and wood-energy programs.

Sketchy data indicate that national TFAPs are

Table 5. Distribution of Official Development Assistance by TFAP Fields of Action in 1988

Fields of Action	Donor Countries		Development Banks		UN Agencies		Total	
	US\$million	%	US\$million	%	US\$million	%	US\$million	%
Forestry in Land Use	150	27.4%	13.9	6.5%	50	26.6%	213.9	22.6%
Forest-based Industries	92.6	17	146.4	68.9	63.8	33.9	302.8	32
Fuelwood and Energy	97.9	17.9	12.9	6.1	47.2	25.1	158	16.7
Conservation	50.3	9.2	20	9.4	13.2	7	83.5	8.8
Institutions	155.5	28.5	19.4	9.1	13.8	7.4	188.7	19.9
Subtotals	631.7*	100%	212.6	100%	188	100%	1,032.3*	100%

*Includes undetermined US\$85.4 million, 13.5% of total, from Federal Republic of Germany

(Source: FAO, 1989, "Review of International Cooperation in Tropical Forestry")

receiving differing levels of funding. At the high end is Nepal, which has received 65 percent of what it asked for. At the other extreme are Peru, Colombia, Panama, and Argentina, which received only a small proportion (less than 10 percent) of the total funding outlined in their TFAP investment plan. Low levels of actual funding of proposed TFAPs usually does not reflect a lack of donor coordination so much as political factors affecting the flow of development assistance, or donor dissatisfaction with weakly developed TFAP strategies and poorly documented national plans. For such countries as Peru and Cameroon, donors also had reservations about the national TFAP proposals for expanding industrial forestry activities.

ATTENTION TO POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

Although the FAO, national governments, and others have emphasized the extent of funding proposed and mobilized through the TFAP planning process, institutional and policy reforms within and outside of the forestry sector have also been a part of the proposed actions in national TFAPs.²⁸ (See Table 6.)

Given the composition of the sector review mis-

sions and the predominant role of the FAO Forestry Department and national forestry agencies in the TFAP country-level exercises, it is not surprising that most of the proposed reforms are related to the reorganization of the forestry administration. However, the revision of national forest policy, reforms in forestry concession management systems and related fiscal policies,²⁹ and improved incentives for tree-planting have also been proposed in some national TFAPs. The TFAP for Sierra Leone emphasizes institutional reorganization and restructuring, aimed at improving extension activities, consolidating training programs, and increasing the effectiveness of the Wildlife Conservation Unit. The TFAPs for Jamaica, Cameroon, and a number of other countries noted the need to clarify conflicting mandates and to improve information exchange among the various agencies involved in forest land management. The TFAP for Papua New Guinea recommends creating a new institution to formulate and apply policy, reconcile conflicts, and administer forest resources.

A number of national TFAPs also recommend improved institutional mechanisms for inter-sectoral coordination and land-use planning and changes in land tenure laws. Nepal's Forestry Master Plan is linked to the country's National Conservation Strategy. The TFAP exercise in Colombia was reportedly "an unprecedented exercise in multisectoral plan-

Table 6. Proposed TFAP Institutional and Policy Reforms from Selected Countries

	<i>Within Forestry Sector</i>	<i>Outside Forestry Sector</i>
AFRICA		
Cameroon	Development of Forestry Master Plan to be incorporated into National Development Plan. Institutional reforms call for creating a Ministry of Forestry, a National Wood Office, Socio-economic study and Planning Unit within the Forestry Administration, a national forestry school, forestry extension training centers, community forestry department, and strengthening of national forestry institute. Other reforms call for revision of forest industry licensing procedures; improved incentives for planting multipurpose tree farms; and support to local management of community forest lands.	Recommendations include: need to emphasize multiple use management of protected areas within context of regional development plans.
Ghana	Institutional reforms include: charging the Ministry of Lands and Natural Resources to formulate a national forest policy; incorporation of the Forestry Commission into MLNR. Revision of timber concessionary system to include reorganization of forest lands into concessionary units (minimum size = 10,000 ha); increasing forest revenues from increased (4X) concessionary fees, and taxing of fuelwood and charcoal; granting of tree user rights to farmers and communities; improvement of bush burning regulations at local level.	Recommendation for initiating a long term effort to control population growth, and consultation with Wildlife Department in all development projects with major land use impacts.
Tanzania	Reforms to the Forest Ordinance to incorporate peoples needs, integration of various land use activities, establishment of alternative institutions (e.g. village forest reserves, silvopastoral areas), and establishment of minimum standards for forest management. Other recommendations include: restructuring of forest administration; establishment of a Forest Industry Board; increased royalty fees for plantation and non-plantation wood harvesting; and stricter enforcement of revenue collection.	Recommendations include: drafting of a comprehensive Land Tenure Act; amending the Land Ordinance to facilitate popular participation and address tenure problems; energy sector reforms; establishment of a Wildlife Planning Unit to formulate policies and management plans.
ASIA		
Papua New Guinea	Virtually a complete overhaul of forestry policy and institutions is proposed, including: development of a new Forestry Act; creation of national and regional forestry boards as well as a new Forest Service; preparation of policy statement concerning sustained yield management; review of forest revenue and forest industry policies; declaration of a World Heritage Site.	Proposes creation of a Landowner Center directed by a board comprising government, NGO, educational institutions and landowner representation. The Center is to promote landowner awareness, skills development, and participation in land use planning. Development of a national conservation strategy.
Nepal	Devolution of government control of forest lands, targeting local women's groups, with increased incentives for private leasehold and farm forestry; reorientation of Forest Department toward advisory and extension role; lifting and relaxing of restrictions on trade, marketing, and imports of forest products; raising the limit on private landholdings in forest production.	Establishment of an inter-ministry authority to coordinate decision-making among sectors that utilize natural resources. Comprehensive analysis and reforms of land use legislation; creation of environmental legislation within the National Conservation Strategy. Proposes strategy for pasture and livestock management to integrate the National Agriculture Plan with the Forestry Master Plan.

Table 6. Continued

	<i>Within Forestry Sector</i>	<i>Outside Forestry Sector</i>
LATIN AMERICA		
Bolivia	Establishment of planning bodies within regional forestry departments under national coordinating unit (CDF); expansion and consolidation of natural areas, especially in colonization zones; creation of subsidies for rural poor to carry out agroforestry, community forestry and non-timber (goma & castaña) extractive activities.	Support for land use planning in areas designated for colonization schemes (by producing a national map of forest cover and land use, to be monitored by a Geographic Information System).
Colombia	Reform timber concessions, permit issuance, and sawmill regulations; issue credit incentives to attract private sector investment in plantation forestry; and installation of commercial grading and quality control for sawnwood production.	Proposes development of a Renewable Natural Resources Code; recommends a planning and action program for promoting wood-based energy. Also, a number of measures are suggested for enhancing environmental education, both formal and non-formal.
Dominican Republic	Complete restructuring of government institutions and policies of the forestry sector; consolidation of public agencies (both inside and outside the forestry sector) into a national coordinating body. Radical reforms of national forestry department (DGF) responsibilities and operating procedures in line with "new forest policy."	Reform national income accounting to reflect economic growth and social welfare benefits derived from environmental services and non-timber forest resources. Development of a national watershed management plan.
Honduras	Institutional reform, debt-restructuring, and budget reallocations within national forestry agencies, with decentralized control; privatization of public forestry corporations; classification of public forest lands into areas of forest patrimony lands (with inalienable rights), integrated management units and timber concessions; devolution of forest concessionary system; establishment of contracts with local communities to develop forest resources; establishment of fiscal incentives for industrial forest plantations.	Creation of "Permanent Commission for the Protection of Natural Resources and the Environment" among key government agencies.
Panama	Regulations are proposed for laws governing the use of forest, soil conservation and water resources including: management plan requirements; extended concessionary agreements defined by rotation length; reforestation subsidies; issuing public bonds for industrial expansion into selected areas of natural forest.	Energy sector recommendations for dendro-energy (wood gasification) plants to generate electricity in rural areas. Creation of environmental education program for public school system. New laws and corresponding institutional reforms include: a national system of protected areas (parks and reserves); wildlife regulations; and creation of a technical commission on natural resources.
Peru	Decentralization of forestry department into regional units, supported by a central office (DGFF) with increased political status, in charge of national coordination. Proposed reforms of timber concessions regarding access and length of contracts defined by rotation length to double national timber harvest. Expansion of national system of Conservation Units, promoting nature tourism as principal economic activity.	National environmental education program (both formal and non-formal), focusing on rural areas. In the Amazon region, the Plan calls for: establishment of "agroforestry settlements" for shifting cultivators to relieve pressures on Amazonian forests; and petroleum substitution with wood energy from industrial waste.

ning, successfully opening a dialogue between a number of sectors which had not previously been considered in forest resource planning.”³⁰ The Jamaica TFAP highlights the need to implement a national land use strategy and to resolve land-tenure problems. The Jamaican Plan also recommends that environmental impact statements be required before any major changes in land use can be made. The Tanzanian TFAP was developed in part “as an instrument for improving inter-agency coordination and policy integration as well as serving to organize donor-funded activities.”³¹ In the Dominican Republic, the TFAP planning process helped to catalyze the development of a “tree tenure” certificate to confer ownership and harvesting rights to tree planters.

In the preliminary workshops and discussions with NGOs involved in Ecuador’s TFAP exercise, the legal framework and policies that invite deforestation, the influence of agricultural and energy-development policies on forests, and the need for more attention to the needs of indigenous peoples were raised as important issues. But these concerns are not reflected in the official TFAP reports prepared to date. (*See appendix on Ecuador TFAP.*)

At least a few national TFAPs call high production goals into question. The TFAP for Papua New Guinea recommends reducing industrial wood-production targets in view of the difficulty that the forestry administration has had managing current levels of logging and timber extraction. The TFAP planning process in Zaire also raised questions about government policy on the rapid expansion of industrial wood production and recommended a lower and more realistic production target. In Sierra Leone’s TFAP, a relatively low level of logging by

the Forestry Industries Sierra Leone Ltd. was recommended until the data from a proposed forest inventory are available to help determine the level of a sustainable annual cut; a revised and more realistic scale of timber royalties is also to be introduced there.

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Clearly, a number of preliminary attempts have been made to address policy and institutional issues in national TFAPs. But a great deal of scope remains for further analysis and more ambitious proposals aimed at policy reforms and other actions essential to controlling deforestation and promoting the sustainable development of forest land.³² More could be done to insure that needed policy reforms are seriously reviewed as a part of all national TFAPs. And the actual enactment of such reforms needs to be encouraged and progress in these areas closely monitored during the implementation of national TFAPs.

V. ASSESSMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE TFAP

These various measures and indicators of the results of national TFAPs are revealing, but alone they tell only part of the story. Also needed is a comparison of the basic goals and principles of the plan to its results. Ideally, such an evaluation should take account of the success of both the planning *process* and the plan's anticipated *benefits* and *long-term impacts*.

BASIC GOALS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE TFAP

A number of criteria for the evaluation of the TFAP can be derived from the accumulated literature on the plan. For example, at the May 1989 meeting of the Forestry Advisors Group, the FAO Coordinating Unit for the plan presented a note on the "Basic Principles of the TFAP" (see *Appendix 3*). This note was prepared in order to more widely publicize the goals of the TFAP, to provide more explicit guidance for its missions, and to suggest appropriate indicators for measuring the plan's results.³³ FAO's note reaffirms that the plan's basic goals are to improve people's welfare and to conserve tropical forests. Specifically, FAO identifies the basic TFAP objectives as "rural development (food security, alleviation of poverty, equity and self-reliance), and sustainability of development (ecological harmony, renewability of resources, conservation of genetic resources)." In addition, it has outlined ten "basic principles" that "characterize the TFAP strategy in reaching its ultimate objective of conservation and development of tropical forest resources."³⁴

Unfortunately, FAO's Coordinating Unit hasn't yet collected, analyzed, and released all the information needed to conduct such a systematic and comprehensive review, but useful generalizations can be made. These generalizations are grouped according to the suggested criteria for evaluating the TFAP planning *process*, as it is still too early to judge the long term results of the TFAP. (See *Box*.)

IMPROVED INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS?

Many national TFAPs do represent a step forward for forestry planning insofar as they direct increased attention to both production and conserva-

tion, and to both rural community forestry and forest industries. But the integration of the national TFAP into national development plans in most countries is incomplete.

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Most national plans, based mainly on forestry sector reviews, simply justify increased investment in the forestry sector—a focus too narrow to adequately assess the root causes of deforestation, much less to affect them significantly.

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Most national plans, based mainly on forestry sector reviews, simply justify increased investment in the forestry sector—a focus too narrow to adequately assess the root causes of deforestation, much less to affect them significantly. Many plans recycle official data and viewpoints on demographics, deforestation and reforestation rates, and the sustainability of traditional agricultural practices rather than correcting or questioning them.

Such critical topics as land tenure, concentration of land holdings, the value of traditional uses of the forest and the extent of community management, and the relationship between agricultural practices and deforestation have not been adequately reviewed in many national TFAPs. Such key considerations as the demographics of forest-dwelling people and the impact of proposed actions on indigenous peoples have been totally neglected in virtually every TFAP. Moreover, the national TFAPs have not generated much new data on the availability of fuelwood or many proposals for increasing supply or decreasing demand of fuelwood on a scale commensurate with the problem.

Many national TFAPs propose substantial investments in industrial wood production. In most countries, more attention is accorded to forest inventories than to on-the-ground management, and the

Criteria for a Successful TFAP Planning Process

Improved Information and Analysis

1. Has the TFAP produced more accurate and comprehensive information about the extent and condition of forest resources, the economic and environmental costs of their destruction or misuse, and the linkages between forestry and other sectors?
2. Has the TFAP provided a good analysis of existing institutional capabilities, including the analytical, management program implementation and training capacities related to the TFAP goals?
3. Has the TFAP analysis adequately reviewed existing policies and programs, across a broad range of sectors, that influence forest land use and management?
4. Has the TFAP adequately identified destructive or counterproductive and inefficient policies, programs, and investments by government, aid agencies or the private sector, which need to be stopped or eliminated to protect and conserve forests?

Enhanced Participation and Political Commitment

5. Has the TFAP planning process provided for the full participation of a broad range of interest groups, including major government agencies, the private sector, academic and research institutions, and representatives of NGOs and local communities? And has it given these groups easy access to all documentation?
6. Has the TFAP planning process led to a consensus by all interested parties on the long term strategy and immediate priority actions (including policy reform, institutional changes, and a reallocation of investment and new investment) needed to achieve the plan's goals?
7. Has the TFAP process stimulated increased political commitment to address deforestation issues and a willingness to undertake the policy reforms, institutional changes, and mobilization of human and financial resources at the national level?

Greater Cooperation and Accelerated Action

8. Has the TFAP planning process helped increase international cooperation and coordinated action to address the problems and challenges of sustainable development and conservation of forest lands?
9. Has the TFAP planning process favored the development of more integrated, balanced investment with sufficient attention to conservation and environmental considerations, as well as economic development and increased production?
10. Has the TFAP planning process put into place a means to independently monitor the implementation and ultimate impact of the TFAP?

Evaluation Criteria—Longer Term Results of the TFAP

Improvement in People's Welfare

1. Are the basic needs of people for forest products and environmental services of forest lands being met on a sustainable basis?
2. Have scarcities of fuelwood and other important woody and non-woody forest products been eliminated?
3. Are the livelihoods of forest-dwelling people more secure?
4. Has employment and income generation in the forestry sector increased?
5. Has the contribution of the forestry sector to the national economy increased, and is it being sustained at the local level?

Resource Conservation and Management

6. Is the area of remaining tropical forest stabilized; is deforestation under control and have reforestation rates increased?
7. Has the area of forest under sustained-yield management increased to a sufficient or significant degree?
8. Have the critical areas for the conservation of biological diversity been identified and are they sufficiently protected and managed?

Institutions and Policies

9. Have public and private institutions responsible for the protection, management, assessment and monitoring of forest resources, including local community organizations, been strengthened enough to meet their responsibilities and mandate?
10. Has the control over forest land and the management capacity of forest-dependent people been increased?
11. Have the proposed policy reforms been adopted, and are incentives to support sustainable and efficient use and management of forest resources in place?
12. Has the development planning process become open and responsive to a concern for people's welfare and the sustainable use of natural resources?

sustainability of proposed forest-harvesting and -management schemes has never been analyzed sufficiently. Similarly, the need for forest conservation is often reduced to a call to protect and manage parks and reserves better. Rarely has this vital component of sustainable forestry been fully integrated into national development strategies and the full range of priority actions in national TFAPs. As a consequence, the likely contribution of the TFAP to controlling deforestation and to promoting the sustainable use of forest lands will be modest at best.

ENHANCED PARTICIPATION AND POLITICAL COMMITMENT?

In almost all cases, national TFAP preparation has been managed by forestry departments with only modest contributions from the government agencies responsible for rural and agricultural development, livestock, industrial development, transportation and other sectors. As a result, support for multi-sectoral strategies to address deforestation and promote sustainable forest land use is often limited. More seriously, many national TFAPs fail to take full account of how aid agency funding in other sectors affects tropical forest resources.

Although TFAP "forestry sector reviews" were intended to be only one step in the national planning process, they have received the most support and attention by the implementing agencies. In most national TFAPs, this narrow sectoral focus on forestry has obscured critical cross-sectoral issues with great bearing on the forest's future. (*See Appendix on Ecuador TFAP.*) The integration and compatibility of various sub-sector programs has sometimes been neglected as well, giving rise to programs that are at cross purposes.

Of particular concern has been the heavy reliance on outside experts representing the various interested aid agencies. Counting on a succession of short-term consultancies has worked against the development of politically realistic strategies and focused attention on the preparation of a series of poorly-integrated, discrete project proposals in many different sub-sectors. Reliance on traditional World Bank-style "sector review missions" has also meant that too much emphasis has been put on aid agencies meeting their own internal requirements for information, at the expense of developing a sense of ownership or commitment on the part of local staff and host-country agencies. (This is one reason why draft reports have tended to languish for months, awaiting approval by national government agencies.) In the process, the preparation of many

national plans has excluded whole groups of people, as well as whole economic sectors.

In particular, local communities' needs and roles in forest management have been neglected, and forest dwellers and other indigenous peoples have typically had no say in the TFAP.³⁵ Many national plans seek to integrate forest dwellers by "absorbing" them into the commercial forestry sector, and have been designed by forestry agencies with little knowledge and understanding of the unique social and cultural needs of these peoples. Such schemes to integrate forest dwellers, however well-intentioned, may degrade rather than improve the quality of life of the targeted populations.

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Insufficient support (and funding) from national governments and aid agencies for NGO participation in TFAP preparation contributes to this neglect of disenfranchised groups. Restricting the TFAP planning process to the confines of development assistance planning also reinforces the conventional dominance of government agencies as the main negotiators of development assistance and gives well-connected commercial interests a comparative advantage over forest dependent local communities.

In view of forest dwellers' needs and other equity issues, neglecting NGOs is a serious error. As often noted in the development literature, these groups can provide perspective on what the "real" problems are, they can represent the rights and interests of people who might otherwise be excluded by the bureaucracy from development planning, and they can mobilize support and carry out the actions identified in a national TFAP. Many NGOs manage significant programs in rural and community development, while others have played an important part in training, education, and environmental conservation. Although NGO participation should not be pursued as an end in itself, in many instances NGOs can help make the TFAP work better as a planning process.³⁶

GREATER COOPERATION AND ACCELERATED ACTION?

The assumption behind the TFAP is that increasing investment in forestry will increase action. Unfortunately, however, the TFAP planning process is so heavily focused on investment in forestry that it may actually have diverted attention from opportunities to control deforestation more directly and immediately. The plan's severest critics fear that increasing investment in the TFAP will lead to an increase in commercial wood production and increase funding for government-controlled logging of the remaining natural forest. In the absence of systematic review and careful analysis by the TFAP's Coordinating Unit, as well as close supervision and evaluation by the aid agencies, it is unclear to what extent the TFAP will prompt such activities.

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The inherent limitations and difficulties of the development assistance process provide compelling reasons not to confine the TFAP process to a simple extension of development assistance.

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It does seem clear, however, that little has actually been done to rapidly expand the area of reforested land, or to plant trees and manage forests on a scale commensurate with the growing demand for forest products in developing countries. In part, this failure reflects the TFAP's emphasis on new investment in the forestry sector, which takes many years to translate into action on the ground. Meanwhile, key opportunities for slowing net deforestation by launching policy and institutional reforms, reallocating resources, and mobilizing the private sector and NGOs are being neglected. In particular, the TFAP has yet to significantly influence the flows of aid in the agricultural sector, which still amount to many times the total volume of aid flows to the forestry sector.

INCONSISTENCIES AND CONTRADICTIONS IN THE TFAP

The very uneven, or mixed results of the TFAP planning process can be traced in part to a number

of inconsistencies or contradictions related to the TFAP. The TFAP was proposed as an international framework for concerted action. As such, it relies heavily on international cooperation orchestrated by national governments and aid agencies. Yet, the plan's fundamental aim is to increase local communities' self-reliance and their ability to use forest resources more sustainably. The inherent limitations and difficulties of the development assistance process provide compelling reasons not to confine the TFAP process to a simple extension of development assistance.

Also implicit in the TFAP is the assumption that the contribution of forest resources to national and local economies can be increased over the long term by developing forest-product industries based on the commercial logging and sustained-yield management of what remains of natural tropical forests. However, under current technical and institutional conditions, large-scale commercial logging of natural forests has too often proved itself to be un-sustainable.³⁷ The TFAP should not, therefore, encourage logging of remaining natural forests until a management system is in place and demonstrated to be both feasible and responsive to the needs and concerns of local communities.

Still another contradiction undermines the TFAP framework. The plan acknowledges that deforestation is largely driven by forces outside of the forestry sector and by policy decisions, development planning priorities, and programs beyond foresters' control. Yet, in the implementation of the TFAP, FAO's Forestry Department and the aid agencies forestry advisors have focused on forestry sector reviews carried out by teams composed mainly of forestry specialists charged with producing investment proposals for government forestry departments.

The TFAP was to be a bold departure from the "business as usual" approach to development assistance and from past, largely ineffective programs to stem deforestation and support the rational use of forest resources. The TFAP planning framework proposed a more comprehensive range of actions and guidelines for a new, more participatory and strategic approach to development planning. Yet, its creators obviously underestimated the inertia of governments and aid agencies and the need for a well-staffed, well-funded, supportive, and independent management structure to oversee the plan's implementation internationally and nationally. As a consequence, the TFAP label has been indiscriminately applied to virtually all assistance in forestry, whether or not the plan's basic principles and guidelines are being followed.

On a related point, the global TFAP framework was conceived without a sufficient sense of political realism. Its creators optimistically and mistakenly assumed that the "development slate" upon which TFAP strategies and plans were to be laid was somehow blank. In fact, tremendous effort is needed to overcome the influences of ingrained institutional structures and biases, patterns of development assistance, and current policy on both the process and the substance of national development plans. (See *Appendix on TFAP in Ecuador*.) For the TFAP, the danger is that of legitimizing or increasing support for fundamentally flawed approaches to forest resources management and for unsustainable economic development.

Another contradiction: within the TFAP framework, broad participation in the planning process is considered essential to developing a national consensus on strategies and priority actions for achieving TFAP's goals and for mobilizing the institutional, political, financial, and grassroots support without which the TFAP will fail. Yet, to date the planning process has essentially been an extension of development assistance planning and negotiation, in which the only legitimate players are aid agencies and national governments. Despite a regular flow of rhetoric in favor of NGO and local participation in the TFAP, donors generally have been reluctant to use their considerable leverage to encourage national governments to empower local communities and to work closely with NGOs.

A CHANGING AGENDA

Another problem with the TFAP is that, like most plans, this plan has in some respects been overtaken by events. Five years ago, the importance of protecting tropical forests as one means of forestalling global climate change could not have been foreseen. Even the importance of such protection to the future of the world's biological diversity was not as fully appreciated then as it is now. The same goes for debt forgiveness. Still, some of these concerns might have been better integrated, or coordinated with the TFAP planning process to a greater degree, had the TFAP not been so closely controlled and managed by the rather conventional forestry establishment.

A QUESTION OF MANAGEMENT

Both the name adopted to refer to the process (the "Tropical Forestry Action Plan") and the "salesmanship" of the TFAP by the FAO and others have tended to confuse the basic objectives of the TFAP. To many representatives of national governments, the TFAP was perceived to be essentially a commitment and a mechanism to increase funding in the forestry sector, with the assumption that this would have a beneficial impact (ultimately) on controlling tropical deforestation. There was little to suggest in much of the early guidance given to countries interested in preparing national TFAPs that issues of agricultural development, land tenure, agrarian reform, reduction in population growth, and changes in energy sector development priorities, etc., should be included in national TFAPs. The "boundaries" and focus of TFAP exercises, still not clearly determined, are primarily a function of the predisposition of the lead agencies and cooperating national institutions.

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The TFAP was intended to focus on strategies and priority actions. However, in many cases, national TFAPs quickly ballooned into a large collection of project proposals, without sufficient reference to a coherent strategy and to priorities. And what priorities are indicated are usually more a reflection of the particular interests of the national institutions managing the process, and less a function of their cost effectiveness or their likely impact on deforestation's root causes.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The most important conclusion of this assessment is that, despite some successes, the *TFAP as currently implemented is not achieving many of the plan's original objectives*. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the present TFAP planning process will ever be able to achieve some of them. Although the plan arose from a widely shared concern that more effective programs in forest conservation and sustainable management, increased attention to policy reform both within and outside the forestry sector, and improved land-use planning and coordination with agricultural and other development programs could help turn the tide against uncontrolled deforestation and wasteful depletion of tropical forest resources, many of the institutions controlling the TFAP—FAO, donors, and national governments—seem to have lost sight of these concerns as the plan has been carried out. At a minimum, these agencies have let their interest in accelerating investment in the forestry sector overshadow these concerns, and they have failed to provide the quality control and direction needed to make the planning process and the plan itself work well.

Today, a number of the organizations that initially supported the launching of the TFAP, including WRI, are deeply concerned about the internal contradictions and institutional problems that have prevented the plan from achieving its goals. These organizations share the belief that a failure to significantly reform and fully utilize the TFAP framework and planning process will soon make it impossible to muster further financial and political support for the plan—despite the continued strong interest in responding to the deepening crisis of tropical deforestation. The following recommendations speak to the urgent need for a recommitment to the TFAP goals and fundamental reform of the TFAP planning process and implementation structure.

1. Convene an International Forum on the TFAP.

Given the importance of evaluating the relative success of the TFAP and redirecting its future course, an international forum of representatives from international, national, and NGO institutions should be convened to give impetus to the required changes. On the agenda should be the clarification of the goals and objectives of the TFAP, guidelines for or-

ganizing the TFAP planning process, the establishment of a new management structure for the TFAP, criteria and procedures for the assessing and monitoring of the plan's success, and coordination of complementary actions.

Organized outside of the current TFAP structure, this forum could help achieve consensus on new approaches to combatting deforestation and implementation of the plan. It could also help to focus TFAP efforts. In the short and medium term, given the limited capacity of international aid agencies and other supporting institutions of the TFAP, priority attention for additional assistance within the TFAP framework should be focused on those countries where significant forest resources are most threatened, and where national governments demonstrate the greatest commitment to policy reform, participatory development planning, and adherence to the plan's goals and guidelines.

2. Clarify TFAP's Goals and Objectives.

Over the past five years, the TFAP has evolved to represent many things to many different organizations and people. Various incompatible expectations about the principal goals or anticipated end results of the TFAP have been raised, so it is now necessary to distinguish what the TFAP can and can't do at the national and international levels. In particular, it is critically important to underscore that the TFAP should not be used only as a means to increase investment in traditional forestry sector activities; rather, it should blaze a path toward the sustainable development of forest land and help avoid the needless destruction of tropical forests.

Four goals implicit in the original TFAP and related to deforestation's root causes should be stressed in particular. First, the TFAP planning process must meet the needs and safeguard the livelihoods of people who live in or depend on the forest. Second, the plan should help ensure that the remaining areas of tropical forests are used sustainably—contributing to national development while encouraging multiple uses of forest lands and effective protection of biological diversity. This implies much more emphasis on the management of tropical forests for non-woody products (such as extractive reserves for natural rubber, oils, fruits and nuts) and non-consumptive uses (such as environmental ser-

vices which may not be compatible with intensive timber management and hardwood extraction).

Third, the TFAP should mobilize resources to regenerate degraded tropical forest lands (using indigenous species to the greatest extent possible) and promote sustainable land use around tropical forest areas. Particular attention should be paid to avoiding land degradation and promoting sustainable development patterns that relieve pressure on remaining natural forests. Fourth, the TFAP should help stimulate needed policy reforms both in tropical countries and in development assistance institutions.

3. Make the TFAP Process More Open and Accountable.

The importance of "opening up" the TFAP process can't be overstated. For starters, documentation for the full sequence of TFAP-related activities must be accessible to all interested parties at each stage of the TFAP process, and appropriate fora should be provided for consultation, information transfer and dialogue. In particular, the private sector, NGOs, and representatives of local communities need to be associated in the earliest phase of TFAP planning, and involved in the preparation of "issues papers" and the planning of field studies and support missions. Special efforts are needed to address the concerns and to articulate the needs of groups that are frequently marginalized in development planning: women, landless, rural poor, indigenous forest dwellers, tribals, and other disenfranchised groups.³⁸ Quite simply, the TFAP can't succeed if it is held hostage to the rules of confidentiality often evoked as part of the development assistance process.

To respond to the increasingly forceful criticisms of the TFAP by forest dwellers and the NGOs who come to their defense, the TFAP process must be made dramatically more participatory, heavily involving both NGOs and those whose livelihoods depend directly on the resources of the forests. A survey of interested and relevant NGOs and forest peoples organizations should be completed at the outset of the national TFAP planning process to help facilitate full participation in and influence on the national TFAP planning process. Broad participation should be sought as a means to an end and *not* simply as a token effort with little impact on the actual outcome of the process.

Another way to open up the political process so that needed reforms and priorities come to light, is to shift away from sectoral technical planning and project identification and toward the development of equitable development strategies that adequately reflect the need to balance local interests with national ones, and ecosystem conservation with inten-

sified management to expand resource production. Such trade-offs cannot be fully assessed nor can such political compromises be negotiated without the full participation of all interested communities, beginning with the people most dependent on the forest. Priority should be given to the political planning process, in advance of the development of specific plans for institutional and policy reforms, and associated investment.

Explicit criteria and standards for TFAP-related programs, activities, and proposals for investment and technical assistance should be followed so that these actions are consistent with the basic goals of the TFAP. The same goes for guidelines for participatory planning, impact assessment and evaluation activities. Although individual countries will always need to adapt "templates" for the TFAP planning process to their particular situation, a number of essential principles and guidelines must be respected if the TFAP is to succeed. Endorsement of TFAP programs and continued international cooperation in support of national and local TFAP activities should be conditional on the respect of these criteria, standards, and guidelines.

4. Give More Attention to Policy Reforms.

In many countries, government policies are responsible for the indiscriminate destruction of forest resources. Tax incentives and credit subsidies guarantee large profits to private investors who convert forest to pastures and farms. Governments allow private concessionaires to log forests on terms that induce uneconomic and environmentally wasteful practices. Massive public expenditures on highways, dams, plantations, and agricultural settlements, often supported by multilateral development lending, are used to convert or destroy large areas of forest for projects of questionable economic value. In addition, industrial-country trade barriers to the entry of forest products have helped prompt inappropriate investments and patterns of exploitation in developing countries' forest industries.

Creating a better policy framework should become a cornerstone in sustainable resource management. Unless policies that induce forest destruction are changed, TFAP investments in reforestation, watershed management, wildlife conservation, and related initiatives will be overwhelmed. As international capital flows become increasingly linked to broad macro-economic and sector policy agreements, the international development agencies must identify and analyze the effects on forest resources of tax, tariff, credit, and pricing policies and support the policy reform needed to root them out.

5. Insist Upon Improved Quality Control in TFAP Planning Exercises.

In the earliest stages of the TFAP planning process, more attention should be given to the collection and analysis of several kinds of information. Especially important are accurate demographic studies of forest dwelling and forest dependent people, socio-economic surveys related to the incentives and rationale for resource-use patterns and traditional management strategies, and analysis of tenure, customary rights, land use conflicts and legislation related to forest ownership and control over forest resources. Problems related to institutional weaknesses in the management of forest lands and the resulting *de facto* "open access" situations in some forest areas should also be analyzed, together with the prospects for a devolution of management authority, access control, and forest land ownership (via divestiture of public lands to local peoples).³⁹

To help direct TFAP support, FAO and other cooperating institutions should also rapidly compile and disseminate updated information on the condition of tropical forests, highlighting areas where degradation and conversion have accelerated or where either poses an immediate, significant threat.

Also needed is increased support for field studies and analysis of the causes of forest degradation and destruction. A broad range of international, national and local institutions and organizations with capacities in these areas should be supported to promote independent analysis of the full spectrum of direct and indirect causes of deforestation, particularly from the perspective of those persons most directly affected by deforestation and over-exploitation of forest resources. Without such comprehensive and independent analysis, progress in policy reform and the control of deforestation will be slow at best.

More specifically, the TFAP planning process should provide for a more discriminating analysis of the types of forest land use, the effect of shifting cultivation, and the impacts of forest-dwelling peoples on forest resources. Unsustainable resource use patterns, including those driven by forces or pressures originating outside of the forest, should be identified and analyzed. The scope for improved management and utilization of non-woody forest goods and services of significance to forest-dwelling people and to extractive economies, and the need to maintain regionally or globally important environmental functions of forests should also be given more attention. Finally, the issue of "sustainability" in commercial logging and forest management operations needs to be more carefully scrutinized.

6. Develop a New Management Structure for the TFAP.

As long as the TFAP is housed within the FAO Forestry Department and supported primarily by forestry professionals representing bilateral and multilateral aid agencies, the plan is unlikely to be much more than a mechanism for coordinating development assistance in the forestry sector. Such a coordinating mechanism is very useful, though, and the Forestry Advisors Group and Coordinating Unit of FAO should be maintained and supported to serve this function better.

Despite recent strengthening, the current staff and resources of the TFAP Coordinating Unit in FAO are inadequate to coordinate such an undertaking in seventy countries. The FAO unit now needs additional resources to insure that information on TFAP planning and implementation is widely circulated, together with the guidelines for preparing national TFAPs.

Even with these important changes, FAO's Coordinating Unit can't be expected to adequately address all of the TFAP's wide-ranging goals and objectives, at the international, national, and local levels. Indeed, an independent management structure is needed to oversee and guide the implementation more impartially than forestry professionals and aid agency representatives can.

A broadly representative international steering committee is urgently needed to provide overall guidance to the TFAP's implementation. This committee would coordinate the support of FAO and donor agencies and ensure greater quality control in the action plans, more careful scrutiny of proposed investment programs, more effective responses to deforestation's root causes, and better monitoring of results. (*See Appendix 5.*) This committee would be backed up by a multi-disciplinary staff, independent of the current FAO structure and drawing upon expertise from governments, aid agencies, NGOs, and the private sector. The committee's secretariat would have primary responsibility for insuring compliance with the guidelines and procedures for preparing TFAPs and would take the lead in coordinating the TFAP with a wide range of complementary actions and programs (such as ITTO, national Environmental Action Plans, biodiversity conservation and global warming strategies, etc.).

At the national level, many steps can be taken to ensure that the implementing agencies are better equipped to lead the TFAP process. Most important, a national steering committee composed of representatives of government, NGOs, local communities, and the private sector is needed to guide and support

the preparation and implementation of the national TFAP.

TFAP steering committees and secretariats at the international and national (and sub-national) levels should be assured of adequate, sustained support and get the qualified staff needed to carry out their functions and mandate effectively. Supporting organizations of the TFAP should be encouraged to help fund the staff that these bodies need during the initial phases of their activities.

7. Increase Support for Training and Institutional Development.

As the results of many other "action plans" amply demonstrate, the impact of new guidelines, increased resource flows, and even political commitment will not register unless well trained and capable staff are available and given the institutional support and backing needed to make changes and implement programs. Indeed, a more systematic assessment of labor and institutional resources and requirements (in both the private and public sectors) must be built into the TFAP process so that the plan can be implemented in a timely and effective manner.

Unfortunately, many national TFAP exercises have failed to recognize, much less fully utilize, the full range of in-country public institutions and private organizations. In most cases, only the need to strengthen forestry agencies has been considered while other, more cost-effective and potentially significant opportunities in the private and independent sectors have been overlooked. This must change.

Within the donor agencies, a parallel change is desperately needed. These agencies have collectively doubled their funding over the past several years without increasing their own staffs enough to give national TFAP participants adequate technical support during national sector reviews and national TFAP preparation. Particularly important is adding staff in a full range of disciplines, including forestry and natural resource management, resource economics, land use planning, conservation biology, anthropology and sociology, law and public policy, and demography.

8. Insure Re-commitment of the Aid Agencies to TFAP Goals.

International development assistance agencies should re-assess their staffing, program development procedures, and funding priorities with TFAP's goals in mind. They must make sure that adequate staff are on board to respond to the requirements and opportunities of the TFAP, suspend counterproductive

programs, and in a timely manner increase support for the broad range of actions needed to address deforestation and achieve the TFAP's goals. In particular, procedures for program design, evaluation, and monitoring need to be improved, and the procedures for the transfer of resources to both governments and NGOs should be simplified.

9. Coordinate the TFAP with Other Complementary Initiatives.

Carried out properly and expeditiously, the TFAP could be an ongoing source of new information about tropical forests and the people who manage and use them. Supported by policy reforms, it could help foster respect for the rights of indigenous peoples and other forest dwellers, encourage the participation of NGOs and the private sector, and even make some headway against such pressing problems as global climate change and the loss of biological diversity.

Still, the temptation to heap all manner of social, political, and economic goals on the TFAP has to be resisted or the plan will collapse under its own weight. What's important now is viewing the plan in the larger context of increased support for sustainable development, population stabilization, debt relief, agrarian reform, trade and macroeconomic policy reforms, biological diversity conservation, and global warming control strategies. The TFAP cannot be the primary vehicle for all of these changes, but it can contribute to and reinforce many of them to the extent that it is well coordinated with these other, complementary initiatives.

In particular, the TFAP process needs to establish closer ties to other initiatives developed in response to the threat of global warming and climate change, the debt crisis, and to the need to conserve biological diversity. Linkages with related, country-level natural resource and environmental assessments and strategic planning exercises, including National Conservation Strategies and national Environmental Action Plans, also need to be improved.

10. Build Support for an International Convention on Global Deforestation Issues.

Since the TFAP will never be a sufficient response to the urgent need to arrest deforestation and promote the sustainable use of forest resources, international cooperation in a number of areas needs to be strengthened by formal agreements. An international convention and protocols should be negotiated on a range of TFAP-related and parallel actions that are needed to address global deforestation issues, in order to achieve net afforestation within a decade.

Such a convention should consider issuing a declaration recognizing the importance of forests in preserving biological diversity, protecting against global climate change, and providing opportunities for sustainable economic and social development for the peoples of forest-rich nations. This convention could also address such issues as the needs and rights of forest dwellers, the role of population growth, the importance of land reform, and other underlying factors bearing on the ultimate effectiveness and success of the TFAP and related initiatives.

Taking Stock underlines the urgent need to reform the TFAP. Redirection and a re-dedication to the plan's basic principles and goals are needed, including a deeper commitment to broad participation

in the TFAP planning process and to the expanded role of local communities living in the tropical forests in the management and conservation of these forests. A new institutional framework and more systematic monitoring of the implementation of the TFAP are also needed, in order to insure that the TFAP leads the way in the sustainable development of tropical forest lands. Without these changes and a series of bold, new initiatives to deal with the threats to the world's forests, increased funding for TFAP-related development assistance is unlikely to significantly contribute to national development goals or to any improvement in the welfare of people dependent on tropical forests.

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NOTES

1. The specific objectives and criteria for evaluating the success of the TFAP are discussed in greater detail on p. 28 of the report.
2. Curbing deforestation and supporting actions which benefit people and communities directly dependent on forests were basic concerns of a number of organizations involved with TFAP since its inception; see R. Winterbottom, 1988.
3. WRI staff also met with the TFAP review team organized by FAO, and briefed the team on WRI's work with the TFAP; this report, however, has been prepared independently by WRI and in advance of the release of the report by the TFAP review team.
4. Shiva, 1987; Friends of the Earth, 1989; Colchester and Lohmann, 1990; Elliott, 1990; Rich and Horta, 1990.
5. See list of references at the end of the report; note however, that a) access to much of the basic documentation concerning national TFAPs is generally restricted to national governments and interested aid agencies, and b) the information base on the TFAP, including national TFAP reports and analysis of the TFAP, is growing on a daily basis.
6. Repetto, 1990; Myers, 1989; Lankester, 1990.
7. See J.P. Lanly, *Tropical Forest Resources*. FAO, 1982. Preliminary new data on forest resources and deforestation rates for a number of countries are scheduled to be released by FAO in June, 1990.
8. Assessments of deforestation and other changes in land use in tropical developing countries are still very imprecise; remote sensing offers the possibility of more closely monitoring changes in vegetative cover and large scale shifts in land use, but information on changes in the productivity of land and on the sustainability of various land uses is still very inadequate. These parameters are more difficult to comprehensively assess and to monitor, yet more important in many respects than the net changes in area of forest, pasture, cropland and other land types.
9. This committee is made up of the member government representatives of FAO with an interest in and responsibility for tropical forestry matters.
10. WRI, 1985. *Tropical Forests: A Call for Action*.
11. WRI, 1985, pp. 6-7.
12. See FAO, 1987. *Tropical Forestry Action Plan*. pp. 8-28.
13. FAO, 1987. p. 31.
14. FAO, 1987. pp. 31-32.
15. See WRI, 1985. *Tropical Forests: A Call for Action*, p. 2.
16. This unit was organized within the FAO Forestry Dept. in 1986, soon after the TFAP was launched. It was initially staffed by only one or two full-time persons, but over the past year has been progressively strengthened to a level of 5-6 persons. The unit currently seeks to fill a total of 7 staff positions, including regional coordinators for Asia, Africa and Latin America, and several other specialists.
17. Participants in type II roundtable meetings are generally representatives of government agencies involved in or interested in the formulation of the TFAP, and technical staff from aid agencies, often including members of the TFAP forestry sector review team. NGO representatives (national and international) are sometimes invited to attend. At the type III "donors" roundtable meeting, more senior government and aid agency representatives are generally present, and agencies or organizations (including some NGOs, primarily international) are invited to attend if they have expressed an interest in the meeting to the government and to FAO.
18. FAO, 1989. See Annex 2.
19. The TFAP Coordinating Unit of FAO regularly reports to the national delegations of these statutory bodies for forestry regarding the status and progress of the TFAP; these bodies, in turn, adopt resolutions regarding FAO's continued role in the TFAP, and recommend actions related to the implementation of the TFAP.
20. Several TFAP planning exercises have been organized and executed with only minimal involvement and technical support by donor agencies; in these cases the "lead" agency is designated by the term "national." (See Table 2.)
21. See FAO, 1989. *Guidelines for Implementation of the Tropical Forestry Action Plan at Country Level*.
22. NGOs which have regularly participated in the TFAP Forestry Advisors Group meetings include:

- WRI, the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), the International Union of Forestry Research Organizations (IUFRO), the Environment Liaison Centre-International (ELC/I), and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). At the most recent meeting of the TFAP Advisors, in December, 1989, in Washington, D.C., representatives of the Indigenous Peoples Federations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) addressed the Advisors and argued for direct participation in national TFAP exercises. For a number of years, the 4-day biannual meeting of the TFAP Forestry Advisors Group has also included a half-day "public session" designed to promote an exchange of information between the TFAP Advisors and representatives of interested organizations (especially NGOs) based in the host country for the meeting.
23. See FAO, 1989. *Guidelines for Implementation of the Tropical Forestry Action Plan at Country Level*.
 24. Many of the regular members of the Advisor's Group, however, do wield significant influence over aid flows within their respective agencies. Most are also involved with the deliberations of CFDT and COFO, where TFAP and other forestry matters are discussed formally. Several Advisors are also involved with the ITTO, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and related initiatives for natural resource management and environmental planning.
 25. The area of closed broadleaved forest for some 60 countries which have completed or which are preparing national TFAPs amounts to some 710 million ha. (7.1 million km²).
 26. See Cort, 1990. WRI working paper on NGO participation.
 27. In the original, estimated costs of the TFAP (i.e. indicative investment requirements of \$5.3 billion for 56 countries in the five theme areas of the TFAP over an initial five year period), some 8% was projected for forest conservation, 17% for forestry and land use, 20% for institutions, 25% for forest industries, and 30% for fuelwood and agroforestry. See WRI, 1985. Part III.
 28. See also the series of "abstracts" of national TFAPs prepared by WRI for selected countries.
 29. As a result of its involvement in several national TFAP planning exercises in which concession management and fiscal policies were an issue, the World Bank funded a special study on forest revenue systems in West Africa, which aimed to provide further analysis of these systems and recommended improvements. See Egli and Grut, 1989.
 30. See report of "Workshop on Country-Level TFAP Exercises" prepared by WRI, and supporting national reports presented to the workshop (October, 1989).
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. See appropriate sections of abstracts of national TFAPs prepared by WRI, and TFAP critique by Colchester and Lohmann, 1990.
 33. See memorandum by the Chairperson reporting on "Major Conclusions and Recommendations" of the working group meeting of the TFAP Forestry Advisers, held March 1-2, 1989, in the Hague; items #1 and #4.
 34. See FAO, 1989, "Note on the Basic Principles of the TFAP," (FAO, Rome), p. 2-3.
 35. See Halpin, 1990. WRI working paper on indigenous peoples.
 36. See working paper by Cort, 1990.
 37. Duncan Poore, et al. 1989. *No Timber without Trees*. (Earthscan, London).
 38. See also recommendations of the background papers on NGO participation (Cort, 1990) and on indigenous peoples (Halpin, 1990), and report of the NGO Consultation on the Implementation of the TFAP (WRI, 1989), pp. 3-6.
 39. See WRI working paper on shifting agriculture, demography and tenure, by Owen Lynch, 1990.

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APPENDIX 1

History of the Development of the TFAP

In many respects, TFAP's roots can be traced back to an initiative by the Committee for Forest Development in the Tropics (CFDT), and to a conference organized by the World Resources Institute in 1984.¹ The Global Possible Conference, convened to re-examine the relationship between earth's resources and the human future, included a "Sectoral Paper on Forestry"² that pointed to the growing crisis of tropical deforestation and its many adverse economic and environmental consequences. Its authors argued that deforestation in the tropics is fundamentally due to government decision-makers' lack of awareness of the economic costs of deforestation and to a corresponding neglect of forestry in development planning and in setting investment priorities. The way forward, therefore, is to heighten political awareness of deforestation consequences and to sharply increase investments in combatting deforestation.

Spears and Ayensu, the paper's authors, proposed that 60 percent of the increased investment be targeted for agricultural programs and the remainder for forestry. They claimed that, compared to forestry programs, agricultural programs could more directly address the issue of land reform and redirect agricultural settlement to degraded or non-forested areas (as opposed to remaining areas of tropical forest). In forestry, they pointed to a need to increase fuelwood supplies, improve the management of logging and industrial forestry operations, and increase the attention given to forest conservation and the strengthening of forestry institutions. The paper called for a combination of increased investment, technical assistance, and policy reform to maintain revenues from commercial forestry plantations and more intensively managed forests. This approach would take the pressure off natural forests and thereby brighten the prospects that some natural forest could be set aside for conservation purposes; it would also reduce the pressures to commercially log all natural forests, which displaces indigenous forest dwellers.³

The paper's authors pointed out that the linkages between forestry and other sectors, such as agriculture (soil and water conservation, fodder production), energy (watershed protection and fuelwood production), and health (water supply), needed to be analyzed better so as to underscore the need for

complementary investments in forestry to protect or enhance investments in other sectors. A review of inter-sectoral linkages was also deemed fundamental to improved land-use planning and to more integrated, sustainable development. In short, Spears and Ayensu argued, forestry and agriculture should become more complementary rather than compete for land.

The paper delivered at the Global Possible Conference also stressed the need to better understand the incentives required to induce local communities and the private sector to play a constructive role in forest resources development and management. Reforms aimed at reducing waste inefficiencies in forestry operations were called for. Land reform was singled out as particularly important:

Historical patterns of development that have led to skewed land distribution underlie many of the problems forestry faces today. . . Strong political commitment by national governments to pursue land reform policies that would lead to more equitable land ownership would, in the short term, do more to relieve pressure on forest lands than any other single policy intervention or any conceivable level of investment in forest resource development.⁴

Given the political or institutional opposition to such reforms, the authors argued, political influence and increased financial resources (which could be made conditional on government support for policy reforms) would be needed.

The Global Possible paper also recommended that a task force of experts in forestry, agriculture, energy, and environmental matters be organized to review examples of "successful" projects in these areas and to formulate a program for building political commitment for the policy changes and increased investment necessary for more such projects. Many of the key areas for action were outlined in the Agenda for Action that emerged from the Global Possible Conference.⁵

How the "Call for Action" was Formulated

During the remainder of 1984, WRI organized an international task force that was convened for the first time in December 1984 jointly by WRI, the World Bank, and the UNDP.⁶ Over the next six

months, the task force researched the extent and magnitude of tropical deforestation, debated the actions needed to control the crisis, and reviewed "successes" in numerous priority program areas.⁷ The group circulated its draft report from June to September 1985 and WRI released it in October 1985.⁸

In its report, the task force argued that the continued destruction of tropical forests could be checked if sufficient political will could be mobilized and the resources found to carry out priority actions. More appropriate policies, better designed projects, and increased investment would be needed. In particular, 30 percent of the proposed investment (\$5.3 billion over 5 years in 56 countries) was earmarked for agriculture to provide farmers with an alternative to forest encroachment through increased support for land reform, sustainable farming practices, and other activities.

The task force's "Call for Action" was aimed primarily at national government leaders and development agency personnel. Its purpose was to build political awareness of what could be done, as well as of the consequences of inaction and, in the process, to increase aid flows and the allocation of development assistance to forest resources conservation and development. The report also noted that the increased investment should be used to expand NGOs' role in forestry and to encourage greater community participation in forest conservation and management.

The Hague Meeting of Forestry Advisors

In November 1985, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosted a meeting of forestry advisors from the aid agencies and representatives of developing countries to discuss how to maximize international forestry development cooperation in support of the TFAP and avoid duplication of efforts. By this time, the FAO Tropical Forestry Action Program and the report of the WRI Task Force had been reviewed, revised, and published. Each document proposed a number of similar actions based on successful experiences in development assistance in five closely related theme areas; both documents emerged as precursors of the TFAP.

Participants at the Hague meeting recommended that FAO's TFAP be accepted as the framework to guide future multilateral and bilateral development cooperation activities in tropical forestry and that the "global TFAP be translated into National TFAPs and programmes consistent with the orientation and framework of the global Plan and in harmony with national priorities and development plans . . ."⁹

The Hague meeting resolutions characterized the main cause of deforestation as "the urgent needs of growing populations for agricultural land and fuelwood" and noted the need for "massive plantations of forests and conservation measures," as well as for the "integration of forestry with agriculture." Participants stated that a "doubling of aid flow to tropical forestry and intensified care for high-quality aid-supported projects" were essential to starting the TFAP effectively.

To further the development of national TFAPs, the attendees recommended that "joint missions of government and aid agency experts be organized to review forestry development strategies and programme areas, identify priority areas for action and assistance needs, and formulate national TFAPs within which specific projects can be identified for further assistance."¹⁰ Separate notes were drafted on proposed objectives of the "forestry sector reviews" and on preliminary guidelines for selecting countries to be included in the TFAP.¹¹

The sector review objectives emphasized the need to review strategies for fighting deforestation more systematically, to insure that forestry is better represented in national development plans, to more accurately quantify the costs and benefits anticipated from accelerated assistance in forestry, to provide a framework for improving aid, and to coordinate aid more effectively. The forestry advisors further agreed to several considerations in planning sector review missions—among them, the likelihood of assistance following completion of the sector reviews, the receptivity of the host government, the extent of deforestation relative to existing levels of external assistance, and the availability of the information needed to identify projects. A proposal on support for NGO participation in the sector review was presented by WRI and IIED but not adopted.

NGO Workshops on the TFAP

Soon after the WRI "Call for Action" was released in October, 1985, WRI conferred with the Environment Liaison Centre (ELC) about the organization of regional workshops for NGOs with an interest in expanding their role in forestry. These workshops were intended to provide a forum for NGOs to comment on the Call for Action report, and to promote a dialogue on how to improve collaboration among NGOs, governments, and development assistance agencies in forestry efforts.¹²

The three regional workshops—convened in November 1986 and February 1987 in Nairobi, Panama City, and Bangkok—were attended by representatives of 65 national and 11 international NGOs, 18

national governments, and 13 development assistance agencies and other international organizations. These workshops explored the strengths and weaknesses of NGOs with a view to their expanding role in forestry and formulated a number of recommendations for funding and strengthening NGOs.

At the workshops, NGOs' concern about and interests in the TFAP were also identified. A number of NGOs felt that the TFAP should stress more integrated approaches, recognize and address the impact of external economic factors, target programs more carefully to meet the basic needs of the rural poor, and give more attention to forest conservation, sustainable forest management, land tenure, and the diversity of the NGO community.

To follow up on these workshops, WRI helped four NGO representatives prepare an NGO statement on tropical deforestation and recommendations for implementing the TFAP. The NGOs insisted on becoming full and equal partners in the TFAP planning process and in the plan's implementation.¹³

The Bellagio Strategy Meeting on Tropical Forests

In keeping with a concern about the need to build political awareness of the need for more effective action and accelerated investment to control tropical deforestation, a high-level conference was organized July 1–2, 1987, at the Bellagio Conference Center in Italy under the auspices of the FAO, the World Bank, the UNDP, WRI, and the Rockefeller Foundation.¹⁴

At this time, a new summary of the TFAP was published. It drew on both the earlier FAO Action Programme and the WRI/World Bank/UNDP Call for Action Report, and it incorporated a number of changes in response to criticisms of the earlier formulations of the "TFAP."¹⁵ However, the basic objectives and approach of the TFAP remained much the same: to overcome the perceived lack of political, financial, and institutional support for combating deforestation through a "common framework for action."¹⁶ The importance of broad participation in the TFAP by local communities and NGOs was also stressed in the 1987 TFAP booklet.

Organization of National TFAP Planning Exercises

Between the Hague meeting in 1985 and the Bellagio meeting in 1987, the organization of national forestry sector reviews proceeded in a dozen countries. At the same time, FAO elaborated more detailed "general terms of reference" and proposed

a schedule for preparing national TFAP missions. According to the initial terms of reference, the main purpose of the national TFAPs is to "optimize the contribution of the forestry sector to economic and social development in harmony with environmental considerations," while the expanded terms make it clear that specialists from NGOs can participate and proposed the analysis of the "fiscal, institutional, environmental and socio-economic policies of government relevant to tropical forests" and of "the role of local, non-governmental organizations in the management and the development of tropical forest resources."¹⁷

NOTES

1. *The Global Possible: Resources, Development and the New Century.* Convened by World Resources Institute May 2–5, 1984, Wye Plantation, Virginia, USA. The conference was convened to address the question: can the world reverse current resource and environmental deterioration while at the same time promoting a better quality of life for all and achieving a marked improvement in the living standards of the world's disadvantaged?
2. See Spears and Ayensu, 1984.
3. Spears and Ayensu, 1984. pp. 37–38.
4. Spears and Ayensu, 1984. p. 15.
5. See Appendix in Repetto, 1984.
6. The WRI Task Force included nine individuals with backgrounds in environmental conservation, land use, agriculture, industrial enterprises, forestry research, and development assistance.
7. *Fuelwood and Agroforestry, Land Use on Upland Watersheds, Industrial Forestry, Ecosystem Conservation, and Strengthening of Institutions for Research, Training and Extension.*
8. See draft report, "The World's Tropical Forests: A Call for Accelerated Action." WRI, June, 1985. 90 p.; and WRI, *Tropical Forests: A Call for Action.* Volumes 1–3, October, 1985. During the same period, the FAO drafted a booklet entitled, *Tropical Forestry Action Plan*, (FAO, Rome, 1985. 159 p.) which was circulated in July at the World Forestry Congress, and later published under the auspices of the FAO's Committee on Forest Development in the Tropics.
9. See recommendations #1 and #3 of the Hague Meeting, Nov. 20–22, 1985.
10. See recommendation #4 of the Hague meeting.
11. See proposals tabled at the Hague meeting.
12. See Peter Hazlewood, *Expanding the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in National Forestry Programs.* The Report of

Three Regional Workshops in Africa, Asia and Latin America. WRI and ELC, 1987.

13. See "Statement by NGOs to the Bellagio Strategy Meeting on Tropical Forests," June, 1987.
14. The 1987 Bellagio meeting brought together some 25 participants, including ministers of government, politicians, heads of aid agencies, representatives of the private sector and NGOs.
15. See booklet, *The Tropical Forestry Action Plan* prepared by FAO in cooperation with WRI, the World Bank and UNDP, June 1987.
16. FAO, 1987. pp. 6-7.
17. See Draft "Tropical Forestry Action Plan, National Tropical Forestry Action Plan Missions, Suggested General Terms of Reference." FAO, Rome, 1986.

APPENDIX 2

Underlying Causes of Tropical Deforestation

Many factors contribute to deforestation. (See *Table A.*) The complex nature of both direct and indirect causes has frustrated many simplistic attempts to curb deforestation. It is important, therefore, in an assessment of the TFAP, to recall the many relevant issues which must be addressed if the TFAP or any other program is to successfully control deforestation.

The principal factors responsible for tropical deforestation include the over-exploitation of forests and woodlands to meet growing domestic demand for fuelwood and other forest products, and continued encroachment into forest lands by landless farmers. High rates of population growth, as well as failed or inequitable development in the more densely settled, non-forested regions also contribute significantly to deforestation in many countries, by fueling the need to expand the area of cultivated land. In that respect, a failure to adopt sustainable agricultural practices and to rehabilitate land which has been degraded and depleted of its fertility by clearing, burning, overgrazing, contributes significantly to deforestation, by maintaining or increasing the pressure to convert remaining forest lands to cropland.

Commercial logging of remaining natural forests to maintain or increase timber exports to industrialized countries and to generate export earnings is another important cause of deforestation, both as a consequence of increased access to logged-over areas by landless farmers, and a failure to provide for long-term protection and regeneration of logged-over areas. The stimulus given to unsustainable industrial logging by such macroeconomic factors as tariff barriers, commodity prices, debt, and a lack of alternative means to generate export earnings in the short term also encourage deforestation in some countries.¹

Destruction of environmentally sustainable common property systems of resource management also leads to deforestation. For example, too often, national governments that assume ownership and control of forest lands ignore both ancestral claims on the land and the limited capacity of government agencies to actually manage or control access to these lands. In many cases, such "open access" sets the stage for accelerated resource overuse and degradation.² Governments have also been reluctant to

forego the short-term profits generated by current patterns of resource use. Political pressures, corruption, and the unrestrained influence of special interests are particularly apparent in the allocation of timber concessions and the control of logging operations. The reluctance of national governments to address the full range of social and political issues (particularly as they relate to the control and ownership of land) must be overcome if poverty and deforestation are to be reduced and equitable and sustainable community development stimulated.

Large-scale development assistance projects related to resettlement, mining, irrigation, energy, and transportation infrastructure also contribute to deforestation. Moreover, such projects often lack a full analysis of costs and benefits, and the trade-offs inherent in converting remaining areas of natural forest, and do not have sufficient measures to protect adjacent forest lands. Behind this abuse of the land and its people has been an emphasis by national governments, aid agencies, and private corporations on export-oriented ventures, and a corresponding inattention to the generation of sustainable, rural livelihoods based on ecologically sound farming methods.³

Weak institutional capacity—as reflected by shortages of well-trained people, insufficient information, environmentally and economically unsound policies, poor coordination among different agencies, and inadequate operational budgets—also inhibit the rational use of forest lands. Also, too many forestry Departments are weak, oriented strictly towards plantation establishment and timber extraction, and lacking the capacity needed to manage natural forests, and to support agroforestry and community forestry activities.

In short, the causes of deforestation are many and complex, and a formidable challenge to the framers and implementors of the Tropical Forestry Action Plan.

NOTES

1. See Appendix 4, case study on Ecuador TFAP.
2. See WRI working paper by Owen Lynch, 1990.
3. In many rural areas, government programs and development assistance projects have not led to sustained increases in income, employment, edu-

Table A. Major Underlying Causes of Deforestation and Proposed Responses

<i>Underlying Issues and Causes</i>	<i>Direct Causes of Deforestation</i>	<i>Proposed Responses</i>
Poor policies and incentives. Debt burden; macro-economic and trade inequities. Consumer demand in developed countries. Need for foreign exchange. Climate change and drought Shortages and inefficient use of fuelwood. Lack of alternatives to fuelwood. Shortages and lack of alternative sources of fodder. Rapid population growth. Increased demand for cropland. Inequitable land ownership patterns. Failure of agrarian reform. Insecure land tenure. Lack of support for sustainable agriculture. Poorly planned agricultural resettlement. Increased access along logging roads. Poorly planned, large scale development projects (e.g. transportation infrastructure, energy, mining, commercial agriculture, etc.) Land use conflicts. Export commodity/production focus of development projects. Short term profit-taking, corruption. Low level of development assistance in forestry, especially for forest protection. Weak institutional capacity. Poor inter-sectoral coordination. Lack of awareness of economic and environmental costs of deforestation and misuse of forest lands among political decision-makers.	Subsidies, tax breaks, fiscal policies and legislation which promote deforestation. Destructive commercial logging. Lack of forest management, poor regeneration and low rates of reforestation. Overexploitation of forests, woodlands, and farm trees for fuelwood, poles, other forest products. Neglect of traditional biomass fuels in energy sector assistance. Few incentives and weak extension for private tree-planting. Failure to sustain/encourage trees in farming systems. Overgrazing, repeated burning. Degradation of currently cropped land. Shortened fallows and increased consumption of forest land by shifting cultivators. Encroachment by landless farmers. Lack of community participation in development planning and project design. Erosion of traditional community controls over land use and communal resource management strategies. Displacement and disruption of indigenous forest dwellers. Ineffective protection and management of national parks, forest reserves, public forest lands. Low valuation of biological diversity. Faulty analysis of full costs and benefits of land conversion. Inattention to sustainability issues in economic development and natural resource use. Inadequate information base and monitoring of forest land use and forest resources. Inattention to forestry institutions. Low priority to forestry in development plans. Lack of investment in forestry.	Policy and institutional reform. Elimination of inefficient and destructive subsidies, tax breaks, etc. Incentives and support for improved forest management and improved forest utilization. Increased forestry research. High-yield plantations. Satisfaction of fuelwood demand by: Incentives for tree-planting by local communities and private sector; Agroforestry plantings and fuelwood plantations; Fuelwood conservation and increased access to fuelwood substitutes. Agrarian reform and more secure land tenure. Accelerated investment in sustainable agriculture, especially in areas adjacent to natural forests. Greater use of multi-purpose tree species. Redirect agricultural settlement to degraded (deforested) areas. More community participation. More support for forest conservation. Incorporate development concerns into conservation programs (buffer zone development around protected areas). Institution strengthening: Increased capacity for research, training and extension; Better data and monitoring of forest resources; Improved land use planning and inter-sectoral coordination. Increased awareness among decision-makers and greater political commitment to address deforestation issues. Improved coordination and effectiveness of development assistance. Accelerated investment in targeted areas.

cation and well-being because they have ignored the need of local communities to maintain or build a solid foundation based on agrarian reform, sound land use and resource-conserving agricultural and rural development technologies. Many “development” programs and projects have also tended to overlook what could be done to sustain the full range of traditional livelihoods. They also often fail to analyze the micro-level incentives which are needed to stimulate adoption of resource-conserving technologies by small-scale

farmers; as a result these farmers are forced to migrate into remaining forest areas and clear additional forest land. Development failures in rural areas, in turn, have contributed to uncontrolled expansion of urban areas, growing unemployment, overburdened urban services, environmental degradation and political instability in the cities. This has generated pressures to “resettle” the landless poor from the cities in the remaining areas of relatively less densely populated (but not unpopulated) forest lands.

APPENDIX 3

TFAP's Basic Principles

1. Declared political commitment at higher government levels.

2. Forestry policies which focus on meeting the needs of local people.

3. A visible role for forestry in national development plans with clear objectives.

4. Active involvement of local groups and communities in forestry activities, with a focus on women and on commonly shared resources.

5. Identification of problems requiring immediate action.

6. Monitoring and conserving the resource base and broadening the goods and services produced by forests.

7. Effective inter-agency coordination of policy, planning and implementation of activities such as agriculture, mining, energy, and commerce.

8. Increasing public and private, national and international investments to increase the production of goods and services from forestry.

9. An effective and increased support by the international community based on a concerted response to technical and financial assistance needs and priorities expressed by tropical countries in line with the principles of TFAP.¹

¹*Source:* FAO, "Note on the Basic Principles of the Tropical Forestry Action Plan. Annex 4 of the Summary Report on the 8th Meeting of the TFAP Forestry Advisors Meeting, Paris, May 9–12, 1989.

Note: The extent to which the TFAP has actually followed these principles, and the congruence of national strategies with the proposed objectives and strategic framework outlined by FAO has not, however, been systematically monitored or evaluated to date.

APPENDIX 4 Confronting the Cycle of Destruction: The TFAP for Ecuador

The forests that once covered Ecuador's mountain ranges are nearly gone, cleared by small farmers desperate for land; and the bare slopes reveal the ravages of soil erosion. Now the Amazonian forests are facing rapid destruction. Degradation of the productive coastal mangrove forests and estuaries has resulted from the drive to construct shrimp pools by an exigent mariculture industry. A population that is expected to double by the year 2020, and an economic crisis that includes a burgeoning foreign debt and rapid inflation also increase pressure on forest resources. Given these characteristics, common among many Latin American countries, Ecuador provides an instructive example of the interrelationship of economic, social, natural resources and environmental problems. Ecuador, in the midst of developing a national forestry action plan, also provides a revealing case study of applying the TFAP framework to confront the cycle of forest destruction.

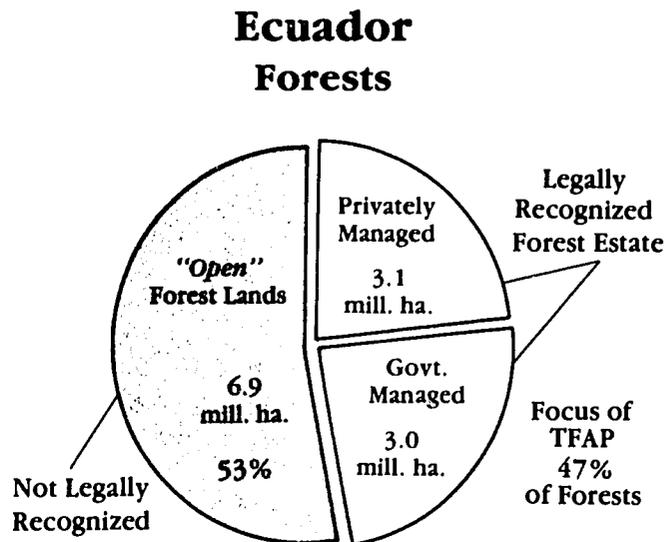
1. *The Invisible Forest of Ecuador*

Ecuador still has forests over approximately half of the country covering 13 million hectares, the majority in the Amazon region.¹ Data from FAO suggest that Ecuador is losing its forests at the rate of 2.4% per annum (340,000 ha/yr), the highest deforestation rate in South America.

Most of Ecuador's forests (6.9 million hectares) are "invisible," falling outside of the legally recognized forest estate. (See Figure 1.) Thus, these forests are considered "open" or "unoccupied" and labeled as "unproductive" lands in the public domain, subject to development under the Agrarian Reform and Colonization laws. This predicament demonstrates the compelling need for the TFAP/Ecuador to propose an alternative legal-policy framework that recognizes these "invisible" forests as an essential national asset.

The legally defined "public" forest estate (6.1 million hectares) is given varying degrees of protected status under the Forestry Law.² Of these forests, the government forestry department, DINAF, theoretically manages 3 million hectares. The remaining 3.1 million hectares of the public forest estate are leased through commercial concessions or managed by local communities under govern-

Figure 1.



ment-approved management plans.³ The current TFAP/Ecuador confines its strategy to this public forest estate, foregoing the opportunity to promote land use planning and management alternatives for the majority of Ecuador's tropical forests.

2. *The Invisible People of Ecuador*

Determining how many people live in, or are dependent upon, forest lands is essential to devising an adequate land use plan, such as the TFAP. Furthermore, the way people use the forest resources, as well as the population growth rates, largely determine land area requirements. For example, swidden agriculturalists may seem to require large areas of land, yet their extensive practices have traditionally been essential to maintaining long term forest cover. On the other hand, permanent conversion of forest lands to agriculture or pasture by colonists may require equally extensive areas, due to the exhaustion of the soil after a few seasons of intensive agriculture. This land may never return to productive use without forest cover. Official estimates indicate that 1.5 million hectares (15%) of the invisible forests of the Amazon region have been severely degraded and abandoned by colonists.⁴

Official census data show that indigenous popu-

lations account for approximately 26 percent of the Amazonian regional population. In contrast, indigenous organizations set the estimate at close to 40 percent.⁵ In any case, indigenous peoples hold legal title to only 3 percent of the region's land.⁶ There is a large overlap between what the Government labels as "open lands" and what indigenous peoples traditionally claim to be ancestral domain, areas vital to maintaining their forest-dependent livelihoods. Even when documented land titles are granted to indigenous peoples, these guarantee access to surface rights only; Ecuadorean law gives the government the right to exploit subsurface (petroleum and gold) and above surface (timber) resources, regardless of land ownership or designation.

The TFAP/Ecuador could still contribute significantly to the recognition of usufruct and guaranteed access to forest resources vital to the livelihoods of forest dependent peoples by promoting tenure to the above and/or below surface resources within protected areas. Such actions could ensure better management and the integrity of important conservation units such as Yasuní National Park, Cuyabeno Wildlife Refuge, Limoncocha Biological Reserve, the Awa and Huaorani Ethnic Forest Reserves.

3. Forest Policy and the TFAP/Ecuador

Uncontrolled logging in the northwest coastal and inter-Andean region contributes to deforestation by opening up previously inaccessible forests, which are then converted to other uses by the landless poor and agro-industry. In the Amazon region, timber harvesting is facilitated by roads and other necessary infrastructure left by petroleum exploration activities. Approximately two-thirds of the Amazonian forests, falling both in areas of the public forest estate as well as the invisible forests, are designated as commercial timber concessions.⁷ Management of these concessions is conceded to private industry. Two attempts to install long term timber concessions have failed because private industry did not implement management plans and carry out reforestation activities. The inability of the government to control spontaneous settlement in forests opened up for commercial logging has also exacerbated the problem.

Royalties paid to the government by private industry for timber are based upon flat harvesting-and-transport fees. These fees are based on the amount of wood actually harvested, regardless of species, size, or area. Log prices paid at the sawmill site are the same regardless of hauling distances. As such, this system does not account for the standing value of the forest, only those trees which are hauled out of the forest on the back of trucks. These policies en-

courage the harvesting of only the biggest and best trees in the forest.⁸

Timber harvesting is technically regulated through the approximately 4,000 harvesting and 25,000 transport licenses issued by DINAF every year.⁹ However, production data from the Forest Industries Association, AIMA, suggests that these licenses account for less than 50 percent of the actual timber harvest. Fees levied on timber contracts to guarantee reforestation are substantially lower than actual planting and maintenance costs. They place the burden of replanting on the government, not the concessionaire. As a result, of the 340,000 ha/yr deforested, only 6,000 ha/yr are reforested.¹⁰ Lastly, timber harvesting is overseen loosely by an understaffed division of government forestry inspectors relegated to police-style enforcement. These policies result in a tremendous waste of usable wood left in the forest, the loss of potential government revenues, and corruption.

Ecuador's forest policies fail to provide incentives for adopting careful logging practices which could minimize damage and promote long term sustainable management. The emerging TFAP/Ecuador strategy appears to constrain itself within these short-sighted policies and regulations governing timber harvesting. Any further investment in logging and wood processing, under the current forest policy framework, is likely to result in accelerated deforestation.

4. Nonforest Sector Policies and the TFAP/Ecuador

Colonization

Unable to resolve unequal land distribution politically in the densely populated regions of the country, the government encourages migration to the Amazon and northwestern coastal lowlands with lump-sum cash incentives and/or subsidized busing. The agrarian reform law encourages further forest destruction by requiring that at least 80 percent of new homesteads be put into "productive agricultural use" (meaning cleared of forests) within two years of settlement as a prerequisite to obtaining land title.¹¹ Colonists who fail to comply risk having their lands expropriated by the government and returned to the public domain open for "development."

The TFAP/Ecuador identifies shifting cultivators¹² in the Amazon region as the primary agents of deforestation, without a corresponding analysis of the socioeconomic factors driving their activities. The isolated projects proposed for other regions of the country provide a basis for a coherent national

strategy, that has yet to materialize, which could alleviate colonization pressures on the Amazon and coastal forests.

Land Ownership

Despite two attempts at agrarian reform, 66 percent of the nation's arable land is owned by 1.2 percent of the land owners, while 90 percent of farmers own fewer than 10 ha. each,¹³ representing 7.3 percent of the nation's arable land. Following the tradition of farm subdivision to accommodate a growing family, each subsequent generation has less land to farm. The concentration of holdings of agricultural lands as a hedge against runaway inflation, which peaked at 90 percent in 1988, further reduced the amount of arable land available to the rural poor. The TFAP/Ecuador strategy does not promote a more equitable distribution of agricultural lands or analyze land tenure problems contributing to the deforestation crisis.

Unequal land distribution, coupled with a population growing at the fastest rate in South America (2.6–2.9 percent),¹⁴ has given rise to a large class of landless poor who migrate to urban centers or the agricultural frontier. Many relocate to the Amazon Region, where conflicts abound between colonists and indigenous peoples over land. For example, in the Amazon region, approximately 23 percent of the land area is titled to colonists, 15 percent dedicated to National Parks and Reserves, 10 percent designated for "controlled colonization," 3 percent to indigenous communities while 49 percent is unclassified or "open" by default.¹⁵ Regional forestry programs under the TFAP/Ecuador could be strengthened substantially by adding a land titling component.

Those who do not migrate to the Amazon often cannot grow enough crops to feed their families; and men are forced to search for seasonal wage labor in the urban centers. Thus, over 50 percent of family farm work is done by women and children.¹⁶ Training programs proposed by the TFAP/Ecuador to improve Andean agroforestry and expand reforestation can be strengthened by including women and/or family units in their scope.

Agricultural Policy

Current agricultural policy promotes the production of export commodities to generate the foreign exchange desperately needed to service a foreign debt of US\$11.7 billion (1989), which represents more than 100 percent of the country's GNP. For example, in a 12-year period, the area dedicated

to export crop production such as soybean, African oil palm, sugar cane, and feed corn (for cattle) expanded 171 percent,¹⁷ largely into areas formerly covered by forests. This agro-industrial development in the Amazon Region was further benefited by a 10 year "tax holiday."¹⁸ In contrast, during the same period the area dedicated to such basic household crops as rice, beans, and potatoes, diminished by almost 26 percent. Pasture lands increased 100 percent from 1972 to 1982, from 2.2 million to 4.4 million hectares, into areas previously in food crop production or under forest cover. However, livestock production did not follow the same rate of growth, increasing only by a third (33 percent). This translates to a carrying capacity of only 0.7 head/ha. Currently, low-productivity pastures occupy approximately 75 percent of the total arable land in Ecuador.

The inappropriate use of the country's prime agricultural lands, for example, cattle grazing rather than basic crops, is a major factor contributing to the phenomena of the migrant farmer. The TFAP/Ecuador strategy can yet address this cycle of forest destruction by promoting more appropriate use of the country's prime agricultural lands as well as increasing productivity on marginal lands.

Petroleum and Mining

Petroleum exploration is the major influence on land use practices over half of the remaining forests in the Amazon region of Ecuador; approximately 3.5 million hectares of the public forest estate and invisible forests are currently under petroleum production.¹⁹ These extraction activities have opened access deep into the forests, paving the way for uncontrolled timber harvesting and spontaneous colonization by waves of migrant poor desperate for land. The government plans to open access to an additional 2 million hectares for petroleum exploration during the current five year national development plan.²⁰

Petroleum provides roughly 50 percent of Ecuador's export revenues, though this value is quickly slipping due to falling world prices and the rapid depletion of national oil reserves, which are expected to last for only another 15 years. Exploitation of mineral reserves (particularly gold) is expected to replace petroleum as Ecuador's main export commodity and produce 50 percent of foreign exchange by the year 2000. Most of the gold reserves are located along the flanks of the Andean mountain ranges, overlapping some of the most biologically rich forests in the world. For example, Podocarpus National Park in the southern province of Loja has 90

percent of its land area targeted for development as gold concessions, under control of the military and Ministry of Mines and Energy. Likewise, the Ethnic Forest Reserve of the Awa Indians, recently designated as one of the world's top ten "biological hot-spots," is likely to meet a similar fate.²¹

Shrimp Farming

The soils and minerals of the forests are not the only resources that are under increasing pressure to produce exports. The shrimp mariculture industry is second only to petroleum as Ecuador's most important export commodity, accounting for US\$387 million in foreign exchange for 1988 (equivalent to one third of the national debt). The rush to establish more commercial shrimp ponds destroyed 100,000 hectares of mangrove forests in the process.²² This destruction has led to numerous, displaced artisanal fishing communities, diminished fish catches, and provoked disruption of coastline protection provided by the mangrove forests.²³ Impacts of mangrove deforestation are not limited to local communities. Fifty percent of the commercial shrimp ponds installed during the 1980s have already fallen out of production, rendered useless by increased salinization (due to disruption of the environmental services provided by the former mangrove forests), and the declining availability of wild shrimp prawns used to stock commercial ponds.²⁴

The TFAP/Ecuador strategy does not assess the risks of the continued expansion of commercial shrimp production to the dwindling mangrove forests. Actions to counteract further degradation and mangrove forest loss are urgently needed such as promoting increased control over mangrove resources and marketing opportunities to artisanal fishermen communities and organizations directly dependent upon these resources for their livelihoods. Such actions supported at the local level could contribute substantially to slowing the cycle of mangrove forest destruction by vested commercial interests.

5. TFAP/Ecuador: Answering the Call for Action?

The emerging TFAP strategy for Ecuador so far appears to fall short in light of the rapid pace of deforestation. It has yet to unravel the complex causes of the forest destruction cycle. Strategies to promote agroforestry programs for colonists on the edge of the agricultural frontier, while an important part of the solution, represent only minor tinkering given that 75 percent of the country's arable land remains in low productivity pasture lands. The land-

less poor migrating to the Amazon Region, forced out of the Andean highlands due to inefficient land use patterns, are left no choice but to clear the forests in search of agricultural lands. To be effective, the TFAP/Ecuador strategy must address their concerns, and offer increased alternatives to the rural poor in their homelands. It will also require recognizing the "invisible" forests as an essential national asset and a more accurate account of how many people live in and around these critical areas.

The TFAP/Ecuador will offer few remedies to the cycle of forest destruction without curing the ills of deforestation by promoting a more equitable distribution of usufruct and land rights, and a more intensive use of prime agricultural lands in the Andean highlands and coastal lowlands. In addition, derailing the cycle of forest destruction will require a shift in the government policy of sponsoring migration to the "invisible" forests, facilitated by government-subsidized infrastructure put in place to further commercial extraction of the country's natural resources (petroleum, gold, timber and fisheries). Unless substantial actions are taken to amend these policies, increased investment in the forestry sector through the TFAP will be questionable at best and likely support, however unwittingly, the forces driving the cycle of forest destruction in Ecuador.

NOTES

1. As in many tropical countries, data on forest cover in Ecuador are imprecise and contradictory. Estimates used here are taken from: Republic of Ecuador, 1990, and Cabarle, et. al., 1989.
2. The Forest Estate is divided into government and privately managed forest lands. DINAF manages approximately 3 million hectares as parks and reserves. Private interests manage 3.1 million hectares, subdivided into protective forests and areas of forest patrimony. Protective forests, forested areas determined by the government as priority areas for conservation due to their unsuitability for agricultural activities, account for 1.5 million hectares. Forest patrimony, forest lands requiring government approved management plans for development within zones designated for colonization schemes, total 1.6 million hectares (limited to the Napo, Sucumbios, and Esmeraldas provinces).
3. While not covered under land use laws, concessions are largely administered by the Ministry of Mines and Energy which possess legal authority over petroleum and subsurface mineral rights. The various branches of the military also play an important role in the concessionary process.

4. Republic of Ecuador, 1990. This is a conservative estimate considering that over 2 million hectares have been titled to colonists in the Sucumbios and Napo provinces. Untold hectares more are undergoing spontaneous colonization in the other Amazonian provinces. Virtually all of these areas are devoid of closed forest.
5. Data from the 1982 census show that indigenous peoples accounted for 69,728 of the Amazon region's 263,797 inhabitants. Figures from *Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador*, by CONIAE, 1988, indicate that the 1982 census did not cover the entire region, and estimate that there are approximately 100,000 indigenous inhabitants.
6. World Bank, Country Department IV, 1989.
7. World Bank, *ibid.*
8. Cabarle, et. al., *op. cit.*
9. Poore, et al. 1989.
10. Cabarle, et al, *op. cit.*
11. See "Leyes de: Reforma agraria y reglamento; Colonización de la región Amazónica," (actualizada septiembre de 1989), especially title IV, chapter I, articles 41 and 48.
12. Shifting cultivators, also known as "slash-and-burn" agriculturalists, is a term often indiscriminately applied to migrant and/or marginalized poor, landless farmers as well as indigenous swidden agriculturalists. The TFAP/Ecuador does note the distinction between colonists and indigenous peoples.
13. See "Ley de colonización de la Región Amazónica," No. 2092, disposición general, article 38.
14. Landázuri y Jijón, 1988.
15. World Bank, *op. cit.*
16. COMUNIDEC y WRI, 1988, and Landázuri y Jijón, *op. cit.*
17. Data compiled from various annual and quarterly reports of the Central Bank of Ecuador.
18. See "Ley de colonización de la Región Amazónica," No. 2092, disposición general, article 38.
19. FCUNAE y COMUNIDEC, 1989.
20. The government hopes to finance these activities through a US\$100m loan being negotiated with the World Bank, and through foreign investment via a bidding process.
21. Lisa Naughton, 1989, personal communication.
22. Olsen, Stephen and Luís Arriaga, 1989.
23. COMUNIDEC, ACCEA y WRI, 1989.
24. Olsen and Arriaga, *op. cit.*

APPENDIX 5

Proposal for a New Management Structure for the TFAP

INTERNATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE

Premise: An independent group that is not dominated by forestry, development assistance agencies or commercial interests, and that is less sensitive to issues of "national sovereignty" than intergovernmental and public agencies is needed to fill the present void of oversight and control over the TFAP.

Representation: Members should include representatives of various interest groups with a stake in the future of tropical forests, such as indigenous peoples, rural populations in developing countries, national governments, scientists, and private enterprises. Interested like-minded groups could also constitute subcommittees, such as an "NGO Subcommittee" to facilitate consultation and outreach among these groups.

Mandate and Function:

- To establish or confirm the goals, objectives, guidelines and standards to be met in TFAP activities.
- To meet annually to review progress in preparing and implementing national TFAPs and all other activities aimed at achieving the goals of the TFAP.
- To periodically evaluate adherence to TFAP standards and guidelines as a condition of further endorsement of national planning exercises and implementation of the TFAP.
- To monitor the results of the TFAP, in terms of its stated goals and objectives, and to amend or adjust the TFAP goals, objectives, guidelines and standards, as appropriate.
- To review and approve the annual work plan and budget of the TFAP secretariat, and to provide oversight for the work of the secretariat and the use of TFAP Trust Fund monies.
- To report periodically on the results of TFAP activities and to clarify what is and is not being done as part of the TFAP (i.e., to control the use of the TFAP "label").

INTERNATIONAL TFAP SECRETARIAT

Premise: A coordinating unit with a full-time staff and adequate resources to function as a secretariat for the International Steering Committee and to support TFAP related activities on a day to day basis is needed; this secretariat must be considerably stronger than the current Coordinating Unit at FAO, and should be independent of the FAO.

Representation: Members should include a multi-disciplinary staff of administrators, and natural resource management and development professionals. An affiliated but independent "clearinghouse" charged with disseminating TFAP documentation upon request is also needed.

Mandate and Function:

- To serve as the secretariat for the International Steering Committee, to prepare appropriate reports, briefings, and to fulfill other tasks as directed by the Steering Committee.
- To respond to inquiries about the TFAP, and to liaise with national governments, aid agencies, NGOs, and other institutions on the establishment of national steering committees and the organization of TFAP activities (issues papers, roundtables, seminars, missions, etc.).
- To provide technical support for national TFAP exercises as needed to insure compliance with TFAP guidelines and standards.
- To encourage and support international cooperation within the framework of the TFAP, through the work of the International Steering Committee and the TFAP/Forestry Advisors Group.
- To administer the TFAP Trust Fund in support of regional, national, and local activities related to TFAP's goals and objectives.
- To support special studies, as needed, on the TFAP implementation and assessment.
- To monitor and periodically evaluate the accomplishments and impacts of the various activities

undertaken within the framework of the TFAP and to report on these results.

- To disseminate information about the TFAP: basic principles, goals and objectives, guidelines and standards, results of TFAP exercises, periodic assessments of lessons learned, TFAP reports, etc., and to liaise with other organizations and institutions involved in activities that affect tropical forests, including the International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO), the FAO Committee on Forestry, the Inter-governmental Committee on Forestry Development in the Tropics (CFDT), etc.
- To promote a better understanding among the general public of the complexities and consequences of tropical deforestation and the necessary actions and anticipated benefits of the sustainable development of tropical forests.

TFAP FORESTRY ADVISORS GROUP

Premise: Since its inception, the TFAP Forestry Advisors Group has proved to be a very useful means of promoting cooperation and information exchanges among development assistance agencies involved with the TFAP.

Representation: Members should include chief forestry advisors or others responsible for programming assistance in the forestry sector by the major aid agencies, as well as representatives of implementing agencies (government and NGO) involved with the TFAP.

Mandate and Function:

- To meet periodically on an informal basis to exchange information and to coordinate and harmonize efforts in support of the TFAP.
- To identify and make use of opportunities to improve the availability and use of human and financial resources for the conservation and sustainable development of tropical forests.
- To help mobilize appropriate support for the work of the International and National Steering Committees and corresponding TFAP secretariats.
- To liaise with the TFAP secretariat and the International and National Steering Committees of the TFAP in the monitoring and evaluation of the TFAP.

- To recommend to the TFAP secretariat and the International Steering Committee ways and means of improving the TFAP.

NATIONAL TFAP STEERING COMMITTEES

Premise: A national TFAP cannot be successfully prepared and implemented unless a broadly representative group of persons feels as though it “owns” and controls the process. Existing institutional structures (e.g. Forestry Dept.) generally lack the means to provide for the multi-sectoral approach, strategic analysis, broad participation and attention to policy reform and other changes in the political economy that are required in the TFAP process.

Representation: Members should include representatives of the communities most directly affected by the TFAP (forest dwellers) and the full array of institutions and organizations (public and private) that have a critical role to play in preparing and implementing the TFAP and in influencing the use of forest lands.

Mandate and Function:

- To foster agreement upon and generate support for full participation in the TFAP planning process.
- To help gather and analyze relevant information for the TFAP planning process.
- To guide the development of issues papers, terms of reference, analyses, field studies, reports, and proposals related to the TFAP.
- To support the decentralization of the TFAP planning process through mechanisms that favor consultation and decision-making at the community level.
- To develop a consensus on a comprehensive national strategy and integrated action plan for achieving the goals of the TFAP.
- To contribute to increased political support for policy reforms and other political and administrative decisions needed to implement the TFAP successfully.
- To help prepare and enact legislative reforms, policy revisions, human resources development plans, research proposals, reallocation of available funding, investment plans (for national and external as-

sistance), and the other actions needed to implement the national TFAP.

- To monitor progress with the implementation of the TFAP, to assess its impact, and to insure compliance with TFAP guidelines and standards with a view to promoting any corrective action necessary.
- To report on the results of the national TFAP process to the International Steering Committee and Secretariat, and other interested parties.

NATIONAL TFAP SECRETARIAT

Premise: The effectiveness of the National Steering Committee will depend on the participation of individuals who in most cases cannot devote themselves full-time to the TFAP process. This Committee will thus need to be supported by a full-time Secretariat, with appropriate staff and resources.

Representation: Members should include a relatively small multi-disciplinary staff of administrators, natural resource management specialists and development professionals.

Mandate and Function:

- To serve as the secretariat for the National Steering Committee and to prepare appropriate reports, briefings and fulfill other tasks as directed by the Steering Committee.
- To respond to inquiries about the TFAP and to liaise with government and aid agencies, NGOs and other institutions on the organization of TFAP related activities (issues papers, roundtables, seminars, missions, etc.) and the dissemination of TFAP reports.
- To prepare periodic reports for the National Steering Committee and International Secretariat on TFAP activities completed, under way, or planned.
- To support special studies, as needed, on the TFAP implementation and assessment.
- To help promote a better understanding among the general public of the complexities and consequences associated with tropical deforestation and of the necessary actions and anticipated benefits of the sustainable development of tropical forests.

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