



Anti-cannabis laws have led to unnecessary antagonism between young people and the police.

Cannabis and The Ecology Movement

In recent times cannabis has frequently been used by workers, artists, and religious groups critical of establishment politics and values. In Britain, the cannabis laws are increasingly used against rock festivals, venues and events associated with the 'youth' culture. The advice agency *Release*, which runs regular emergency services at festivals, reports a significant increase in police 'stop and search' operations around rock festival sites this year. Whilst the popular stereotype of the cannabis smoking hippy is wearing somewhat thin, illegal cannabis use and its repression cannot be disassociated from liberation politics. Dr Zbigniew Thielle, chairman of the Polish Psychiatric Society's Commission on Drug Problems recently discussed a similar phenomenon in Poland. "The feeling of hostility, of fear, of moral disgust is not directly connected with the effects of use of definite intoxicants. If it were so, such feeling would be stronger in relation to alcoholics than to grass smokers. The establishment rejects in the first place the new, alternative socio-cultural values, manifested, either intentionally or un-awares by circles shaping the 'pot' culture." A careful review of the rate of development of social attitudes in hostile and negative behaviour of the establishment was noticed at a time when the increasing number of drug users was accompanied by the youth protest movement. The bourgeois mentality defends those morals, behavioural and cultural values which encourage a firmer grounding of consumer attitudes."⁵

Such indications of 'pot culture' values have already arisen within the UK ecology movement, counting as it does a large number of cannabis users amongst its supporters. At the recent Ecology Party Summer Gathering at Glastonbury a strong group pushing the party towards more radical policies and campaigning methods were also canvassing support for Ecology Party policy on cannabis legalisation. One of the largest

meetings at the gathering was in fact devoted to cannabis legalisation, where the structure of a future legal market was discussed in relation to land and agricultural reform. Could cannabis benefit the smallholder and mixed farmer, or will its cultivation and marketing be taken over by large concerns as just another, albeit very profitable, cash crop? Clearly such questions are inseparable from the whole debate around agricultural and land reform.

In France close ties also exist between ecology and cannabis. The radical ecology magazine *La Gueule Ouverte* helped found the French legalisation campaign, supported by the national daily paper *Libération*, founded by Jean-Paul Sartre. In Italy, one of the main parties campaigning on ecological and civil liberty issues, the Radical Party, is also pushing hard for legal cannabis. The Party, which increased its vote from 1% to 3½% at the last election, giving them 18 Parliamentary deputies, has just collected 650 thousand signatures against nuclear power and 550 thousand against cannabis prohibition, forcing the government to hold national referenda on these and certain other matters. With cannabis, a referendum may not be necessary. Despite howls of protest from the Pope, the Health Minister has suggested a proposal to remove all but major trafficking offences involving cannabis from the criminal law.

Given such ideological connections between pressure to legalise cannabis, and wider pressures for a more socially and ecologically sound society, what is the present impact of the cannabis market on agriculture and economies, and could a future legal market be worth more than just another cash crop?

The Size of the Market

The cannabis market is large. How large is hard to estimate. In 1973 a *Midweek* survey suggested that some 3.8 million people in the UK had tried cannabis.

That somewhat unreliable figure may well have topped 5 million by now. According to Home Office figures, nearly 12 tons of cannabis were seized in 1979, as compared to some 6½ tons in 1978. Since the release of those statistics over ten tons have been seized in one operation alone. Given such scanty yet rapidly escalating figures, guesstimates as to total market size are hard indeed. An estimate published in *Police Review* by a drugs squad officer and based on information from customs places total UK imports at 500 tons a year.⁶ Taking an average retail price of £50 per oz, such a quantity would be worth some £896 million on the street, less than half of this at wholesale prices. Unfortunately the body which advises government on drug policy, the Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs, does not see fit to quantify patterns and extent of use, perhaps because the size of the market indicates so clearly the failure of a prohibition which a majority of members of the Council still blindly support. Apparently user surveys would be too costly.

Perhaps the most reliable indication of just who this market services is to be found in the Legalise Cannabis Campaign's membership lists. Whilst not all LCC members are cannabis smokers, the Campaign numbers amongst its members students, doctors, lawyers, miners, journalists, engineers, computer programmers, musicians, seamen, members of the armed forces, a former assistant prison governor, gardeners, the list goes on.

According to surveys carried out by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) and the Drug Abuse Council 51 million Americans have tried cannabis in the last 15 years, and 26.6 million continue to use it. The US Narcotics Intelligence Estimate states that 10-15,000 tons of cannabis was smuggled into the United States in 1978, worth between \$15-23 billion. A study based on somewhat lower estimates of consumption has calculated that \$1.8 billion in taxes could be raised from this market annually,⁷ whilst at the moment the government spends \$600 million a year on prosecuting cannabis offenders. The US Federal Drugs Squad (Drugs Enforcement Administration-DEA) has even estimated the total value of the cannabis industry as high as \$48 billion, which would mean that if all cannabis dealers amalgamated into one corporation, it would be the third largest in the US after General Motors and Exxon. Whatever the truth of these figures, which must remain to some extent guesstimates, the US 'industry' is clearly huge and undoubtedly wields immense economic and political power, power totally out of official government control.

Organised Crime and the Cannabis Trade

So who works in this business? Until recent years the cannabis market has remained remarkably free of organised crime elements, mainly because other substances such as cocaine and heroin are far easier and more profitable to smuggle. In the case of heroin a hard core of customers also form a somewhat captive market. By 'organised crime' I refer to groups who do not smoke cannabis themselves, who are involved in other types of major crime, who are trafficking purely for commercial gain, who use violence to protect their in-

terests, and who involve themselves in high-level police, political and business corruption. Agents of such groups are often armed. Recently, due to the burgeoning size of the market, the cannabis business has become increasingly attractive to such elements.

A clear example is the present military junta in Bolivia. The US State Department has accused the army officers who organised the coup of running the Bolivian cocaine trade and the US Drugs Enforcement Administration has withdrawn all cooperation with the new so-called government.

Against this type of dealer should be compared the cannabis smuggler — someone who smokes cannabis and who often becomes initially involved in the trade to provide self and friends with a reliable supply. They are not armed, rely on native wit and luck rather than corruption and violence to outwit police and customs. They typically deal nothing but cannabis and are, sad to say, being pushed out of the market. Such dealers are still common amongst the lower echelons of the network where often the borderline between commercial dealing and 'getting in a few ounces for the family' is very narrow. They generally remain active as exporters in remoter areas of the world where large scale dealing has not yet arrived. Often genuinely disillusioned with conventional work, they have a zest for travel, adventure and ready cash. They are however usually by no means rich, smuggling relatively small quantities with high risks. Those that I have met abroad are very often the people with the best understanding and sympathy with local cultures. "Importers are into the last great adventure; as someone wrote on the wall of the police cell near the Afghan border, 'Marco Polo never had these problems' ...the trade routes of the dope culture are just as dangerous, its merchants just as resourceful ..."⁸

In Sept. 1979 2¼ tons of cannabis were seized by UK Customs off the Cornish coast, and a further 2¼ tons found in a London garage. During the operation, no guns were involved, nether police nor customs were armed. In what other enterprise, criminal or legal, would £5 million worth of goods be moved around without armed protection? This seizure contrasts sharply with more recent events, where in one instance a customs officer was shot dead in a cannabis raid; in another, guns, clear links with organised crime and death threats emerged from an investigation into an amphetamine and cannabis smuggling operation. A third incident in Ireland involved guns, a former Provisional IRA associate and 850lbs of cannabis hidden under a containerload of bananas. As the market grows, so will such organisations take an increasing interest. Prohibition has not stopped them, rather handed them more money.

Corruption

Indeed, in this booming market ever more disturbing information emerges as to just who is involved. A Scotland Yard Drugs Squad officer was sentenced this July to 7 years imprisonment for 'recycling' at least 900lb of cannabis back onto the market, part of a 11½cwt haul seized by senior colleagues which, according to the prosecution, was never destroyed. In an unusual outburst

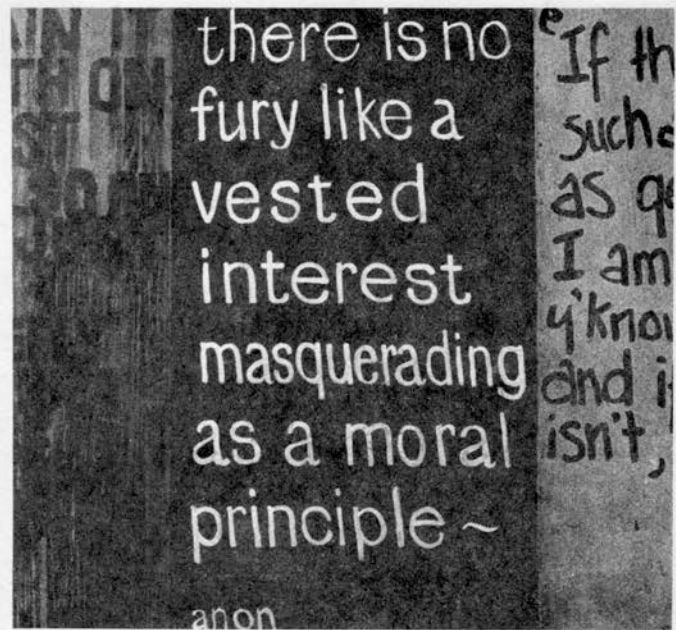
Jamaica: Rastas vs Organised Crime

The large quantities of ganja grown in Jamaica, mainly by smallholders, must be better hidden than in the Himalayas. The country is less remote from 'civilisation' and police actively search out fields. Jamaican farmers either carve out a patch in the hills, far away from any path, sometimes building themselves a small shelter where they live as the harvest approaches. Or, more boldly, they grow the crop hidden amongst other plants. As in India, many of the farmers who use cannabis for medicinal, recreational and sacred purposes consider it to be a holy plant.

Many Rastafarians are involved in cultivation and small dealing, believing the 'herb' to be sacred. According to Daniel Wight, a social anthropologist recently returned from a Jamaican field trip, the cultivation and trade amongst Rastas is facilitating a small reversal of the move from land to town. Rastas place great value on growing their own 'ital' food (free from chemical fertilisers) including herb, the 'brain food,' thereby rending themselves independent of the 'Babylonian shitstem.' They are another example of pot culture liberation politics referred to earlier. As one close observer of the movement summed up: "The cultural resistance of Rasta remains an integral part of the struggle against American imperialism and commodity fetishism, which attempts to reduce human beings to zombies."¹⁶ Pushed by over 30% unemployment and intolerable conditions in the towns, many Rastas in Jamaica are setting up their own smallholdings, sometimes aided by the government's land-lease scheme. Whilst they try to live off the food and herb they cultivate, a surplus is often produced which is sold for cash. One such Rasta, when asked by Dan Wight what he would do with the proceeds of his crop, replied: "Not car, buy two goat."

The present situation in Jamaica, as in the Himalayas, is delicately balanced. On the one hand, the trade assists small farmers, for whom cannabis is an integral part of culture and religion, if anything boosting agricultural production by the surplus it so easily produces; on the other hand, big business (in this case organised syndicates) have moved in because the profits from mass exploitation can be so huge. They threaten the delicate indigenous superstructure of supply and demand, just as their successors, multinational agrobusiness, could threaten this same superstructure under certain types of legal market. Both must be fought, for both represent their own brands of enslavement. One possible reason for the very rapid take-over of the Colombian cannabis market by big business may indeed be that hardly any cannabis use trade or customs existed before the export trade started to expand. Only 3%¹² of the Colombian population uses cannabis, in comparison to between 50 and 70%¹⁷ in Jamaica, and a large proportion in India. No superstructure, no allegiances, — business, friendly, religious or political — existed which had to be supplanted before the trade could be controlled from above.

A very strange situation is now developing in Jamaica where a right wing religious sect, the Ethiopian Zion Coptic Church, which shares many beliefs with Rasta, including a belief in the sacred nature of the



herb, is launching explicit verbal attacks on Rasta, including referring to Rastas as 'rope-heads.' This religious sect is immensely rich, owning at least 4000 acres of land and employing some 1000 people in businesses, one of which ranks amongst the major Jamaican container transport companies, Coptic Containers.¹⁸ The sect is widely suspected of organising a large slice of the Jamaican cannabis export market and faces criminal charges of conspiracy to import large tonnages of cannabis into the United States, as well as bribery of Jamaican coast guard officers. Twelve tons were seized on a US farm, 19 tons on a yacht, both belonging to the President of Zion Coptic Church Inc., the Miami end of the Jamaica based sect. Five acres of plants uprooted on one of the Coptics' Jamaican farms resulted in no convictions due to lack of evidence as to who was growing the plants. It is indeed politically significant that an organisation which is spiritually opposed to the Rastas should at the same time be quite possibly attempting to supplant the economic substructure upon which many individual Rastas depend. Dawn Rich, a regular columnist on the conservative *Jamaican Daily Gleaner*, took the following view: "Jamaican small farmers are in the process of being recolonised by an extremely dubious Miami outfit which proposes to use an indigenous cult, Rastafarianism, as its religious cover, so that it can be free to market ganja ... in the United States."¹⁹

Production in the USA: Reviving local communities

The cycle of problems associated with cannabis growing, high prices bringing in big crime, often violence, is also discernible amongst growers in the United States, who manage to procure a much better price for their product but are facing escalating problems with thefts and police activity. In the late sixties and early seventies numbers of young people, part of the flower power and hippy movement, moved out of towns and bought or rented land in the country. In California many of them moved into the depressed hills north of San Francisco where small farms were falling into neglect and the local economy stagnating. They naturally started growing small patches of marijuana, both for their own smoke and to sell some to help set themselves up.

Many of these people, as in India and Jamaica, felt cannabis to be a somewhat special plant, in some ways a symbol of their demands for a better life. Amongst those growers were some very fine botanists, who worked on crossing different strains, producing a seed ideally adapted to the climate which produced a very fine marijuana. They were amongst the first farmers to develop sinsemilla, a method of growing the female plants without allowing them to be pollinated and go to seed. The result is a much higher yield and more potent smoke. With an excellent quality product and crack-downs on imported cannabis, home grown farmers started to take over an increased slice of the market, possibly supplying 30% of the domestic market in 1979, as opposed to 10% in 1978.²⁰

Helicopter assisted police raids on the 1979 California harvest areas netted 52,165lbs of 'sinsemilla'. According to the Drugs Enforcement Administration, cannabis has now outstripped grapes as California State's number one cash crop, earning some 1 billion dollars last year. (Grapes \$864 million, cotton \$691 million in 1978). Individual growers receive around \$1500-\$2000 per lb for their product, one claiming a \$66,000 yield from a 4 acre patch.²¹ Individual earnings between \$150,000 and \$200,000 are mentioned in some reports.²² Such huge profits have had an electrifying effect on local communities. "With luck, you'll survive, bring in your harvest, reap the rewards of a long season both in good smoke and bucks. And you'll probably spend a bunch of that money in the local hardware and grocery stores, maybe buy that long promised rototiller from the feed store and a bunch of lumber from the building supply for the new shed. Since you can't bank what's left over, and it won't do anybody any good in a hole in the ground, you might loan some to a neighbour who needs it to build a house, or maybe to the food co-op that's buying a new building ... Marijuana growers will make the difference between continuing rural economic stagnation and prosperity."²³

One result of local prosperity dependent on the cannabis trade was an amusing incident last year in Mendocino County, the heart of growing country. There the board of supervisors voted 5 to 3 to reject a DEA \$19,613 grant to assist the local Sheriff's Department in enforcing prohibition. Supervisor Danny Walsh, who voted against the grant, stated his satisfaction with the job the Department was already doing, enforcing the laws "with an understanding of the lifestyles, sociology and culture" of the growers. "I don't want to see anyone killed over the growing of a simple weed," he said.²⁴

As elsewhere, growers are becoming increasingly concerned about large numbers of crop thefts, as well as armed police intervention. Some are starting to arm themselves. As elsewhere, increased violence and high profits lead to worries that larger, more organised groups of growers will move in on the trade. The old cycle leading to destruction of a useful crop and lifestyle has already started. Although the benefits of such high profits would be lost, many growers would willingly take a drop in income to be allowed to cultivate legally and in peace. They are concerned, however, that a future legal market will destroy their business also. "Most current marijuana production occurs in upland

areas unsuited to large-scale farming. If legalization occurs without acknowledging the increasing economic dependence of these marginal lands on marijuana, then the current pot regions will lose their precious crop to the prime agricultural lands. Present small scale labour intensive cultivation will give way to mass methods of production, agribusiness, and the shifting of the economic benefits into the hands of those who already control most of the American agricultural complex."²³

Home Production in the UK

Should this all seem somewhat far removed from the UK situation, a recent seizure of 2000 plants in one large greenhouse would indicate that UK growers are

"If legalised, tobacco companies would have to consider selling cannabis. There is obviously a big market out there."

Ken McAllister, former President of Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company.

starting to take the home cultivation question seriously. Convictions for cultivation rose from 932 in 1978 to 1225 in 1979. 22306 plants were uprooted by police in 1979, as opposed to 8467 in 1978. Don Irving's book *Guide to Growing Marijuana in the British Isles* has sold around 20,000 copies. Police have expressed concern, warning young farmers' clubs about clandestine cultivation on quiet corners of land. A London University Professor of Pharmacognacy (the science of plants used as medicines) has been growing cannabis under license in the UK for some years now, and concludes from his research: "As a result, we can say that herbal cannabis of high activity can be produced readily in our cool climate."²⁵

Cannabis and Land Reform: a Necessary Link

To produce high quality smoking cannabis, relatively little land is required although the tending and harvesting of the plant requires considerable labour. The process could, however, be mechanised, although a considerable drop in quality would ensue. In theory, it would for instance be possible for the UK government to license 250 hop farmers with 30 acres each, using present day hop harvesting machinery, to produce the entire UK annual consumption. Quality would be low, but the declining hop industry would boom and the government could keep a tight control on production. I have based this estimate on a yield of 2 oz. of smoking material per plant, a very low yield which could undoubtedly be improved. This type of solution is exactly what many smokers and others concerned with the pattern of agricultural production would not want — a drop in quality, concentration of the business into government hands and a small group of relatively rich farmers, use of prime food production land for cannabis. Solutions to this dilemma clearly encompass the whole area of land distribution and agricultural policy.

We are in effect confronted by an agricultural business worth billions of pounds which has traditionally been run by small farmers. These farmers have often

ishment' organisation should have felt it necessary to carry out such a project. In their introduction they state: "It is clear that marked shifts in public opinion have occurred in recent years and the possibility cannot be ruled out that at some time in the future there might be very strong, perhaps irresistible pressures to relax the present prohibitory system. It therefore makes sense to set out what seem to be the available choices, to examine how they work if applied to Britain, and to try and predict their likely consequences." The study group which produced the report consisted amongst other people of two London University professors, an Oxford University professor, a representative from a drug company, a detective chief inspector from Lancashire constabulary, a member of the government's Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs and several other 'respected' figures.

The report looks at present prohibition; making use legal and permitting cultivation; a fully legalised trade; and a number of licensing systems — such as those used to control drugs and poisons. They consider legalization, but are clearly worried, not looking further than the obvious 'free for all' structure where the market might well develop along much the same lines as alcohol or tobacco. The option they seem to favour most is a 'poisons type' licensing system, where smokers would have to register with their local pharmacy and might be restricted in quantities and quality of material purchased. No attempt is made to tackle the problem of how production would be organised. The implicit assumption is that much the same systems would be employed as now in use for domestic agricultural production and agricultural imports.

Whilst the report has met with considerable interest as a first step to breaking the blind prejudice of a blinkered prohibition policy, it clearly is hampered by the fact that few users were consulted as to the kind of system they would like to see. Registering at a pharmacy under the Poisons Act might not be too well received. It also suffers from the limitation that it does not look towards any new ideas concerning agricultural production or distribution.

The Need for Decentralised Production

Since its foundation 2½ years ago, the Legalise Cannabis Campaign has devoted considerable thought to this problem, and has stimulated discussion within the Campaign as to possible solutions. The First International Cannabis Legalisation Conference organised by the International Cannabis Alliance for Reform, an organisation representing national legalisation campaigns, also discussed this question at length. With 300 delegates from 19 different nations, there existed a remarkable degree of agreement as to broad principles, agreement which was also in line with conclusions reached by the LCC in its internal discussions. The overwhelming desire was to cultivate cannabis in small units, preserving in so far as possible the cultures at present involved in production, both in the west and developing nations. Likewise the organisation of sales outlets should utilise present small scale superstructures of supply. Above all, present day large scale techniques of agriculture, and marketing which take control

away from the consumer and individual producers should be avoided; multinational corporations should be kept out. The at times hopelessly vague 'liberation politics' of the cannabis movement should be harnessed to creative alternatives to free enterprise or state control. Both LCC members and International Conference delegates have been determined to proceed from principles to practice, examining their unashamedly idealistic desires and looking to economic and political models to satisfy them. I perceive this attempt as one which shares much in common with efforts within the ecology movement as well as certain elements of the 'new left' to break away from old and stultifying political models and look to a new future which will give individuals a real say in how society is organised.

LCC's Scheme

A group within the LCC is now looking at possible practical models for putting first principles into practice. It has produced a preliminary discussion document entitled *Cannabis in the Market Place*,³⁰ which suggests that ultimate control of the cannabis industry must lie with the workers which produce cannabis, be they in developing nations or the west, and the people who consume it. As a basic model for fulfilling this ideal, the group has proposed that all cannabis should be handled through co-operative structures, be they producer or consumer co-ops, as the only viable alternative to state or private ownership of the trade, neither of which offer any prospect of a 'new deal.' This idea is now being refined, with research being carried out into co-operatives and the present functioning of the trade. The Rt Hon Anthony Wedgewood Ben recently commented on the growth of the co-operative movement in a message to the 1980 UK Co-ops Fair: "The co-operative movement is coming into its own, partly because of the growing dissatisfaction with centralised and multinational power, partly because of a feeling that decisions should be rooted nearer the place of work, and partly because profit has come to seem an inadequate guide for production for social use."³¹

As a first concrete step towards full legalisation, the Legalise Cannabis Campaign is insisting that legal personal cultivation is just as important a right as legal possession. "It's the last hedge against high prices and a sick market, be that an illegal market overrun by organised crime or a legal market taken over by the multinationals," says Andy Cornwell, one of the Campaign's full-time co-ordinators.

Journalist and Legalise Cannabis Campaign sponsor Brian Inglis concludes his book *The Forbidden Game — A Social History of Drugs* with the following observation: "Drugs will not be brought under control until society itself changes, enabling men to use them as primitive man did; welcoming the visions they provide not as fantasies, but as intimations of a different, and important, level of reality."³² The reality of many cannabis users seems to contain a powerful common vision for a better society, a vision shared to some degree by Indian Sadhus, Jamaican Rastas, and western hippies. The leaf with its 3, 5, 7, or 9 points is a potent symbol which has become closely associated with those old catch words — freedom, peace and love,

enjoyed a reasonable relationship with the plant, which has supplemented their meagre incomes and in return has been treated as a god-given gift. Because of the massive rise in Western demand, big business is moving in, attracted by fat profits. The balance has been destroyed, but we cannot return to the old status quo. Either those of us who use and respect the plant must bury our heads in the sand and watch as violence, corruption and monopolistic control take over, or we must fight. What we must fight for is not simply a legal cannabis market. Why should we, who have been persecuted so long for our use and defence of the plant then hand over its trade to the same multi-national concerns that dominate almost all other processes of production and have managed both to reduce our own personal control over our needs, and the quality of production processes? We have nothing left but to fight for an ideal, if we are not to consign modern society to the suicidal, yet eminently 'practical' path upon which it now runs. The ideal is a cannabis market which will satisfy the 'liberation politics' of those fighting from all over the world against prohibition, which will leave control of cultivation and supply in the hands of people, not concentrated into anonymous government departments and fat corporate boardrooms.

The Multinationals and a Legal Market

Playboy magazine recently ran a terrifying article entitled "Who'd profit from legal marijuana?" They interviewed representatives from the tobacco, alcohol, cigarette paper and advertising businesses, who whilst in no way giving support to legal cannabis or objecting to the gross infringements of civil liberties caused by present laws, saw a legal market as economically inevitable and rubbed their pudgy hands in glee at the potential profits. "Tobacco companies would, purely from a business standpoint, have to consider selling it. They owe it to their stockholders, because there is obviously a big market out there . . . Mechanically speaking, they could get into it overnight," said Ken McAllister, former President of Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company. One senior Californian advertising executive stated: "Legislation would be like suddenly giving people the key to Willy Wonka's chocolate factory." He spoke of marketing menthol cigarettes with cannabis, and 'marketing strategies' for building 'brand loyalties.' New brands would be aimed at different types of markets, for instance 'macho, sophisticates, slick funk.'²⁶

If our modern marketing system once takes a hold on cannabis, with its escapist advertising and pre-packaged low quality 'joints', possibly mixed with tobacco, it could turn present usage into something akin to the habitual, mindless, escapist and dangerous usage now associated with tobacco. Tobacco usage was not always like this. One has only to smoke pure, untreated forms of tobacco, or watch Indian lorry drivers ritually sharing a hookah water pipe filled with tobacco to understand just how far the eminently 'practical' multinational tobacco companies have destroyed the quality product, sensible usage patterns and our society's health. Given half a chance, they will do exactly the same with cannabis. "The cannabis market will be seen as one that

primarily provides for western demand: the place and meaning of cannabis for non-western cultures, which has never been analysed seriously, will be subsumed into the western liberal stance . . . and all will be as it was before, with this 'threat to society' transformed into a 'recreational product' with a price, label and social status.'²⁷

Possible 'Alternative' Marketing Schemes

Few studies exist that have seriously looked at the possibilities of a legal market whilst avoiding the pitfalls of 20th century business patterns. In the US the 1977 Kentucky Marijuana Feasibility Study (Kentucky was one of the largest hemp producers in the union before prohibition) recommends a system run by a State marketing board, with a 100lb limit on commercial cultivation. Farmers would be licensed by the State and sell to the marketing board, which would weigh and grade for quality. Retail outlets would also need state licenses and could only buy from the marketing board. Even assuming a \$100 per lb selling price to the farmer, as against \$1500-2000 under present conditions, the individual producer still stands to make \$10,000 per year from at the most a 5 acre patch.²⁸ Some California growers have proposed an acreage limit to support the small market. Two other detailed systems have also been suggested for the US, running along much the same principles, handing over control for licensing to the State, as is the situation right now in the US with the liquor industry.²⁹ *The Cannabis Revenue and Education Act*, a prototype statute for the regulation of cannabis in Massachusetts is prepared by lawyer Richard Evans and suggests that in order to keep the marijuana industry as decentralised as possible, owners of licenses, to import or to retail, may not hold another license of any class. The importer, for instance, would not be allowed to retail. Richard Evans also accepts that cannabis will be taxed, but suggests a double system, where part of the tax goes to the usual state tax authority, the other part to a "public, philanthropic trust known as the Cannabis Education Trust." He suggests that advertising of cannabis should be prohibited. Whilst his suggestions form an interesting concrete example of how the market could be legalised, it is hard to see that those same state authorities that have allowed the liquor industry to develop as it has will adopt a very different policy towards cannabis. Who will control the market? seems to be the crucial question, a question which must force us to doubt existing power structures within politics and business. Would a nationalised industry within the UK be any more suitable than a private industry? Going on past performance, nationalised industries seem to function in alarmingly similar ways to corporate industry as regards treatment of workers, quality of product, and marketing techniques.

The only comprehensive report to emerge in the UK on cannabis marketing, apart from the Legalise Cannabis Campaign's own study, was a recent study prepared by the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence (ISDD), a widely respected library and research facility based in London which organised an independent group to look at *Options for Control*, the title of their work.²⁵ It is in itself noteworthy that such an 'estab-

inner vision, the alternative culture, revolution. Unlike many other symbols, this one has a profane aspect, worth billions of pounds and demanding practical political solutions. As one whose life was dramatically influenced by that extraordinary flowering of idealism in the middle and late sixties, I sincerely hope that in the eighties we can unite the sacred and profane in cannabis, developing a new order of marketing for this extraordinary weed, which could help return plant power to the people.

References:

1. J. Bouquet, *Cannabis*, UN Bulletin on Narcotics, 3(1951): 31. Stanley Yolles, Testimony in Narcotics Legislation, US Senate Judiciary Committee 1979.
2. Statistics of The Misuse of Drugs in the United Kingdom, 1979. *Home Office Statistical Bulletin*, issue 11/80.
3. *The Observer*, 6th April 1980.
4. House of Commons Home Affairs Committee: Race Relations and Immigration Sub-Committee. Minutes of Evidence, 22 May 1980, Bristol, HMSO.
5. First International Cannabis Legalisation Conference, The Kosmos, Amsterdam, February 1980. *Pot and Culture — A New Image of the Polish Drug Scene*.
6. Dt. Sgt. David Gale, Why Cannabis Should Not Be Legalised, *Police Review*, 25th April, 1980.
7. Potential Tax Revenues from a Regulatory Marketing Scheme for Marijuana, *Journal of Psychedelic Drugs*, Vol. 10(3), July-Sept. 1978.
8. Busted Abroad, *Connection*, Vol. 3, page 16. Release 1973.
9. Document of US District Court, Northern District of Georgia, Atlanta Division, criminal case No. CR74-471A.
10. Jim Hougan, *Spooks — The Private Use of Secret Agents*. W.H. Allen, London 1979. Hank Messick, *Of Grass and Snow*. Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1979.
11. Testimony of Illegal Profiteering from Drug Trafficking by US Ambassador to Colombia, Diego C. Ascencio, before the US Senate Permanent Sub-Committee on Investigations. Hearing on Narcotics Money Flow, 12th December 1979.
12. *Social and Economic Implications of Marijuana Production in Colombia*. Investigation conducted by The Department of Economic Research, National Association of Financial Institutions (ANIF). Translator Antonio Huneus. *New York Times*, 31st March 1980.
13. Ernesto Samper Pizano, *A Proposal to Legalize Marijuana*. Published by ANIF, Bogota, 1980.
14. Tim Malyon, Himalayan Hike, *Home Grown*, Vol. 1, No. 5.
15. Horace Campbell, *Rastafari: Culture and Resistance, Race and Class*, XXII, 1, 1980.
16. Estimate based on published figures in: Vera Rubin and Lambros Comitas, *Ganja in Jamaica*, Anchor Books, New York, 1976.
17. Tim Malyon, Church Corners Cannabis Market, *New Statesman*, 30th May 1980.
18. *Daily Gleaner*, 30th August 1979.
19. The 1978 estimate is an official Drugs Enforcement Administration estimate, whilst the 1979 figure is reported by the National Organisation for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML). *Drugs Enforcement*, March 1980, page 16.
20. *Playboy*, March 1980.
21. *Esquire*, January 1980.
22. Open Letter from a Grower, *High Times*, July 1980.
23. *Herald Examiner*, 14th October 1979.
24. Prof. J.W. Fairbairn, Production of Cannabis in The United Kingdom. In: *Cannabis — Options for Control*, pages 81-83. Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence, 1979.
25. *Playboy*, March 1980.
26. Mika Sato — unpublished essay.
27. Kentucky Marijuana Feasibility Study, Lexington 1977.
28. Richard M. Evans, *The Cannabis Revenue and Education Act*, 1979. Senator Jack D. Gordon, *Local Option Marijuana Bill*, Tallahassee, Florida, 1979.
29. The booklet is available on request from The Legalise Cannabis Campaign, 2 Blenheim Crescent, London W11.
30. *Undercurrents*, No. 41, Aug/Sept. 1980.
31. Brian Inglis, *The Forbidden Game*, Coronet Books, 1975.
- 32.

Authors' Biographies.

John Hanson. Independent film maker. Studio potter, designer, restaurateur and indifferent actor. First documentary, *Days of our Youth*, won first prize in Mexico Olympics Film Festival. First feature, *Secrets*, was England's first super-16 mm. feature in 1971. Current projects include: *The Dilessi Affair*, *The Social History of Hemp*.

Professor James Graham is a member of the government's Advisory Committee of the Misuse of Drugs and holds the chair of Pharmacology at the University of Wales, Bangor.

Don Aitken has been active in the field of cannabis research and information since 1968, working at different times for SOMA, the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence, the Church of England Council for Social Aid and Release. Regularly gives expert evidence on drug issues in the courts. Author "*Cannabis: A Select Annotated Bibliography*" (1970); contributor "*Problems of Drug Abuse in Britain*" (1978), "*Cannabis: Option for Control*" (1979).

Tod H. Mikuriya. Author of many papers on various aspects of cannabis use. Formerly Head of Marijuana Research for the US National Institute of Mental Health. Editor "*Marihuana: Medical Papers*" (1973). Now practising as a physician in Berkeley, California, specialising in biofeedback techniques.

Anthony Henman. Born in 1949 in Sao Paulo, Brazil, of British parents. Came to England in 1961 and attended Downside School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, graduated in 1972 with an M.A. in Archaeology and Anthropology. In 1973 and 1974 taught at the University of Cauca, Popayan, Columbia, collecting material for the book *Mama Coca*, first published in London in 1978. For eighteen months in 1978-9 travelled widely through Indian areas in Brazil, studying the use of local stimulants and hallucinogens, and researching the feasibility of community aid projects based on the native medicinal flora. The present article will shortly be incorporated into a full-length book on the drug plants of Brazilian Amazonia, and their use in the context of Indian resistance to cultural and economic domination.

John Michell. Born 9th February 1933, educated Eton and Trinity, Cambridge, once Russian interpreter, RN, lives in London W11. Since 1967 he has written books and articles on archaeology, perennial philosophy and unexplored aspects of mundane reality. Influences include Plato, Cobbett, Dostoevsky, Alfred Watkins and Charles Fort. Active in Radical traditionalist association, anti-metrication board and cosmological reform. (anti Darwin) Books include *View over Atlantis*, *City of Revelation*, *The Earth Spirit and Phenomena*. Schumacher Lecturer, 1979.

Colin Moorcroft. Writer concerned with technology and the environment. Past contributing editor to various magazines, including '*Rolling Stone*', '*Frendz*', '*Time Out*', '*Architectural Design*' and '*The Beast*'. Author of '*Must The Seas Die?*' (published by Maurice Temple Smith). Currently working on a book about the relationship between people and plants.

Tim Malyon. After graduating with a modern languages degree, Tim Malyon spent 5 years working as a social and legal counsellor in community projects and at Release, often involved in helping people with serious drug problems and giving legal advice on cannabis arrests. In 1978 he helped found the Legalise Cannabis Campaign, for which he worked until February of this year. He has published articles and photographs in a wide range of papers, including *The Leveller*, *International Times*, *Sunday Times*, *New Statesman*, *Time Out*, *Home Grown*, *New Musical Express*.