

DRUG LAW REFORM BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

Given recent debate regarding drug law reform, the Drug Policy Modelling Program (DPMP) has put together a list of Australia and international reference material that addresses drug law reform explicitly. Our choice was guided by:

- seminal pieces;
- original contributions; and
- a desire to include a range of articles including opinion pieces and research articles.

The list is structured as follows:

1. Australian-focussed drug law reform material, p. 1
2. International material, p.6
3. Series of working papers on California cannabis legalization, p.21
4. Classic texts on alcohol control, p.22
5. Other resources, p.22

The citations are ordered alphabetically by author surname.

1. Australian-focussed research

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
Australia, Parliament	1989	Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority, <i>Drugs, crime and society, report by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority</i> , Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/House_of_Representatives_Committees?url=report_register/bycomlist.asp?id=176	This Parliamentary report is of considerable historical interest as the committee resolved that if it was not able to be demonstrated that the current approach to illicit drugs, based largely on law enforcement, was effective, then other approaches (drug law reform) would need to be considered.
Daryal, M.	1999	Prices, Legalisation and Marijuana Consumption. Australia: Economics Research Centre, University of Western Australia. http://www.drugpolicy.org/docUploads/MDPap.pdf	This work considers the impact of changes in the price of cannabis on consumption rates (price elasticity of demand), given that under legalisation, cannabis price would be lower than under prohibition.

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
Douglas, B., & McDonald, D.	2012	<i>The Prohibition of illicit drugs is killing and criminalising our children and we are all letting it happen.</i> Canberra: Australia 21. http://www.australia21.org.au//publications/press_releases/Australia21_Illicit_Drug_Policy_Report.pdf	The report, arising from a roundtable held by Australia21, a non-for-profit Australian organisation that aims to generate new thinking around social problems, argues for decriminalisation options.
Featherston, J., & Lenton, S.	2007	<i>Effects of the Western Australian Cannabis Infringement Notice Scheme on public attitudes, knowledge and use: Comparison of pre- and post- change data.</i> Perth: National Drug Research Institute. http://ndri.curtin.edu.au/local/docs/pdf/publications/T177.pdf	Evaluation of the WA Cannabis Infringement Notice scheme – a pre-post study of the impact of the introduction of civil penalties for cannabis. Consistent with national trends, cannabis use declined in Western Australia after the introduction of civil penalties. The authors conclude that the change from criminal to civil penalties for cannabis use/possess did not impact on rates of cannabis use.
Fox, R., & Mathews, I.	1992	<i>Drug policy: fact, fiction and the future,</i> Sydney: Federation Press.	An early work advocating strongly for drug law reform based on evidence of what works and human rights.
Hall, W., & Lucke, J.	2010	<i>Legally coerced treatment for drug using offenders: ethical and policy issues,</i> Crime and Justice Bulletin no. 144. Sydney: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. http://www.lawlink.nsw.gov.au/lawlink/bocsar/ll_bocsar.nsf/vwFiles/CJB144.pdf/\$file/CJB144.pdf	This bulletin discusses the policy and ethical implications raised by legally coercing drug offenders into drug treatment in the community and providing compulsory treatment within the prison system....in the light of the evidence reviewed, the bulletin discusses the NSW Compulsory Drug Treatment Corrections Centre and the challenges in evaluating its effectiveness.
Lenton, S., Heale, P., Erickson, P., Single, E., Lang, E., & Hawks, D.	2000	The regulation of cannabis possession, use and supply: A discussion document prepared for The Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee of The Parliament of Victoria. Perth: National Drug Research Institute.	This document summarises options for the legal regulation of cannabis possession, use and supply suitable to a harm minimisation framework; provides a comparative analysis and evaluation of the practicality, effectiveness and potential benefits

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		http://espace.library.curtin.edu.au/R/?func=bin-jump-full&object_id=19220&local_base=GEN01-ERA02	of the alternative forms of regulation and gives a recommended model for the Victorian situation, which was a variant of the <i>prohibition with civil penalties</i> approach. It provides a comprehensive review of the national and international literature on drug law reform issues to the time of writing (2000).
Lenton, S., Christie, P., Humeniuk, R., Brooks, A., Bennett, M., & Heale, P.	1999	<i>Infringement versus Conviction: the Social Impact of a Minor Cannabis Offence Under a Civil Penalties System and Strict Prohibition in Two Australian States</i> (No. 36). Canberra: Department of Health and Aged Care. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/41F09105FB3735F2CA2570370002A564/\$File/mono36.pdf	This study compared South Australian cannabis users under the civil penalties scheme with west Australian cannabis users under the then criminal penalties scheme. There were a number of similarities between the experiences and outcomes of the two groups, but notably more negative impacts for the WA criminal penalties group (such as loss of employment).
Macintosh, A.	2006	<i>Drug law reform: beyond prohibition</i> , Discussion Paper no. 83. Canberra: The Australia Institute. https://www.tai.org.au/index.php?q=node%2F19&pubid=85&act=display	An influential report from an independent Australian think tank reviewing the science and advocating for drug law reform. They also recommend greater investment in drug treatment, as an evidence-based intervention.
Manderson, D.	1993	<i>From Mr Sin to Mr Big: a history of Australian drug laws</i> . Melbourne: Oxford University Press.	A very frequently cited work explaining how Australia's policies on drugs have evolved from the earliest days of colonial settlement, pointing out that many of the origins of drug policies and laws are to be found in the racist and sexist attitudes of previous generations.
Marks, R.	1989	Prohibition or regulation an economist's view of Australian heroin policy. <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology</i> , 23(2), p.65-87. http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstr	This paper examines the structure of the black market, using evidence collected from an anonymous Victorian prisoner (1981). It identifies a substantial number of users who do not come to the attention of the authorities. The paper explores the

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
		act_id=1130045	possible impacts on the prevalence of heroin use in a regime of controlled availability were put in place.
McDonald, D., Moore, R., Norberry, J., Wardlaw, G., & Ballenden, N.	1994	<i>Monograph Series No. 26. Legislative options for cannabis in Australia.</i> Canberra, ACT: Australian Institute of Criminology. http://www.health.gov.au/internet/main/publishing.nsf/Content/health-pubs-drug-cannabis-cannabis.htm	While dated *(published in 1994) this monograph is extremely useful in laying out the types of drug law regimes and clarifying the associated language. The terminology suggested in this report is still widely in use in Australia as a framework for considering options.
McDonald, D.	2011	<i>A background paper for an Australia21 Roundtable, Sydney, 31 January 2012, addressing the question "What are the likely costs and benefits of a change in Australia's current policy on illicit drugs?"</i> Canberra: Australia21. http://www.australia21.org.au/publications/press_releases/Australian%20Discussion%20Paper.pdf	An overview of evidence about the likely consequences and benefits of changing Australia's policy on illicit drugs for the Australia 21 Roundtable participants, and subsequently made available widely.
Santamaria, J.N.	2000	<i>Drugs Dilemma: a way forward.</i> Melbourne: New Weekly Books.	This book is pro-prohibition. From the DFA website: "In this book, medical experts, social commentators and drug counsellors take a closer look at the European experience and the arguments in favour of "harm minimisation" and find them seriously flawed. But there are alternatives which are working".
Savulescu, J., & Foddy, B.	2012	'A moral argument against the war on drugs', <i>The Conversation</i> , no. 5 April, http://theconversation.edu.au/a-moral-argument-against-the-war-on-drugs-6304 .	It is common to hear moral arguments in favour of a prohibition approach to drug policy but here we have two scholars presenting moral arguments in favour of changing drug policy away from what they characterised as a 'war on drugs' approach.
Wodak, A.D.	2012	The need and direction for drug law reform in	In this editorial the author presents a contemporary

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		Australia', <i>Medical Journal of Australia</i> , 197(6), pp. 1-2. http://dx.doi.org/10.5694/mja12.10959	overview of what he sees as the need for drug law reform in Australia and goes on to indicate what this might look like. Note that this editorial is published in a mainstream medical Journal rather than specialist drug and alcohol journal, demonstrating how well documented discussions of drug law reform are now in the mainstream.
Wodak, A., & Moore, T.	2002	<i>Modernising Australia's drug policy</i> . Sydney: UNSW Press.	A useful overview of drug policy in Australia and suggestions for the nature and processes of updating it.

2. International research on decriminalisation and legalisation

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
Bewley-Taylor, D.	2012	<i>Towards revision of the UN drug control conventions: The logic and dilemmas of like-minded groups.</i> Transnational Institute/IDPC Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 19 http://www.tni.org/sites/www.tni.org/files/download/dlr19.pdf	Recent discontent about the strictly prohibitionist reading of the UN drug conventions has been driven by a belief that non-punitive and pragmatic health oriented policy approaches better address the complexities surrounding illicit drug use than the zero-tolerance approach privileged by the present international treaties.
Bewley-Taylor, D., & Jelsma, M.	2012	<i>The UN drug control conventions: The limits of latitude.</i> Transnational Institute/IDPC Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 18 http://www.tni.org/sites/www.tni.org/files/download/dlr18.pdf	This briefing paper outlines the international legal drug control obligations, the room for manoeuvre the regime leaves open to national policy makers and the clear limits of latitude that cannot be crossed without violating the treaties.
Bewley-Taylor, D. & Trace, M.	2006	<i>The International Narcotics Control Board: watchdog or guardian of the UN drug control conventions?</i> , The Beckley Foundation Drug Policy Programme, report 7, The Beckley Foundation, Oxford. http://www.beckleyfoundation.org/pdf/Report_07.pdf	'While the Board's role in overseeing and quantifying the legal market in controlled drugs for medical and scientific uses is widely admired, there is growing discontent with the unbalanced nature of its contribution to the much more complex and sensitive debates surrounding the issue of illegal drug markets and how best to respond to them.'
Boyum, D., & Reuter, P.	2005	<i>An Analytic Assessment of U.S. Drug Policy.</i> Washington DC: AEI Press. http://www.amazon.com/Analytic-Assessment-Policy-Evaluative-Studies/dp/0844741914	'The book will...show that American drug policy, rather than focusing on reducing demand among chronic abusers, has emphasized efforts to limit the supply of drugs through vigorous law enforcement. Yet despite the incarceration of hundreds of thousands of drug dealers and steadfast attempts to stop overseas cultivation and trafficking, drugs have become substantially cheaper, casting doubt on the effectiveness of this strategy.'
Boyum, D.A., Caulkins, J.P. &	2011	Drugs, crime, and public policy. In J.Q. Wilson & J. Petersilia (Eds.), <i>Crime and Public Policy</i>	An important new overview that identifies the drug policies that the authors assess as being the more promising and

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
Kleiman, M.A.R.		pp. 368-410. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.	the less promising in terms of feasibility and usefulness.
Caulkins, J., Hawken, A., Kilmer, B., & Kleiman, M.	2012	Marijuana Legalisation: What everybody needs to know. Oxford University Press http://www.oup.com/us/catalog/general/subject/Politics/AmericanPolitics/PublicPolicy/?view=usa&ci=9780199913732	This book provides a comprehensive overview of cannabis legalisation issues, including summary of the latest research in relation to cannabis use, cannabis production, risks, harms and benefits associated with cannabis use and full analysis of legalisation options. The concluding chapter is a short piece from each author about what they as individuals think about cannabis legalisation.
Costa, A.M.	2008	<i>Making drug control 'fit for purpose': building on the UNGASS decade. Report by the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime as a contribution to the review of the twentieth special session of the General Assembly, E/CN.7/2008/CRP.17</i> , United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Vienna, http://www.unodc.org/documents/commissions/CND-Session51/CND-UNGASS-CRPs/ECN72008CRP17E.pdf .	A landmark paper in which the author acknowledges that the current approaches to drug policy, led by his Office, have produced a range of negative unintended consequences, and that much of the international approach to illicit drugs is no longer 'fit for purpose'. He proposes directions for improvement.
Csete, J.	2012	<i>A balancing act: policymaking on illicit drugs in the Czech Republic</i> . New York: Open Society Foundations, Global Drug Policy Program. http://www.soros.org/reports/balancing-act-policymaking-illicit-drugs-czech-republic .	From the publisher's website: 'The report examines the impact of the Czech Republic's evidence based approach to drug policy, compares the country's path on drug policy to that of its neighbour Slovakia and discusses challenges to maintaining this approach in the future.'
Dingelstad, D., Gosden, R., Martin, B., & Vakas, N.	1996	'The social construction of drug debates', <i>Social Science and Medicine</i> , 43(12), pp. 1829-38. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0277-9536(96)00089-5	This paper demonstrates a particular approach to thinking about drug policy: 'Drug debates normally proceed without scrutiny of why the particular issues being debated are considered the crucial issues. One plausible influence on the terms of debates is the interest groups involved. Four

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
			drug debates are addressed in this paper: neuroleptics, drugs in sport, analgesics and marijuana. The key interest groups and their likely influence on the terms of debates are examined. The implication of this analysis is that more attention should be directed to the terms of drug debates rather than just arguing within those terms.'
Domostawski, A.	2011	<i>Drug policy in Portugal: the benefits of decriminalizing drug use.</i> New York: Open Society Foundations, Global Drug Policy Program. http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/drug-policy-portugal-benefits-decriminalizing-drug-use .	From the publisher's website: 'Drug Policy in Portugal describes the process, context, ideas, and values that enabled Portugal to make the transition to a public health response to drug use and possession. Now, with a decade of experience, Portugal provides a valuable case study of how decriminalization coupled with evidence-based strategies can reduce drug consumption, dependence, recidivism, and HIV infection, and create safer communities for all.'
Dorn, N., & Jamieson, A.	2001	<i>European Drug Laws: the Room for Manoeuvre - The full report.</i> London: DrugScope. http://books.google.co.uk/books/about/European_Drug_Laws.html?id=4d3VZwEACAAJ	
Issued by: Drug Prevention Network of the Americas (DPNA), Institute on Global Drug Policy, International Scientific and Medical Forum on Drug Abuse, International Task Force on Strategic Drug Policy,	2011	<i>Drug legalisation: an evaluation of the impacts on global society. Position statement December 2011,</i> http://www.drugfree.org.au/fileadmin/Media/News/PositionStatementAgainstDrugLegalization.pdf .	This document is pro-prohibition. Drug Free Australia wrote of it: 'Significant Drug Policy groups from across the globe came together to evaluate the potential impact of drug legalisation. This alliance of drug policy experts found that drugs are an enormous social problem and that the drug trade adversely affects the global economy. In a position statement issued by the coalition titled Drug Legalization: An Evaluation of the Impacts on Global Society, they discredited those supporting drug legalization...'

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People Against Drug Dependence & Ignorance (PADDI), Nigeria, Europe Against Drugs (EURAD), World Federation Against Drugs (WFAD), Peoples Recovery, Empowerment and Development Assistance (PREDA) & Drug Free Scotland			
EMCDDA	2005	<i>Illicit drug use in the EU: Legislative approaches</i> (EMCDDA Thematic Papers). Lisbon: European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction. http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/attachements.cfm/att_10080_EN_EMCDATP_01.pdf	This paper provides an outline of the current (as at 2004) legal provisions and amendments on the use and possession of drugs for personal use, in the Member States of the European Union.
Englesman, E.	2003	Cannabis Control: the model of the WHO tobacco control treaty. <i>International Journal of Drug Policy</i> , 14(2), 217-219. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0955-3959(03)00013-6	"If we were to bring ('schedule') cannabis under the FCTC [Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, WHO 2002] it would offer room for a shift from <i>prohibition</i> to <i>regulation and control</i> . In other words: decriminalisation can be compensated by a regulatory regime".
Global Commission on Drug Policy	2011	War on drugs: Report of the Global Commission on Drug Policy 2011. Brazil: Rio de Janeiro. http://www.globalcommissionondrugs.org/wp-content/themes/gcdp_v1/pdf/Global_Commission_Report_English.pdf	Argues that the war on drugs has failed and calls for an end to the 'criminalisation, marginalisation and stigmatisation of people who use drugs', experimentation by governments to pursue other forms of regulation, focus enforcement on organised crime, offer treatment and harm reduction services to those in need, invest in prevention and 'begin the transformation of the global drug prohibition regime'.

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Godfrey, C.	2006	Evidenced based illicit drug policy: the potential contribution of economic evaluation techniques. <i>De Economist</i> 154(4), 563-580. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10645-006-9030-1	Arguments about drug policy are often emotive. This paper argues that economic evaluation techniques provide a valuable framework to explore the different impacts of drug policy choices.
Haden, M.	2002	Illicit IV drugs: A public health approach. <i>Canadian Journal of Public Health</i> , 93(6), 431-434. http://www.cfdp.ca/haden2002.pdf	'This article explores, from a public health perspective, the harm done by Canadian drug laws, to both individuals and society. It challenges the perceived dichotomy of legalization and criminalization of intravenous drugs. The article then expands the discussion by exploring eight legal options for illicit drugs and examines how these options interact with the marginalization of users, the illicit drug black market, and levels of drug consumption. While the main focus of this article is intravenous drugs, it draws some lessons from cannabis research.'
Haden, M.	2004	Regulation of illegal drugs: an exploration of public health tools. <i>International Journal of Drug Policy</i> , 15(4), 225-230. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2004.03.006	This paper discusses the various ways in which public health regulatory tools could be deployed to control access to substances under a regulated model.
Hall, W., & Lynsky, M.	2009	The challenges in developing a rational cannabis policy. <i>Current Opinion Psychiatry</i> , 22(3), 258-262. http://dx.doi.org/10.1097/YCO.0b013e3283298f36	This paper reviews epidemiological evidence on the harmful effects of cannabis use and social research on the costs and benefits of cannabis prohibition. The authors conclude that better evaluation is required.
Hall, W., & Pacula, R.	2003	Cannabis Use and Dependence. Public Health and Public Policy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmj.330.7481.49	From publisher's website: 'This book explores the relationship between health policy, public health and the law regarding cannabis use. It assesses the impact of illegality in drug use and relates this to contemporary policy analysis in the US, Europe and Australia and other

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
			developed societies. Current debates about 'safe use' and 'harm minimization' approaches are evaluated, as well as the experiences of different prevention, treatment and education policies.'
Hughes, C. E., & Stevens, A.	2010	What can we learn from the Portuguese decriminalization of illicit drugs? <i>British Journal of Criminology</i> , 50(1), 999-1022. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azq038	This paper describes an evaluation of the Portuguese decriminalisation regime (which commenced in 2001). The authors analyse the criminal justice and health impacts against trends from neighbouring Spain and Italy. They conclude that "contrary to predictions, the Portuguese decriminalization did not lead to major increases in drug use".
Inkster, N., & Comolli, V.	2012	Drugs, Insecurity and Failed States: The Problems of Prohibition. London: Routledge. http://www.iiss.org/publications/adelphi-papers/adelphis-2012/drugs-insecurity-and-failed-states-the-problems-of-prohibition/	By examining the destabilising effects of prohibition and alternative approaches, this book shows how progress may be made by treating consumption as a healthcare issue rather than a criminal matter, thereby freeing states to tackle the cartels and traffickers who hold their communities to ransom.
International Drug Policy Consortium	2012	<i>Drug policy guide</i> , 2nd edn. London: International Drug Policy Consortium. http://www.idpc.net/publications/idpc-drug-policy-guide-2nd-edition .	This publication presents an overview of drug policy internationally, structured around the core principles, criminal justice, health and social programs and strengthening communities.
Jelsma, M. (ed.)	2011	<i>The development of international drug control: lessons learned and strategic challenges for the future</i> , Working Paper prepared for the first meeting of the Global Commission on Drugs, Geneva, 24-25 January 2011, Global Commission on Drugs, n.p., http://www.tni.org/paper/development-international-drug-control .	'This paper describes how the foundations for the global [drug] control system were established, the radicalization of the system toward more repressive implementation, consequently leading to soft defections and de-escalation efforts becoming more widespread; and in the last section projects a future for the ongoing reform process toward a modernization and humanization of the control system's international legal framework as laid down in the UN drug control conventions

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Kilmer, B.	2002	Do cannabis possession laws influence cannabis use? <i>Cannabis 2002 report - Technical report of the international scientific conference, Brussels, Belgium</i> (pp. 101-123). Brussels: Ministry of Public Health of Belgium. http://www.scribd.com/doc/42448338/Cannabis-Report-2002	This chapter, within a larger report on cannabis, concludes that the evidence suggests that cannabis laws do not have an effect on cannabis consumption rates, but data are lacking and there is a lack of focus on enforcement practices research (as compared to laws).
King County Bar Association	2005	<i>Effective drug control: Toward a new legal framework. Drug Policy Project.</i> Seattle, King County Bar Association. http://www.kcba.org/druglaw/pdf/EffectiveDrugControl.pdf	This report argues that state-level regulation and control of psychoactive substances is a 'workable alternative' to prohibition.
Kleiman, M.A.R.	1992	<i>Against excess: drug policy for results</i> , Basic Books, New York, NY.	'Policies have unwanted side effects. Taxes create moonshining, regulation creates evasion and corruption, prohibition creates black markets, programs cost money and often create perverse incentives. Since all drugs are dangerous and all policies are costly, we ought to consider, for each drug and for all of them together, what set of policies would create the least onerous overall problem, adding together the damage done by drug abuse and the damage done by attempts to control it.'
Kleiman, M.A.R., Caulkins, J.P., & Hawken, A.	2011	<i>Drugs and drug policy: what everyone needs to know.</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press.	A particularly valuable book written by leading drug policy scholars and intended to be read by the general public. It covers many areas of drug policy under the topics including why have drug laws, how does drug-law enforcement work, what prevents drug abuse, what treats drug abuse, how much crime is drug-related, what are the benefits of drug use, can drug problems be dealt with at the source, does international drug dealing support terrorism, when it comes to drugs why can't we think calmly and play nice, and what is to be done?

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Lucas, P.	2008	Regulating compassion: an overview of Canada's federal medical cannabis policy and practice. <i>Harm Reduction Journal</i> , 5(5), 1-13. http://dx.doi.org/10.1186/1477-7571-5-5	This paper is an example of the research on medical marijuana – reviewing Canada's situation in relation to their medical cannabis policy and practice. They note that the program does not meet the needs of the 'end-users'.
MacCoun, R., Pacula, R., Chriqui, J., Harris, K., & Reuter, P.	2009	Do citizens know whether their state has decriminalised marijuana? Assessing the perceptual component of deterrence theory. <i>Review of Law & Economics</i> 5(1), 347-371. http://ideas.repec.org/a/bpj/rlecon/v5y2009i1n15.html	This paper demonstrates the gap between the laws and people's knowledge of those laws.
MacCoun, R., & Reuter, P.	1998	Drug Control. Reprinted from The Handbook of Crime and Punishment. Santa Monica, Drug Policy Research Centre, RAND. http://www.rand.org/pubs/reprints/RP731.html	From the website: "The effort to control illicit drugs seems to have become a permanent element of American social policy in the last third of the twentieth century. A large fraction of adolescents experiment with illicit drugs, primarily marijuana. Most do no more than experiment, but enough go on to consume them frequently that drug use and selling, as well as drug control itself, have become a major source of harm to the nation. These harms, particularly the ones related to crime, are heavily concentrated in urban minority communities. Cross-national comparisons of social policy are fraught with problems. Nonetheless, we draw four lessons: depenalization, prevalence of use, goals of drug policy, and the role of government. As currently implemented, U.S. drug policies are unconvincing. They are intrusive, divisive, expensive, and yet they leave the nation with a massive drug problem".
MacCoun, R., & Reuter, P.	2001	Evaluating alternative cannabis regimes. <i>British Journal of Psychiatry</i> , 178, 123-128. http://dx.doi.org/10.1192/bjp.178.2.123	'Alternatives to an aggressively enforced cannabis prohibition are feasible and merit serious consideration. A model of depenalised possession and personal cultivation has many of the advantages of outright legalisation with few of its risks.'

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
MacCoun, R., & Reuter, P.	2001	<i>Drug War Heresies: Learning from Other Vices, Times, and Places</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. http://www.rand.org/pubs/commercial_books/CB395.html	One of the classic text books outlining drug law reform issues. The book outlines the various positions and provides a framework for assessing the alternatives that uses a harm matrix which includes types of harm, and who bears the harm.
MacCoun, R., Reuter, P., & Schelling, T.	1996	Assessing alternative drug control schemes. <i>Journal of Policy Analysis and Management</i> , 15(3), 330-352. http://conium.org/~maccoun/MacCounReuterSchelling.pdf	'The debate over alternative regimes for currently illicit psychoactive substances focuses on polar alternatives: harsh prohibition and sweeping legalization. This study presents an array of alternatives that lies between these extremes. The current debate lacks an explicit and inclusive framework for making comparative judgments. In this study, we sketch out such a framework...'
Macleod, J., & Hickman, M.	2010	How ideology shapes the evidence and the policy: what do we know about cannabis use and what should we do? <i>Addiction</i> , 105(8), 1326-1330. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-0443.2009.02846.x	This paper reviews the evidence on the harmfulness of cannabis use, concluding that while there are certainly harms, good policy needs to minimise use but also other harms. "The most rational policy on cannabis from a public health perspective would seem to be one able to achieve the benefit of reduced use in the population while minimizing social and other costs of the policy itself. Prohibition, whatever the sentence tariff associated with it, seems unlikely to fulfil these criteria".
McCoy, A.W.	2003	<i>The politics of heroin: CIA complicity in the global drug trade: Afghanistan, Southeast Asia, Central America, Colombia</i> , rev. edn. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books.	A key work concerning international drug policy, with chapters on the history of heroin, Sicily: home of the Mafia, Marseille: America's heroin laboratory, Opium for the natives, Cold War opium boom, South Vietnam's heroin traffic, Hong Kong: Asia's heroin laboratory, The Golden Triangle, War on drugs, and The CIA's covert wars.
Meadowcroft, J. (Ed),	2008	<i>Prohibitions</i> . London: Institute of Economic Affairs. http://www.iea.org.uk/publications/research/prohibitions	Monograph/Report which covers a range of prohibited goods/markets, including drugs. Generally points out flaws in prohibition.

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Merkinaitė, S.	2012	The war against people who use drugs: The costs. Eurasian Harm Reduction Network. http://dl.dropbox.com/u/64663568/library/a-war-against-people-who-use-drugs-the-costs.pdf	This report from the Eurasian Harm Reduction Network shows that implementation of criminal laws regulating drug use and drug possession with no intent to supply costs more than double the amount spent on drug treatment in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.
Nutt, D.	2012	<i>Drugs without the hot air: minimizing the harms of legal and illegal drugs</i> , UIT Cambridge. http://www.amazon.com/Drugs-Without-Hot-David-Nutt/dp/1906860165	The author is a prominent British scientist who was sacked by the UK government because they were uncomfortable with the policy advice that he was giving on drugs. This book, written for the general public, '...is framed around controversial issues such as the banning of mephedrone, whether alcohol is more harmful than many illegal drugs, and whether addiction can be cured'.
Nutt, D.J., King, L.A. & Phillips, L.D. on behalf of the Independent Scientific Committee on Drugs	2010	'Drug harms in the UK: a multicriteria decision analysis', <i>The Lancet</i> , 376(9752), pp. 1558-65. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(10)61462-6	Gives an example of using expert opinion to rate the relative harmfulness of various categories of drugs and relates the findings to the ways that the drugs are classified in contemporary legislation, pointing out that many of the drugs that are most harmful are those that are treated most gently in drug law.
Office of National Drug Control Policy (USA)	2012	<i>Principles of modern drug policy</i> , Office of National Drug Control Policy, viewed 05 July 2012, < http://www.whitehouse.gov/ondcp/policy-and-research/principles-of-modern-drug-policy >.	The Obama government has moved a long way from the repressive 'war on drugs' policies of previous USA administrations. This document puts forward a new set of principles that the government states underlies contemporary USA drug policy.
O'Malley, P., & Mugford, S.	1991	The demand for intoxicating commodities: Implications for the "War on Drugs". <i>Social Justice</i> , 18, No. 4 (46), pp. 49-75. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/29766642	Argues that the War on Drugs fails because it is based upon a series of incorrect assumptions about demand; argues for an abandonment of 'war on drugs' and the evidence based pursuit of progressive policies.
Pacula, R. L., Chriqui, J. F., &	2004	<i>Marijuana Decriminalization: What does it mean in the United States?</i> (NBER Working	This report examines the 11 decriminalization statutes in the US, documenting key dimensions of these laws and

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
King, J.		Paper No. 9690). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research. http://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/2004/RAND_WR126.pdf	identifying their common denominator. They demonstrate that "it is impossible to uniquely identify the so-called decriminalized states" because often other states have reduced penalties. These findings call into question "the interpretation of studies evaluating this policy during the past decade".
Pinto Coelho, M.	(n.d.)	Drugs: The Portuguese Fallacy and the Absurd Medicalization of Europe http://www.drugfree.org.au/fileadmin/library/Policies_Legislation_and_law/ThePortugueseDrugFallacyReport.pdf	This report provides a different assessment of the Portuguese experience of decriminalisation to that presented by Hughes et al. The author argues that the data have been misinterpreted.
Pudney, S.	2010	Drugs policy: What should we do about cannabis? <i>Economic Policy</i> 25(61), 165-211. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0327.2009.00236.x	From the abstract " <i>Cannabis consumption is unambiguously harmful in several ways, but this does not automatically justify the prohibitionist policy dictated by the international drugs conventions. This paper sets out the arguments for policy intervention in the cannabis market and reviews the directions of policy change that have been called for. We argue that existing theoretical insights and empirical evidence give little compelling reason to prefer prohibition to the alternative of legalization of cannabis with harms controlled by regulation and taxation.</i> "
Reinarman, C.	2009	Cannabis policies and user practices: Market separation, price, potency, and accessibility in Amsterdam and San Francisco. <i>International Journal of Drug Policy</i> 20(1), 28-37. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2007.11.003	This paper describes a study comparing users' practices and perceptions in two different cannabis markets. They find a separation of the market in Amsterdam, not found in San Francisco, along with other differences.
Reinarman, C., Cohen, P.D.A. & Kaal, H.L.	2004	'The limited relevance of drug policy: cannabis in Amsterdam and in San Francisco', <i>American Journal of Public Health</i> , 94(5), pp. 836-42. http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.94.5.836	The authors compared two cities of similar size with radically different approaches to cannabis to test the hypothesis that punishment for cannabis use deters use and therefore benefits public health. They concluded that

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			'We found no evidence to support claims that criminalization reduces use or that decriminalization increases use...Drug policies may have less impact on cannabis use than is currently thought.' See also 2009 paper.
Reuter, P.	2009	Report 5: the unintended consequences of drug policies. In P. Reuter & F. Trautmann (Eds.), <i>A report on global illicit drug markets 1998-2007</i> . Brussels: European Commission. http://www.trimbos.org/publications/a-report-on-global-illicit-drugs-markets-1998-2007	The author presents a framework for classifying the various unintended negative consequences of drug policies, pointing out that many of these whilst unintended are certainly foreseeable.
Rolles, S., Murkin, G., Powell, M., Kushlick, D., & Slater, J.	2012	<i>The alternative World Drug Report: counting the costs of the war on drugs</i> . London: Transform Drug Policy Foundation. http://www.countthecosts.org/alternative-world-drug-report .	From the publisher's website: 'The Alternative World Drug Report, launched to coincide with publication of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime's 2012 World Drug Report, exposes the failure of governments and the UN to assess the extraordinary costs of pursuing a global war on drugs, and calls for UN member states to meaningfully count these costs and explore all the alternatives.'
Room, R., & Reuter, P.	2012	How well do international drug conventions protect public health? <i>The Lancet</i> , 279(9810), 84-91. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(11)61423-2	The need for reform of the overarching international convention regimes of drug control is placed in the context of public health arguments, arguing that the international treaties have constrained national policy experimentation by requiring that nations criminalise drug use. Provides a good overview of the international system and examples of the limitations placed on policy development in individual nations.
Room, R., Fischer, B., Hall, W., Lenton, S., & Reuter, P.	2008	<i>The Global Cannabis Commission Report: Cannabis Policy: Moving Beyond Stalemate</i> Oxford: The Beckley Foundation. http://www.beckleyfoundation.org/pdf/BF_Cannabis_Commission_Report.pdf	Overview of cannabis use, epidemiology, trends in health and criminal justice outcomes, and impacts of cannabis policy reform

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
Rolles, S.	2009	<i>After the war on drugs: Blueprint for regulation</i> . London: Transform Drug Policy Foundation. Available at: http://www.tdpf.org.uk/blueprint%20download.htm	Outlines models of drug legalisation. Useful resource for considering all aspects of regulation options.
Rosmarin, A. & Eastwood, N.	2012	A quiet revolution: drug decriminalisation polices in practice around the globe. Release. http://www.release.org.uk/publications/drug-decriminalisation-policies-in-practice-across-the-globe	This report describes the considerations in comparing models of decriminalisation across countries, including threshold quantities, types of administrative procedures, roles of judiciary and police, role of medical profession, implementation challenges and social, cultural, economic and religious characteristics. It then provides brief summaries of the decriminalisation arrangements in 21 countries: Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Italy, Mexico, The Netherlands, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Portugal, The Russian federation, Spain, Uruguay and the USA (California). The report concludes with recommendations for an effective decriminalisation policy model.
Sznitman, S.R. Olsson, B. & Room, R. (Eds.)		<i>A cannabis reader: Global issues and local experiences</i> (pp.173-198). Lisbon: European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Addiction (EMCDDA). http://www.emcdda.europa.eu/publications/monographs/cannabis	From the website "The EMCDDA's cannabis monograph addresses one basic question. How can I find quality information on cannabis, amid all the bias and opinion? The monograph is divided into two volumes. The first volume centres on political, legislative, commercial and social developments relating to cannabis. Its core audience thus comprises policymakers, sociologists, historians, journalists and those involved in enforcement. The second volume is targeted at drugs professionals working in the fields of treatment, prevention and healthcare".
Solivetti, L. M.	2001	<i>Drug Use Criminalization v. Decriminalization: An Analysis in the Light of the Italian Experience</i> . Bern, Switzerland: Federal Office	This paper examines the Italian experience in the field of drug. Italy was the first country to decriminalize the personal use of drugs, while maintaining a tough policy

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
		of Public Health. http://w3.uniroma1.it/DCNAPS/solivetti/swiss_ho.pdf	against drug trafficking. Later Italy introduced a series of new, alternative measures to control drug diffusion and at the same time developed a large network of therapeutic centres. The social harm caused by drug diffusion should be taken in consideration, but evaluated against the costs associated with the current crusade against drugs.
Stevens, A.	2011	Drug policy, harm and human rights: A rationalist approach. <i>International Journal of Drug Policy</i> 22(3), 233-238. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2011.02.003	'It has recently been argued that drug-related harms cannot be compared, so making it impossible to choose rationally between various drug policy options. Attempts to apply international human rights law to this area are valid, but have found it difficult to overcome the problems in applying codified human rights to issues of drug policy...This article applies the rationalist ethical argument of Gewirth (1978) to this issue...CONCLUSION: There exists a sound, rational, extra-legal basis for the discussion of drug policy and related harms which enables commensurable discussion of drug policy options.'
Strang, J., Babor, T., Caulkins, J., Fischer, B., Foxcroft, D., & Humphreys, K.	2012	Drug policy and the public good: Evidence for effective interventions. <i>The Lancet</i> 379, 71–83. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(11)61674-7	'Debates about which policy initiatives can prevent or reduce the damage that illicit drugs cause to the public good are rarely informed by scientific evidence. Fortunately, evidence-based interventions are increasingly being identified that are capable of making drugs less available, reducing violence in drug markets, lessening misuse of legal pharmaceuticals, preventing drug use initiation in young people, and reducing drug use and its consequences in established drug users. We review relevant evidence and outline the likely effects of fuller implementation of existing interventions.' Essentially a summary of Babor, T et al. 2010, <i>Drug policy and the public good</i> , Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Thornton, M.	2007	Prohibition versus legalisation: Do economists reach a conclusion on drug policy?	From the abstract: "Although drug-policy researchers and economists in general seem opposed to prohibition, they

Authors	Year	Reference	Key point(s)
		<i>Independent Review XI(3)</i> , 417-433. http://www.independent.org/publications/tir/article.asp?a=616	are timid in their advocacy of decriminalization and even less supportive of legalization”.
Transform Drug Policy Foundation.	2007	After the war on drugs: Tools for the debate. Bristol, UK: Transform Drug Policy Foundation. http://www.tdpf.org.uk/Tools_For_The%20Debate.pdf	Makes the case for drug policy and law reform and shows how to conceptualise and articulate the arguments for reform.
van Dijk, J.	1998	The narrow margins of the Dutch drug policy: A cost benefit analysis. <i>European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research</i> 6, 369-393. http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/klu/crim/1998/00000006/00000003/00181828	This paper does not actually conduct a cost benefit analysis per se, but describes the pros and cons of the Dutch drug policy and argues that better data are required to conduct an economic analysis.
World Forum Against Drugs	2012	<i>Joint statement: For a humane and balanced drug policy, Stockholm 20 May 2012</i> , World Forum Against Drugs, http://www.wfad.se/images/articles/Final_statement_WFAD.pdf	A joint statement by the USA Director of Drug Control Policy, Gil Kerlikowske; Sweden's Health Minister, Maria Larsson; Russia's Director of Federal Narcotic Service, Viktor Ivano; Italy's Head of Department for Anti Drug Policies, Giovanni Serpelloni, and the UK's Head of the Drug and Alcohol Unit, Gus Jaspert that reaffirms their commitment to the UN drug control conventions and opposes drug law reform.
Werb, D., Fischer, B. & Wood, E.	2010	Cannabis policy: Time to move beyond the psychosis debate. <i>International Journal of Drug Policy</i> 21(4), 261-264. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2010.03.003	“Based on the research to date, the harms associated with the actual use of cannabis likely pale in comparison with the widely observed harms attributable to cannabis prohibition”.

3. Series of Working Papers on California cannabis legalization

Authors	Year	Reference
Caulkins, J.	2010	Cost of marijuana prohibition on the California justice system. Working Paper Santa Monica, RAND Drug Policy Research Centre. WR-763-RC. http://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/WR763.html
Caulkins, J.	2010	Estimated cost of production for legalised cannabis. Working Paper Series. Santa Monica RAND Drug Policy Research Centre. WR-764-RC. http://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/2010/RAND_WR764.pdf
Caulkins, J., Kilmer, B., Maccoun, R.J., Pacula, R.L., & Reuter, P.	2012	Design considerations for legalizing cannabis: lessons inspired by analysis of California's Proposition 19. <i>Addiction</i> 107(5), p. 865-871. http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/21985069
Kilmer, B., Caulkins, J., Bond, B., & Reuter, P.	2010	Reducing Drug Trafficking Revenues and Violence in Mexico: Would Legalizing Marijuana in California Help? RAND OP-325-RC, Santa Monica, CA. http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OP325.html
Kilmer, B., Caulkins, J., Pacula, R., MacCoun, R., & Reuter, P.	2010	Altered State? Assessing how marijuana legalization in California could influence marijuana consumption and public budgets. RAND OP-315-RC, Santa Monica, CA. http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional_papers/OP315.html
Reuter, P.	2010	Marijuana Legalisation: What can be learned from other countries? Santa Monica, CA: RAND. http://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/2010/RAND_WR771.pdf

4. Classic texts on alcohol control

There may be lessons from alcohol prohibition for illicit drugs. Hence, we have included reference to alcohol control, as alcohol has been previously prohibited and now is legal in most countries.

Catlin, G.E. (1931) *Liquor Control*. NY: Henry Holt & Co; & London: Thornton Butterworth.

- Discusses alternative liquor control systems: prohibition, licensing system and “other experiments in control”.

Prof Robin Room has written a short piece: Room, R. Classic texts revisited: George E.G. Catlin, “Liquor Control”. *Addiction* 99(7), 925-927, 2004 which provides a summary of Catlin. – <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-0443.2004.00776.x>

Harry Levine’s piece is also worth reading on the liquor control side in the US: <http://dragon.soc.qc.cuny.edu/Staff/levine/The-Birth-of-American-Alcohol-Control.pdf>

Room, R. (2004). Alcohol and harm reduction, then and now. *Critical Public health*, 14(4), 329-344.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09581590400027536>

5. Other resources:

DRCNet online library of drug policy, < <http://www.druglibrary.org/> >.

- A key internet portal providing diverse resources on drug policy with a strong emphasis on drug law reform.

Schaffer library of drug policy, < <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/index.htm> >.

- A key internet portal for documents on drug policy. As a strong leaning towards drug law reform.