Drugs, Poisons and Controlled Substances (Poppy Cultivation and Processing) Amendment Bill 2013

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NB: Readers should note that this Research Brief was current at the time of its preparation prior to the conclusion of debate on the Bill by the Victorian Parliament. For further information please visit the Victorian Legislation and Parliamentary Documents website @ http://www.legislation.vic.gov.au.
Introduction

On 10 December 2013, the Napthine Government introduced the Drugs, Poisons and Controlled Substances (Poppy Cultivation and Processing) Amendment Bill 2013 (‘the Bill’) into the Legislative Assembly. The Bill provides for proposed amendments to the Drugs, Poisons and Controlled Substances Act 1981 (‘the Act’) to create a licensing framework for the commercial cultivation and processing of alkaloid poppies in Victoria for therapeutic and research purposes.1

In Australia at present, the growing and processing of alkaloid poppies – also known as opium poppies – is restricted to Tasmania. The Bill effectively provides for the expansion of the poppy industry to Victoria. This Research Brief provides an overview of the Minister’s second reading speech and background information on the poppy industry in Tasmania and the planned expansion to Victoria. It also provides an overview of the Bill and further information on the regulation of the poppy industry in Tasmania.

I. Second Reading Speech

The Minister for Agriculture and Food Security, the Hon. Peter Walsh, delivered the second reading speech for the Drugs, Poisons and Controlled Substances (Poppy Cultivation and Processing) Amendment Bill on 11 December 2013.2

The Minister began his speech by stating that the Bill proposes to amend the Act to enable the establishment of a licensing framework for growers and processors of alkaloid poppies, ensuring mechanisms are in place for compliance and enforcement.3

The Minister stated that the Bill represents a significant opportunity for growers in regional Victoria as alkaloid poppies are a high value crop and have been successfully trialled in the state for the last two years.4

The Minister stated that the Bill takes into account Australia’s obligations under the international Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs 1961, its reputation as a well regulated supplier of high-quality alkaloids, and issues of community safety.5

The Minister continued on to outline the administrative and enforcement framework for the new provisions, stating that they will rest with the Department of Environment and Primary Industries (DEPI) and its Minister, while the Department of Health will continue to regulate the manufacture and extraction of opiates.6

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1 Victoria, Legislative Assembly (2013) Debates, Book 17, 10 December, p. 4437.
3 ibid.
4 ibid.
5 ibid.
6 ibid.
The Minister briefly described the cultivation and processing of poppy straw for legitimate alkaloid production. He emphasised the various interventions built into the licensing provisions that will ensure the exclusion of unsuitable persons from the Victorian poppy industry.7

The Minister then outlined the terms and conditions under the licensing scheme dealing with cultivation, harvesting and disposal of alkaloid poppy crops, and the measures in place should any of these conditions be contravened.8

2. Background

The Background section provides a brief history of the opium poppy and the poppy industry. It looks at the development of the poppy industry in Tasmania, the regulation of the industry and the development of the thebaine poppy.9 The section concludes with an overview of the industry in Tasmania today and the poppy processing companies’ plans to expand the industry to Victoria.

History of the Opium Poppy and the Poppy Industry

There are about 250 different species of poppy world-wide. The sap of the opium poppy – *Papaver somniferum* – produces the pain relieving drug opium.10 The opium poppy originated in the Middle East and has been used by humans for thousands of years (primarily for opium but also for its edible seeds and oil).11 The opium poppy grows to about a metre or more tall and can be various colours with white, pink and purple being the most common.12

The sap inside the ‘capsule’ of the opium poppy contains alkaloids such as morphine, codeine and thebaine (alkaloids are compounds produced by plants that can have physiological effects on humans). A more detailed description of the alkaloids morphine, codeine and thebaine is provided in Appendix 1.

The traditional method of harvesting opium is to score or cut the immature poppy capsule so that the sap leaks out and dries into a hard brown resin (raw opium) that is later scraped off and collected for use.13

In the early nineteenth century, a process for extracting the alkaloid morphine from opium was developed, which allowed for pain relief to be administered more

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7 ibid.
8 For further details of these measures see ibid., p. 4540.
9 Further information on the alkaloid thebaine is provided in the Background Section and in Appendix 1 of the Research Brief.
12 Saunders (2013) op. cit.
13 ibid.
accurately.\textsuperscript{14} In the late nineteenth century, experiments with morphine led to the creation of heroin.\textsuperscript{15}

Today, opium poppies can be grown legally for the licit pharmaceutical industry or illegally for the illicit drugs trade. The main countries growing poppies for the illicit drugs trade are Afghanistan, and the Southeast Asian countries that make up the ‘Golden Triangle’: Burma, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. These countries use the traditional method of harvesting opium.\textsuperscript{16}

The main countries growing poppies for the licit market are Australia (Tasmania), Spain, Turkey, France and India. With the exception of India, these countries use a different method of harvesting where, at maturity, the dry crop is mechanically harvested producing what is known as ‘poppy straw’.\textsuperscript{17} Poppy straw consists of the upper parts of the poppy, including the stem and capsule.\textsuperscript{18} Morphine and related alkaloids are then extracted from the dry poppy straw, bypassing the opium stage.\textsuperscript{19}

The poppy straw extraction process was invented by the Hungarian chemist, Janos Kabay, in 1931.\textsuperscript{20} Fist explains the process as follows:

During processing, the crop is threshed to separate seed from poppy straw. The alkaloids are extracted from the poppy straw to produce concentrate of poppy straw (CPS), which can be sold as a narcotic raw material, or utilised in the manufacture of APIs [active pharmaceutical ingredients].\textsuperscript{21}

The poppy straw process is considered to be the safer method for the commercial production of alkaloids because it helps to insure against leakage of raw opium into the illicit market.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{Development of the Tasmanian Poppy Industry}

In Australia, small quantities of poppies were grown for the production of opium following European settlement, however, after Federation, growing opium poppies was made illegal. During World War Two, shortages of morphine highlighted a need for reliable and stable sources of opium poppies.\textsuperscript{23} In 1960, British drug companies

\textsuperscript{14} Frappell (2010) op. cit.
\textsuperscript{15} ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Legislative Assembly (2013) op. cit.
\textsuperscript{21} Fist (2001) op. cit.
\textsuperscript{23} Frappell (2010) op. cit., p. 74.
investigated the potential for large-scale poppy growing in Australia. Poppy growing trials, with seed provided by Edinburgh Pharmaceutical Industries, were undertaken in Western Australia, South Australia, New South Wales and Tasmania, with Victoria declining to be involved.\textsuperscript{24}

The trials were more successful in Tasmania than the other states and the decision was made to restrict further investigations to Tasmania.\textsuperscript{25} Frappell writes that: 'At that time no publicity was given to the fact that field experiments were being conducted with poppies from which opium could be extracted – in fact the crop was referred to as oil poppies to minimise interest'.\textsuperscript{26} In 1963, Edinburgh Pharmaceutical Industries became part of the Glaxo Group (later to become GlaxoSmithKline). In 1964, Glaxo contracted farmers to grow poppies on a commercial basis. Frappell explains that over the next five years there were many crop failures and much work was done by Glaxo field staff, the Tasmanian state government, farmers and contractors to improve growing and harvesting techniques.\textsuperscript{27}

In 1969, Glaxo announced that it would proceed with the commercial development of poppy growing in Tasmania and built a factory in Latrobe in northwest Tasmania to separate the seed from the poppy straw. Frappell explains that 'The pulverised and compressed straw was then transported to Port Fairy in Victoria where Glaxo had an under-utilised dairy processing operation that had been converted into an alkaloid extraction plant'.\textsuperscript{28}

In 1971, an agreement between the Commonwealth and the states was signed, confining the poppy industry to Tasmania for security reasons.\textsuperscript{29}

In the mid-1970s, the company Tasmanian Alkaloids Pty Ltd was formed. Tasmanian Alkaloids contracted farmers to grow poppies and constructed a factory in Westbury in northern Tasmania, which separated the seeds from the poppy straw and extracted the alkaloids.\textsuperscript{30} Tasmanian Alkaloids has been a subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson since 1982.\textsuperscript{31}

In 2004, a third Tasmanian poppy processing company was formed called TPI Enterprises Ltd. TPI is a smaller, independent company and also contracts farmers to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{25} ibid., pp. 75-76.
\item \textsuperscript{26} ibid., p. 75.
\item \textsuperscript{27} ibid., p. 78. Frappell further explains that the Tasmanian Department of Agriculture conducted field experiments using the best cultivar bred by Glaxo each season, and that ‘detailed investigations were made on optimum plant spacing, time of sowing, fertiliser requirements and chemical weed-control methods’.
\item \textsuperscript{28} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{29} ibid. Notably, some texts state the year of this agreement to be 1972 rather than 1971.
\item \textsuperscript{30} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Williams (2010) op. cit., p. 302.
\end{itemize}
grow poppies. It has built a factory at Cressy in northern Tasmania which both separates the seeds from the poppy straw and extracts the alkaloids.  

Figure 1: Image of a poppy field near Devonport, Tasmania.

Source: M. Ross (2012)

Regulation of the Poppy Industry and the Thebaine Poppy

The opium poppy industry is regulated under international, commonwealth and state law. As a signatory to the United Nations Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs 1961 as amended by the 1972 Protocol Amending the Single Convention, Australia is required to control and supervise the growing and production of opium poppies and the import and export of narcotic material. The implementation of the UN Convention is overseen by the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), which

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determines annual quotas of poppies based on estimates of world-wide production needs.\footnote{ibid., p. 4.}

Williams explains that the INCB guarantees some countries markets for their opiates if those opiates would otherwise enter the illicit drugs trade, and then limits the licensing of production elsewhere.\footnote{Williams (2010) op. cit., p. 303-304.} Williams further explains that the United States – the world’s largest importer of narcotic material – has also restricted access to its markets through what is known as the ‘80/20 Rule’, whereby 80 per cent of all narcotic raw material entering the US must be imported from India and Turkey with the balance coming from certain other countries including Australia.\footnote{ibid. Williams writes that: ‘The world’s largest importer of narcotic material, the USA, has also restricted access to its markets after a resolution was passed in 1979 by the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs to address overproduction and diversion in India and Turkey. The Drug Enforcement Administration, operating inside the US Department of Justice, provided legislative effect with a trade agreement implemented in 1981. The ‘80/20 Rule’ or Law 1312.13 in the US Code of Federal Regulations requires a minimum 80% of all narcotic raw materials entering the USA be imported from India and Turkey…’.}

Notably, the importation of the alkaloid thebaine is not restricted under the United States 80/20 Rule. Traditionally, thebaine is a minor constituent of opium poppies, however, it is the main alkaloid present in a new variety of opium poppy developed by the company Tasmanian Alkaloids.\footnote{Fist (2001) op. cit., p. 2.} Fist explains that this new variety of poppy was developed through mutagenesis rather than genetic engineering and was first grown commercially in 1996/97. Thebaine poppies now make up a large proportion of the Tasmanian poppy industry.\footnote{ibid., p. 6. For further information on the development of the thebaine poppy see ibid., pp. 4-8 and Williams (2010) op. cit., p. 304.}


At the state level, the Tasmanian Government explains that the cultivation, possession or refining of opium poppies are all criminal offences under the Misuse of Drugs Act 2001 (Tas) unless the activity is licensed under the Poisons Act 1971 (Tas). The Poppy Advisory and Control Board (PACB) is established under the Poisons Act to oversee and manage the industry and provide advice to the Minister (with the final determination on licence applications made by the Minister).\footnote{Tasmanian Government (2012) op. cit., p. 4.} The regulation of the Tasmanian poppy industry is further described in the Other Jurisdiction section of this Research Brief.
The Tasmanian Poppy Industry Today and Processor Plans for Expansion

Today, Tasmania is one of the world’s largest producers of licit narcotic materials and supplies about half the world’s demand. It is considered to be the most efficient producer of poppies with the highest yield per hectare of any opiate producing country.41

The PACB states that due to confidentiality requirements, detailed statistics on Tasmania’s poppy production are not made publically available.42

Speaking generally, the PACB states that there are, on average, about 800 growers cultivating about 25,000 hectares of poppies annually in Tasmania.43 The consulting group Macquarie Franklin similarly states that in the 2012-13 season, 835 growers grew around 30,000 hectares of poppies throughout the state.44

The Tasmanian Government stated in November 2012 that the poppy processing industry grosses in excess of $100 million per annum with farm gate returns to growers estimated at between $70 to $90 million in recent years. It further stated that according to the most recent figures available at that time (2009) the industry employs approximately 1000 people.45

The Tasmanian Government has also stated that all three poppy processors have indicated that they expect the global market for poppy products to continue to grow and for competition to increase from other producer countries.46

The processor companies are arguing that in this context they need to ensure a continual supply of poppies and should avoid the risks associated with sourcing supply from one geographic area.47

Notably, TPI Enterprises is seeking approval to import 2,000 tonnes of Turkish poppy straw into Tasmania. There is currently a Tasmanian Parliamentary Inquiry into the matter which is yet to report.48 The submission to the Inquiry made by the growers’

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45 Tasmanian Government (2012) op. cit. p. 3.  
46 ibid., pp. 4-5.  
47 ibid., p. 6.  


representative body, Poppy Growers Tasmania, argues that the importation of Turkish poppy straw to the state is unnecessary and would pose bio-security risks.49

An additional issue of concern to the poppy industry is the Tasmanian Government’s moratorium on the growth of genetically modified crops in the state, as the industry (including both growers and processors) has stated that it would like to explore the benefits of genetically modified poppies.50

The Tasmanian Government has further stated that Tasmanian Alkaloids have commenced poppy growing trials in New Zealand and Victoria, GlaxoSmithKline is conducting poppy growing trials in Victoria, and TPI Enterprises is investigating growing trials in Victoria.51

Expanding the Poppy Industry to Victoria

The Victorian Department of Environment and Primary Industries (DEPI) states that in 2013, the Victorian Department of Health approved small scale research trials of alkaloid poppies in Victoria. DEPI confirms that GlaxoSmithKline, Tasmanian Alkaloids, and TPI Enterprises are the manufacturers licensed to conduct the trials. DEPI further states that: ‘The trials are for cultivation only and are spread across the state to help scientists work out which areas and what growing conditions will be the most suitable to grow poppies. Once the crop is grown, harvested and analysed, the plant matter will be destroyed’.52

In December 2013, the Victorian Government issued a media release accompanying the introduction of the Drugs, Poisons and Controlled Substances (Poppy Cultivation and Processing) Amendment Bill to the Parliament. The media release announced that following the successful passage of the legislation, an alkaloid poppy industry could be established in Victoria from as early as the 2014 growing season.53

3. The Bill

This section of the Research Brief summarises the key provisions of the Bill. For an overview of the Bill in its entirety, readers are directed to the Explanatory Memorandum.

The Bill is in four Parts. Part 1 sets out that the purpose of the Bill is ‘to provide for a licensing scheme to cultivate alkaloid poppies and process poppy straw’, and that the Bill commences on a day or days of proclamation or on the 1 December 2014 (clauses 1(a), 2). Part 2 inserts a new Part IVB in the Drugs, Poisons and Controlled Substances Act 1981 (‘the Act’) for the new licensing system. Part 3 makes minor amendments to the Act, while Part 4 repeals the amending Act on 1 December 2015.

New Part
The Bill essentially inserts a new Part IVB into the Act which is titled ‘Licences to Cultivate Alkaloid Poppies and Process Poppy Straw’. It consists of nine Divisions and details the oversight of the new licensing system (new sections 69N to 69V).

Definitions
Division 1 of the new Part provides a number of new definitions. Notably, it defines the species of alkaloid poppy that can be cultivated. It defines the term ‘disqualified person’ in terms of employment by a licensed grower or processor. It also defines the meaning of ‘process’ in relation to preparation or treatment of poppies. New section 69NB details matters to be considered by the Secretary in determining a ‘fit and proper person’ to hold a licence for the purpose of ‘preventing criminal activity’ in the industry.

Application for Poppy Cultivation Licence
Division 2 provides for matters relating to the application, issuing and renewal of a licence for poppy cultivation for commercial purposes in therapeutic use or for research in non-therapeutic use. Section 69O details the application process and prescribes particulars and evidence to be submitted to the Secretary to determine whether the applicant is a ‘fit and proper person’ to be issued a licence. The Secretary is required to provide a copy of the application to the Chief Commissioner of Police without whose approval a licence cannot be issued or renewed. The terms and conditions, and prescribed activity that accompany the issuing and renewal of the licence, are contained in sections 69OC to 69OG. Section 69OC(7) also stipulates that cultivation can only take place under a registered contract between a licensed grower and licensed processor.

Application for Poppy Processing Licence
Division 3 echoes the provisions of Division 2 but concerns the application requirements, approval and renewal of a licence to process poppy straw. It stipulates that applicants to ‘transport, sell or supply poppy straw’ must also hold a Commonwealth licence to export narcotic drugs; and ‘transport, sell or supply’ poppy straw to persons who hold a Commonwealth licence to manufacture or export narcotic drugs (section 69P(1) (c-d)).
Division 4 provides for the Secretary to amend, suspend or cancel poppy cultivation or poppy processing licences.

**Inspection and Enforcement**
Division 5 provides for inspection and enforcement powers to ensure compliance under the new licensing scheme. It allows the Secretary to ‘authorise certain persons as Inspectors’ (section 69R), and prescribes various powers for Inspectors (section 69RB). These include the power to enter and inspect premises or vehicles; seize documents and samples (section 69RC); and seize and detain alkaloid poppies or poppy straw (section 69RH).

Division 5 also provides the Secretary with powers to dispose of or deal with seized alkaloid poppies or poppy straw should any terms and conditions of the licence be contravened. This includes the power to direct the harvesting and destruction of an alkaloid poppy crop (section 69RJ). Provisions are also made to ‘take reasonable steps’ to release or return seized material to the licensed grower or processor if the reason for retention no longer exists (section 69RK). Orders for extended retention of seized material, as well as forfeiture, harvest and destruction are made by the Magistrates’ Court on application from the Secretary (sections 69RL-RM).

**Offences**
Various offences are prescribed under Division 6 and mainly concern the failure of licence holders to notify the Secretary of any amendment to the registered contract (section 69S); amendment or cancellation of the Commonwealth manufacturing or export licence (section 69SA); or any changes to the licence holder’s details under section 69O. Further penalties are imposed should any terms and conditions of the licence be contravened.

Under section 69SJ, a licensed grower or processor is criminally liable should they fail to exercise ‘due diligence’ if their employee commits an offence under this new Part IVB.

**Alkaloid Poppy Register**
Division 7 provides for the establishment and maintenance of the Alkaloid Poppy Register by the Secretary and the information to be included. Division 7 also stipulates restrictions on access and disclosure of information contained in the Register.

**Review by VCAT**
Division 8 allows for appeal or review by the Victorian Civil and Administrative Tribunal (VCAT) for an applicant should they be refused the issue or renewal of a licence due to a decision by the Chief Commissioner of Police which is based on protected information. This is essentially to ensure that the protected information is not disclosed.

**Regulations**
Division 9, the final Division of the new Part IVB, provides for regulations to be made by the Governor in Council (section 69V).
4. Other Jurisdiction

This section of the Research Brief provides some further detail on the regulation of the poppy industry in Tasmania. The Tasmanian Attorney General recently commissioned a review of the regulation and oversight of the state’s poppy industry. The review was conducted by consultants John Ramsay and Associates and completed in July 2013. The Report of the Review of the Tasmanian Poppy Industry Regulation (‘the Report’) was made publically available in January 2014, and the following brief summary is primarily drawn from the Report.54

Licensing

The Poisons Act 1971 (Tas) contains provisions authorising the growing, possession and processing of the opium poppy plant and the manufacturing of narcotic substances.55 The licencing of industry participants – the growers and processors – is the key regulatory mechanism. Importantly, the detail of the actual regulation and compliance requirements are to be found in the terms of the licences issued rather than in regulations, guidelines or codes of practice.56

Licences to grow poppies are issued to farmers under section 52 of the Poisons Act. Growers licences are issued annually and are conditional on the grower having a contract with one of the three processing companies – GlaxoSmithKline, Tasmanian Alkaloids or TPI Enterprises.57 The Report explains that:

To secure a licence, a grower must lodge an application in which an essential requirement is the existence of an agreement with a processor to grow a crop in an identified area or paddock on a farm. Growers are required to submit detailed personal information, to be subject to a criminal history check, to provide information about their property ownership and persons living and working on the property.58

The processing of licence applications are conducted by staff of the PACB who are appointed to the Department of Justice.59 The licences are then issued by the Minister for Health and Human Services delegate, the Chief Pharmacist, who has expertise in the administration of the Poisons Act and the substances regulated.60

Licences to process poppy straw to extract the alkaloids and manufacture products are issued to the processing companies under section 16 of the Poisons Act. The Report explains that ‘There are no special provisions in the Act for the regulation of processors, rather the general scheme of the Act which deals with the control and manufacture of substances by chemists applies’.61 The Report further explains that:

Processors are subject to a range of licence obligations which include comprehensive security requirements for all aspects of the business, the physical premises, visitors

54 Ramsay (2013) op. cit.
55 ibid., p. 17
56 ibid.
57 ibid., p. 3.
58 ibid., p. 23.
59 ibid., pp. 19, 24.
60 ibid., pp. 18, 24.
61 ibid., p. 24.
who access the premises, the transport of materials, security checks for staff and contractors and the detailed recording and reporting to the Board of all materials harvested and processed, the products made and the waste product, and the retention of those records.62

Security
Poppies are a potentially dangerous crop and community safety is an important issue in the regulation of the industry. There are two main security concerns. Firstly, unauthorised individuals may steal poppies for personal drug use or experimentation. This can result in toxic substances being produced and consumed and there have been a number of deaths in Tasmania as a result of this activity. Secondly, there is the risk that poppies may be stolen by organised crime groups and used in the illicit drugs trade.63

The Report explains that secure fencing is required to be maintained by growers and that field security assessments are carried out by PACB Inspectors. Voluntary surveillance is undertaken by growers and field officers of the processing companies. Formal surveillance is carried out by PACB Inspectors and, when required, by the Police. The Report states that ‘Theft or removal of poppies is monitored and reported by growers, processors and the Inspectors, and investigated by the Police and prosecuted as appropriate. Records are kept of crop interference’.64 Additionally, although not a licence requirement, warning signs are affixed to poppy field fences by PACB Inspectors.65

Figure 2. Image of warning sign affixed to a poppy field fence in Tasmania.

Source: R. Grant (2013)66

62 ibid.
63 ibid., p. 22.
64 ibid., p. 25.
65 ibid.
Appendix 1. Description of Morphine, Codeine and Thebaine provided by the Tasmanian Poppy Advisory & Control Board.

Morphine

- Morphine is the principal alkaloid in the opium poppy. It is a powerful analgesic narcotic and like other opiates, it acts directly on the central nervous system to relieve pain.
- Side effects include impairment of mental performance, euphoria, drowsiness, lethargy and blurred vision. It also decreases hunger and inhibits the cough reflex.
- Morphine is highly addictive and tolerance and physical dependency develop quickly.
- Morphine is medically prescribed for the relief of moderate to severe pain and is found in various preparations.
- Primarily, it is given as subcutaneous, intravenous or epidural injections. Orally, it comes as an elixir or in tablet form. Morphine is rarely in suppository form.

Codeine

- Codeine is the most widely used, naturally occurring narcotic in medical treatment in the world. This alkaloid is found in opium in concentrations ranging from 0.7 to 2.5 per cent. Codeine is also the starting material for the production of two other narcotics, dihydrocodeine and hydrocodone.
- Codeine is medically prescribed for the relief of moderate pain and cough suppression.
- Compared to morphine, codeine produces less analgesia, sedation, and respiratory depression, and is usually taken orally. It is made into tablets either alone or in combination with aspirin or acetaminophen (i.e. Tylenol with Codeine).
- As a cough suppressant, codeine is found in a number of liquid preparations. Codeine is also used to a lesser extent as an injectable solution for the treatment of pain.

Thebaine

- Thebaine, a minor constituent of opium, is controlled under international law.
- Thebaine is not used therapeutically, but is converted into a variety of substances including oxycodone, oxymorphone, nalbuphine, naloxone, naltrexone, and buprenorphine.67

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References

Relevant Legislation

Drugs, Poisons and Controlled Substances Act 1981 (Vic)
Narcotic Drugs Act 1967 (Cth)
Misuse of Drugs Act 2001 (Tas)
Poisons Act 1971 (Tas)

Works Cited


Research Service

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