

TRANSFORM
DRUG POLICY FOUNDATION

ANNUAL REPORT

2005

MISSION AND ACTIVITIES

OUR MISSION

Transform Drug Policy Foundation exists to minimise drug-related harm to individuals and communities by bringing about a just, humane and effective system to regulate and control drugs at national and international levels.

OUR ACTIVITIES

- Carrying out research, policy analysis and innovative policy development
- Challenging government to demonstrate rational, fact-based evidence to support its policies and expenditure
- Promoting alternative, evidence-based policies to parliamentarians, government and government agencies
- Advising non-governmental organisations whose work is affected by drugs in developing drug policies appropriate to their own mission and objectives
- Providing an informed, rational and clear voice in the public and media debate on UK and international drug policy

OUR VISION

- **Social justice:** restoration of human rights and dignity to the marginalised and disadvantaged, and regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods
- **Reduced social costs:** an end to the largest cause of acquisitive crime and street prostitution, and consequent falls in the non-violent prison population
- **Reduced serious crime:** dramatic curtailment of opportunities and incentives for organised and violent crime
- **Public finances:** the financial benefits of discontinued drug enforcement expenditure and the taxation of regulated drugs
- **Public health:** creation of an environment in which drug use can be managed and drug users can lead healthier lives
- **Ethics:** adherence to ethical standards and principles, including fair trade, in the manufacture, supply and distribution of drugs
- **Reduced war and conflict:** an end to the illegal drug trade's contribution to conflict and political instability in producer and transit countries

TRUSTEES

Mike Jay (chair): Broadcaster, historian, and author. Books include 'Emperors of Dreams: Drugs in the Nineteenth Century'; editor of the Penguin anthology of drug literature, 'Artificial Paradises'.

Tim Malyon: Journalist and radio broadcaster. Former trustee for Exeter Drugs Project and Release.

Mark Humphries: Financial services management career including Am-Ex, TSB and the AA. Currently Investment Innovations Manager at AXA Life. (stepped down Sept 05).

Emily Spink: Criminal defence solicitor from Bristol.

Henry Shaftoe: Senior lecturer in Community Safety and Crime Prevention at the University of the West of England.

John Cooper: Founder of the Lifebuoy Charitable Trust, former rural front line Police Officer. Chair of the Ross-on-Wye Drug Forum.

Rowan Miller, Vicky Jones, Norman Marshall, Ian Sherwood and Nina Jefferson stepped down as trustees during 2004-5.

The following have joined the board since April 2005:
Matt Dymond and Axel Klein.

CONTENTS

Mission and Activities	2
Report from the Chair	4
Report from the Director	5
Parliament and Whitehall	6-8
Working with the Non-Government Sector	9
'After The War On Drugs – Options For Control'	10
What the Government doesn't want you to know	11-12
Media and Public Debate	13-15
Patrons and Supporters	16-17
Financial Report	18

TRANSFORM STAFF



Danny Kushlick
Director



Fran Kellett
Office Manager



Steve Rolles
Information Officer

REPORT FROM THE CHAIR

MIKE JAY



In 2002 Transform achieved charitable status as the Transform Drug Policy Foundation, a transition that reflected the changing world in which we were operating. In our original incarnation as a grassroots campaigning organisation, our mission had been to raise debate in an intensely hostile political environment, where criticism of the status quo was typically denounced as 'sending the wrong message to young people', and suppressed by government and media alike. In repositioning ourselves as a policy think-tank, we were reflecting the transformation that was taking place around us: as the failure of current drug policy was increasingly widely acknowledged, so it was becoming increasingly urgent to develop plausible and detailed alternatives to prohibition and the criminal market it sustains. In this new climate we felt our role was no longer to criticise from the margins, but to engage constructively at the heart of the debate.

It was the right decision. Today we find ourselves working closely with ever more sections of the media, the charitable sector and the civil service - and even some government departments - who are seeking to put flesh on the bones of an alternative vision where today's failed drugs policy is replaced by a regime of control and regulation. As ever more mainstream organisations, in the drugs field and beyond, have shifted towards Transform's position, our history of speaking out against the systemic and long-term failures of prohibition has given us rare credibility in the drug policy field. The suppressed report from the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, leaked to the press in July of this year (see p.10), confirms that even the Government's own advisers privately accept our analysis of their policy's fundamental flaws.

As the drug policy debate accelerates, Transform's output has become increasingly visible and influential within it. Our policy briefings have informed much of the last two years' media coverage of drug issues, the reports by bodies such as the Royal Society of Arts and the scrutiny of new drug laws by Home Affairs Select Committees. Our website, on which these contributions are archived,

has become an indispensable resource across the drugs sector. Our most substantial report to date, *After the War on Drugs: Options for Control* (2004) was launched in the House of Commons to cross-party political acclaim and extensive media coverage, and has dramatically raised our profile - particularly on the world stage, where it has been translated into several languages and hailed as a major contribution to international policy reform.

All this has been made possible by a core group of donors whose funding has given us a degree of financial stability that we have lacked in the past, and which has enabled us to focus on establishing ourselves as an organisation who will be here for the long haul of replacing drug prohibition with a just and effective alternative. We have also benefited enormously from our donors' commitment to working closely with us on our organisational strategy, and helping us to target our resources with maximum effectiveness.

We still face a pressing need to expand both our funding base and our capacity to meet the challenges that lie ahead as the crisis in global drug policy becomes ever more apparent. We have already been able to acquire a larger office and to take on an office manager, Fran Kellett, whose skills and dedication have made a huge difference to our productivity. Our growing network of volunteers, and a new part-time staff member, are poised to increase our capacity still further in 2006.

An expanding operation makes extra demands on governance, and I am delighted to welcome new members to our board as well as offering a heartfelt thanks to our departing trustees. John Cooper, Henry Shaftoe and Emily Spink join long-term trustees Tim Malyon and myself, bringing valuable expertise in many fields including charity administration, social policy studies and criminal law. We are all excited and honoured to be overseeing the next stage of Transform's journey.



REPORT FROM THE DIRECTOR

DANNY KUSHLICK

As Transform enters its second decade of campaigning, there exists a high level of dissonance between drug policy debate and the direction of drugs legislation. For the first time, 2005 saw a columnist in *The Sun* (yes, *The Sun*) call for a serious debate on the benefits of drug legalisation. However, the forcing through of the Drugs Act 2005, despite universal criticism, amply demonstrated the failure of Government to engage with this debate. Considered widely to be one of the most misconceived and badly drafted pieces of legislation of recent times, it was mauled by every Parliamentary Committee that scrutinised it (see p.8).

Arguably Transform's biggest achievement has been to put drug law reform centre stage on the mainstream political agenda. By firmly establishing ourselves as a coherent and credible source of policy analysis we have gained access to the national media, been welcomed into a variety of NGO policy forums and opened doors for frank discussions with key figures in Parliament and Whitehall that would never have been possible when the organisation was established back in 1996.

In the political world a similar transformation has been taking place. Political figures who now openly support substantive drug law reform are no longer confined to the back benches. They include Tory party leadership contender (David Cameron), the leader of the Liberal Democrat MEPs (Chris Davies) and a former Labour Minister (the late Mo Mowlam). The cross-party nature of this support is particularly heartwarming. These individuals join a growing role call of senior police (including chief constables), leading academics, medical experts, judges and barristers in calling for reform.

So, what of the future? Transform's star continues to rise in inverse ratio to the waning of prohibition's. In response

to popular demand, we have in development a follow up to 'After the War on Drugs' that aims to provide a much more detailed blueprint of how newly legally regulated drugs would be produced and distributed. We are planning a collaboration with an academic institution to examine the links between prohibition and crime. We will exploit the brief window of opportunity that opens after a general election to engage with the main political parties and parliamentary committees. We will continue to expand our partnership work with NGOs, domestic and international, and to brief journalists on topical news stories.

None of this would be possible without the loyal and generous support of our donors (both individuals and trusts) and the untiring work of our trustees and paid and volunteer staff – Thank you from the bottom of our hearts. Thanks also to those in Parliament, the press, statutory sector and in the NGO world who have supported Transform over the last decade. However, despite their unstinting work, Transform is still operating with less than half the staff that we would wish but we are confident that 2006 will bring us the resources that will enable us to fulfill our remit in all of our key campaigning areas.

Transform is on schedule to achieve its mission by 2020 and, whilst UK policy (despite Mr Blair's protestations about not having a reverse gear) is going backwards, in the wider world the writing is on the wall for prohibition. Prohibition is down but not out. The countdown continues and the goal of a regulated drug market becomes more of a reality with each passing day. Transform remains at the forefront of reporting prohibition's ongoing demise and offers an increasingly credible vision of its replacement.

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PARLIAMENT & WHITEHALL



Drug policy has remained high on the political agenda with an ever growing roll call of policy makers calling for reform. Whitehall policy developments have, overall, been a case of one step forward, two steps back. Some small progress with cannabis reclassification was later overshadowed by the ill thought out populist enforcement measures in 2005's Drug Bill.

By contrast, Transform's progress has been all positive: informing and stimulating the ongoing debate, and promoting reform across a wide variety of increasingly high level Parliamentary and Whitehall forums. Transform received a significant helping hand from an unlikely quarter: the Prime Minister, who commissioned a report from the Number 10 Strategy Unit into the global drug problem. What emerged (after being leaked to the media) was a devastating 105 page critique of the failings of the Drug War (see p.10).

WHITEHALL BRIEFINGS

Transform's rising profile and credibility has led to increasing requests from parliamentarians for personal briefings. These have come from both Houses and from all major parties. Transform briefings and news alerts are also routinely circulated to MPs, Peers and key civil servants.

Transform representatives have had meetings with key policy makers in the Home Office Drug Strategy Directorate, the Treasury and with representatives of all major political parties.

CONSULTATIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

Transform has provided detailed written submissions to the various Government consultations (all available online) including:

- Home Office consultation on prostitution – (2004)
- Home Office consultation on ketamine classification – (2005)

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

In January 2004 cannabis was reclassified from class B to class C. Penalties for supply of class C drugs were increased to class B levels (also affecting other class C drugs). In March 2004 this decision to reclassify cannabis was referred back to the Advisory Council for the Misuse of Drugs for review, who at time of writing seem likely to reject any reversal.

The Drugs Bill 2005 was enacted shortly before the 2005 General Election. It contained a raft of different enforcement measures including:

- Mandatory drug testing on arrest (formerly on charge) for certain trigger offences, and mandatory treatment referrals for positives (on pain of imprisonment)
- A presumption of guilt for drug supply if individuals are found in possession of over a specific amount of a given drug
- Making dealing outside schools an aggravating factor in sentencing (despite the fact it already was)
- Making fresh magic mushrooms (formerly legal) a class A drug
- Increasing powers for holding and searching suspected drug swallows
- Repealing the 2001 reforms to section 8 of the Misuse of Drugs Act

In Autumn 2005 ketamine (formerly legal) was made a class C drug

(visit www.tdpf.org.uk for details)

PARLIAMENT & WHITEHALL



- Home Office/ACMD consultation on cannabis re-classification (Transform also gave oral evidence)
- Transform submitted a briefing document to the Home Office on magic mushroom policy, before the recent changes in the law on magic mushrooms were announced (No formal consultation was undertaken on this issue)
- Transform undertook a paid consultation for the Home Office (on cannabis policy)
- Transform have used supportive MPs to table Early Day Motions as well as numerous Parliamentary Questions to ministers

'OPTIONS FOR CONTROL' SEMINAR IN PORTCULLIS HOUSE

In October 2004 Transform hosted a seminar to launch the new report – 'After the War on Drugs - Options for Control' (see p.12) in Portcullis House. The event (pictured) was Chaired by Guardian Columnist Polly Toynbee, and featured a distinguished panel of speakers:

- Paul Flynn MP - (Lab) Vice Chairman, All Party Group on Drug Misuse
- Simon Jenkins - Former Editor of The Times; columnist, The Times, The London Evening Standard, The Guardian
- Oona King MP - Former MP (Lab) (as of May 2005) and Parliamentary Private Secretary to Patricia Hewitt, Department of Trade and Industry
- Lord Benjamin Mancroft - (Con) Chairman, Mentor UK
- Baroness Vivien Stern - Senior Research Fellow at the International Centre for Prison Studies
- Chris White - Former Inspector and Drugs Co-ordinator, Tayside Police

The event was attended by over 150 academics, representatives of leading NGOs, MPs and peers, as well as representatives from the Home Office, HM Treasury, and the Number 10 Strategy Unit.

The event was covered in the Daily Mirror and the Guardian newspapers, a story that was subsequently picked up as far afield as Peru.



MO MOWLAM

The former minister (with the drugs brief) was a long time advocate of drug law reform, although she only went public with her views when she stepped down from office. She also managed, with failing health to write a book with her husband calling for a thorough re-think of the current 'war on drugs'. As a long-time friend and supporter of Transform, she will be sorely missed.



Danny Kushlick meeting Mo Mowlam, MP and Cabinet Minister, 2000.



ALL WASHED UP

DRUGS BILL 2005

In the 2004 Queens Speech the Government announced the first details of the Drugs Bill. It contained a range of 'tough' enforcement measures and was immediately met with shock and disappointment by the drugs field (including Drugscope, Turning Point, Release, and Transform), and a number of criminal justice and human rights NGOs (including Liberty, The Law Society and JUSTICE). A wide range of objections was raised about the human rights implications, practical difficulties and potential counter-productivity of many of the Bill's clauses, as well as the almost complete lack of consultation in its development. Their consensus was that the Bill did not reflect the needs of the drugs field or the direction of thinking amongst NGOs, academics and parliamentarians - that policy should be focusing more on health than enforcement. The Bill had a distinct feel of pre-election 'tough on crime' populism.

The Bill became the focus of Transform's parliamentary work for the first half of 2005. Transform assumed the lead role in campaigning against the Bill, organising an informal grouping of concerned NGOs, providing online resources, and producing widely circulated joint public statement with leading drug agency Release. A detailed clause by clause critique of the Bill was also produced and disseminated to MPs, being quoted in both Commons and Lords debates on the Bill, as well as being cited to the Home Office Minister no less than 17 times in the Standing Committee phase of the Bill's scrutiny.

Despite the numerous objections, the Bill was eventually passed during the 'wash up' week before parliament was dissolved, in which the main parties agree which outstanding Bills will be enacted and which will fall. The opposition parties, not wanting to rock the boat on such a contentious issue just before the elections, allowed the Bill to pass despite their objections.

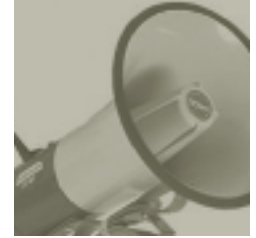
Whilst much of the Bill will make little difference (or never be implemented) and is only a politically-led 'blip' on an otherwise generally positive trajectory for parliamentary debate and policy making, it is undoubtedly a step backwards. On a more positive note the scrutiny of the Bill allowed Transform to engage policy makers as never before, providing an opportunity to show our abilities and win over many key figures with our analysis.

One of the only elements of the Bill to have a thorough consultation is the repeal of reforms to section 8 of the Misuse of Drugs Act (clause 23). These reforms were initially rushed through Parliament (without widespread consultation) as part of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001, and sought to extend powers to prosecute individuals for permitting the consumption of controlled drugs on their premises. At the time they were portrayed as 'tough' measures to enable police to shut down crack houses. Unfortunately the change also jeopardised the work of thousands of agencies and individuals who worked with problematic drug users, and unsurprisingly there was massive resistance to the change. In a belated response, a consultation was convened, with 102 out of the 104 responses received being opposed to the change.

It is symptomatic of the drug policy making process in recent years that the only clause in the new Bill to have had a widespread consultation is one that repeals a previous piece of ill-thought-out, populist 'tough on drugs' policy making.



WORKING WITH THE NON-GOVERNMENT SECTOR



The Non-Government sector is a key audience for Transform: drug service providers, police and criminal justice organisations, academics, and policy think tanks all have a vital role to play in developing more effective policy responses to the current crisis. Transform continues to inform and encourage such agencies to take a proactive role in the debate. We provide speakers for events, tailored briefings and analysis, and offer free assistance in developing coherent policy positions.

CREATING NEW FORUMS

For many individuals and organisations, openly discussing, let alone advocating, drug law reform remains taboo. Decades of entrenched drug war thinking still creates a considerable obstacle to open debate. Transform has worked hard to create an environment in which policy and law reform can be freely and rationally discussed.

We have been organising seminars and round table events that have brought key figures in drug policy together to discuss reform for the first time in the UK. Academics, police, drugs workers, NGO leaders, parliamentarians and Home Office representatives have sat down to share ideas and discuss ways forward. These efforts have been facilitated by Transform's rational and evidence based approach to policy analysis. By avoiding ideology and focusing on evidence of effectiveness we have been able to remove the emotive elements of the debate and focus on what works, critiquing current failings and examining policy alternatives.

Transform has found doors opening in a range of new arenas, accepting invitations to address conferences organised by, amongst others: The Association of Nurses in Substance Abuse (ANSA), The International Harm Reduction Association, The Communication Workers Union and the Home Office. We have also provided written and oral briefings for the Royal Society of Arts Drugs commission, become regular guest lecturers on the Imperial College drug policy Masters course and

joined a range of multi agency forums including The Penal Affairs Consortium and ASBO Concern.

'OPTIONS FOR CONTROL' SEMINAR SERIES

Transform, working in partnership with The Mannheim Centre for the Study of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the London School of Economics (LSE), organised a series of one day seminars for thirty leading figures in drug policy, from the UK and Europe. The seminars were held at LSE under Chatham House rules - allowing open and frank discussion of drug law reform and, for the first time, specifically looking at how legally regulated drug markets might operate in practice, and the political obstacles to achieving this goal. The seminar was attended by MPs and peers, the Home Office Drug Strategy Unit, senior police and criminal justice academics, as well as NGO representatives from across the drugs field.

INTERNATIONAL

Transform is part of a wider community of NGOs around the world concerned with drug policy reform. Our recent successes, in particular the new website and publications including the 'Options for Control' report (now translated into Spanish and Portuguese), have brought us a wider international audience and increasing number of invitations to speak at international conferences (in Belfast, Athens, Vancouver, Los Angeles and Seattle).

Transform is an active member of international coalitions including ENCOD (The European Council on Drugs and Development), and a number of informal coalitions in the US, Australia and South America.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT DOESN'T WANT YOU TO KNOW

In the last Transform annual report we produced a 2-page Prohibition Report, compiling the latest statistics from a variety of Government, United Nations, NGO and academic sources to paint a picture of the overwhelming failure of drug prohibition and its negative impacts on, amongst other things, the prison population, crime creation and health risks.

This year we present a summary (and analysis) of a new and hugely significant prohibition report, produced this time not by Transform, but by the Number 10 Strategy Unit, commissioned by and presented to the Prime Minister, Tony Blair. The report was suppressed but leaked to the media in the summer of 2005.

The report is a detailed economic and social analysis of international and domestic drug policy that shows how supply-side enforcement interventions have been actively counterproductive. Put simply, the report demonstrates how our commitment to an unwinnable global 'Drug War' is costing the UK billions in wasted expenditure and crime costs.

The report demonstrates the following:

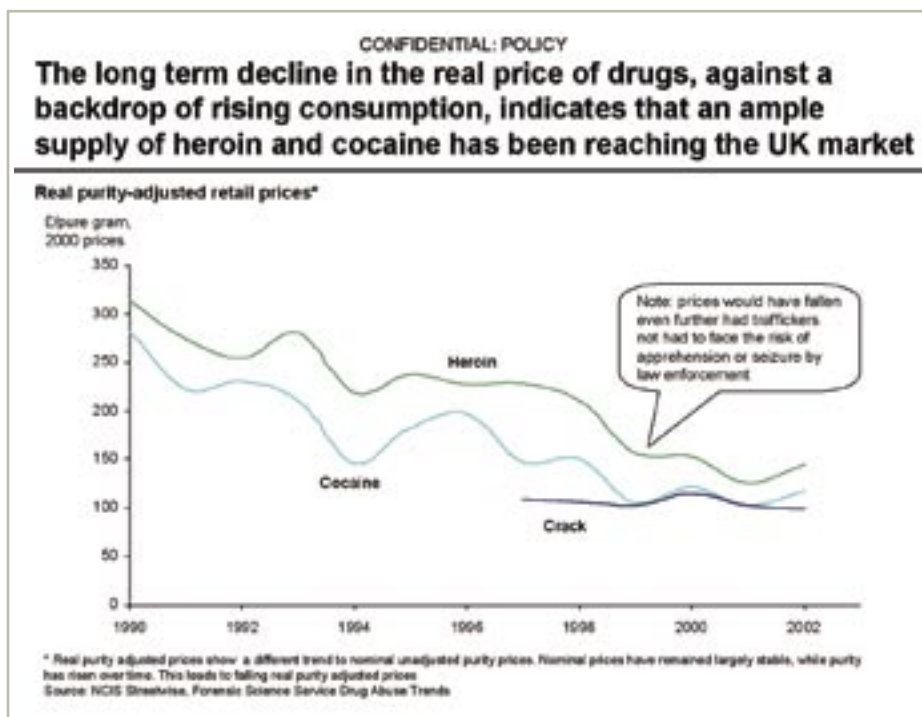
PROHIBITION HAS FAILED TO PREVENT OR REDUCE THE PRODUCTION OF DRUGS

The report demonstrates how efforts to reduce drug crop production have failed historically, explaining how and why, in the context of the economic and political realities of drug production in key producer countries such as Colombia and Afghanistan, such interventions are ineffective and will remain so:

"Western influence in production areas is limited because a drugs economy thrives where the rule of law has failed, or where international norms have been breached."(p.60)

"Interventions to reduce production are complex, time-consuming and expensive to achieve. They often result in displacement of production elsewhere." (p.56)

[forced crop eradication] *"Increases risks of illegal cultivation to farmers... but increases social tensions in poor communities, benefits anti-government groups & displaces cultivation to new regions."* (p.93)



[alternative development interventions] *"By targeting causes of illicit cultivation, has a high impact on overall production levels & is sustainable... but is expensive, takes time & requires development of good governance in source country... and displaces cultivation to other countries."* (p.93)

PROHIBITION HAS FAILED TO PREVENT OR REDUCE THE TRAFFICKING/AVAILABILITY OF DRUGS

The report details how global prohibition has created the economic conditions under which interdiction is doomed to failure. It notes that *"Trafficker mark ups"* (profit margins) were as high as 850% to 1850% (p.71), and that these are *"even higher than those of luxury goods companies"*, using comparative examples including Gucci (p.69). Prohibition turns essentially worthless



processed agricultural products into illicit goods literally worth more than their weight in gold.

The report spells out that the impossibility of increasing seizure rates from the current low levels (under 20%) to the levels required to put traffickers out of business (60-80%) in emphatic terms: *“Sustained successful interventions on this scale have never been achieved”* (p.73)

“Traffickers have adapted effectively to government interventions. They run highly profitable businesses and can withstand temporary shocks to their profitability. Interventions have been short-lived or have had a negligible impact on the retail market.” (p.56)

PROHIBITION HAS FAILED TO REDUCE PROBLEMATIC DRUG USE

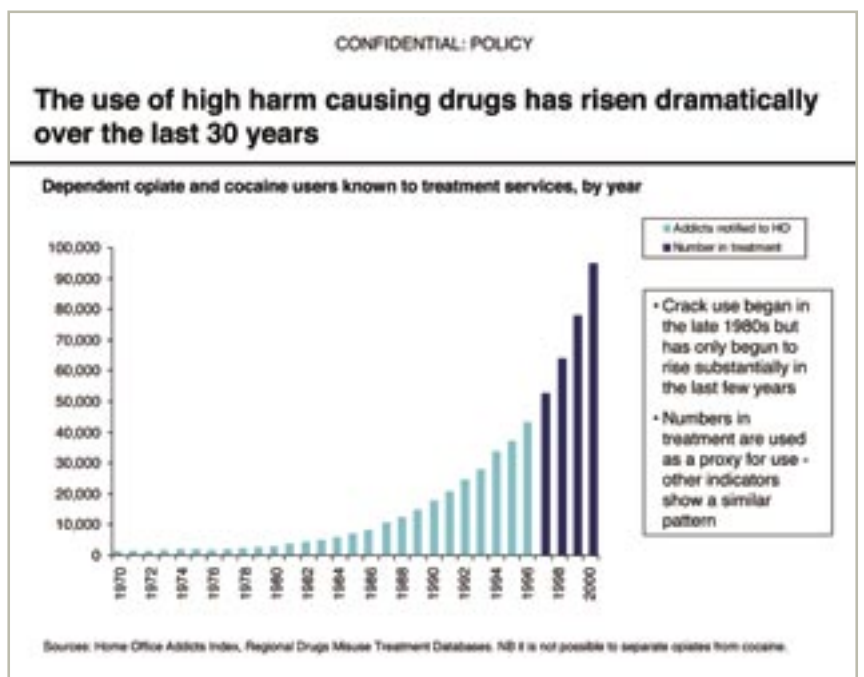
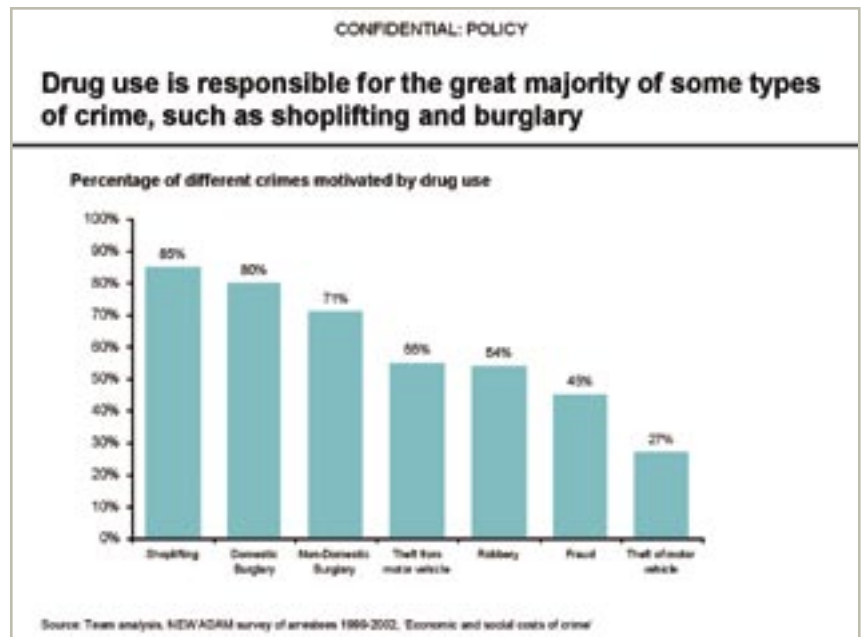
The report demonstrates graphically how prohibition has failed to reduce prevalence of drug use, and how use of the most problematic drugs has increased at an accelerating rate over the past four decades, specifically since the Misuse of Drugs Act became law in 1971.

PROHIBITION CREATES ACQUISITIVE CRIME

The report demonstrates how prohibition creates high levels of property crime.

This analysis is focused specifically on problematic users of heroin and cocaine: drugs that are both highly addictive and, because of prohibition, highly expensive. These crime costs are outlined in detail.

“Drug users are estimated to commit 36m drug-motivated crimes each year, 56% of the total number of crimes.” (p.22)



“The 30,000 highest offending heroin and/or crack users commit more than half of all drug-motivated crime.” (p.31)

The full text of the report along with detailed analysis can be found at www.tdpf.org.uk

AFTER THE WAR ON DRUGS, OPTIONS FOR CONTROL



Fresh thinking from the 'Options for Control' seminar series (see p.9), combined with Transform's years of expertise working on the cutting edge of drug policy thinking, fed into the production of the groundbreaking report 'After the War on Drugs – Options for Control', a major new report examining the key themes in the drug policy reform debate, and detailing for the first time how legal regulation of drug markets will operate.

Now in its third print run, the report has won plaudits from across the policy spectrum, including recently being praised in a House of Lords debate. International interest has also been significant, leading to its translation into Spanish and Portuguese.

The report has been cited in a number of academic papers and international publications including 'Controlling Psychoactive Substances: the Current System and Alternative Models' produced by the Kings County Bar Association drug policy project in the US (1), and "Preventing Harm from Psychoactive Substance Use", produced by the Drug Policy Office of the City of Vancouver (2). Since its publication Transform has been invited to speak on our vision of a post prohibition world at conferences in Athens, Vancouver, Los Angeles and Seattle.



City of Vancouver Crest

"First Class. Everyone knows that prohibition has failed, and this report sets out, for the first time, how we can replace it."

Simon Jenkins, former editor The Times, Columnist the Evening Standard and The Times

"Transform's report is of enormous significance. A thunderous clarion call that will set the walls of prohibition tumbling down."

Paul Flynn MP (Lab), Vice Chairman, All Party Group on Drug Misuse

"Transform are to be congratulated on this excellent and groundbreaking report."

Polly Toynbee, the Guardian

"I congratulate Transform on this admirable report. I just hope that, this time, the authorities will listen to the voice of reason."

Sir David Ramsbotham, former Chief Inspector of Prisons

"Transform has produced a report which is a blinding statement of the obvious, with all the evidence to support it. Now we have a chance to make this country safer for all, particularly our children and grandchildren, by removing the motive for drug dealers to get them hooked. I just hope that those in positions of responsibility, whether elected or otherwise, will have the courage to seize it."

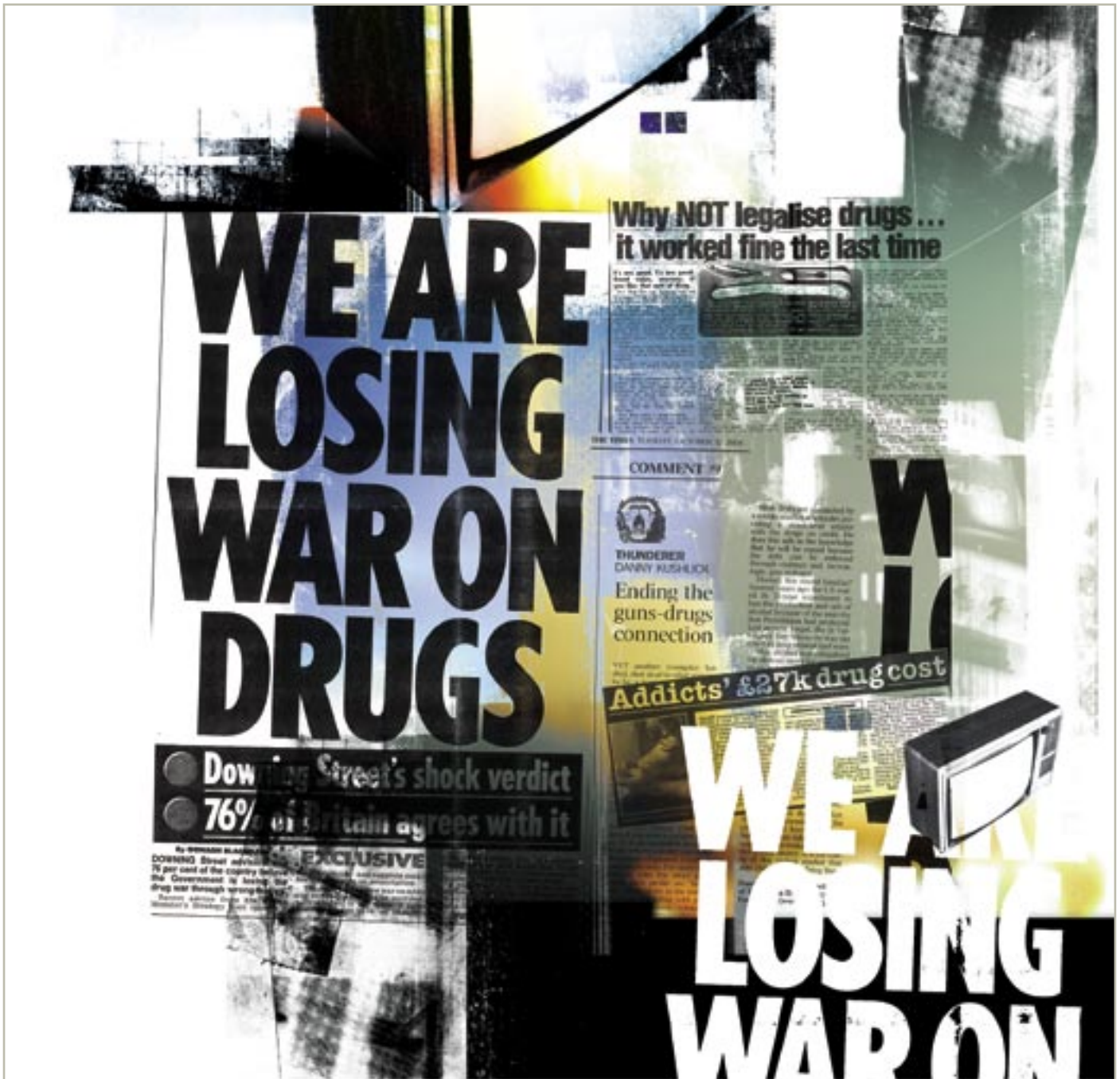
Paul Whitehouse QPM, former Chief Constable, Sussex Police

"Congratulations to Transform on a truly amazing report. It's nothing short of a shot across the bow of prohibition. We will hopefully look back on it in a decade or so as the beginning of the end of the drug war."

Drug Policy Alliance (USA)

1. http://vancouver.ca/fourpillars/pdf/preventingharm_report.pdf

2. http://www.kcba.org/druglaw/proposal/report_am.pdf



Transform's media strategy continues to ensure that the public receive a more balanced and informed take on the current drug policy debate. Our media profile has been higher than ever before, now on a par with organisations many times our size. Transform is firmly established as the first port of call for journalists covering the drugs debate, and a regular fixture on the leading news and analysis broadcast outlets and national printed media.

Transform's media strategy involves responding to emerging stories, in parallel with a proactive campaign to break new stories, provide regular briefings and news updates to our ever expanding contact database, and to produce opinion pieces and policy analysis for leading newspapers, magazines and a range of specialist publications.

MEDIA AND PUBLIC DEBATE



BROADCAST MEDIA

When the big stories have broken Transform has led the way in providing expert comment and analysis. For example, when a political storm blew up around the reclassification of cannabis Transform were there to provide some perspective, appearing (in one hectic day) on: BBC News 24, ITN News, Sky breakfast News, Sky Lunchtime News and Channel 4 News, along with Radio 4 and Radio 1 news coverage.

Transform has also worked with production teams on a number of documentary features.

OTHER BROADCAST HIGHLIGHTS:

- BBC 2 took the debate to a mainstream audience with an evening of programming around drug legalisation. It began with a drama/documentary called 'If drugs were legal' featuring contributions from Transform Director Danny Kushlick and Transform Patron Francis Wilkinson, former Chief Constable of Gwent. This was followed by a Newsnight special studio debate chaired by Jeremy Paxman that pitched Danny against the former Drug Tsar Keith Hellawell
- Transform representatives have twice appeared on Radio 2's Jeremy Vine show for studio based debate.
- Francis Wilkinson and Danny Kushlick have appeared on Radio 4's Today programme
- Regular appearances on Sky news, BBC news 24, Radio 1, Radio 5 live and Talk Sport radio
- Providing background research and comment for a Radio 1 documentary about magic mushrooms

PRINT MEDIA

Transform regularly provides comment, analysis and background briefings to all the major national newspapers, on top of a wide range of magazines, specialist and international publications. Highlights from the last two years include:

- 'Cracking the problem' - Debating cannabis reclassification and wider drug policy reform with Anne Widdicombe in the Guardian (17.01.04)
- 'In the war on drugs, Europe must make a separate peace' - A powerful piece by Polly Toynbee (The Guardian) backing Transform and quoting our recent 'Options for Control' report (3.11.04)
- 'Is this the moment to legalise heroin?' - Debating heroin prescribing with former policeman John Stalker in a one-page feature in the Daily Express. (30% of people supported the Transform position in a subsequent phone poll) (6.02.04)
- 'Ending the drugs-guns connection' - Article in the famous 'Thunderer' column in the Times (12.10.04)
- 'The true price of prohibition' - Article in the Guardian 'Comment and Analysis' pages (06.08.04)
- Transform director Danny Kushlick quoted on the front page of the Observer (27.06.04), and Guardian (05.08.05)
- Numerous letters published in The Times, the Guardian, the Financial Times, the Telegraph, the Observer and the Independent
- Articles in specialist publications including: Druglink, Drink and Drug News, Drugs and Alcohol Today, The International Journal of Drug Policy, Italy's 'Fuori Luogo' newspaper, London Drug Action Network News and many more

Visit www.tdpf.org.uk for the Transform media archive.

MEDIA AND PUBLIC DEBATE



Clear evidence that the strategy is working has been the increasing coverage of the debate and growing roll call of opinion formers calling for reform. Significantly, even the tabloids have been running sophisticated legalisation opinion and editorial pieces. Such articles have appeared in the Sun, the Mirror, the Daily Mail and the Evening Standard, undermining the view of the tabloids as one of the last bastions of outdated Drug War thinking.



“Why NOT legalise drugs...it worked fine the last time”

“If government-controlled drugs were cheaply available, might it not cut through his hideous vicious circle? Users wouldn’t need to fund their habit by making our lives hell. Dealers, meanwhile, would find nobody to buy their overpriced, adulterated wares. We could spend every penny saved from enforcement and imprisonment and drug-related crime on treatment, prevention and educating people.”

Tony Partington 12.09.05



‘World On Drugs’

“The illegal drugs business rakes in more money than 88% of the world’s countries. It brings untold deaths and misery to millions. If you were burgled recently, drugs were probably the cause. Isn’t it time governments tried a new way of dealing with the problem?”

Stephen White 01.07.05



Editorial 30.12.04

“Some argue that ... the only solution is to legalise all drugs. That argument is yet to be resolved. Indeed ... we are a long way from even having an informed debate on this most explosive of issues.”

(appeared next to an opinion piece by Bruce Anderson titled ‘Why don’t we legalise the damn lot?’)

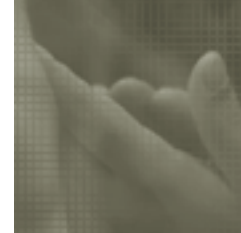
NEW WEBSITE – DEC 2003



A concerted publicity campaign along with our high media profile has seen our monthly web hits increase ten fold in the past year. The site’s email newsletter is attracting hundreds of new subscribers, and a new vibrant discussion forum has been set up.

We have also established an online giving facility on the Transform website, administered by the Charities Aid Foundation. Supporters can now donate via a credit, debit or switch card, (and ‘Gift Aid’ the donation) in a matter of seconds - one off or regular giving through an online direct debit system.

PATRONS AND SUPPORTERS



PATRONS



EDWARD ELLISON, FORMER OPERATIONAL HEAD OF SCOTLAND YARD DRUGS SQUAD

"Political lethargy, indifference and fear of the debate are the established bulwarks protecting today's dangerously failing policy of prohibition. Transform promotes an open debate and, with it, the associated wider public knowledge and choice of options."



IAIN BANKS, AUTHOR

"I think Transform is a necessary voice of sanity in the debate about drugs. Supporting Transform will help end the drug war and promote a society at peace with itself."



HENRY HOARE, SENIOR PARTNER OF LONDON BANKERS C HOARE & CO.

"Prohibition in America in the 1920s was a disaster and the present 'War on Drugs' just simply is not working. Radical new thinking is required."



FRANCIS WILKINSON, FORMER CHIEF CONSTABLE OF GWENT POLICE

"I firmly believe that there is the possibility of real social benefit through effective, well-regulated legalisation. In the last three years the reform debate has gained a new momentum and respectability, and Transform has been at the heart of these exciting developments."



THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF BEDFORD

"The battle as it has been fought up to now is not working, other than to increase crime and violence. Transform offers a logical alternative approach and should be supported to find the way to combat crime and offer people a better way to overcome their drug problems."



DAME ANITA RODDICK, FOUNDER OF THE BODY SHOP

"The seeds of the current policy's destruction are perfectly obvious in its terminology. In a war, there can only be winners and losers. While the Government's main weapon is short-sighted legislation, the losers are humanism and common sense. We've got to replace fear with foresight and Transform has that vision."



DR SUE BLACKMORE, AUTHOR AND SENIOR LECTURER, UWE

"I consider that the prohibition of recreational drugs is the most serious issue facing our society today. The only viable solution to the appalling drugs problems we face is legalisation and regulation. I am delighted to be a patron of Transform."



MARK THOMAS, SOCIAL COMMENTATOR

"I'm not a total libertarian, but I do think that people should be well looked after, and that the quantity and quality of the drug they're taking should be controlled and regulated to make sure the impact of crime is minimised. The problem with prohibition is that you've abdicated control to gangsters."



JONATHAN ROSS, TV PRESENTER

"For a long time I've felt that the war on drugs is a lost cause. As a parent I'm obviously aware of the dangers of drugs but its clear to me that these dangers are massively increased by the criminality involved in an illegal market. I support Transform because I'd like to see a more honest, rational and compassionate approach to the drug problem."

PATRONS AND SUPPORTERS



SUPPORTERS



PAUL FLYNN MP (LABOUR)

"Transform is my reservoir of news which tops up my stock of indignation so that I can attack with renewed vehemence the citadels of drug ignorance and stupidity."



OONA KING, FORMER MP (LABOUR)

"I pay tribute to ...Transform... Everyone involved with them has argued for an evidence-based approach, so let us look at the evidence." (House of Commons debate on National Drug Strategy 9.11.03)



BARONESS TONGE (LIB DEM)

"The War on Drugs has done nothing to stop the crime associated with drug taking, which is the real problem. Cannabis should be legalised and regulated whilst we are waiting for a proper debate on other drugs and I welcome Transform's important contribution to this process."



SIR KEITH MORRIS, FORMER UK AMBASSADOR TO COLOMBIA

"The ongoing debate over reforms to current drug policy is of huge importance and urgency to individuals and communities across the globe. Transform have played a key role in raising this issue on the UK political agenda and I look forward to them continuing this work with the same dynamism and integrity."



LORD MANCROFT (CONSERVATIVE)

"Increasingly, the UK media, and ordinary people up and down the country, realise that government drug policies are not only failing, but are actually making a bad situation worse. Transform is leading the debate for more realistic and effective policies, both to reduce drug related crime, and to protect our children from its consequences."





		TDPF 01.04.04 - 31.03.05
Income		
	Restricted Funds	£28,637
	Unrestricted Funds	£60,437
	Gifts and Donations	£130
Total Income		£89,204
<hr/>		
Expenditure		
Restricted Expenses		
	Employers NIC	£4,527
	Salaries	£53,073
Total Restricted Expenses		£57,601
<hr/>		
Other		
	Seminar	£5,013
	Printing and Reproduction	£5,110
Total Other		£10,123
<hr/>		
Unrestricted Expenses		
	Accountancy	£1,668
	Fees	£2,837
	Office Running	£18,387
	Travel	£3,671
Total Unrestricted Expenses		£26,563
<hr/>		
Total Expenses		£94,288
<hr/>		
Net Deficit		-£5,084
<hr/>		

Notes:

The results for the year to 31 March 2004 reflect the activities of Transform Drug Policy Foundation, a registered charity (no.1100518) and limited company (no.4862177).

Transform has received funds from a number of trusts including the Esmeé Fairbairn Foundation, The Glass-House Trust, The Linnet Trust, The J Paul Getty Jr. Charitable Trust and the Allen Lane Foundation, as well as generous donations from individual donors.

Although Transform shows a deficit for the year ended 31 March 2005, it has sufficient unrestricted surpluses brought forward from previous years to cover this deficit.

TONY BLAIR ON DRUGS

Below are two pieces of very similar text. On the left is the introduction to the Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy by Tony Blair, Published in March 2004. It demonstrates an acceptance of alcohol use in the UK and outlines the Government's pragmatic plans to minimise the harm caused by alcohol, both to consumers and to wider society. On the right is the identical text with one minor editorial change made by Transform: the word 'alcohol' has been changed to 'drugs', and the word 'drinking' has been changed to 'drug use'.

WHY THIS ...

Millions of us enjoy drinking alcohol with few, if any, ill effects. Indeed moderate drinking can bring some health benefits. But, increasingly, alcohol misuse by a small minority is causing two major, and largely distinct, problems: on the one hand crime and anti-social behaviour in town and city centres, and on the other harm to health as a result of binge- and chronic drinking.

The Strategy Unit's analysis last year showed that alcohol -related harm is costing around £20bn a year, and that some of the harms associated with alcohol are getting worse.

This is why the Government has been looking at how best to tackle the problems of alcohol misuse. The aim has been to target alcohol-related harm and its causes without interfering with the pleasure enjoyed by the millions of people who drink responsibly.

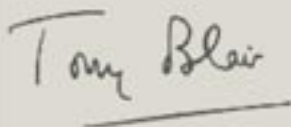
This report sets out the way forward. Alongside the interim report published last year it describes in detail the current patterns of drinking – and the specific harms associated with alcohol. And it clearly shows that the best way to minimise the harms is through partnership between government, local authorities, police, industry and the public themselves.

For government, the priority is to work with the police and local authorities so that existing laws to reduce alcohol-related crime and disorder are properly enforced, including powers to shut down any premises where there is a serious problem of disorder arising from it. Treatment services need to be able to meet demand. And the public needs access to clear information setting out the full and serious effects of heavy drinking.

For the drinks industry, the priority is to end irresponsible promotions and advertising; to better ensure the safety of their staff and customers; and to limit the nuisance caused to local communities.

Ultimately, however, it is vital that individuals can make informed and responsible decisions about their own levels of alcohol consumption. Everyone needs to be able to balance their right to enjoy using alcohol with the potential risks to their own – and others' – health and wellbeing. Young people in particular need to better understand the risks involved in harmful patterns of alcohol use.

I strongly welcome this report and the Government has accepted all its conclusions. These will now be implemented as government policy and will, in time, bring benefits to us all in the form of a healthier and happier relationship with alcohol.



Foreword to the Alcohol Harm Reduction Strategy
Cabinet Office
Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, March 2004

... BUT NOT THIS?

Millions of us enjoy using drugs with few, if any, ill effects. Indeed moderate drug use can bring some health benefits. But, increasingly, drugs misuse by a small minority is causing two major, and largely distinct, problems: on the one hand crime and anti-social behaviour in town and city centres, and on the other harm to health as a result of binge- and chronic drug use.

The Strategy Unit's analysis last year showed that drugs -related harm is costing around £20bn a year, and that some of the harms associated with drugs are getting worse.

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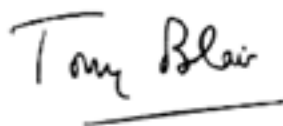
This report sets out the way forward. Alongside the interim report published last year it describes in detail the current patterns of drug use – and the specific harms associated with drugs. And it clearly shows that the best way to minimise the harms is through partnership between government, local authorities, police, industry and the public themselves.

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I strongly welcome this report and the Government has accepted all its conclusions. These will now be implemented as government policy and will, in time, bring benefits to us all in the form of a healthier and happier relationship with drugs.



Foreword to the Drug Harm Reduction Strategy for England
Cabinet Office
Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, March 2004

WE NEED YOUR SUPPORT

As an independent charitable organisation Transform receives no government funding, relying solely on charitable trusts and individual donations to maintain and develop the organisation and our unique programme of work.

If you would like to give to Transform, please contact Danny Kushlick (see below). For more information on Transform or to donate online please visit our website www.tdpf.org.uk.

Edited by Steve Rolles. Designed by Nick Ellis, Halo Media

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