# TRANSFORM DRUG POLICY FOUNDATION

# Annual Report 2010/11

www.tdpf.org.uk

# **Report from the Chair**

I must begin this year's report from the Chair of Trustees by thanking our outgoing Chair, Paul Crawford Walker.

Over the last three years, Paul guided Transform through major organisational changes and expansion, contributed enormously to the good governance and leadership of the organisation and did it all with good grace and good humour. We all wish him well in his retirement.

The last 12 months have seen the idea of a drug policy based on justice, human rights and sound evidence continue to move into the mainstream of political thinking both here in the UK and across the world.

At home we have seen arguments for regulation advanced by Transform informing discussion in the Green Party and Plaid Cymru, and the Liberal Democrats, a party of government, calling for a debate on the decriminalisation and regulation of prohibited drugs.

Abroad we have seen the success of decriminalisation in Portugal and a mature discussion of the results in the UK press. There have been more and more papers published calling for drug law reform, and we have seen leaders such as President Santos of Colombia and President Calderón of Mexico calling for serious debate on legalisation and regulation.

It's not just politicians that are calling for change; popular, progressive movements are also exerting influence. The Prop 19 ballot in California narrowly failed but engaged the public in the debate on regulated drug markets as never before; in Mexico, as violent deaths rise to sickening levels, public opinion is moving significantly towards support for a new legal framework for drugs; and NGOs, popular movements and charities all over the world are supporting projects like Count the Costs, as you will read below.

Transform has been at the heart of many of these events and processes. Briefings, public events, policy documents, blogs, tweets, interviews, phone-ins and receptions have seen our expert staff present with passion and precision a better way of managing our relationship with drugs. On behalf of the Board of Trustees I thank all of them for their hard work and dedication.



**Gary Wallace**, Chair of the Board of Trustees Drug and Alcohol Action Team (DAAT) Manager, Plymouth

# TRANSFORM DRUG POLICY FOUNDATION

# Our Vision

An end to the war on drugs and the establishment of effective and humane systems of drug regulation

## Our Mission

We will play a key role in bringing together a coalition of countries calling for drug law reform on the international stage by 2015

# Our Goals

Transform's medium-term goals are to:

• Reframe the drug policy debate by normalising and building trust in legal regulation with a range of audiences, using our key resources

• Support reform campaigners and undercut opponents by defining a formal process to count the costs and benefits of the war on drugs and compare them with alternative approaches at domestic and international levels

• Develop campaign strands to: a) unite drug law reform organisations, and b) convince mainstream NGOs in other sectors of the need for reform

• Build a caucus of progressive country governments and international bodies willing to publicly explore and advocate alternatives to the war on drugs

For over ten years Transform has been the only serious NGO in the UK to publicly advocate the legal regulation of all drugs. We have played a pivotal role in progressing the drug policy debate both at home and internationally. We remain unique in critiquing prohibition, describing a comprehensive vision of a postprohibition world, and laying out a strategic roadmap of how to get there

"Count the Costs, a serious alliance of NGOs, has produced a report outlining the costs of worldwide prohibition. It argues that drugs policy is fuelling conflict and violence by placing a hugely lucrative market (worth \$320 billion a year) in the hands of criminals."

#### Anushka Asthana

The Times July 2011

> "As someone who has been responsible for the UK's drug policy ... the campaign by Transform to use a call for evidencebased policy to widen the range of voices calling for reform ... is undoubtedly worthy of support."

### **Bob Ainsworth MP**

Former UK Drugs Minister December 2010

# Transforming the Drug Policy Climate

Throughout 2010-11 Transform remained at the centre of the global debate around drug law reform, initiating new projects, engaging with policymakers and helping to shape the media view.

### 1. Launch of the War on Drugs: Count the Costs initiative

This year Transform launched a new initiative, The War on Drugs: Count the Costs (www.countthecosts.org), with the specific intention of appealing to a broad church of NGOs both inside and outside the drug policy reform movement.

Marking the 50th anniversary of the war on drugs, Count the Costs is a collaborative, global project between a range of organisations that all share a desire to reduce the negative unintended consequences of the drug war.

Count the Costs assesses the negative impacts of the war on drugs under seven headings: international development and



security, human rights, criminal justice, the environment, health, stigma and discrimination and economics. Using briefings, videos, events and other activities, along with a new website that collates evidence of these harms, the initiative is reaching out to a wider NGO and public audience that has historically not engaged with the drugs issue.

By November 2011 over 50 organisations and coalitions from a range of sectors and countries had endorsed the project, including: The Howard League for Penal Reform, the UK Green Party, Make Justice Work, The Nossal Institute for Global Health, The International HIV/AIDS Alliance, Substance Misuse Management in General Practice, The Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network, Asuntos Del Sur and CUPIHD. Eight Count the Costs briefings will have been produced by the end of 2011, with the website and all the materials available in English, Spanish and Russian.

In November 2011 we hosted an event that for the first time brought

together drug law reform NGOs and major NGOs in the human rights, environment, international development and security sectors - such as Save the Children, Oxfam, PRI, IISS and Action Aid – to discuss the costs of, and alternatives to, prohibition.

The event featured presentations from the former President of Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and the former President of Switzerland, Ruth Dreifuss.



# 2. Taking forward the call for an impact assessment

For too long the debate around improving drug policy has been emotive, polarised and deadlocked. A useful way to determine the best mix of evidence-based drug policies is through an independent, neutral process that all stakeholders can support, because it does not commit anyone to a particular position in advance. One way to achieve this is through impact assessments of drug policy, at national and international levels, that compare the economic, environmental and social costs and benefits of existing policies with a range of alternatives.

Transform's campaign for an impact assessment of drug policy and legislation made significant progress this year. On the international stage, the European Commission announced it would start an impact assessment in 2011 on ways to control so-called "legal highs", including exploring decriminalisation and models of legal regulation.

"Transform's campaign for governments to count the costs of the war on drugs and explore alternatives deserves support – laying out the evidence in this way is a crucial first step to delivering political change. I particularly welcome moves to mainstream the drug law reform debate to groups working in all the other sectors affected by drug policy that should, but don't, speak out on this issue."

### **Caroline Lucas MP**

Leader, UK Green Party January 2011 "I feel like finishing my presidency on a controversial note. I personally back the chairman of the UK Bar Council, Nicholas Green QC, when he calls for drug laws to be reconsidered with a view to decriminalising illicit drugs use.

This could drastically reduce crime and improve health. Drugs should still be regulated, and the argument for decriminalising them is clearly made by [Transform's] Stephen Rolles in the latest edition of the British Medical Journal."

#### Professor Sir Ian Gilmore

President of the Royal College of Physicians August 2010 In the UK, we worked with a broad range of parliamentarians and saw calls for an impact assessment made in both public debates and the media. An amendment to a parliamentary bill was also tabled as a first step towards requiring an impact assessment of our primary drug legislation, and, most significantly, we helped to draft a motion that the Liberal Democrats voted overwhelmingly in favour of at their annual conference. As a result, for the first time, delivering an impact assessment of the Misuse of Drugs Act is official policy of a government party.

This work has meant that the list of influential figures now openly supporting an impact assessment of drug policy continues to grow. The list currently includes, among others, Professor David Nutt, Green Party leader Caroline Lucas MP, Professor Neil McKeganey, Lord Norton, Lord Taverne, and former Conservative Party deputy leader Peter Lilley MP.

### 3. Publications

Transform has produced a broad range of publications including:

• A commissioned paper, 'Alternatives to the War on Drugs', was published in the British Medical Journal. The article is one of the first detailed explorations of legal regulatory models for the control of drugs to appear in such a prestigious medical journal



• Five briefings for the Count the Costs initiative, comprehensively covering the unintended costs of the war on drugs, which have also been translated into Spanish and Russian

• Two papers on the impacts of the drug war on security: 'International security and the global War on Drugs – the tragic irony of drug securitisation' and 'Drug Policy that promotes security – the paradox of de-securitisation'

• A chapter for the book 'Children of the Drug War' considering the potential impacts of drug law reform on children and young people

• An article in The International Journal of Drug Policy, written by Transform's Senior Policy Analyst, Steve Rolles, and Dr. Fiona Measham, an academic and member of the ACMD, which critiqued Professor David Nutt's high-profile Lancet paper on drug harms

• 'After the War on Drugs: Blueprint for Regulation' was translated into Italian and Spanish. The latter features a new foreword by former president of Colombia César Gaviria and will be printed and disseminated across Latin America



# 4. Shaping the media debate



Over the past year Transform has continued to be the first port of call for media analysis and comment on drug policy reform. Most notably, Transform dealt with the media for the UK launch of the landmark report from the Global Commission on Drug Policy *(see box on page 8)*.

As a result of this and other stories, Transform staff were quoted in all the major UK newspapers; made appearances on numerous regional and national radio stations including BBC Radio 1, BBC Radio 4's Today Programme, BBC Radio 5, and Talksport; and gave television interviews on, among others, BBC News, Sky News, CNN and Al-Jazeera.

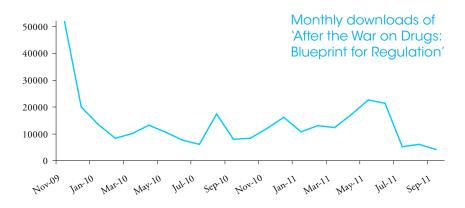
We have also seen a major change in the editorial line of many newspapers worldwide. In the UK alone The Times, The Observer, The Independent, The Guardian, The Scottish Herald, The Daily Record and The People have all carried leading articles calling for end to the war on drugs and an exploration of alternatives – including regulation.

The Transform website and blog attract 15-20,000 visitors a month, with our publications being widely viewed. Our groundbreaking book 'After the War on Drugs: Blueprint for Regulation' was

"The world needs, and deserves, a control regime that is not corrupt, that has genuine integrity - that is sound, complete and whole - that is democratic, and delivers security, development and health within a human rights framework. I am realistic. I believe it could take another ten years to turn this 'Blueprint' into reality. It is a tragedy that in the next decade many thousands more will die using dirty drugs or trying to stop, or fighting over the spoils of, the illegal trade."

### César Gaviria

Former President of Colombia, Foreword to the Spanish translation of `After the War on Drugs: Blueprint for Regulation' September 2011 downloaded 160,000 times from September 2010 to September 2011 alone – and over 316,000 times since its publication.



Transform's social media following is also growing rapidly, with over 3,700 people now following our Twitter feed.

# twitter

twitter.com/TransformDrugs

### facebook

facebook.com/transformdrugpolicyfoundation

# 5. Centre of Drug Policy Expertise

Transform provides unique drug policy advice and expertise to influential public figures, the media and other organisations. Over the course of the year this work has included:

• Providing briefings to a range of public figures choosing to engage in the drug law reform debate for the first time, including Bob Ainsworth MP, former Home Office Drugs Minister and Secretary of State for Defence, and Professor Sir Ian Gilmore, former President of the Royal College of Physicians

• Advising and providing materials for the Global Commission on Drug Policy

- Expert consultation with a range of UK political parties
- Advising and producing work for the British Medical Association

"From the moment I began to investigate the issues in this country it was absolutely clear that Transform were at the heart of the argument."

### **Angus Macqueen**

award-winning film maker and director of the Channel 4 series 'Our Drugs War' October 2010 • Advising the International Institute for Strategic Studies on the need to engage with the security issues relating to drug law enforcement. IISS now runs seminars for diplomats on the subject

• Joining the steering group of the International Drug Policy Consortium

• Feeding into a review of the Netherlands' drug classification system via the UK's Dutch embassy

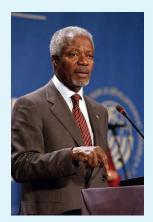
## The Global Commission on Drug Policy

The report from the Global Commission on Drug Policy was the single biggest drug-related media event in 2010-11, because of its

call for the decriminalisation of the possession of drugs and for models of legal regulation to be trialled. The report continues to be cited worldwide and has proved hugely influential in helping to prompt an informed, sciencebased discussion about humane and effective ways to reduce the harm caused by drugs to people and societies.



Among the commissioners are former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, former Colombian President César Gaviria, former Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, former US



Secretary of State George Shultz, former Chairman of the US Federal Reserve Paul Volcker, former Swiss President Ruth Dreifuss and the current Prime Minister of Greece, George Papandreou. The report was also later endorsed by former US President Jimmy Carter and many other notable public figures.

"Begin the transformation of the global drug prohibition regime. Replace drug policies and strategies driven by ideology and political convenience with fiscally responsible policies and strategies grounded in science, health, security and human rights ...

Ensure that the international conventions are interpreted and/ or revised to accommodate robust experimentation with harm reduction, decriminalisation and legal regulatory policies.

Break the taboo on debate and reform. The time for action is now."

Report of the Global Commission on Drug Policy June 2011

### Finances

Income	£
Total incoming resources	230,412
Expenditure	
Salaries	148,446
Other direct charitable expenditure	71,466
Administrative and accountancy expenses	9,793
Total resources expended	229,705
Net (deficit)	707
Total funds as of 01/04/10	75,165
Total funds as of 31/03/11	105,014

### Transform funders

We would like to express gratitude to all the individual donors and charitable trusts that have supported our work over the last twelve months. We are particularly grateful to our major donors Henry Hoare and Ken Aylmer and the following trusts:

- The Open Society Foundations
- The Allen Lane Foundation
- The Esmée Fairbairn
  Foundation
- The Linnet Trust
- The Glass House Trust

# 6. Events

### **Annual Reception**

In October 2010 we organised a reception in London with the following speakers:

• **Misha Glenny**, award-winning broadcaster and author of 'McMafia'

• **Carel Edwards**, former head of the European Commission's Anti-Drug Coordinating Unit

• Angus McQueen, award-winning film maker and director of the Channel 4 series 'Our Drugs War'



This year Transform staff participated in numerous conferences and increasingly important events all over the world. Below are some of the highlights.

• The Count the Costs initiative was launched at an event at the 2011 United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs in Vienna, with parallel events in Portugal, Bulgaria, Romania and Mexico

• We participated in the expert advisory group of the United Nations Development Programme's Global Commission on HIV and the Law

• We acted as consultants for two workshops held by the International Institute for Strategic Studies on the impacts of the drug war on international security

• We spoke at an event on drug law reform at the New York City Bar Association

• Transform and IDPC cohosted a week-long program of events in the Drug Policy Networking Zone at the 18th International AIDS Conference in Vienna, attended by 25,000 delegates



# The future

This year Transform's focus has been to work in collaboration with a range of partner organisations, and to gather evidence of the costs of the war on drugs in one place, creating brief, accessible publications that summarise those costs in targeted areas of interest. The next few years will see us building on this resource, taking the evidence out to more and more mainstream organisations, including businesses, making it easier for them to understand the connections between their work and prohibition, and introducing them to the range of alternative options.

This work will see our Count the Costs campaign and our plans to promote models of legal regulation dovetailing even more closely than before. It will also require an increase in our international reach, as we bring our resources, skills and expertise to the geographical areas most likely to engage with drug policy reform, as well as to those in positions of most influence.

We also intend to expand our role as a Centre of Drug Policy Expertise. This year more than any other we have been called upon to assist individuals and organisations that support reform publicly and need our expert advice as they field tricky questions from the press, explain their positions to their stakeholders or develop organisational policy positions.

To deliver our planned projects, and replace a source of funding that runs out in April 2011, we have embarked on an intensive fundraising effort. In light of the dramatically changed climate around the issue of legal regulation, we are approaching funders that have previously refused to support drug law reform.

With the right resources in place, Transform will continue harnessing our unique expertise, contacts, resources and experience, to play a critical, leading role in the UK and global drug law reform movement, laying the foundation for a new era of just, effective and humane drug policy.

### Board

Transform is a charitable foundation overseen by a board of trustees:

**Chair:** Gary Wallace (appointed 11.07.11) Former: Paul Crawford Walker (resigned 11.07.11)

Vice Chair: Neil Anderson (appointed 11.07.11)

**Treasurer:** Nina Edmonds Former: Nathalie Griffin (resigned 31.03.11)

Mike Jay Axel Klein James Varty Lawrie Jones Jolene Crawford (appointed 01.01.11) Nalin Jay (appointed 01.09.10) Paul Birch (appointed 11.07.11) Tim Malyon (resigned 01.05.11)



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Transform Drug Policy Foundation is a registered charity (no. 1100518) and a limited company (no. 4862177)